



HUMANITY
IN ACTION

2005 Reports

December 2005

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2005 Reports

In a departure from previous publications, HIA presents a selection of six reports among those written by the 2005 American, Danish, Dutch, and German Fellows.

All reports, listed below, can be found in their entirety on the HIA website: www.humanityinaction.org

Denmark

Return to Sender: The Expulsion of Criminal Immigrants from Denmark
Ane-Kirstine Bagger and Ankur Mangalagiri

Waiting: Unaccompanied Children Seeking Asylum in Denmark
Dana Binnendijk and Mikkel Selmar

A New Chance for Everyone? Someone? Anyone?
Maria Gadjakova, Zachary Smith, and Morten Svendstorp

Humanizing the Sudanese Victims of Genocide: The Effort to Raise Awareness about Darfur in Danish Society

Jason Campbell and Maria Steno
Immigrant Women Victims of Violence . . . and of Danish Law (Or When the Police is More to Fear than a Violent Husband)
Michelle Christensen and Mathieu Desruisseaux

Judeo-Muslim Conflict in Copenhagen: Imagined or Real?
Eddie Cohen and Jakob Silas Lund

The Barriers Can be Overcome: The Integration Experience of Bosnian Refugees in Denmark
Dijana Dmitruk, Selma Hadzic, and Rebecca Sherman

When Well-Integrated Immigrants Become Traitors
Doru Frantescu and Karina Grube

Divorced from Reality: The True Impact of Denmark's 24 Year-Old Rule
Brian McElroy and Anastasia Stolovitskaia

Seeking Some Peace of Mind: The Mental Experience of Being an Asylum Seeker in Denmark
Julia Winding and Rose Ehler

Germany

The Responsibility of Knowledge: Developing Holocaust Education for the Third Generation
Kelly Bunch, Matthew Canfield, and Birte Schöler

Mustafa and How He becomes German in One Day
Daniel Krupka and Dorota Pudzianowska

“Die Geister, die ich rief!” (The Ghosts that I Awoke): German Anti-Terror Law and Religious Extremism
Siddik Bakir and Ben Harburg

A Self-Serving Admission of Guilt: An Examination of the Intentions and Effects of Germany's New Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe
Sharon Chin, Fabian Franke, and Sheri Halpern

The Long Shadow of the Berlin Wall: Persecutors and the Persecuted after Reunification
Rory Gillis and Maria Stemmler

The Rainbow Crescent: The Integration of the Gay Turkish Community in Germany
Henry Haaker, Thomas Huddleston, and Aleksei Trofimov

Germany's Child-Unfriendly Refugee Policies: No Future for Young Refugees
Josephine Landertinger and Tatyana Rudkova

Germany's Immigration Policy: Philosophies and Rationales
Aisulu Masyllkanova and Elif Özer

A Very Long Engagement: Why Migrants Have Not Yet Married Themselves to the German Political System
David Peyton, Jr., Henriette Rytz, and Michelle Rosenthal

The Netherlands

Different Women, Similar Struggle? Inclusive Feminism and Muslims in the Netherlands
Doutje Lettinga and David G. Mandel-Anthony

“Social Capital”ism: Challenging the Monocultural Fantasy of Dutch Politics
Simone Halink and David Carpmann

Breaking Her Chains: The Collective Responsibility in Combating Trafficking in the Netherlands
Liga Abika, Jenny Jun, and Sarah Stattman

Keeping the Faith in the Dutch Army: Retaining Muslim Religious Identity and the Desire for an Egalitarian Social Structure in the Military
Allon Bar and Justin Dubois

Beacon Light or Polemic Fights: Will Ja be Translated to Si and Tak?
Krzysztof Dobrowski-Onclin and Laura Schenkein

The Dutch Know Best? Paternalism in the Netherlands Past and Present
Anouk Eigenraam, JJeffrey Hochstetler, and Karima Yebari

LONSDALE Gone, Racism Solved? LONSDALE Youth and the Police
Anton Fedorkin and Ine Koevoet

You Can't Always Listen to the Same Music
Ferhat Isguzarer and Kanishk Tharoor

One Way Forward: Former Refugees and Successful Participation for the Netherlands
Zoe Kieffer and David Röling

Working in Millimeters: The Jewish-Muslim Dialogue in the Netherlands
Charles B. Weinograd and Ykje Riesinga

Introduction: Executive Director

Pluralism, according to the second definition in the The American Heritage Dictionary is “a condition of society in which numerous distinct ethnic, religious or cultural groups exist within one nation.” The exacting choice of words hardly conveys the complex, frequently volatile and violent nature of that condition. Sustaining interactions—tolerant, participatory and non-discriminatory—among majorities and minorities is a perennial challenge and an historic task for American and European nations and their leaders—and HIA.

Today, once again, pluralism is a matter of urgent concern for many democratic nations and their leaders. In the past few months, American and European journalists have discovered the crisis of integration of Muslims and Arabs in many European countries. A few headlines from the American media, among hundreds, convey the discovery of disquietude: “Trading Cricket for Jihad,” “As Muslims Call Europe Home, Dangerous Isolation Takes Root,” “An Islamic Alienation,” and “Pope Urges Muslims to Confront Terrorism.” In the latter article, the *New York Times* reported that Pope Benedict XVI appealed for better relations between Islam and Christianity. Addressing a group of Muslims and Christians in Germany the Pope said that such improvement “cannot be reduced to an operational extra. It is, in fact, a vital necessity on which a large measure of our future depends.”

Although America has more successfully absorbed Muslims and Arab immigrants and their children, it is experiencing other acute tensions derived from its diverse population. Americans need only focus on the continuing challenges of integrating the vast numbers of new immigrants, the ongoing disparity between whites and blacks in income and education and the assertive political, social and cultural goals of fundamentalist Christians who challenge the practices of secular and mainstream religious groups.

Thus, the clear, compelling HIA mission on two continents: with emerging young leaders to identify and probe the domestic and international realities of today’s multicultural societies; to understand the attitudes and practices that govern the relationships among majority and minority populations in six countries according to their distinct historic traditions; to reduce discrimination, hatred and violence among diverse groups; and to support governments and NGOs that mediate among different groups according to democratic and human rights principles and practices. HIA opposes extremists from all sides who inflame pluralistic tensions through incendiary and discriminatory ideas and

practices—religious or ideological. HIA works to make the center hold.

HIA accomplishes this mission through educational programs for university students who commit their idealism and ambitions, focused on human rights, to make their own societies work better. HIA fellows, many of whom have grown up in environments more diverse than that of their parent’s generation, are called upon to apply their intelligence to understand the complexities of their own pluralistic countries. In this pursuit, HIA core programs connect past and present minority/majority issues. Increasingly, the programs seek to apply to current new conditions the understanding of tolerance and racism established by Europeans and Americans out of moral revulsion towards fascism, the Holocaust, communism, colonialism and segregation.

For the past seven years, HIA has worked creatively on these issues. It has placed diversity and the relationships among the majority and minority populations at the center of its educational mission, annual Reports—consisting of many original and path breaking essays—and mandate for action. Three hundred and fifty fellows have completed core programs in Denmark, Germany, and The Netherlands, immersing themselves in the economic, political, social, cultural, gender, and religious conflict of pluralism in these countries. Through internships, innovative action plans and professional careers, HIA senior fellows are already contributing to national and international organizations devoted to democratic values and human rights.

Now, HIA is building on that success. With thriving core programs in those three countries, HIA is establishing ones in France, Poland and the United States in 2006 under the direction of Anne-Lorraine Bujon, Monika Mazur-Rafel and David Machacek. Next June, HIA will have 140 new HIA fellows exploring diversity in six countries.

The addition of new programs is one aspect of HIA’s evolution. Internal programmatic and organizational changes are affecting everything HIA does. In 2005, HIA included students from Bulgaria, Belarus, Bosnia, Estonia, Poland, Rumania, Ukraine and Latvia. The Remembrance Foundation in Berlin funded the eight fellows from eastern and central Europe. Their presence provided HIA with the opportunity to confront one of the crucial issues now facing Europe—the integration of eastern and western Europe.

In the German and Dutch core programs, the directors and fellows initiated a highly successful approach to action plans. During every previous program, starting in 1999, fellows have called for specific guidance in linking HIA's educational mandate to future action in the field of human rights. The initial approach required all American fellows—and encouraged all Europeans—to develop outreach projects within 10 months of completing the core program. HIA, however, gave relatively little guidance for these projects. This is no longer the case. In Berlin and Amsterdam, the fellows and program directors focused more extensively on the development of action plans. This initiative brought “action” more closely in line with expectations reflected in the name Humanity in Action.

Third, the senior fellows now constitute an integral and essential part of HIA, not just through peripheral alumni connections. By providing all fellows with a common basis of knowledge, core programs serve as the entry point for a long-term partnership in the cultivation of new leaders. Senior fellows now participate in a broad range of HIA internships, conferences, lectures series, fundraising events and the development of their own human rights NGOs. Senior fellows also play an increasingly prominent role as interns and lecturers in the core programs. The expansion of senior fellows' activities has also led to the creation of national senior fellows' organizations that define goals and select officers to work with the HIA national boards and program directors.

This reconfigured Reports reflects these changes. In the past, it contained only the essays written by the fellows in the current core program. This year, the Reports features six essays from the 2005 programs as well as articles by senior fellows about their internships and political and artistic explorations. All essays by the 2005 fellows are posted on the HIA website.

Today, HIA is a vibrant international community of hundreds of Americans and Europeans—program directors, university students, senior fellows, professionals, board members, lecturers, philanthropists, and host families. The HIA network consists of people who are willing to experiment, innovate, imagine new patterns of diversity, and engage with people from different backgrounds. They work in the service of strengthening human rights and democratic practices—especially at this difficult time of increased pluralistic tensions, subject to exploitation by extremists.

Such efforts are particularly needed in the United States as Derek Bok, former president of Harvard University, has recognized. “Arts and Sciences faculties,” he wrote, “currently display scant interest in preparing undergraduates to be democratic citizens, a task once regarded as the principal purpose of a liberal education and one urgently needed at this moment in the United States.” HIA strives to meet this

challenge.

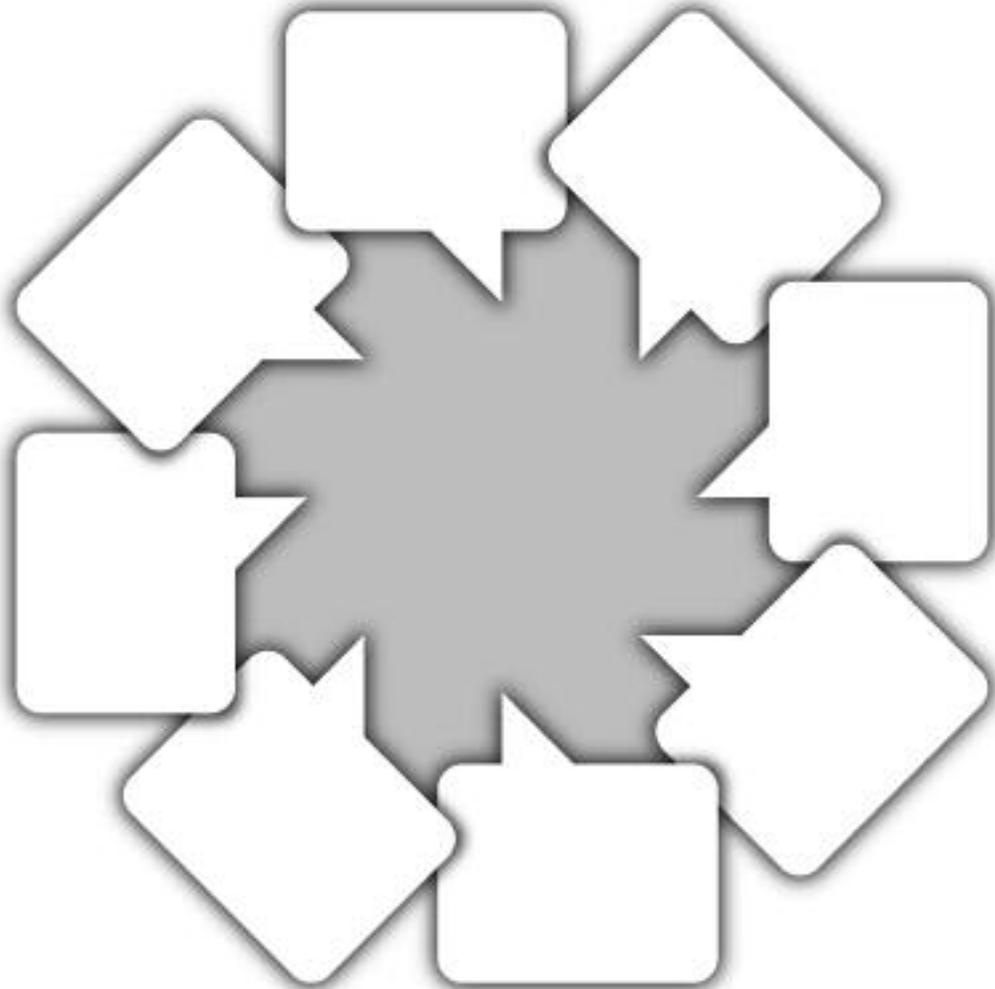
In Europe, the immediate concerns are of a different kind. David Reiff concluded his August 2005 article, “An Islamic Alienation,” in the *New York Times* with a dire warning. “Figuring out how to prevent Europe's multicultural reality from becoming a war of all against all is the challenge that confronts the Continent. It makes all of Europe's other problems, from the economy to the euro to the sclerosis of social democracy, seem trivial by comparison. Unfortunately, unlike those challenges, this one is existential and urgent and has no obvious answer.” Let us hope that Reiff is inflating the risk that European multiculturalism will become a war of “all against all.” But he is right to invoke deep concerns about urgency and the dangers inherent in “no obvious answers” and, one might add, no obvious leadership to counter the extremists who exploit the pluralistic tensions.

In his 80th year, I. G. Patel, the renowned Indian economist and former Director of the London School of Economics concluded, reluctantly and sadly, that human beings will continue to create hostilities towards those they consider different because of religious beliefs and ethnic identity. He placed his hopes, however, in people who acknowledge the ever-lasting presence of distrust, hatred and extremist beliefs, but work against them nonetheless. Those people, he believed, are the courageous ones who often work against the odds.

HIA's task is to find those people—and the idealists as well—and search with them for equitable and viable answers to the challenges that pluralistic societies pose. We are most thankful to all those who enable HIA to grow, evolve, aspire and work against the odds—the fellows, program directors, associate directors, board members, lecturers, host families and contributors.

Judith S. Goldstein
Executive Director

From the Senior Fellows



Reflections on the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia

Charles Lockwood, 2004 Fellow

Like many Americans, I was shocked in recent weeks by the squalor and violence that overtook the New Orleans Superdome in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. But another thought came to my mind. This “collapse of civilization” following a natural disaster was only a hint of the terror that several thousand Muslim men and boys in Srebrenica came to know during the horrific days of their deportation, torture, and execution in mid-July 1995. Herded into school gymnasiums or warehouses as hot as furnaces, with not a bathroom in sight, each could barely cling to the hope that his life, or the life of a relative, might be spared. Few were.

This past spring, in my work as an intern for the Srebrenica trial team in the Office of the Prosecutor at the United Nations International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), the intimate chronology of the Srebrenica genocide became forever seared into my mind—from the Bosnian Serb military commander’s promises of candy to terrified Muslim children before the killings began, to the continuing agony of mothers, wives, and daughters still desperate to bury their dead with dignity ten years later.

Sitting at my desk in The Hague, indexing the judgments from Srebrenica-related trials that have already been completed, I couldn’t—I still can’t—get those mothers, wives, and daughters out of my mind. As judgments are rendered, as judges and attorneys fret over the Tribunal’s legacy in the emerging domain of international humanitarian law, the victims of Srebrenica are concerned only to survive another day—rather than to get their day in a court so remote from their own lives. For them, is justice being served, or is the ICTY simply “full of sound and fury, signifying nothing”? It’s a question everyone must ask.

Nevertheless, the ICTY affirmed for me just how expansively “justice” must be understood. It must extend beyond punishing the moral failings of politicians, generals, or even the engineers who operated the bulldozers that dug mass graves, and beyond simply providing financial or psychological assistance to the victims. Rather, it must whittle away at the seemingly mundane economic and social frustrations that allow these moral failings to take root in the first place. Faced with an economic crisis he couldn’t solve, or didn’t want to, Slobodan Milosevic successfully turned to scapegoating.

Thus, so much of what I learned at the ICTY, from my team assignments to HIA-sponsored lectures, confirmed that exclusion, intolerance, and catastrophic violence most

often overtake societies where few have hope for tomorrow. In a profound sense, then, the ICTY and the UN Millennium Development Goals are two sides of the same coin.

In the end, it’s not only the details of the Srebrenica genocide that I can’t forget, but also memories of my time in Sarajevo after my internship. Thousands of new, gleaming white gravestones fill the hills surrounding the city, and in some cases only piles of brick indicate where buildings once stood. But the energetic rush of life down the Austrian-era boulevards, or in the old Turkish quarter, has returned. Walking through the city today, I might have been tempted to say, “Oh, that couldn’t really have happened here, could it?” But I know that it can happen anywhere, if we let it.

Charles Lockwood is a Ph.D. candidate in religion at Harvard University. He is an American Senior Fellow from the 2004 German program. He is a 2005 intern at the ICTY.

War Child

David Hein, 1999 Fellow

“You can take a child out of a war, but how do you take a war out of a child?”

A nice slogan, but the answer is sad: you can't.

One evening after work I am going shopping. My supervisor Gerald Gahima has just arrived and needs to buy groceries and clothing to survive the harsh Sarajevo winter. Gerald comes from Rwanda. He is worried about snow and cold, so Tarik, Lejla, and I are helping him to find what he needs.

Like a tornado Lejla fills up his grocery basket. Tarik and I follow them like loyal dogs, joking around.

After shopping Gerald invites us to his loft for drinks. Lejla and Tarik look around and start chitchatting to each other about how hard it must have been during the war to heat the place, “...but than again, the location of the loft is such, that it probably would have been impossible to live here anyway.” Etcetera etcetera. It is the start of a sad discussion.

During the discussion all three forget that I am an outsider and by default belong to the bystanders in the war in BiH and the genocide in Rwanda. Furious and disappointed they talk about the lack of help during the war; their ferocity shows a deep distrust of the international community.

When the UN imposed a weapons embargo on BiH, it was fighting with its hands tied against an enemy who, indeed, did not hide the fact that it was trying to annihilate BiH.

After the war, the same UN returned and told the population of the destroyed country how to rebuild their society and what they had to do to prevent such a massacre in the future. The irony of this behavior is repulsive.

Lejla now is 25; Tarik is 29. At the beginning of the war they were about 13 and 17. Children still.

Jokingly Lejla blames Tarik for leaving the country during the war. She calls him a “Quisling” and tells us with suppressed emotions about the hardships of the war. Her words sound bitter and disappointed, and tough. Her judgment about the international community is sharp, but accurate: too little, too late, too few....

I hardly participate in the events of the evening. The stories and the discussion have chilled me; they are echoes of sto-

ries Holocaust survivors in my family told me.

The ‘Nie wieder’ (‘Never again’, said during every commemoration of the Holocaust, stating that genocide should never again happen in the world,) that can be heard in Western Europe so often, has proven to be a hollow phrase. ‘Nie wieder’ what? ‘Nie wieder’ Germany? ‘Nie wieder’ the Shoa? ‘Nie wieder’ in Western Europe? That was, is, and will be the case indeed. But for the rest of the world apparently the standard is a bit different. ‘Nie wieder’ was a hollow phrase. When The (western) world had the opportunity to put ‘Nie wieder’ into practice, it failed miserably. But then again: “Are we our brothers’ keepers...? We did not start the war in Bosnia...”

The Holocaust has influenced the world a great deal: the human rights regime that we have now—and that we should cherish, although it has a lot of laws and errors—is a result of WW II.

Nevertheless, the Holocaust has also lead to a form of cognitive dissonance, from which the people in Bosnia, Rwanda, Darfur, etc. suffer on a daily basis: ‘The Holocaust was the worst crime ever committed. We agreed that this can not happen ever again. Therefore it will not happen ever again, because we agreed it can not happen again. Therefore it never has happened again.’

It is a catch-22 that has prevented the world from interfering in situations where it should have done so. A very painful conclusion—the dissonance is still taking place on a daily basis.

Regardless of my family situation, I was raised with the idea that all suffering is equal. Suffering cannot be compared with other suffering—every individual is the measurer of his or her own pain and can be the only referee of it. ‘If somebody says it is terrible, it is terrible.’ Only with this attitude one can prevent what has happened from happening again while the rest of the world stands by.

Without comparing, one looks at a situation and decides whether to interfere, without having to explain in retrospect why action was taken in this case, but not in another.

I am numb after what I heard. In the car home I am trying to liven up the situation by telling Lejla and Tarik that I felt excluded that night, because nobody has ever tried some nice little genocide or war on me.

“Don’t worry, you are Jewish, they will get you another time again,” they tell me jokingly.

Everyone is a product of his or her experiences and upbringing. The upbringing of the youth here is not much different than it is in the rest of Europe. They listen to the same music and watch the same American movies. They look like me. Their experiences made them tougher than their peers in the West though.

I have seen what persecution can do to the mental stability of people. It can make people deeply depressed, insecure, and frightened for the rest of their lives. It makes their loved ones lonely, desperate, and very sad.

Maybe the shared experience of the youth here will make sure that the war-wounds heal. If not, the war might be over, but it has not ended yet. Not for them, nor for the generation—even generations—they bring up.

David Hein is a lawyer from the Netherlands. Since August 2004 he has worked as both a legal associate and an internship coordinator for the Legal Department for the Registry of the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo. He is a Dutch Senior Fellow from the 1999 program.

Art, Politics, Engagement

Elidor Mehilli, 2003 Fellow

That a work of art depicting a naked, black female Jesus Christ and twelve black disciples assembled around the ceremonial table of the last supper should generate a lot of heat in America is not necessarily surprising. The dispute, which occurred in the context of the exhibition “Committed to the Image: Contemporary Black Photographs” at the Brooklyn Museum of Art in 2001, possessed all the ingredients of first-rate controversy: blistering condemnations of the heresy of contemporary artists, the involvement of high-ranking politicians and abundant but only occasionally critical media commentary. “Why can’t a woman be Christ?” wondered Renée Cox, the “daring” artist impersonating the prophet in “Yo’ Mama’s Last Supper.” “We are the givers of life.” Rudolph Giuliani, who at the time was the mayor of New York City, asked instead for a decency commission that would keep artistic production under control. Of course, that was before Afghan-style decency and moral commissions had definitely gone out of fashion with American politicians.

One can make a point about the banality of the incident: it lacked the outrageous courage of, say, a Robert Mapplethorpe sado-masochistic icon or the threatening clarity of his stunning homoerotic nudes and phallic still lifes. Even the playful treatment of a religious theme was humble if compared to, say, a Serrano or Chris Offili’s “permissive attitudes” towards the Virgin Mary. (All these artists, incidentally, have been subject to controversy and censorship in the U.S.)

Yet the fact that Cox was a black woman was certainly significant. She joined a notable list of artistic troublemakers—artists, poets and cultural revolutionaries (nearly all males, in fact) who have historically struggled against censorship and centralized power.

Book burnings, purges, imprisonments and artistic death have defined twentieth century history. Its unfathomable scar is the annihilation of Jewish culture and intellectual life; the attempted erasure of the thoughts and dreams—not just the physical presences—of entire ethnic groups. The troubled life of dissidents in the socialist bloc is another case in point. In Albania we find possibly the most dramatic cases of state violence against artistic expression in Eastern Europe. The poet Trifon Xhagjika was executed by firing squad at the age of 31 for “subversive” poems. Genc Leka and Vilson Biloshmi, both poets, were also executed. Maks Velo, a Paris-born architect and painter, was imprisoned and sent to forced labor. Many others died in prison

or were hanged or silenced.

This history of extreme and less extreme forms of censorship and control is directly relevant to our present concerns with democracy and human rights. From the Middle East and the Balkans to China, the U.S. and western European capitals, where multiculturalism is at stake, discussions of artistic freedom and the freedom of expression affect lives and produce contention. The lingering questions in these discussions have historically been these: Just what is art supposed to do? What can and cannot artists say?

The classical idea has been that art has to teach something. The emergence of the landscape as a favorite subject of works of art in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries attests to this premise. In an attempt to read the face of nature for rules that govern human life, the dilettanti, or those who had the means to afford such refined pursuits, devoted their free time to painting and sketching the mysteries of the natural world. By the early decades of the twentieth century, the project of modernism and the experience of organized violence and massive war radically transformed the role of artists and their creative production. The boundaries between artists and revolutionaries became less clear.

By the time of Walter Benjamin’s observation about the demise of the “aura” of the work of art given the increasingly advanced techniques of reproduction, the relationship between the aesthetic and the political (under both fascism and communism) had produced such intense results that social critics were trying to distinguish one from the other. The ensuing Cold War was a time in which the tension between aesthetics and politics was productive and painful: dreamscapes painted on the Berlin Wall spoke of mental spaces where artists daringly challenged politics; the inquisition of writers in the eastern camp spoke of politics that had a severe vision for intellectuals and a will to enforce it through organized violence.

Despite its brevity and evident simplicity, this overview makes at least one crucial point: confronted with organized violence and state coercion, artists have always gotten in trouble. “The form of government that is most suitable to the artist is no government at all,” wrote Oscar Wilde back in 1891. “Art is individualism, and individualism is a disturbing and disintegrating force. There lies its immense value. For what it seeks is to disturb monotony of type, slavery of custom, tyranny of habit, and the reduction of

man to the level of a machine.” Directly or indirectly, then, artists have engaged political ideas, utopian visions, revolutionary struggles and counter-cultures. They have been political, and politics have shaped directly and indirectly the production of works of art, their marketing, their analysis and the place accorded to them in the history of human cultures.

Even where state violence has been most vicious and the rules set for artistic expression most rigid, artists have developed inexplicable strategies of resistance. In the words of Ismail Kadare, who lived and worked under totalitarian brutality and was awarded recently the Man Booker Prize: “Believing in that art means being convinced that the regime to which you are subjected, with its policemen who spy on you, its top leaders and its functionaries—in sum, that the entire edifice of tyranny is but a passing nightmare, something dead in comparison to the Supreme order whose disciple you now are.”

In sum, artistic freedom constitutes a distinctly important aspect of the test of a democracy. When art, which I have defined broadly to include any form of aesthetic expression and not limited to the practice of a few, has encountered state coercion or a unified social vision, results have often been violent. Artists, however, have responded with fascinating commentaries. Further, I want to suggest that we critically investigate the social functions of the image and the ways in which they are transformed in our rapidly changing society. The opportunities that exist in the field of visual communication are crucial for developing new strategies for identifying and building solidarity with others who might not be part of our immediate cultural group.

Strategies of engagement

Images, photographs and other forms of visual expression communicate in ways that perhaps no other form—governmental and non-governmental outlines, decrees, political discussions—can emulate. Images can appropriate symbolic spaces, reinterpret meanings, critique, provoke, politicize, meditate, mourn and revive memories which otherwise would be lost. It is, of course, naïve to assume that artistic production is accessible to everyone, but it is equally misleading to maintain that this kind of cultural expression can only be explored, understood and managed by a select few. The broad field—photographs, literature, theatre, music and dance—has been the avenue where artists and audiences have negotiated differences and explored cultural specificities.

I want to suggest a way of integrating the concerns of the “other” in our own lives in a manner that makes it a constant concern, a binding need. Understanding the “other,” I would like to argue, does not simply involve listening, analyzing and reporting. This effort to understand “otherness” goes beyond its photographic documentation or the kind of anthropological/cultural-tourist collection of evidence

and presentation to western audiences in human rights conferences. That raises awareness, perhaps. But is it really understanding?

Understanding, it seems to me, requires a lot more and is significantly more uncomfortable. It is about accessing the universe of symbols and the labyrinth of subtle meanings that make life astonishingly diverse. It also means learning to thrive in the chaos of such differences.

But we should also be prepared not to understand. Assuming that we (whoever that is: westerners, HIA fellows) can understand the “other” might actually replicate the dynamic of our own assumed superiority insofar as we introduce ourselves as presented with the burden of learning about “others,” the mission of educating them and the difficult duty of ending violence and defending freedom from strife. This would mean, in other words, the exchange of physical violence by cultural violence.

Finally, we need to be prepared to answer some questions: Is our attachment to human rights an indication of the fact that we have the “luxury” to promote it? Is this attachment to concerns about “others” who are removed from us a pastime of sorts? Or is it a necessity? And if it indeed is a necessity, how do we act in ways that reveal its impact on us? What credibility do we have in engaging with “otherness”? I think we should be able to take these questions seriously and articulate the reasons why our attachment to human rights is a necessity, not a choice. One way, among many, that I consider to be very promising is the employment of the technology and the strategies of visual culture.

HIA fellows’ engagement

There are various ways in which images can provide points of entry into other cultures. They can offend and outrage, but they are certainly a powerful medium for the exchange of ideas.

This is made most obvious in a project that senior fellow Jessamy Garver-Affeldt carried out while serving for the Peace Corps in Gambia. Following discussions with her students about the idea of human rights, she asked the sixth graders to draw pictures depicting something that they considered an important human right. At the same time, her father, a teacher in Wisconsin, was carrying out the same project with his fourth graders. The question was uncomplicated: What are the things we identify as human rights? The result was “an accurate reflection of our societal differences,” as Garver-Affeldt put it.

American fourth graders were more inclined to think about voting rights, technology and individual rights. Gambian students, on the other hand, came up with images that related to family, friendships, access to water, food and so on. What makes the project intriguing is the parallel established between cultures; the investigation of the same con-

cept in two different contexts through images that escape the limitations of translation and powerfully capture and communicate crucial cultural differences.

Images can be a site for memory and mourning. During my stint as an HIA intern at the War Crimes Chamber Project in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, it became increasingly clear to me that I wanted to engage the city and its painful recent history in a way that made me part of it. Part of my project involved tracing memories of trauma in the city, the documentation of these urban memories and their transmission into a completely different setting—an academic building at Brown University, Rhode Island. The project was conceived as a juncture, a clash or interaction between two realities: the comfort of the academic milieu and the trauma of genocide in Bosnia and Kosova.

Images can document and engage in critical discussions. Senior fellow Robin Williams, a recent graduate of Princeton's Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and a recipient of a fellowship from the Reach Out '56 Foundation in conjunction with the Drug Policy Alliance and the Marijuana Policy Project, traveled across the U.S. and documented personal stories related to the War on Drugs. These were HIV survivors, individuals who had been incarcerated, medical marijuana patients, law enforcement officers, mayors, legislators, social and sex workers. Williams photographed over 350 individuals and established a website for the photo-essays and interviews. <http://www.UnacceptableLosses.org>

According to Williams, the project's aim was to "put a face on a community that is often dehumanized in the public's eye, to let a community that is often spoken of and spoken for have a chance to speak for itself." The photo-essays and the excerpts "highlight the damage caused by harsh drug laws which too often help people into prison over treatment. Many come from individuals who have spent years struggling to overcome substance abuse against great odds while receiving little or no support."

While at first this may seem a recording of material reality, it is in fact a strategy that aims to create a platform for critical investigation. The personal, made evident in the photographs and spelled out in the narratives, enables us to build solidarity with victims of violence or specific social policies. It is also a step towards engaging important social issues and communicating with varied audiences in a way that emphasizes the personal.

The blurring of the boundaries between art and cultural objects can be a very productive strategy in such processes of engagement. The richness of possibilities offered by visual culture can move us away from the passive gaze or detached engagement; in it, "action" can be effective without denying or neglecting the personal and the individual.

Elidor Mehilli is a graduate student in the History Department at Princeton University. He is an American Senior Fellow from the 2003 Dutch program. He was the HIA intern in the 2005 Danish program. This article is adapted from his talk to the fellows in Copenhagen.

Testimonials from Senior Fellows

Talia Dubovi, United States 2000

I remember HIA's summer program as a whirlwind of experiences. A very intense three days in Washington, meeting 40 new people, exploring the city of Amsterdam, learning from incredible individuals with personal life experiences, doing field research, writing and presenting a paper, a quick de-brief, and then it was over. It was a phenomenal experience, one in which I grew intellectually, personally and emotionally. And, as I imagine is the case with many fellows, I returned to the U.S. wondering, "What next?"

The biggest surprise about HIA is that my association as a senior fellow during the past five years has been even more rewarding than the core program itself. Through my involvement with the American Planning Board, yearly senior fellow meetings, an internship at the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and various other HIA projects, I have watched HIA grow substantially. The core summer program has expanded from two European countries to five, there is now a program in the United States, and the list of internships and job opportunities for senior fellows continues to grow. More importantly, I have seen senior fellows return year after year to attend HIA events and to volunteer to support the foundation. I've had the opportunity to be part of a group of deeply committed, extremely talented individuals, and I know I've benefited tremendously from my association with the foundation and the opportunities it has provided me.

I've been asked before why I stay so involved with HIA. In part, I want to give back to an organization which has made a significant positive impact to my life. But mostly it is because I believe very strongly that the world can and will be shaped by networks of people who come together for a common goal. HIA is building one of those networks in this country and across Europe, year after year, summer after summer. As we all go off to pursue our own interests and careers, we have in our background a common experience, a common loyalty, and a common goal of improving human rights around the world in whatever way we can. I have discovered a group of people who I know will make a difference in the future. It has been an honor to be a part of that group, and I know that as I pursue my own career, I will be strengthened and supported by the network of HIA fellows.

Every year as I review applications and talk to the fellows who are about to leave for Europe, I'm always excited (and a little jealous) about the experience they are about to have. I know that for most of them the experience will extend far

beyond the month abroad and will influence and shape their lives for years to come. Through my continued participation with HIA, I look forward to sharing their journey

Floris van Eijk, The Netherlands 2001

When I signed up for the Humanity in Action program, I could not have known to what extent it would impact my life. Although the first class lectures by high profile intellectuals, 3am discussions at a nightclub in New York, and drinks at the U.S. Embassy in Copenhagen all invoke fond memories, the program's real impact came later. I have always been interested in international affairs, but only after visiting Rwanda in the summer of 2004 did I realize that I wanted to dedicate more time and effort to promoting human rights and the rights of minorities.

In the fall of 2004, together with Enno Koops, Hiske Arts, Antoine Buyse (all HIA senior fellows) and Bas Gadiot, I organized a student conference: "Genocide, Whose Responsibility? Rwanda and Beyond?" To be better prepared, we decided to visit that country in July of that year. In Rwanda we met with researchers, journalists, expatriates and young academics like us. I admit that, before departure, I had felt a little hesitant about whether the people in Rwanda would appreciate our journey. After all, we were just students with a somewhat inexplicable interest in genocide. We were visitors, not even part of the aid community. Shortly after arriving I was proven wrong. People were most eager to tell us their stories, terrible stories, without asking anything in return except for our listening ears.

One of the most impressive memories from Rwanda was a visit to a school compound in Gikongoro, where 30,000 Tutsi had been systematically slaughtered. Only four people had survived the killings, hiding under dead bodies until the Interahamwe militia went away. One of them was Emmanuel. While we were walking past bodily remains that had been exhumed from the mass graves, he explained to us: "First they killed my wife, my children, my brothers and sisters... Then they started saying there was no genocide. The bodies we've left in these classrooms are the proof. Nobody will deny this ever happened. Please tell the world about the genocide."

Many stories we heard in Rwanda echoed the hope that informing the world about the terrible events in Rwanda might actually change something. Some hoped it would change the arrogance of Western leaders who have hope-

lessly failed in addressing 'tribal warfare' in so many African countries. Others thought it might change the ignorance of our media, who rarely make an effort to understand the root causes of genocide and inter-ethnic conflict. Ever since I came back from Rwanda, I have been thinking a lot about how to change the ways young people here in The Netherlands think about ethnic conflict, to get them truly engaged.

After a successful conference, Enno, Hiske, Antoine, Bas and I decided to start GTI Foundation. Faced with the continuing spread of gross human rights violations and genocide throughout the world, GTI encourages students and young academics to study these issues and foster dialogue and debate. We believe that insight in the social processes that underlie genocide and gross human rights violations is a necessary step towards the prevention of these atrocities. GTI wants to enable students and young academics to gain such insight and to create a community of young people who are dedicated to act in the face of genocide and gross violations of human rights, now and in the future. While we have no idea how our foundation will evolve and what exciting things lay ahead of us, I am sure of two things: HIA raised my interest in human rights for the first time. And through HIA I met three of my dearest friends. For that I am very grateful.

Martine Alonso Marquis, Germany 2003

On a rainy afternoon, sitting in my office in The Hague, I got an Email from Rainer Ohliger, program director of Humanity in Action Germany, who wanted me to contribute to this year's HIA Report. His question was quite simple: How did HIA influence my life after having taken part in the summer program. I think the answer is quite obvious: Without HIA, I would not even be sitting here today, in front of my computer at the ICTY!

After taking part in the Humanity in Action program in 2003, I continued my studies in Political Science and Sociology at Humboldt University in Berlin for a year. During this year, I concentrated my studies on the situation of migrants and particularly migrant children in Germany. This was partly a result of the final report I wrote for HIA with my partner Emre Furtun about identity issues of Turkish migrants in Germany. I developed a particular interest in the living situation of second and third generation migrants (which is also part of my family history, having grown up in Canada with a Spanish background). Through Humanity in Action, I had a chance to deepen my interest in the matter by doing an internship at the office of the Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration. It was a great opportunity to meet people whose publications I had read during my studies or even during the preparation of my HIA-Report. During that time in Berlin, I also continued to work with Oxfam Germany, a NGO fighting for the basic rights of people in the developing world.

As of September 2004, I left Germany to spend a year at the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris. There, I had a chance to take a comparative look at the situation of foreigners in France and Germany. But I also took a different approach to learn more about human rights. I got involved in seminars about the sociology of conflicts of the past decade (such as the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda) but also about sustainable development and human security. I believe that issues of development and human rights are closely linked and that it is crucial for human rights activists to have a good understanding of both.

This summer, I have an internship at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. I am working with an investigation team. It is a great opportunity for me to learn more not only about the conflict but also to get a background in International Humanitarian Law. There, I am meeting people from the former Yugoslavia and from all over the world who are passionate about human rights. I was also happy to meet again some HIA fellows. After my internship, I will go back to Paris to start a graduate program in International Relations concentrating in Conflicts and Security.

When I think about it, I realize that my study career would have been probably less rewarding and challenging without HIA. And the future looks bright too: Humanity in Action is expanding its program to France. Another great opportunity for me to get involved in this wonderful project!

Rasmus Grue Christensen, Denmark 2001

The HIA summer program and internship have had a significant and very positive impact on my personal and professional life. The HIA experience has encouraged and strengthened my devotion to the cause of human rights, democracy and international justice. At the same time, however, the programs have provided me with a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics, realities and challenges of these issues. The acquired combination of idealism and realism plays an important role in my current position in the Middle East Department of the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs—and will, undoubtedly, do so in my future career. Furthermore, being part of the HIA has given me an enhanced entrepreneurial confidence: "Things can be changed, and I can, in fact, play a significant part of the change." Finally, and most importantly, participation in the HIA programs has given me an international network of friends, warm hearts and cold beers.

Simone Kukenheim, The Netherlands 2003

I participated in the Dutch program in 2003. A year later I was an Humanity in Action intern in the office of U.S. Representative Tom Lantos, where I worked for the House International Relations Committee and the Human Rights Caucus. I got a chance to participate in the re-election campaign of Representative Lantos in the Bay Area in California.

As a senior fellow I try to stay closely involved with the organization. Every year I participate in the program's workshops, and I am one of six senior fellows who founded the Dutch Humanity in Action Senior Fellows Network. This network serves to support and initiate projects in the Netherlands that address human rights and minority issues. Also, it supports the continuity of Humanity in Action in the Netherlands by promoting the organizations' goals through events and congresses and by establishing a durable network of active senior fellows.

Humanity in Action has been very meaningful in my life ever since I participated in the program. I focused my academic studies more on conflict resolution, and I wrote my final thesis on youth-development in the Congo. Furthermore, the spirit of HIA provided me with an incentive to stay involved in grassroots initiatives in the Dutch community. I taught the history of World War II and foreign policy to young Dutch-Moroccans and Dutch-Turks in a secondary school, and I attend various dialogue events between the Jewish community and the Muslim community in the Netherlands. Professionally, through the practical experience I got through the program and my fellowship in America it was possible for me to start working in the Dutch parliament on some of the very same subjects I worked on in Washington, DC.

Through Humanity in Action I became very aware of the responsibilities young, highly educated Europeans and Americans have to promote and uphold human rights and minority issues in whichever field of work. I now understand that not only development workers in the midst of an African war but also a CEO in a luxurious office in London can make an essential difference, when addressing human rights. I also came to look differently at U.S.-European relations. During my fellowship in Washington, D.C., HIA gave a very meaningful insight into American society. The comparison between European and American solutions for different public and societal problems offers a deep knowledge of matters and a creative incentive for reforms and new solutions, combining the best of two worlds.

Humanity in Action promotes an agency, which, as a European, is very refreshing. Being educated on a continent where, unlike the U.S., young people are not always educated to individually take action and get responsibilities, the program challenged me to feel confident to speak up and create my own opportunities and to develop my talents. I feel very confident that the enrichment of the program with new countries will serve the goals of awareness and tolerance tremendously, and I enjoy seeing how every year the program incorporates new visions and issues, so it fully facilitates young people to get educated in the core values of human and minority rights and development.

Elisabeth Moltke, Denmark 2002

Defining moments are rarely the million dollar job offers but rather the moments we realize that we are doing something right—simply being at the right time and place with the right people. Nothing more, nothing less—just moments. Only in retrospect have I realized that the Humanity in Action summer program and the subsequent Lantos internship in the U.S. House of Representatives were defining for what I have chosen to do. These experiences were not only extraordinary in themselves, but also became the foundation of very special and inspiring friendships.

I am currently working as a research assistant at the Danish Institute for International Studies in their department for Holocaust and Genocide Studies. This includes not only studying the past, but also making efforts to implement lessons from the past into our view of current conflicts, humanitarian crises, and potential genocides such as Darfur.

Karl Lemberg, Germany 2002

Ever since I was introduced to Humanity in Action the organization has accompanied me on my way through higher education and complementary learning experiences.

My HIA internships at the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague and at the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. have not only given me unique chances to experience work in international organizations and policy-making institutions, but also contributed significantly to my approach to studying political science. The latter especially has shaped my academic developments for I have returned twice to the U.S. to conduct research for my master thesis at a congressional office on The Hill and the respective congressional district in California. The hands-on approach to studying decision—and policy-making in the U.S., which was made possible only through HIA, has in fact given me the motivation possibly to pursue a PhD in this field of study.

A further bonding with Humanity in Action took place within the network of senior fellows. As a 2002 fellow of the premier vintage in Humanity in Action's Germany program I feel fortunate to have gotten to know all fellows attending the German program ever since. I very much hope to be able to channel more energy together with other fellows into the building of a strengthened Senior Fellow Network to carry on HIA's mission statement beyond the core program objectives.

To round up my HIA relationship I had the chance to work as a program assistant for the 2005 program in our brand-new office in Berlin. I cannot think of a student job more suitable for a former participant. Not only did I enjoy working with Antje, Anne and Rainer, I have also gained skills in

office and program management. Most of all was it a rewarding experience to make possible a unique summer program for this year's fellows as it was for me three years ago.

Mario J. Sturla, United States 2002

"Beep, beep, beep" echoed the cars zooming down the streets of the Kreuzberg district of Berlin in celebration of Turkey's 3-0 World Cup soccer victory over China on June 13, 2002. As I peered out the window, I saw thousands of euphoric Turks waving the Turkish flag in a fantastic display of nationalism. Our lecture was only momentarily interrupted as Cem Özdemir, then Turkish member of the German parliament, hastily shut the window to continue his lecture on the conundrum of integration and immigration of racial, ethnic, and religious minorities in Germany. During the summer of 2002, I spent six weeks as a fellow for Humanity In Action. Obviously, we explored a myriad of issues, but what most astonished me was how politicians and policy-makers I met used the fear of integration and immigration to advance their political agendas.

Intrigued by immigration law and policy, my HIA partner, Christoph Kuhn, and I published an overview of Germany's immigration law and policies for HIA, entitled "Two Steps Forward, One Step Back: The Political Debate on Immigration in Germany." My time spent researching the politics of German immigration law sparked a fire in me that changed the course of my career. As a result of my new-found passion, I decided to attend law school. At the Benjamin N. Cardozo School of Law at Yeshiva University, I not only pursued my interest in immigration law, but decided to make a career out of it.

Immigration transforms the demographic profile of the U.S. population, particularly in large cities. Fears of overcrowding, unemployment, scarcity of resources, and cultural fragmentation make the politics of immigration extremely complex. Immigration law is the principal means by which the country not only determines who will gain access to the limited resources and opportunities in the U.S., but also the national and cultural identity of our country. HIA inspired me to pursue a career in immigration law where I will be in a position to positively shape the demographic, social and moral fabric of America.

Over the last year, I have worked with asylum victims at Human Rights First, worked with multi-national corporations seeking to bring skilled workers from abroad at Wildes, Weinberg, Grunblatt, & Wildes, P.C., and am now working with the Immigration Court in Newark, New Jersey drafting decisions on deportation proceedings and asylum applications. Through it all, my passion for this field has blossomed, and my experience with HIA set tinder to the flame of my interest in immigration law that I hope will spread through a lifetime of a rewarding career.

HIA Core Programs



Danish Program Report

This has been a very challenging and inspiring year, both in terms of the program and the students. Out of forty applicants, we selected ten students based not only on their exceptional academic and analytical skills but also, and perhaps as much, on the basis of their social engagement in Danish society. It has been impressive to follow the ten Danish, nine American and three Central and Eastern European students debating a wide range of issues such as democracy in Denmark, the Danish political system, human rights in national law, minority religions (Islam in particular), and Danish immigration policies.

Each student contributed knowledge and experience from his/her home country, making for four weeks of intense debate and dialogue. This year, some of the most valuable input came from the three Central and Eastern European students. Their participation added diversity and a thoroughly new and different perspective to the group and its discussions.

Although the summer program provided the students with some very accomplished speakers and challenged their perceptions of ideas, policies, and philosophies, I believe the greatest reward for many was on a personal level. The students made friends with their peers from around the world, and they learned to respect and better understand each other's views and cultures.

Opening eyes, as well as doors, to different cultures, religions, and perspectives is one of the core values of HIA's program. A broadening of horizons, a better understanding of history, and an appreciation of today's complex societies and the rights of minorities often caught up in this exceedingly globalized world are, hopefully, some of the results of gathering these very committed students together.

The program has gone a long way in providing the necessary tools to recognize violations of minority rights around the world and given our fellows the courage to champion human rights everywhere.

The two reports selected from the Danish program reflect the high level of debate among the students and display their impressive analytical skills. Moreover, they provide fresh insight into the thoughts and convictions of young people today.

Camilla Bredholt, Program Director
Silje E. Sande, Program Coordinator
Elidor Mehilli, Intern



Return to Sender: The Expulsion of Criminal Immigrants from Denmark

Ane-Kirstine Bagger and Ankur Mangalagiri

Case 1: Iran, 1986

As Iran and Iraq wage war against each other, Davood Amrollahi, 20, an Iranian citizen, starts his military training. On April 25, 1987, Amrollahi deserts the Iranian army and flees to Turkey.

At that time, all asylum-seekers who had deserted the army and left their home countries before the armistice between Iran and Iraq in the summer of 1988 were granted a residence permit in Denmark. Amrollahi first travels to Greece; two years later, on August 20, 1989, he arrives in Denmark to stay for good. He is granted residence and a work permit on October 12, 1990. Following another stroke of luck, he becomes a permanent resident four years later and starts his own pizzeria business while living in Viborg, Denmark.

Case 2: Denmark, 1987

Hizir Kilic is born in Denmark to Turkish immigrants. In 1988, Hizir's cousin, Ferhat Kilic, is born in Turkey. At the age of three, he leaves the country together with his family for Denmark. Both boys live here, attend school, and are brought up in Copenhagen's Nørrebro quarter.

Danish law on criminal immigrants

According to the Danish Alien's Act (§22 ú 27a), the Danish courts can choose to expel an immigrant either for a fixed period of time or for life. The courts assess several factors in the decision to expel, such as the age and the length of residence in Denmark of the immigrant, type of crime and punishment for it, previous convictions of similar character, and ties to his/her country of origin. The longer an immigrant has lived in Denmark, the better protected s/he is in terms of expulsion. However, certain types of crimes lead to automatic expulsion regardless of the length of stay in Denmark. These crimes include dealing with narcotics, human trafficking, armed robbery, severe violence, manslaughter, and serious sexual crimes.

From a human rights perspective, the expulsion laws in Denmark give rise to the following points to deliberate. Should Danish citizenship be granted only by blood or also by the birthplace of an immigrant? Is expulsion a violation of human rights? Is this practice in conflict with the European Convention on Human Rights? Is it fair that long term immigrants risk harsher treatment for brutal crimes? Apart from the legal basis for expulsion, is there also a cultural argument for the differential treatment of immigrant criminals? Is the law responding to public opinion or to a

political agenda? This article seeks to address these questions and accommodate the various perspectives on them.

Case 1: Denmark, 1992

Davood Amrollahi loses all ties with his family after he leaves the Iranian army. In 1992, still making a living off his pizzeria business, Amrollahi meets a Danish woman and they live together for four years. She has a daughter from a previous relationship who moves in with them. At the time, the daughter is three and grows up to consider Amrollahi her own father. In 1996, Amrollahi quits his business and the couple has a daughter. The two of them marry a year later, in 1997. Their children are raised in adherence to Danish customs. In the year 2000, Amrollahi, now officially unemployed, starts receiving welfare benefits and vocational training.

Case 2: Denmark, 2003

In the year 2003, Hizir and Ferhat Kilic are young adults at 17 and 16, respectively. They speak Turkish and visit Turkey frequently while growing up. They still live in the Nørrebro quarter of Copenhagen, in a predominantly immigrant locale. Life in Nørrebro is often characterized by violence and poor living conditions. For most youngsters there is no incentive to work due to the increasing rejection of immigrants for skilled jobs on the market.

The choice of citizenship

In Denmark, citizenship is only granted by blood, not by soil; those born in the country to non-Danish parents do not receive automatic citizenship. According to the Ministry of Integration, one is eligible to apply for citizenship after nine years of living in Denmark after the age of 18, as in the case of second generation or after nine years of living in the country (Consolidation Act No. 422, 2004). However, the main problem in the immigrant community here is that even the eligible residents refrain from applying for Danish citizenship. There is a lack of information about the Danish rules for citizenship, and immigrants also tend to hold on to family traditions and cultural values themselves.

In her talk to Humanity in Action Fellows, Ms. Rushy Rashid, a journalist and author, explained that the second generation of immigrants faces a dilemma. This generation is caught between cultures. On the one hand, it is subject to tremendous pressure to sustain a traditional lifestyle from their parents; on the other hand, their acceptance in Danish society hinges on their ability to merge with this

new culture and give up their religious or cultural practices.

Former Judge at the European Court of Human Rights, Isi Foighel, believed that immigrants fear police and authority and feel uncomfortable approaching them voluntarily. This tends to discourage them from starting an application process altogether. "They do not want to have anything to do with the police; they remember the bad experiences they have had." Are attitudes of the state and police responsible for the fear, thereby preventing formal citizenship?

Although the law does draw the line between citizens and non-citizens, from a cultural standpoint one can easily analyze an immigrant's ties to Denmark. If they were born and raised here, one can argue that they should be considered "long term immigrants."

In fact, this argument was purported by Judge Isi Foighel at the European Court of Human Rights, in his dissenting opinion for the case *El Boujaïdi v. France*, concerning a Moroccan citizen who resided in France for about twenty years and was living with a French woman with whom he had a child. Foighel argued that Mr. El Boujaïdi belongs to the category of "integrated aliens" or "second-generation immigrants." As such, he did not choose his country of residence of his own free will, and he went through his entire upbringing and schooling under the same conditions as French nationals" (Case no. 123/1996/742/941, 1997).

The non expulsion of long term immigrants

A recommendation of the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly on the "Non-expulsion of long term Immigrants" considers the expulsion of immigrants lawfully resident in the country where they were born or brought up a "matter of serious concern because the European Court of Human Rights case-law is inconsistent and appears to be increasing its severity." Prof. Eva Smith also commented on the progressive, and alarming, tightening immigration policy following the new Aliens Act.

In 2002, the list of crimes leading to automatic expulsion was expanded to include an extensive list of terror-related activities (Aliens Act §22 no. 6, 2002). The Report labels the act of expulsion unacceptable since it is a "double punishment" imprisonment followed by expulsion. In addition, a considerable number of expelled immigrants are imprisoned upon arrival in their home country for the crime that they committed in Denmark.

The report further proposes that a legal immigrant who has been living for many years in the host country, and who is "no longer humanly or sociologically foreigner," should enjoy some level of protection as a long-term immigrant and must "under no circumstances be expelled." The Parliamentary Assembly agreed that expulsion be applied only in highly exceptional cases where the persons present

a real danger to the state and recommended several procedural safeguards. However, these recommendations are not legally binding on any state (Council of Europe, 2001).

Although the right not to be expelled is not included as such among the rights and freedoms mentioned in the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR), it does appear in the United Nations Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 12, which states that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of the right to enter his own country."

Case 1: Denmark, 1997

On October 1, 1997, Amrollahi is found guilty of drug trafficking and is sentenced to three years of imprisonment and expulsion from Denmark, with a life-long ban on his return.

Case 2: Denmark, 2003

On August 9, 2003, the two teenagers Hizir and Ferhat Kilic, assault and stab an Italian tourist, Antonio Curra, in Copenhagen's Nørrebro quarter after he refuses to hand over all his money to them. They leave Curra's severely injured and bleeding body on the street.

The case was first heard by the Danish High Court and then the Supreme Court. Both of the accused were minors at the time of the crime and thus had not had a chance to apply for Danish citizenship to which they were entitled. Both were convicted by the High Court for robbery and for stabbing the Italian tourist. The High Court sentenced Ferhat Kilic to ten years of imprisonment and Hizir to eight years. Furthermore, they were to be expelled permanently from Denmark after having served these terms.

Both appealed to the Supreme Court since, under Danish criminal law §88, criminals under eighteen can only be sentenced to a maximum of eight years imprisonment. The Supreme Court decided not to change the ruling of the High Court because of the brutality of the crime. Six of the seven Supreme Court judges voted in favor of expelling the two boys from the country for life, pointing out that they both had "non-disputable ties to Turkey and the Turkish culture." Ferhat had also committed crimes while in jail after he had turned eighteen (blackmailing and robbery against another inmate).

The statistics

The decision of the Danish court system regarding this case set a precedent for future criminal cases involving immigrants, and it has revealed an important Danish inclination. For an understanding of the effect of such rulings, below is a brief look at the figures. In 2001, 523 immigrants were expelled by a court ruling. Out of these, most (263) were expelled for 3 years (Table 1). In 2002, the statistic was 487 (Ministry of Integration, 2004).

Table 1: Immigrants expelled from Denmark, 2001-2002 (Ministry of Integration, 2005)

Years of expulsion	2001	2002
1 year	1	0
3 years	263	226
5 years	178	183
10 years	19	35
Lifelong	62	43
Total	523	487

The human rights argument

From the legal point of view, expulsion is not a violation of Danish law. The Danish authorities contact the country of origin to obtain valid travel documents after written permission from the criminal. If the Danish authorities establish a threat to their safety upon deportation, the criminal may be eligible to seek asylum in Denmark at this point. The criminal will be interviewed by the Refugee Board, and the case is investigated for confirmation according to Section 7 of the Alien’s Act. These cases typically involve immigrants who do not have refugee status anyway and thus cannot be granted asylum.

However, “expulsion cannot take place if it is in violation with Denmark’s international obligations and duties such as those in the European Convention of Human Rights (Articles 3 and 8)” (Ministry of Integration, 2005). Additionally, according to the Aliens Act §31, an immigrant cannot be expelled to a country where s/he risks the death penalty, torture, or degrading treatment or punishment. An immigrant also cannot be expelled to a country where s/he risks persecution for reasons mentioned in the Convention of Refugees, Article 1a (Aliens Act, 2002).

The European Convention on Human Rights

The European Court of Human Rights has decided a number of cases on the basis of Article 8 in the European Convention on Human Rights, which states:

1. Everyone has the right to respect for his private and family life, his home and his correspondence.
2. There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right except such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others (European Convention on Human Rights, 1950).

The other pertinent Article, Article 3, states, “No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.”

The European Court of Human Rights has developed case law on protecting integrated foreigners against expulsion on the basis of Article 8, which secures the right to respect

for private and family life. The Court’s task is to determine whether the expulsion struck a proper balance between the interests at stake, namely the applicant’s right to respect for his private and family life and the protection of public order and prevention of criminal offences.

The Director of the Danish Institute for Human Rights, Mr. Morten Kjærum, in his speech to HIA Fellows, emphasized that terrorism is one of the greatest challenges to human rights today. Expulsion often contributes to the escalation of gang activities, violence, and drug trafficking in the receiving countries, which may have criminal justice systems ill-equipped to deal with such problems. A major television channel, TV2, produced a documentary arguing that expelled criminals are at risk of joining terrorist groups upon their return. They may not be capable of securing a stable job and most likely lack a family network to support them. Turning to terrorism becomes a last resort for making a living.

According to a recent study, “A lack of advance notice and the absence of any programs to monitor recently-returned offenders impede receiving countries from assisting with their reintegration. The result is sharply rising crime rates. These problems involve U.S. interests and raise concerns for the international community” (Aleinikoff and Taylor, June 1998).

Case 2: Amrollahi appeals to the European Court of Human Rights

In December 1998, Amrollahi was due to be released from prison since he did not consent to voluntary deportation. He was detained from that date, in accordance with the Aliens Act, to be repatriated. After the immigration authorities investigated his case, they found that he would not risk persecution in Iran of the kind that would constitute a basis for his remaining in Denmark. Amrollahi appealed unsuccessfully to the Danish Courts and decided to take his case to the European Court of Human Rights using Article 8 to make an argument for non-expulsion.

Even though Amrollahi had not been previously convicted, the Court found the character of the crime to be extremely serious. However, the Court found nothing to suggest that Amrollahi had maintained strong links, if any, to Iran while he had to be considered as having strong ties to Denmark. His Danish family, similarly, had no ties to Iran, and, even if it would be possible for his wife and children to live in Iran, it would nevertheless cause them obvious and serious difficulties. Moreover, there was also no indication that Amrollahi or his wife could obtain authorization to live in any other country but Iran.

If the applicant were to be permanently expelled from Denmark, it would mean that the family would be separated without any possibility for them to continue their family life. The court therefore held unanimously that the expul-

sion of Amrollahi would be in breach of Article 8 of the Convention.

Upon consideration of this case, one may argue that the Danish law is in fact in violation of international human rights standards. This argument could be further strengthened by the Recommendation of the Council of Europe: "Use of expulsion impairs the integration of foreigners in the Council of Europe member states and reinforces the image of foreigners in our countries as 'second-class citizens.'" Former Judge Isi Foighel agrees with this point of view. He claims "the length of stay in Denmark is more important in the judgment than whether or not the person is a citizen."

There is no political will to restate the issue as an overall fight against crime rather than an attack on aliens who cannot integrate. Both criminals of Danish and non-Danish origin must be treated for their malpractices through re-education and rehabilitation and allowed to perform to their optimal capacity on the market. However, Denmark does not have the same legal obligations towards non-Danish citizens as it has for its own citizens. Those over eighteen, who have chosen not to become Danish citizens, lose some of their benefits. Those expelled clearly have criminal records.

Danish media and public reactions to expulsion

A report published by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) states that 78% of the Danish population supports expulsion of immigrants who commit serious crimes. Thirteen percent of the population is in favor of expulsion of immigrants committing any crime (EUMC, 2003). The same report stated that support for repatriation policies for criminals was about two out of three in the Danish population. The higher the unemployment rate, the stronger the support for repatriation policies regarding legal migrants. People in the lowest income quartile favor repatriation more than those with higher incomes.

The media has responded by focusing on crime in the immigrant community in Denmark. The case of the Turkish youngsters was covered extensively by the media both when the crime was committed and also after the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the High Court. However, as mentioned earlier, one of the largest broadcasting corporations, TV2, produced a documentary entitled "Double Punishment" focusing on the negative aspects of expelling immigrants.

Citizens believe that Denmark has the right to secure itself against such criminals. Prof. Eva Smith supports this statement but further stresses that the nation must take responsibility for youngsters growing up in immigrant neighborhoods with such little understanding of Danish society and tolerance. She continues, "their poor school

education and social conditions make them more inclined to commit crime." She urges Danish people not to take the welfare state for granted because it will not solve these problems automatically. "We must realize our role to welcome and respect immigrants."

The practice of not granting long-term immigrants the same guarantees and rights as Danish citizens and the risk of the violation of their human rights upon expulsion (which the Danish government cannot monitor) are thus open to debate. Current Danish public opinion is rooted in a combination of the following factors: the stricter citizenship policies, employment opportunities for immigrants, a lack of reports in the Danish media that bring these issues to the public, and inaction regarding the rising conflicts in some communities. Even though the Danish practice of expulsion is in accordance with Danish law, it goes against trends in international human rights dogma, especially noticeable in the European Court of Human Rights' reversal of judgments (i.e., *Amrollahi v. Denmark*) made by the Danish courts. A future policy goal lies in seriously considering the recommendations of the European Committee on Migration, Refugees and Demography of the Council of Europe on the non-expulsion of immigrant criminals.

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Waiting: Unaccompanied Children Seeking Asylum in Denmark

Dana Binnendijk and Mikkel Selmar

"I always wanted to study human rights," Khan remarks as he offers a cigarette. Sitting cross-legged on the floor of his tiny bedroom, Khan appears to be an average seventeen year old wearing a white and grey jumpsuit and a visor. But his past sets him apart from the rest. Next to him stands a television and below is a bookshelf that contains several DVDs, one of which is entitled "Salaam from Afghanistan." Behind him, his bulletin board contains a gold-chained necklace with the inscription G-Unit; next to it a pin holds up a packet of paper from the Danish Immigration Service. He has been waiting for these papers for five years.

A refugee is defined by the United Nations in the Geneva Convention of 1951 as any person who "owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it."

Khan has waited almost five years to be recognized as a refugee. He is one of forty-five unaccompanied children currently living in Danish asylum-centers at the moment. Denmark used to have a steady flow of unaccompanied children seeking asylum in the country. But that changed more or less overnight in 2002.

With support from the Danish People's Party, the Liberal/Conservative government has passed a new hard-line version of the Alien's Act that was implemented in 2002. The new legislation has turned Denmark from one of the most refugee-friendly countries into an increasingly hostile environment for refugees seeking asylum (Rietmann 2003). The strict new policies have led to a steep decrease in those accepted for asylum and have deterred others from trying. In 2001, there were 24 unaccompanied children (UACs) coming to Denmark each month, and 10 on average were accepted as refugees. According to Red Cross statistics, in 2004, only 12 UAC came to Denmark per month, with only 2 accepted as refugees per month. This means that in 2001, almost 42% of unaccompanied children were accepted. By 2004, only 17% were allowed to remain in Denmark. In only three years, not only did the number of applicants split in half, but the percentage of acceptance was also cut by 25%. This may be the goal of the new government, but what does this mean for the

refugees, especially the unaccompanied children?

When meeting Khan for the first time, he eagerly leaned forward to shake hands. His appearance was much older than his age of seventeen. He maintained steady eye contact and his dark brown eyes smiled as he introduced himself. From his open attitude towards strangers, one would never guess that he struggles every day with being perceived as a burden who does not belong in Denmark.

The old legislation in Denmark uses the United Nations definition to identify the refugees as "convention refugees." There were also "de facto" refugees, who were considered refugees not from a direct translation of the Geneva Convention but who had reasons similar to those listed in the Convention (Danish Immigration Service 2001). The new legislation more narrowly interprets the United Nations definition and results in sending home those who truly do have a fear of living in their country.

Hanne Kastrup Nielsen, a head social worker at the Center Skibby where Khan has lived with his uncle since he was thirteen, says that there are many types of unaccompanied children who come to stay and not all are necessarily refugees. The majority of them desperately need help. Upon arrival, a person only needs to go to a police station and say "asylum." If a minor, he or she will be sent to Center Gribskov, an institution that houses unaccompanied children who are alone in Denmark. Center Skibby is a center for families and for seventeen-year-old boys who have proved they are independent and responsible enough to leave Center Gribskov. At Center Skibby they are given more freedom and responsibility, and are offered a year of transition while hoping to get asylum.

Mrs. Nielsen says Khan is different from the 'drifters,' boys in Denmark only temporarily until they find their next destination. But even for the boys like Khan who are fleeing from their country of origin because they have seen their entire family killed, their houses burned, and their land destroyed, living at Center Skibby can be very difficult.

Khan taps his cigarette in the ashtray and looks up with a stern expression. He describes how his uncle would write poetry when he was in his darkest moods. Khan relates, "I too sometimes write just to put into words what I feel... It's hard." By joining a boxing club, Khan also found another outlet for his anger and frustration. Lying next to his television is a gold-colored medal on a blue ribbon indicating his

abilities in the ring.

Mrs. Nielsen and her partner, Hassan Nur Wardere, observe the depression that some of the boys suffer. Concerning Khan, they were “very worried about him... he was very sad.” Mrs. Nielsen referred to one boy who had been waiting at Center Skibby for the official refugee status that would give him residency rights. He told her, “I hate myself, I hate Denmark, and I hate my life.” Normally, the staff is on extra alert if someone gets a negative reply on his application. Unfortunately, this boy disappeared after he was rejected by the Danish Immigration Service, and they have never seen him again. Others, such as Khan, suffer for years before they find out where they stand in the eyes of the Danish government.

When asked what the worst changes were in the Alien’s Act, Andreas Kamm, the director of the Danish Refugee Council (DRC), pointed to the prolonged waiting period before refugees get permanent permission to stay. He explained that before 2002, a refugee—after having been granted asylum—had to wait only a maximum of three years for the permanent status. Now that the time has been extended to seven years, it can be “very problematic,” according to Mr. Kamm. They are stuck, simply waiting for the government to decide their future. Mr. Kamm continues, “We have to remember, that this waiting period follows a period in which the refugees have been waiting for the asylum procedure to be finalized. And it also takes time—for many individuals too much time, for example 2-3 years.”

Why would it take so many years to reach a decision in the first place? Mr. Kamm explains that there is a struggle between the legal procedure and time. The more legal safeguards there are, the more time it takes, which explains the extended time-period required by the new legislation. There are also other factors to be weighed, such as the situation in the country of origin. If the Danish government believes that circumstances have changed, such as the overthrow of the Taliban in Afghanistan, then it may take officials longer to reach a decision. Mr. Kamm mentioned that “when the Taliban left the arena, there was the message: you’ll be safe, go home.... [But] from a humanitarian viewpoint, we shouldn’t make them displaced persons once more.”

Mr. Kamm acknowledges that immigration must be controlled because no country can accept everybody. The past several decades have seen massive migration worldwide. With the threat of terrorism, governments have become more concerned with the issue of immigration. But Mr. Kamm believes that the new policies are “far too restrictive.” The extended waiting period and the difficulty in receiving a residence permit are extremely hard on the refugees psychologically. Khan claims, “if you’re an asylum seeker [in Denmark], you are nobody.” Not only are they

stripped of any identity they had at home; they are also in a country that clearly does not want them. Anyone who knew the refugees as a part of a community is no longer around. They are continually forced to promote themselves to people who hardly hear them. Caught in a vacuum, refugees see Denmark as only making their situation harder. Some must live with this insecurity for up to seven years, and even then they may be sent back.

Khan did belong once before. He had a “lovely father and a kind mother” and a close relationship with his brothers. The tight-knit family lived together in Afghanistan through years of war against the Russians, fighting between rival mujaheddin factions, and the military take-over of the ruthless Taliban. However, not all of them survived. Although it is unclear how, Khan’s family was killed, and he had no choice but to flee the country with his uncle. It’s all a blur to Khan, but just after his thirteenth birthday he and his uncle were smuggled to Ukraine and finally to Denmark. For a year he was not only suffering the psychological trauma of losing his family, but he also shared a small room with his uncle, his uncle’s wife, and their two children. There was little privacy for a thirteen year-old boy trying to live a regular teenage life. He spent the year struggling to understand that his family was gone forever, and tried to adjust to a new unwelcoming world. According to Henrik Ravn, a representative of the Red Cross, the refugee camps are not equipped for keeping people for more than a year. A family of four is sometimes crushed into a small room for a period of four years or more.

Khan’s uncle helped to bring him to Denmark, but many of the unaccompanied children that arrive in Denmark are completely alone. Within one or two days, all children are questioned. Boys and girls who are found to be younger than twelve years are automatically given a temporary residence permit. The asylum procedure for children between twelve and fifteen depends on the assessment of a legal caseworker in the Asylum Department who conducts an extensive interview. Depending on the level of maturity the child will be given a temporary residence permit or go through the normal asylum procedure. Although legally considered a child if under eighteen years old, children are asked the same questions as adults. Under the new policies, the definition of a child has changed. Instead of eighteen and over, all children over the age of fifteen are now considered mature enough to go through the same procedures as adults. The Danish Refugee Council has complained about complex questions such as “describe your possible political, religious, labor- or other organizational engagements, which have resulted in your flight from your home-country. Your knowledge of the following must appear in the answer: the name, structure, goal and size of the organization as well as the names of the leaders” (Rietmann 2003). Thanks to pressure from the DRC, a guardian is now present during the interviews to help protect the child from any harsh treatment, but the questions

are often difficult for children to answer especially if they have just suffered a traumatic experience.

For the past five years, Khan has tried to make sense of what has happened to his life. Every day he lived with insecurity, unsure of whether he would be sent back to his country where he no longer had a life of his own and destruction lay in every direction. He was “really depressed, not knowing what would happen.” Yet he pushed on and learned four new languages, including Danish, Indian, Pakistani, and English. He worked hard to understand Danish culture despite incidents of racism he encountered when trying to enjoy himself at some local clubs.

To improve his situation, Khan started to look into Danish legislation. He found the best argument for his case and was able to present it in front of the immigration board. Mr. Wardere and Mrs. Nielsen, who are responsible for the care of Center Skibby and its inhabitants, agree that he is “a clever young man.”

Although Khan attended the special schools assigned for mixed groups of people, it was hard to be motivated while he was waiting. Before he received any news about whether he could stay in Denmark, Mrs. Nielsen would ask him what he would like to be learning in the schools. Half joking but half in fear of the truth, Khan would answer, “If I have to go back to Afghanistan, I have to learn how to shoot.” According to Mrs. Nielsen, many of the children who first arrive are highly motivated, but after time their motivation drops the longer they wait at the center. “The worst is the waiting time,” says Mrs. Nielsen. “The children get depressed.”

The discussion of the new policies is an intense debate. The majority of the population in Denmark supports the stricter policies and believes that immigration should be regulated on these harsher terms. Funding for refugees has been cut because of the sharp decrease in people applying for asylum. In 2002, there were forty facilities funded by the Danish Red Cross; now, three years later, there are only eleven. In 2001, there were 12,000 refugees; now there are only 3,000. Two thousand of these refugees are waiting only to be sent home. With the cut in funding, the Red Cross has had to close centers, fire employees, and say goodbye to a lot of refugees.

The government argues that they need to integrate the immigrants and refugees who are already in Denmark, and by accepting hundreds of new refugees every year it makes this goal much more difficult. According to Mrs. Irene Simonsen, a member of parliament for the Liberal party, the new Danish policies meet international standards. She believes that the most vulnerable refugees are given asylum, and these should be the only people allowed to stay.

Despite these claims, Mr. Wardere and Mrs. Nielsen have seen many cases where a person they consider a legitimate refugee is sent home. They say it is impossible to explain the trauma that some of the boys face when they receive a negative result from the Danish Immigration Service. Many run away, too afraid of going back to their countries, and others become deeply depressed. Some have attempted suicide.

Those who are against the new policies claim that if true refugees come to Denmark and ask for help, Denmark should help them. They should not be sent back to their country if they are afraid of returning. Unaccompanied children are an especially vulnerable group. The new policies “may result in unjust decisions [for unaccompanied children], especially during the asylum procedure when the applicants claim will be evaluated by the Refugee Board...the Refugee Board will not be as independent as before although each member in this board has to act independently. The Danish Refugee Council, which serves the interest of refugees, is excluded from decision making, and there are only government institutions and a representative from Lawyer’s Association left” (Rietmann 2003).

Andreas Kamm, the director of the Danish Refugee Council, agrees that this is a problem. The DRC used to have what he called “laymen,” who were ordinary people appointed by the DRC and who were obliged to take the refugee perspective and present it to the Board. These laymen were informed by the DRC about certain conditions, such as the situation in the asylum-seeker’s country of origin. Mr. Kamm claims that by excluding the DRC from decision-making, it “weakens the neutrality... in the Board’s decision.” Mrs. Irene Simonsen disagrees, and believes that the current lawyers appointed are fully able to give a fair trial. The international community sides with Mr. Kamm. “The European Union Commissioner on Human Rights agrees with us,” he states. There have even been reports from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees that state their disappointment in the new Danish policies.

Khan lights another cigarette and explains that he became an unofficial translator for some people in the camp. He made himself responsible for relaying stories for those who could not speak Danish and had just fled a terrorized country. An Afghani woman once arrived at Center Skibby with four children under the age of fifteen, one of whom was a newborn baby. The day after they arrived, her husband was killed in a fight with another refugee and she was left alone with her four children. Despite her crying pleas, her asylum request was rejected and she was returned to Afghanistan. Khan takes a puff of his cigarette and expresses his sorrow for the mother. She has a small future without a husband in Afghanistan.

Although it is not the aim of this paper to define a solution to the problem of immigration and the care of refugees, it is

important not to forget that each one of them has a unique story. After waiting for years in Denmark, Khan's uncle left for Norway where he was granted asylum within months. Khan, after five years, was finally granted asylum on May 12, 2005. While trying to comprehend the loss of his family in Afghanistan and then his torturous five years of waiting in Denmark, Khan came up with one reason. He claimed, "[My family was] taken from me...and I thought, what took them from me? It was politics that ruined my life."

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Dutch Program Report

One of the things that makes working for HIA such a challenge and joy is that no year is ever the same. This year HIA invited eight students from countries in Central and Eastern Europe to take part in the three core programs. And for the first time the program opened in The Netherlands instead of in Copenhagen. HIA tried to improve the program by creating more possibilities for discussion and interaction and making 'Taking Action' a central part of the core programs.

Opening Program

Fellows are our best critics. Their feedback inspired us to change the international opening program. The Dutch program directors tried to come up with a new format for the first days of the European program. We made a program in which we broke up in small groups on a regular basis. This gave the fellows more possibilities to discuss and to get to know each other within the big group of 68 participants. Workshops focused on specific subjects: expectations of the program, identity, universality of human rights and differences between our countries and cultures.

The Holocaust was still an important topic in the opening program, but it was more related to current issues. Ed van Thijn opened the HIA program with a speech that showed how WWII is still relevant today. In the following days there were lectures on the Rwandese genocide, and the fellows visited international tribunals including the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia.

Dutch Program

The Netherlands have gone through some historical changes in the past years. After the murder of Pim Fortuyn, the country was shocked by a new murder in 2004 of the filmmaker Theo van Gogh. A society that had seen itself as peaceful and successful in realizing the multicultural dream woke up into a nightmare. We witnessed a rise Islamophobia, anti-Semitism and homophobia.

During the Dutch HIA program we focused on the emergence of new labels and identities: who is 'us' and who is 'them'. Does the Dutch multiculturalism include everybody, or is the reality much different? Have we been deceiving ourselves? The lectures and discussions led to papers that posed urgent questions and possible answers. The reports focus on how to answer these questions.

The Action in Humanity in Action

The Dutch senior fellows have often asked about the action in Humanity in Action. The past years we have been working towards a way to make the action an integrated part of HIA. Some senior fellows have been an inspiration to us by the action that they took upon themselves in the past years. But these outreach projects were very much based on their own initiative. This year we started the application with the request for an action plan. And all fellows had to sign a contract in which they took upon themselves the obligation to do an out-reach project before July 2006. In September the Dutch HIA fellows presented their projects. We hope to report on them next year. We feel that the action in Humanity in Action has now become an essential and vital part of the HIA experience in The Netherlands.

Anna Timmerman, Program Director

Marcel Oomen, Program Director



Different Women, Similar Struggle? Inclusive Feminism and Muslims in the Netherlands

Doutje Lettinga and David G. Mandel-Anthony

Fighting for basic rights—that’s what women have in common. The right to work if you want to, the right to social and economic freedom. Muslim women are fighting for equal rights, white women are fighting for equal rights. Why can’t we work together?

— Samira Abbas, Journalist

Just as tensions were starting to abate in Dutch society following the hysterical reaction to the murder of right-wing politician Pim Fortuyn, things suddenly heated up again. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a controversial politician with the liberal party VVD, launched her movie “Submission” in August 2004. The subsequent assassination of the movie’s director, Theo van Gogh, by Muslim extremist Mohammed B., reignited the debate about Muslim integration in Dutch society. This time the firestorm focused on Muslim women’s emancipation. Despite good intentions to address sensitive topics of domestic violence, arranged marriages and unwanted veiling, the terms deployed in the debate—static, oppositional, and overly generalizing terms such as “Muslim women” and “non-Muslim women”—effectively polarized society and hindered the debate (one still urgent and ongoing) from the outset. In this paper, we strongly question this rigid binary. We argue that the subsequent misunderstanding and generalizations that arose from this polarization limit opportunities for all feminists, laying fallow what could otherwise be fertile ground for self-reflection and common struggle.

Rajae el Mouhandiz sipped on her coffee at the outdoor café terrace in Amsterdam. “When I was fifteen I had to leave my family and my community,” she explained matter-of-factly. “They just didn’t understand that I wanted to be a musician, a rock star, because they expected me to become a mother and a housekeeper and to choose an academic study instead of art.”

Rajae is 26, of Moroccan descent, and one of the faces of a new generation of women from Muslim backgrounds growing up in the Netherlands. Rajae makes “universal” music with Arab-Moroccan influence. She has an oval face framed by dark, boisterous hair, and dimples in her cheeks. Despite being rejected by her family and many in the Moroccan community, she exudes the smiling glow of someone who has followed her heart.

“Are you a feminist?” we ask.

She smiles, nods, and explains, “I am an undercover feminist because, although I am a role-model for many young Muslim girls for having made my own choices—against my male-dominated tribe— I am also proud of my roots, and that is in my music.”

What happens to women like Rajae? Strong women, women who dare to challenge the communities they grew up in—and if necessary, move outside those communities? And what happens to those women who don’t want to completely sever ties with their mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, just because they have dreams and visions at odds with the prescribed gender roles of their community? Many Dutch Muslim girls lead a double life for fear of shaming their family and facing harsh repercussions. These girls hide from their parents the fact that they go out, drink alcohol, and have boyfriends. How do they negotiate the competing loyalties to their religion and society, individualism and “tribe” (as Rajae characterizes the Muslim community), faith and feminism?

Our interviews with women of Muslim background in the Netherlands made demonstrably clear that a single template for navigating this dilemma does not exist. Some women argue strongly that their faith can lead to their own empowerment, allowing them to carve out a feminist space within Islam and Muslim communities. Yet even within this position, there are significant differences. Some, like the author Nahed Selim (2003), adopt a more liberal, personal, and non-literal interpretation of the Qu’ran and the Hadith. The converted Muslim feminist Ceylan Pektas-Weber, chairwoman of Al Nisa,¹ an organization for women of an Islamic background, pieces together an eclectic and creative reading of literal texts. Other feminists, such as Emely Nobis, Assistant Editor of the mainstream Dutch feminist magazine *Opzij*,² question the validity of a feminism that remains within the patriarchal structure of Islam (or any religion, for that matter). Nobis, like Ayaan Hirsi Ali and *Opzij* head editor Cisca Dresselhuys, imagine feminism to be a linear project of women’s emancipation that necessarily progresses towards secularism, individualism, and sexual liberation. They exhort Muslim women to stand up for their rights and challenge continued injustices within Muslim communities, such as female circumcision, arranged marriages, honor killings, and domestic violence against women.

Such feminists call for a so-called ‘Third Wave’ of feminism (one that would follow the suffragette movement in the

1900s, and the social, economic, and sexual rights movement in the 1960s). This feminism is directed at (and claims to speak for) Muslim women. According to Nobis, feminists from the dominant mainstream have a luxurious position, and so bear the responsibility to fight for the rights of silenced and oppressed women.

Often, however, the debate and this fight tends towards withering criticism, leading mainstream feminists to overlook the positive, emancipatory changes that have been occurring within Muslim communities in the Netherlands for quite some time. These changes have been slow and gradual, taking a variety of forms that remain largely unacknowledged and undervalued in the dominant discussion. Even when mainstream feminists have applauded positive developments within the Muslim community, while still maintaining their right to speak in the name of silenced women, we find two main missteps in this generally negative and counterproductive approach.

First, the current debate contains the unsettling spectacle of white women speaking for their Muslim sisters. To avoid this, and to allow Muslim women a voice in how they think emancipation can be achieved, the negative tone should be replaced with a collaborative and encouraging approach that recognizes—and more importantly, learns from—reformers and emancipators within the Muslim community.

Second, the dominant debate overemphasizes the negative aspects of Muslim women's position—and this assumed knowledge must be questioned. By continually dwelling on circumcision and honor killings, are more pressing issues ignored? Or are arranged marriages negative per se? Of course, the more egregious abuses against women should always be on the agenda, but perhaps they can be better understood and fought by focusing on factors other than Islam. Socio-economic position, rural and educational background, Somali tradition, and cultural factors should be scrutinized as well.

We view the discourse about emancipation of women with an Islamic background in the Netherlands as an illustration of the growing polarization within Dutch society between a majority and a minority population. Currently, the majority (mainly white, native, Dutch, and often male) determines the conditions, terms, and discourse of women's emancipation. Off center stage, however, in the wings, feminism is a heterogeneous movement with many different strategies for emancipation. By placing feminism within the rigid binary of Muslim and non-Muslim, women walk away with stereotypical notions of "Western" and "Islamic" feminism. In addition to locating the latter outside Western civilization, these terms frustrate meaningful dialogue. Despite their differences, women struggle for many of the same issues. Samira Abbos, a prominent journalist, writer, and media figure, argues convincingly that "fighting for basic

rights—that's what women have in common. The right to work if you want to, the right to social and economic freedom. Muslim women are fighting for equal rights; white women are fighting for equal rights. Why can't we work together?"

An "inclusive feminism," to borrow the terminology of Ceylan Pektas-Weber, is nearly non-existent in the Netherlands. Such a feminism recognizes differences (without scorn and negative judgments) yet works toward common goals: freedom for women to make their own choices, equal rights, combating inequality stemming from constructed gender roles. The dominant discourse of women's emancipation—perceived by Muslim women as fueled by the values of secularism, individualism, and sexual liberation—is a model with which many immigrant and Muslim women do not identify. Subsequently, an "Islamic feminism" is constructed by and in opposition to this Western feminist project, and reified by some Muslim women themselves. An inclusive feminism would bridge various forms and recognize different strategies on an equal basis, so that one form does not dominate the other and determine the conditions of emancipation. Inclusive feminism would accept veiled women as both emancipated and Dutch, provide spaces such as prayer-rooms for Muslims in public buildings and schools, and value women-only venues for their own sake. Inclusive feminism would acknowledge that feminism and Islam are not mutually exclusive. This is a tricky proposal—especially because the current feminist debate is also part of a larger crisis and debate concerning Islam, sectarianism, and secularism—but all the women we interviewed wanted respect and acknowledgment of their position from other feminists.

Sorting out the real differences in feminist goals (i.e., do Muslim women have different goals than non-Muslim women?) from those differences that are conjured up and exacerbated by the prevailing discourse is not an easy task. Our purpose is not to claim a seamless unity among feminists; rather, we want to recognize these differences in position and background without balkanizing feminism into entrenched camps of Islamic feminism, lower-class feminism, Jewish feminism, secular feminism, etc. All have their own valid distinctions but do not have to be exclusive.

One of the first adverse consequences of the regrettable and artificial separation between Islamic and non-Islamic feminism is that they are held accountable for national and geopolitical events concerning Muslim women. For instance, Dutch women with an Islamic background are asked to answer for Muslim women's oppression outside of Europe. In order to be "true" feminists, Dutch Muslims are expected to reject the symbols of that oppression. Explaining Opzij's official policy against hiring veiled women, Nobis argued that Muslim women in Europe have a responsibility to discard veils "in order to express solidarity with those women who do not have a choice." Some

women with an Islamic background, like the author Nahed Selim, agree with this position. Some don't. The point is that no single model of feminism should be imposed or expected of women with an Islamic background.

Defining "them" as singularly "Muslims" and demanding "them" to feel responsible for other Muslims places immigrants and Muslims in a defensive, constricted position, leading to a regrettable reluctance to publicly criticize abuse from within immigrant communities. This has detrimental effects for Muslim women's emancipation and for their decisions on how to emancipate. It also becomes tricky for non-immigrant and non-Muslim women to address the oppression of Muslim women without being lumped in with women like Ali and Dresselhuys. Muslim women often negatively stereotype non-Muslim feminists as promiscuous, masculine, individualistic, and atheist. Rajae illustrated one of these stereotypes, stating, "all Western feminists are masculine."

In addition, asking Dutch Muslim women to answer for women's oppression in other parts of the world reduces their identity to "Muslim," ignoring or downplaying other aspects of their lives. Samira Abbos, for one, chafes under this reductionism, insisting vehemently that "not every issue relating to emancipation of women with Muslim backgrounds can be linked directly to Islam." She argues for a context-specific analysis of women's oppression in migrant communities, urging a close look at cultural, social, and economic causes of headline issues such as veiling, arranged marriage, and domestic violence. Factors such as immigration, class, race, education, and nationality (recognizing differences between Moroccan and Turkish forms of patriarchy) play a significant role in the oppression of Dutch Muslim women.

Dr. Rosi Braidotti,³ a noted feminist scholar and activist at the University of Utrecht, argues that "the discussion should not be about preserving the pride and reputation of Islam—it should be about the real oppression that is happening." Muslim and immigrant women, doubly oppressed within a minority community, are placed in a very uncomfortable position. Understandably, then, many become defensive and mute concerning abuse within their community. Rajae pithily summed up this dilemma: "I cannot attack my tribe without attacking my own identity." If Dutch society vilifies Moroccans, for example, and Moroccan men oppress Moroccan women, with whom can Moroccan women ally? Many Muslim and immigrant women are unfairly forced to choose between their husbands and out-side feminists.

We have three recommendations. First, in order to combat misogynistic, abusive, and macho behavior within migrant communities, feminists must also bring in the men. Second, optimistic developments within the immigrant community, not just negative ones, should be stressed.

Third, a diverse coalition of feminists should be brought onto the stage, highlighting different approaches to emancipation so that one feminist discourse does not hijack the debate.

Expanding on the third point, it is unsettling to note that Western feminists often fail to recognize the contribution that feminists with an Islamic background could have upon their own struggle. There could be an enriching dialogue between different feminists on a number of issues. Adelheid Roosen, actress and director, argues convincingly that Muslim women and native Dutch women have much to learn from each other, especially concerning sexuality. Roosen conceived of and directed *The Veil Monologues*, a theater-piece featuring four Muslim women inspired by Eve Ensler's *The Vagina Monologues*. Roosen remarked, as did Emily Nobis, that while Muslim women's sexuality may be "in a jail" (referring to the subjugation of women's bodies through arranged marriages, female circumcision, and forced veiling), Western women have become, in a way, trapped by the boundless freedom of sexual liberation.

Likewise, Ceylan Pektas-Weber would like white and non-Muslim feminists in the Netherlands to recognize that equality does not necessarily demand gender-mixed spaces in every situation: sometimes a women-only venue can be intimate, liberating, and even empowering.

The issue of gender segregation in public and private spaces surfaced when we met with Wijnand Hollander, the male director of Marmoucha, a Moroccan-Dutch organization that aims to promote and provide venues for Moroccan art and music in the Netherlands. The hip, professional office was awash with posters of Moroccan live concerts, cultural events, and festivals that the organization has sponsored. The whole staff—young, smartly dressed Dutch and Moroccan men and women—buzzed around the office, preparing for a trip to a Moroccan music festival. Wijnand explained that Marmoucha recently decided to hold a women-only concert, in order to attract a new audience. He was shocked at the overwhelming success: "We had grandmothers, married women, young girls—all of whom would not have been able to come out if it was a mixed-gender show." Rajae, who performed at the concert, was also enthusiastic and positive about the opportunity it provided for women. Viewed pessimistically, the women-only concert could be seen as reinforcing sexist codes regulating women's space; but both Wijnand and Rajae were upbeat about the positive, empowering effect of the concert for women of all backgrounds.

Having taken into account that the current misguided debate about Muslim emancipation is counterproductive for immigrants (despite good intentions to address existing abuses within their communities) and also for other women, what, then, would an inclusive feminism look like? And how can abuse and oppression of Muslim women be

tackled from inside and outside immigrant communities?

As for the first question, we refer to Rosi Braidotti's call for silencing paternalist and Orientalist voices such like Ayaan Hirsi Ali and Cisca Dresselhuys and revitalizing the important work on immigrant and Muslim women's emancipation that has already been underway. The debate about oppression of Muslim women was alive and well long before Ayaan Hirsi Ali bounded on stage. Although we agree with Emely Nobis, Adelheid Roosen, Nehet Selim and many others that women such as Ayaan Hirsi Ali should have the right to stand up and speak out about injustice within immigrant communities, we disagree with the approach. If Ayaan 'opened up the door to talk about women's emancipation,' as her staunchest supporters claim, she did so with a hatchet. We firmly believe that women's emancipation should be dealt with sensitively, contextually, and respectfully.

This does not mean a backslide into spineless cultural relativism—we also firmly believe that women's emancipation is a common struggle about opposing gender inequality, questioning constructed gender roles, and fighting for equal rights. Necessarily, then, the situation of Muslim and immigrant women in the Netherlands affects all women. Opzij assistant editor Nobis paints a troubling picture of the potential consequences for non-Muslim women of staying silent about oppression of Muslim women. "If society becomes increasingly conservative and inward-oriented, it threatens my freedom as well, and that is one reason some Western feminists get involved." In Nobis' nightmare world, a real possibility exists of a regressive alliance between an arch-conservative Dutch Christian party, the SGP, and a future Muslim conservative party, resulting in a rollback of women's rights in the Netherlands.

As for how to tackle current abuses and patriarchy in immigrant communities of Islamic background, current work that bridges several forms of feminism should be focused on and stimulated. One avenue for stimulating this type of inclusive feminism would be to recognize similarities between feminists who work within religion. In the Netherlands, there are certainly Christian and Jewish feminists. Linking their struggle with Muslim feminists who also forge a feminism that challenges patriarchy from within their religion would be a very fruitful endeavor.

Ceylan Pektas-Weber, along with second wave feminist Anja Meulenbelt, works closely within several immigrant Muslim communities. "I see many strong immigrant and Muslim women, serving as mentors, role models, and activists in their buildings and in their neighborhoods," she said. "What Al Nisa wants to do is connect and link these women together to strengthen these women in this process." Ceylan has also organized meetings in mosques, with imams, to address the issue of domestic violence. "The imams, Ceylan recounted, were relieved that some-

one was there to discuss these issues with them, and find solutions, rather than just attack them."

This method—supporting and connecting with feminists more oriented towards grassroots organizing and social work, and who are deeply rooted in local communities—can be very fruitful and should be strengthened. Such an approach highlights that much of the patriarchy and oppression Muslim and immigrant women face is not due to religion, but to ground-level factors—culture, immigration status, employment, class, education—and a ground-level approach may work best. Another example of positive initiatives that should be supported and expanded is Mozaiek, an organization for immigrant women. Located in the predominantly immigrant and Muslim district of De Baarsjes in West Amsterdam, Mozaiek uses a pragmatic and reality-based approach to combating oppression. Through sexual education classes, art workshops, and language courses led by educated women from each immigrant community, Mozaiek empowers women to stand up for their own emancipation.

Through our analysis, and by interviewing an eclectic mix of women within Dutch society, we became aware of the risk of an increasing polarization within Dutch society. The current debate has been steered by a few feminists who urge Muslim women to emancipate—but on their terms, and with their model of feminism. The loudest voices in this debate fail to acknowledge the history and continued struggle against oppression inside and outside immigrant communities by continually stressing oppression. By starting from a linear model of emancipation, the dominant feminist discourse divides, rather than unites, women. Ironically, this approach is self-righteous, and also paternalistic. The current call to 'emancipate' Muslim women, despite good intentions, often denies Muslim women the right to choose how they want to emancipate. Furthermore, such an approach sets up a monolithic, static concept of Islam, disregarding the variety of perspectives within Muslim and immigrant communities—and also discounting the subsequent diversity of strategies for emancipation.

It is time to truly come to terms with modern-day multicultural society. We prefer the vision provided by an "inclusive feminism." In order for this to actualize, different forms of feminism should be recognized, valued, and respected, whether secular or religious. Only when all feminists can engage in criticism and self-reflection, recognizing limitations and boundaries to their own position, can an enriching dialogue occur about what true feminist emancipation means.

Notes

¹ Al Nisa was started as an organization exclusively for Dutch women converts to Islam, but now includes those born Muslim as well. See <http://www.alnisa.nl>.

² <http://www.opzij.nl/opzij/show>.

³ A full list of Dr. Rosi Braidotti's profile oeuvre can be found at <http://www.let.nl/~rosi.braidotti/personal/>.

Sources

Abbos, Samira, *De Moslim bestaat niet* (Amsterdam, 2005).

Interviews

Samira Abbas, a journalist, writer, and media figure in the Netherlands. She just published a new book, *The Muslim Does Not Exist* (freely translated), stressing the variety within Islam.

Rosi Braidotti, a postmodern feminist born in Italy, raised in Australia and living in the Netherlands, teaching women's studies at the University of Utrecht.

Wijnand Hollander, director and founder of Marmoucha, an organization that supports Moroccan and Dutch Moroccan musicians, by putting on live music shows, organizing events, forums, and showcases.

Raeja el Mouhandiz, is a female musician and performer of Moroccan descent with ambitions to write a comic book featuring a Muslim girl who uses her multi-functional veil to travel around the world and get in and out of adventures.

Emely Nobis, Assistant Editor of *Opzij*, the first and leading feminist magazine of the Netherlands.

Ceidan Pektas-Weber, chairwoman of Al Nisa, which used to be an organization exclusively for women like herself, being converted women to Islam, but now being an inclusive organization for all Muslim women.

Adelheid Roosen, an established actress, theater maker and teacher who directed *The Veil Monologues*, based on the concept of Eve Ensler's *The Vagina Monologues*.

Nahed Selim, an Egyptian born Dutch author who wrote a book called *The women and the Prophet*, in which she defends a feminist and free interpretation of Islam.

Najia Silfane, host in Mozaiek, a government-sponsored organization providing courses, information-evenings and support for immigrant women.

“Social Capital”ism: Challenging the Monocultural Fantasy of Dutch Politics

Simone Halink and David Carpmán

Against the backdrop of the world’s increasingly unsteady lurch into the 21st century, the traditional Dutch political system is struggling to provide solutions for untraditional problems. This struggle seems to be due, in large part, to shifting currents in modern Dutch society that belie the stereotypical notion of the Netherlands as a homogeneous, placidly tolerant country. Prevailing feelings of disengagement and xenophobia, an increasingly ineffective reliance on top-down solutions, and, notably, tensions involving growing ethnic minorities have called into question the idea of Dutch identity, and in the process have left Dutch politics at an impasse.

In our exploration of this impasse, we came to observe that the tensions that have arisen specifically related to minority issues parallel many of the tensions and challenges facing Dutch society and politics as a whole. We began to wonder if the solutions for (or, at the least, the methods for beginning to address) some of the problems inherent in protecting minority rights and maintaining peaceful coexistence in Dutch society might offer lessons or a useful starting point for tackling the issues of that society as a whole. We did not attempt an exhaustive survey of the mechanisms of Dutch government, nor could we analyze all of the multifaceted issues relating to minority communities. Our intent was to gain a sense of why Dutch society and politics are in a period of transition, to relate them to one another, and to search for general ways to steer that transition in a positive direction.

Tensions and challenges

Many of the tensions we explored were well illustrated in the Netherlands’ recent referendum on and rejection of the European Constitution, a political event that clearly involved the question of continental identity. The referendum became a touchstone for issues that had very little to do with the Constitution itself. (Indeed, it is likely that many who voted on it had little idea what it meant.) Rosi Braidotti, a professor of women’s and European studies, believes that the vote hinged primarily on Dutch notions of “cultural identity and fear.” Historian and author Chris van der Heijden sees it more as a problem of public disconnect with the “abstract people” in faceless bureaucratic institutions.

If the referendum is any indication, then, the Dutch political scene is marked by confusion, and it is difficult to find a unifying perspective for addressing its problems. We theorized that by examining these problems through the specific lens of minority issues, we could formulate a more com-

prehensive understanding of them, from which to develop a point of approach for tackling the question of where we go from here.

In defining just what “minority issues” meant for us, we focused on the physical and residential, political, and emotional separation that often marks the relationships between native Dutch and minority ethnic, racial, and religious groups, as well as between those groups themselves. A June 2005 study by the Social and Cultural Planning Bureau found that only one in three indigenous Dutch people themselves maintains contact with members of ethnic minorities in their free time. The resulting divide has not been “solved” by any independent actor, political or otherwise, and the seriousness of the issues (highlighted by their ubiquity in the media) is particularly apparent in the post-9/11 era.

We found parallels to these problems in the state of Dutch politics at large. For example, the difficulty in successfully integrating or emancipating Muslim immigrants (or even in agreeing on the meaning of any of those words) is echoed and amplified by the complex process of Dutch depillarization. The faltering preeminence of the poldermodel of collective negotiation is highlighted by its failure to accommodate diverse minority groups that cannot be represented by a single person. And the ethno-cultural firestorm set off by the murder of Theo Van Gogh was fueled by the furious political discussion in the wake of Pim Fortuyn, with both debates continuing to rage.

A disconnected population

The major problem, however, can be stated quite simply: people are not connected to each other. As Braidotti puts it, “The social consensus has been blown up violently.” This fracturing of popular solidarity has been underway since the process of depillarization began in the 1960’s, and well before the recent rapid influx of immigrants. As Dutch citizens deviated from their traditional ‘pillars’ (religious or political communities within which nearly all interactions took place), “traditional social ties and the associated social alignments, which long acted as guides to action for groups of like-minded citizens...[began] to disintegrate” (Van Kemenade 2002). Van der Heijden adds that depillarization has happened far too fast, and that “we can’t create a common culture overnight to replace what we’ve lost.”

As if the rapidity of that transition weren’t enough, the era

of globalization and the international mobility that has resulted have accelerated it even more. The new and confusing developments of the EU, global terrorism, and a perceived “flood” of immigrants have placed a political premium on what Braidotti associates with a battle over “cultural identity.” She explains that the simultaneous introduction of internal and external challenges to the question of what it means to be Dutch has politicized that question and thrust it into a system that lacks “linguistic and material means” for dealing with it—“we have no lexicon to fill in the Dutchness.” However vaguely defined their identity is, though, many Dutch clearly feel that it is under threat.

This sense has been exacerbated by media attention to minority issues that is, as journalist and media advisor Victor Joseph describes it, “the opposite of careful and precise”—sensationalistic at best and damaging at worst. As a means for coping with and processing this flood of information, Braidotti believes that many Dutch have adopted a posture of systematic cynicism that simply mocks their society in lieu of questioning it. This irreverent, pessimistic attitude found its patron saint in the figure of Theo Van Gogh, who also provided a sounding board for the popular frustration and its xenophobic undercurrents. Van Gogh’s assassination, van der Heijden feels, set the process of Muslim integration back “at least 10 years” and triggered a climate of fear in which societal gaps have been severely widened.

Integration and involvement

It seemed as if each person we with whom we spoke had a different view of the best way to “bring people together,” as well as a different idea of what that meant.

Joseph sees personalization as the crucial element on the “ground level” and finds no substitute in that process for person-to-person dialogue. He explains, “When people know each other, ‘the danger of Islam’ becomes ‘the danger of my neighbors Ahmed and Fatima.’” This process of psychological familiarization can also be implemented on a local political level. Joseph describes a recent Rotterdam ‘day of dialogue’ where citizens met at tables set up throughout the city to discuss concrete issues facing their particular cultural communities as well as Rotterdam as a whole. “No subject was taboo,” he asserted. “The main thing was the idea of inclusion.”

Van der Heijden sees the key to productive interaction in “social capital—the interaction between people that helps to realize a good society and an adequate life; the means to realize social goals, as money is the means to realize economic goals.” He feels, though, that society has moved too quickly away from the social capital provided by pillarization without replacing it, and unlike Joseph feels that the solution could lie in a temporary (non-institutionalized) general retreat: “Give people time to reflect, to tend their own gardens, and then we can start again.”

Similarly divergent viewpoints were articulated on the question of societal accommodation for immigrant groups. Kay van de Linde, a political consultant, believes in a policy of “tough love.” He feels that immigrants can only achieve a feeling of belonging through such achievements as learning Dutch and setting up mutual-aid systems, for which inducements such as conditional social welfare programs could be useful. Braidotti articulates a different view. She believes that it is Dutch society that must change its structures and learn the actual and emotional languages of its new participants, and that creating space in the media and elsewhere for discussion of common viewpoints can also bring to light the oft-ignored issues of diversity within the minority groups themselves.

Though somewhat contradictory among themselves, these techniques for ethnic integration can also be addressed to the widespread political inertia. In general, an increased emphasis on active citizenship in both majority and minority culture would improve a sense of mutual engagement with society. Though we will discuss this in greater detail below, we think one thing that comes out strongly is the necessity of a platform from which people feel they can take concrete action and make statements that matter. Several modes of expression that are less overtly political should not be underestimated in their ability to provide such a platform, nor in their function as unifiers despite the fact that the social sphere they create can, almost by definition, exist slightly removed from reality.

For one, the capacity of the arts for social commentary has long been recognized, and the Netherlands has seen several examples of that recently. The violently divisive film *Submission*, while indisputably successful in bringing certain issues to national prominence, has in our opinion primarily polarized and shocked its audiences. An alternate approach to confronting similar issues was adopted by Adelheid Roosen, who took two years to interview a wide variety of Dutch Muslim women and combined the results into a theatrical piece called *The Veiled Monologues*. The play incorporates different Muslim views on the touchy issue of female sexuality, and in a respectful manner invites its audiences to voice their own opinions. This piece also demonstrates the wide latitude for cultural interpretation afforded by artistic statements, which improves their communicative ability and versatility.

Chris van der Heijden thinks that, as with many things in the world, it all comes down to football: “Until everyone comes together on the football field, which you can’t force them to do, we haven’t achieved anything.” Braidotti, a fervent fan herself, sees football matches as a benign and healthy way for people to “voice their aggressive nationalistic urges.” In addition to the social outlets offered in team sports, the practical skills and values taught by physical activity can have more individualistic benefits. Henk Oosterling, a black-belt karate instructor, piloted a school

program teaching karate to aggressive young male students, seeking to channel their destructive impulses into a discipline with an ethical framework. The creation of these microcosmic worlds of stage, field, or classroom offers an opportunity for removed reflection as well as for interaction in a common language with common rules and common goals.

Prime Minister who?

“Lack of leadership. Period. We can all go home.” Van de Linde is unequivocal about the problem with Dutch politicians. The problem is also magnified for him because “the political system is archaic, it doesn’t fit the well-educated, individualistic, highly-informed [Dutch] populace.” On these basic points, most of our sources agreed. Campaign professional Alex Klusman feels that the Netherlands has grown a “political caste” whose isolation in The Hague prevents their engagement in any of the real issues facing those they are supposed to represent. Van der Heijden sees the problem as emblematic of a world increasingly turning towards a “managerial style” of leadership, in which disconnected administrators “try to find solutions when they’re not in the world where the solutions have to be found.” Entrenchment far beyond their period of usefulness, lack of perspective, and a preoccupation with politics as a career isolate government officials from their country. In addition, the party-based system, in which only the 2.5% of the populace who belongs to a political party is eligible for government service, emphasizes the disproportionate representation of a small section of society.

This vacuum of effectiveness in governance and attractiveness to the public means the system is open to strong figures whose influence may be damaging despite their popularity. The meteoric rise of Pim Fortuyn, for example, indicated a strong populist undercurrent waiting to be tapped. Van de Linde, Fortuyn’s campaign manager, believes much of Fortuyn’s appeal was due to his “underdog aspect” and his penchant for “telling it like it was.” He also thinks that “anyone with enough money and media savvy who can run a campaign separate from the Hague could win 50 seats in Parliament.” However, there were distinct anti-immigration tenets in Fortuyn’s message, and we worry that it would be easy for an aspiring politician to capitalize on nascent trends of ethnic hostility and ride a more blatantly anti-minority message to power, as is currently the case in Belgium.

The recent “political framing” debates in the United States suggest that it is relatively easy to motivate a disaffected populace around a discrete, negatively defined enemy figure or idea; what is difficult for a politician is to navigate the complexities of social issues while simultaneously encapsulating those issues for the public, all the while avoiding scapegoating or pandering to less-generous instincts. It is especially difficult to do so when the government is as out-of-favor as it currently seems to be in the Netherlands, and maneuvering the country out of political indifference with-

out establishing a political cult or blaming certain elements of society is a tension that will continue to provide challenges.

Ayaan Hirsi Ali is a politician who, while successful in jump-starting discussion, may have proved a negative influence. Braidotti in particular believes that she has “destroyed Muslim women’s ability to speak out, for fear of betraying their community.” A cult of personality in politics can also be dangerous for minorities who grow used to looking to one particularly sympathetic politician to handle their issues. This practice is ineffective for minorities in the short term because individual politicians are greatly beholden to their parties, and in the long term because it fails to induce parties to adopt minority-rights measures into their platforms.

Out with the old

The expression “out with the old, in with the new” characterizes many of the steps that could be taken to reinvigorate Dutch political leadership. It seems that it will be impossible for the system to change while those currently in charge of it remain firmly lodged at the top. This insular political community reinforces itself through the practices of administration-appointed political officials from mayors on up. Van der Heijden would like to see a reintroduction of citizen-politicians, with requirements for real-world experience and prohibitions against overstay in government—as he says, “everyone has an expiration date.” Klusman thinks an increase in number and scope of elections would result in “politicians who actually know what people want.” The time is ripe for a crop of young leaders to bring a fresh outlook to The Hague.

Several models for new leadership exist, governmental and otherwise. The lessons of Fortuyn on the ability of a politician to harness the rampant desire for change should not go unheeded, and some see the crime journalist Peter R. de Vries as a potential heir. Klusman thinks de Vries is popular because he is “difficult to pin down as right or left, and he seems non-political.” Braidotti praises the beloved Princess Maxima and the rest of the royal family for taking it upon themselves to serve as positive symbols for multicultural engagement—Maxima herself has devoted much time to the group PAVEM (Participation of Women of Ethnic Minorities).

It is also difficult to ignore the increasing power of entertainment figures such as Bono of U2 or Bob Geldof of the Live8 Concerts to mobilize popular support for ending poverty and aiding minorities. Klusman cites Bono’s ability to promote the Millennium Development Fund, by “just saying, ‘It’s about poverty, it’s about AIDS,’ and people respond.” Though some politicians critique these figures as out of touch or frivolous, their motivating power has proved a force to be reckoned with.

Is anyone listening?

It became clear to us that, in addition to the problems of a divided populace and its ineffective leaders, a specific problem exists in the presence of a gap between them. Again, the recent EU referendum reaches the very core of this problem; in many ways it seems to have been more of a statement of dissatisfaction with the Dutch government than resistance to the concept of Europe. Van der Heijden believes that the EU as it stands now represents the ultimate 'managerial' society; he has heard no acceptable answer to the question of "what are they doing for us over there?" The fear of cultural identity being threatened, the specter of Turkey's admission, discontent with the Euro—we think that a 'no' vote based on each of these issues can also be seen as a failure of the government to convince its citizens that their interests would be served by a broad constitution, just as it has failed to address their concerns on the national level.

Klusman is adamant that the vote "in no way shows disinterest in politics." The large turnout and the lively public debate over the referendum, in addition to the more general "growing memberships of movements, campaign groups and target-driven organizations" suggests that there is a vast constituency waiting for a government with which they can connect, and searching for ways to voice their opinions (Van Kemenade 2002). The present system's failure to communicate with them, to demonstrate concrete results, or to question itself in any meaningful way has furthered the gap.

The government particularly fails when addressing minority issues. The shortcomings of the poldermodel for disparate minority communities have not been successfully overcome, as Islam expert and writer Maurits Berger explains, and government programs have not found in those communities any infrastructure in which to operate. For many, the recent episode of Minister of Immigration Rita Verdonk's defiant attempt to shake Tilburg imam Ahmad Salam's hand (when she was aware that his religion forbids it) is emblematic of the unproductive and unrealistic tactics of a government that has no idea with whom it is dealing.

Bridging the gap

It seems clear to us that any successful solution must involve an increase in the flow of information, connections, and action between all levels of society. Concentrating first on local levels can be an easily manageable way to do this. Joseph reports that in the Rotterdam Day described above, Mayor Van Opstelten also invited small groups of minorities, the unemployed, and other segments of the populace to his home to discuss concrete solutions to their problems. Events such as this, or perhaps even Verdonk's proposed 'Dag van de binding' (Day of Engagement) can be gradually expanded into a national network of informal but realistic communication.

The flow of information is, of course, controlled by various channels. While media reform is an amorphous concept that is difficult to achieve, an increase in positive messages from the government about minority groups could help rescue that area from what Braidotti deems a constant flow of sensationalism and scare-tactics. Klusman feels that an improvement in the government's strategy for addressing issues before they have been carelessly thrust into the public eye would allow them to take better advantage of the media as opposed to the other way around. It is possible, for example, that an 'EU Yes' campaign that focused on the constitution's human rights standards could have provided a positive and popular theme, as well as addressing fears of Turkey's sub par human rights record. Claiming the issue of minority rights could provide an affirmative and tangible issue for the government to work on, as well as increasing positivity in messages sent to the public.

Active citizenship and participation in society, both crucial to its successful function, are realized most directly in elections. We believe that the best way to address the widespread lack of connection is to focus on quality over quantity in voting. An emphasis on local elections (including, most likely, direct election of mayors) and an expansion of the political infrastructure at the regional and municipal level would benefit politicians who are active and well-known members of the communities they represent. Local elections involving small constituencies would allow minority groups to send more of their own members into office. Making government positions more attainable for all would reduce the prevalence of 'career politicians' and give people with relevant and up-to-date ideas access to power. Party platforms that incorporate these issues and pay attention to local communities should also be adopted. While "voting on things all the time" is not the best way to accomplish anything, as van der Heijden explains, and while elections are rarely the optimum method for advancing the legal rights and protections of minorities, an increase in the outlets for civic participation calibrated to a level where they make a tangible difference would be beneficial for all.

Cautious optimism

A country is never perfect, and it is obviously much easier for two students to talk about changing an entire society than it is to do it. However, we believe that in the areas of populace, government, and connection between them there exist concrete steps that can be taken—each of which could, in itself, make tangible connections among people and plant viable seeds of understanding.

Integration and interaction cannot be forced, and anything that facilitates their natural occurrence should thus be explored for its positive potential. But solutions on each of the levels that we have identified can lead to and reinforce one another. Anything that can heighten a sense of engagement will bring us further towards, in van der

Heijden's words, "a society in which people value each other again"—something we might call a Social Capital.

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German Program Report

2005 was a path-breaking year for HIA Germany. The Berlin summer program was enriched by a number of innovative steps. The organization itself significantly professionalized and expanded its activities.

This year 68 Fellows from eleven European countries and the US participated in seminars, site visits and lectures on human and minority rights that culminated in a research project including an action plan. Senior Fellows showed their commitment in numerous follow-up projects and prestigious internship programs. Many of them are developing careers in the media, public administration, and international human rights organizations.

The 23 participants of the Berlin summer program 2005 came from diverse backgrounds. The participants were recruited from all over Germany and the United States. Moreover, four participants came from Belarus, Estonia, Poland, and the Ukraine. Again we attracted an interdisciplinary pool of fellows, though mostly from Humanities, Social Sciences, and Law Departments. A significant number of students belonged to minorities themselves, which enriched the debates immensely. Among them were students with Jewish, Kurdish, Russian, and Turkish backgrounds.

Measuring success through senior fellow activities

For the first time, senior fellows strongly participated throughout the whole summer program. Their experience and expertise had a strong stimulating effect on the new fellows. The senior fellows shared their internship experiences and reported on projects that they pursued since their own participation in the summer program. More importantly, the senior fellows created an atmosphere in which this year's fellows realized that they are gradually growing into a larger network of likeminded people. They were welcomed into the senior fellows' community and encouraged to become strong partners.

For the future we trust in the ever growing potential of Humanity in Action as a network that works across generations of fellows.

Diversity is beautiful

An important change in this year's program was the inclusion of fellows from eight Central and Eastern European countries. In Berlin one Polish, one Belarusian, and two Ukrainian students were part of the program. Their participation certainly changed the spirit of the Humanity in Action experi-

ence. They added expertise on human and minority rights issues in their countries, enriched discussions with new viewpoints, increased the international working atmosphere, and developed a number of individual voluntary projects.

Senior fellow projects are key to sustainability

An innovation within the German summer program was the implementation of action plans. Outlines of voluntary local projects were announced as a requirement for the application. These projects significantly shaped the choice of the participants. Throughout the summer program the fellows developed numerous local projects that they are going to realize in the near future with the help of the Senior Fellow Network. The German senior fellows will meet in November for an extended weekend, discuss these action plans, help prepare the Polish program, and plan 2006 activities.

Two action plans have already entered an advanced stage and are becoming projects with numerous cooperating partners. For the project initiated by Maria Stemmler (Germany) on the integration of ethnic German immigrants (Aussiedler) in the city of Naumburg (East Germany) an application was filed with the Bosch Foundation and is currently under revision. The project "Covered Bazaar, Open Minds: Istanbul 2006" involves a group of eleven senior fellows from seven different countries and is led by Siddik Bakir (Germany). The team plans a weeklong seminar in the summer of 2006 on the status of minority rights in Turkey and the debate about Turkey's accession to the EU. Fifteen European and American Senior Fellows of Humanity in Action and five Turkish students from Istanbul universities will be participating.

HIA Germany: A growing enterprise

In Germany HIA advanced its organizational foundation. The German board was enriched by five new members: Caroline Hasselmann, Andreas Jahn, Dr. Josef Joffe, Jürgen Kaube, and Dr. Dirk Schmalenbach. Moreover, we opened up an office. As a new team member Anne Stalfort, a professional fundraiser, has joined us. In close cooperation with Humanity in Action Germany, a Polish Humanity in Action summer program is going to start in 2006. HIA Germany is currently helping to raise funds for this new program and provides logistical and organizational advice.

Thank you!

The Berlin summer program 2005 was kindly supported by the Stiftung "Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft"/Fonds "Erinnerung und Zukunft," Humanity in Action USA, Edmund-Siemers-Stiftung, Robert Bosch

Stiftung, Goldman Sachs Foundation, and several individual donors, guest families, senior fellows, members and friends of Humanity in Action. Their support encouraged outstanding students to a life-long commitment to civic responsibility and human rights. Last but not least, this year's fellows made the program a great success. Thank you!

Rainer Ohliger
European Associate Director/Program Director

Antje Scheidler
Program Director

Anne Stalfort
Development Advisor



The Responsibility of Knowledge: Developing Holocaust Education for the Third Generation

Kelly Bunch, Matthew Canfield, and Birte Schöler

In a radio address in 1966 the prominent German philosopher, Theodor Adorno, declared his dissatisfaction with the state of Holocaust consciousness. He claimed that ignorance of the barbarity of the Holocaust is “itself a symptom of the continuing potential for its recurrence as far as peoples’ conscious and unconscious is concerned” (Adorno, *Education After Auschwitz*). It is for this reason that he envisioned education as the institution most responsible for instilling values in the masses so that they have the agency to oppose barbarism. Adorno spoke not only of education in childhood, but “then the general enlightenment that provides an intellectual, cultural, and social climate in which a recurrence would no longer be possible.” Almost 40 years later, Holocaust education is still important, not only to combat another genocide but also to provide a consciousness of human rights necessary in a world where such standards are becoming commonplace.

Holocaust education is in a state of constant evolution. As generations grow up and new ones are born, as distance from the Holocaust increases, it is necessary to reform the methods in which its history is taught. As survivors die and the third generation slowly drifts out of the Holocaust’s shadow, education must be buttressed with an understanding of the applicable lessons and principles that may derive from the Holocaust. For this education to have any meaning, those mechanisms that allowed the Holocaust to take place must be fully understood. History must empower pupils with the understanding of various choices they must make and their ultimate impact on society.

Holocaust education is not as fixed as it may appear to be to the outsider. The German education system is one of great complexity. The word for education, “Bildung,” is a word that cannot be fully translated into English: a concept or theory of development, of fortifying youth with all the characteristics necessary to succeed in life. Traditionally linked to the concept of emancipation, it is assumed that with knowledge comes great freedom. The responsibility that the Holocaust instills is far greater than simply learning the facts.

The current state of immigration has changed the social landscape of Germany, requiring an education that gives students the requisite tools to live in a pluralistic society complicated by a history of discrimination. In this context it is crucial to evaluate both education about the Holocaust and the taboos that have been created in the evolution of German memory. Ultimately, Holocaust education faces

the dual challenge of both embedding the history within the collective memory, while teaching the mechanisms by which such acts were committed. If these problems are to be dealt with, it is obvious that Holocaust education must preclude desensitization as well as find ways to empower youth with the tools of human rights. The dangers and challenges of these ambitious endeavors have to be examined carefully before deciding if Holocaust education is the setting from which to work in regard to human rights.

Holocaust education today

Immediately after the Second World War, the Allies imposed a new educational program on Germany—a program aimed at creating and sustaining a democratic Germany. The post-war “denazification” program presented gruesome pictures and captions to combat the feigned ignorance of the German population. This program, however, only abetted a culture of silence that was not broken in West Germany until the 1960’s. In the East, an emphasis on creating a Socialist government and emphasizing the perception of Communism under siege pushed the history of the Holocaust to the side. Perhaps this focus on contemporary developments stopped a general conflict from occurring. Finally, a clash broke out in West Germany in 1968, when students, frustrated with their relatives’ inability to talk about World War II, formed a large movement. They demanded a dialogue with their parents about what had happened during the War and their participation in the Holocaust.

Although the 1968 movement was large in size, it was only successful within the realm of the private sphere. It simply laid the groundwork for future public discussion. It was not until *Holocaust*, an American TV mini-series, premiered in 1979 that the history of the Holocaust fully entered the public sphere. It was only at that moment, when re-configuring the collective memory and acknowledging this dark time in history, that Holocaust education commenced.

New exhibits, created to encourage the public education Adorno hoped for, look critically at the memory of the Holocaust. In the exhibit “1945: Consequences of the War and the Politics of Memory,” the third generation is faced with the politics of commemoration and the important role that history plays even today. Though the exhibit was not created for children, as Andrej Goetze points out, many classes still come to visit the exhibit. Goetze finds that the level of knowledge is varied among students of the same age, but what worries Goetze as a museum pedagogue is

that students still tend to believe “historic myths, such as Hitler built the Autobahn and that it was his personal genial achievement.” It is this problem, that of simply gaining historical knowledge without the ability to analyze critically, that Andrej Goetze sees as the largest impediment to consciousness. To establish a more critical view of historic events is a major task of today’s Holocaust lessons in his opinion so that children learn to relate information to modern situations in an appropriate manner.

The controversial link between the Holocaust and contemporary issues became clear during the Kosovo crisis. Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer compared the situation in former Yugoslavia to “Auschwitz” and justified NATO’s intervention. Fischer brought the Holocaust back into the political dialogue. For the first time the Holocaust was openly spoken about in relative terms, creating space within the public sphere to debate the political aspects of this memory and the related moral taboos.

Claudia Lohrenscheit, the director of human rights education at the German Institute of Human Rights, sees this as essential. She notes that Holocaust education ultimately has two goals. To some, they appear to conflict. First, the goal of Holocaust education is to instruct the public “never to forget.” Second, the education is necessary to “develop competencies so that it never happens again.” Thus, Holocaust education, she believes, can be a tool for teaching democracy. As for the status quo, however, she laments that Holocaust education currently only “imbues a sense of history, while human rights education gives the power to act.” These two should not be mutually exclusive. One might well connect the two if placed in the proper context.

Conceptual problems:

Holocaust and human rights education

The connection between the Holocaust and human rights may seem quite easy for adults to understand: the Holocaust was caused by ignorance and discrimination, the fuel for basically all human rights violations. In terms of teaching however, the case may not be stated so easily. Assuming that Holocaust education may serve as a platform to demonstrate the necessity for individual decision-making and thus “teaching democracy,” one has to be careful as to where to make the connections. “A concentration camp is not the right place for teaching democracy in my eyes,” the curator of the former concentration camp of Ravensbrück, Matthias Heyl, states, since choices were very limited for both victims and perpetrators. He would rather teach the importance of individual decision-making in sites where they might have a positive influence, in order to encourage students to engage in democracy.

The danger of counterproductive effects is inherent in each connection that is inappropriately made, a fact that demands special sensitivity by educators. Simplified comparisons bear the risk of communicating the wrong mes-

sage. For example, Matthias Heyl sometimes hears, “Back then it was the Jews, now it is the refugees,”—a statement made with the intention of raising awareness among pupils concerning current problems of discrimination. “But by telling immigrants that they are the Jews of today,” he remarks, “you basically tell them Auschwitz is their future.” Confronting students with such visions of the future strains them, especially during a time when Germany is struggling to accept itself as an immigration country.

Elke Gryglewski at the Wannsee Conference Center recognized the same pedagogical mistake. Her experience shows another danger: when teachers compare the situation of immigrants today with that of the Jews under the Nürnberg laws, students often react in a very dismissive way. “They feel as if they are responsible and that learning about history carries a huge bag of morals and doctrine.” Gryglewski feels that “every human being with the slightest sense of morality will understand what conclusions to draw from an event such as the Holocaust.” It is extremely difficult for teachers to teach the Holocaust without implanting feelings of guilt, while still making them aware of actual problems such as xenophobia and racism. This said, Gryglewski doubts whether integrating Holocaust and human rights education is a fruitful idea at all.

Matthias Heyl shares certain sentiments, but rather sees the problem in the current simplification of the Holocaust.” Forty five minutes of class time is not much to get into detail, so a very complex topic such as the Holocaust is easily simplified instead of being condensed”, he observes. These simplified lessons, which are being taught over and over again at school, lead to the “Oh no, not again” effect. “Several pupils feel they know everything about the Holocaust when they come here and are fed up with the topic.” Elke Gryglewski finds that, in fact, they know hardly anything when someone poses two or three simple questions.

The linkage of Holocaust education and human rights education may lead to a form of escapism. “Human rights violations happen everywhere, except for Germany,” Viola B. Georgi mocks the German attitude provocatively. By relating the Holocaust with current cases of human rights violations too quickly the focus may shift from the German responsibility to other countries and nations, the researcher fears. Escapism is also reflected by the “German feeling of having a victim history,” Heyl explains. Even today there has not been any project in a German school dealing with the perpetrators’ point of view, even though children are extremely interested in the motivation of perpetrators. Dealing with these issues is crucial to understand the mechanisms behind the genocide that are so hard to grasp for the third generation. It seems that there is a narrow path between imbuing the child with the facts of history, self-consciousness, and the ability to be critical of one’s milieu without creating a feeling of guilt and defensiveness. Another problem arising with integrating the Holocaust and

human rights issues such as discrimination and racism appears when taking a closer look at the phenomenon of anti-Semitism. Is anti-Semitism unique, or is it simply a form of racism? Paul Johnson, the author of "The History of the Jews," writes in June 2005's *Commentary*, "If anti-Semitism is a variety of racism, it is a most peculiar variety, with many unique characteristics. In my view as a historian, it is so peculiar that it deserves to be placed in a quite different category."

Johnson calls anti-Semitism an intellectual disease. Perhaps it is true that anti-Semitism is separate; Lohrensheit points out that anti-Semitism is over two thousand years old and is a result of the creation of Christianity and the rise of capitalism. Conversely racism is a rather new phenomenon that originated during Colonialism. Though Lohrensheit makes this distinction, she makes an important point—from the educational standpoint these sentiments grow from a larger form of discrimination. Thus, the mechanisms behind them are the same. Yet it is important to recognize that these are different ideologies, which must be communicated to the students in order to avoid simplified comparisons.

However, comparisons in general are seen as an important step to understanding the Holocaust among the third generation. "The uniqueness of the Holocaust can only be preserved by comparing it," states Georgi. As survivors, perpetrators, and bystanders are passing away and new challenges such as immigration have to be faced by German society, new ways of dealing with the Holocaust past have to be found.

Pragmatic obstacles to implementation of education

In addition to conceptual obstacles surrounding Holocaust education, pragmatic issues also need to be considered. There are several ways of accessing the tools necessary for solid pedagogical methodology. However, many Holocaust and human rights experts claim there is not enough of either topic in the classroom or in the textbooks. The real problem that emerges is the inconsistency of Holocaust education for teachers and students. This can be seen in the divisive structure of German education, the absence of a standardized or specific Holocaust education requirement, regional differences in the understanding of German history, and the absence of educational training for teachers to teach Holocaust education. Even beyond these obstacles of inconsistency, there are cultural divisions within the classrooms that prompt more uneasiness surrounding the implications of the Holocaust and its impact on the understanding of current national attitudes for both minority and majority students.

While there are several programs dedicated to student Holocaust education, teachers face distinct obstacles in the classroom concerning this specific topic. Many teachers are not trained or equipped to deal with the subject.

Holocaust education is not a required field of study for prospective teachers, nor can teachers simply rely on a set curriculum or textbooks. Claudia Lohrensheit lamented, "I researched the textbooks, and I have not found enough." If the Holocaust is not explicitly presented in regular German schoolbooks, teachers have many supplementary resources they can use, but a large percentage of educators do not use the resources provided to them through these organizations. Lohrensheit points to certain indicators that signify that teachers are in fact interested in topics of discrimination and human rights—over 30 percent of German school teachers are members of Amnesty International. One might conclude that, while the tools and literature are there, there is still a disconnect between these programs developed to help teachers and the implementation of their methodology in the classroom.

An explanation for this disconnect is quite possibly linked to the structural inconsistency in the German educational system. In Germany there is no specific requirement in the curriculum demanding a "standardized" Holocaust education. While the majority of educators do cover the topic, the education is often left solely up to the responsibility of the teacher. Gymnasium students spend more time covering the Holocaust in the classroom, because they are in school longer, while the Hauptschule and Realschule have less time. The Department of Interior of Berlin published a statistic claiming that only four percent of those who committed rightist crimes went to Gymnasium (high school), while sixty percent were in Hauptschule. It is due to a deeper social structure that leaves more students from Hauptschule unemployed, less educated, and ultimately more susceptible to less progressive propaganda. Germany separates students not only on this basis of "ability." With this division of schools, it would be hard to regulate any sort of standard Holocaust education even if one did exist. Furthermore it teaches children that one can only learn in homogeneous groups. This fosters a rift between the eastern and western states in German Holocaust education.

Many experts in this field address the difference between the way Holocaust education is implemented in the East and West. Andrej Goetze noted different preconditions because the teachers and students might relate to the current Federal Republic differently. Many East Germans feel like three-time victims: first because of World War II; second, as the victims of the GDR; and third, as victims of German reunification. The idea that the Nazis were only in Western Germany is a prevalent theme in Holocaust education in the East, along with the emphasis on the political victims in the war. In contrast, West Germans learned less about the political victims and more about the Jewish victims, causing a hypersensitivity and sacredness about the Holocaust. Many teachers in East Germany will still often refer to the "Jewish Problem" in their classrooms because of their lack of exposure to more politically correct terms that Western German educators use. Heyl claims that this

allows for a more confrontational teaching style on the Holocaust than one might find in the West.

One specific obstacle is the absence of Jews and Jewish culture in German education. One solution after the Holocaust to prevent and diminish discrimination against the Jewish people was, "To know a Jew." However, in Germany there are currently around 100,000 "active" Jews out in a population of 82,000,000. Many German students might never encounter a Jewish person in their lifetime. Therefore, in education about Jewish people more focus is put on the victims of the Holocaust and than on a living vital community in present and in past times.

Educators have to be very careful when teaching a multi-cultural classroom about the history of the Holocaust and its relevance to German society today in order not to alienate the descendants of its victims and perpetrators. Viola Georgi, created a study about minorities' historical knowledge and association with the Holocaust. From this study she created a model with four different types of minority reactions. The first type were those who strongly identify with the victims and who critically observe and evaluate the event and how it relates to their own future. The second type were those who, after having seen the concentration camps and learning the history of the Holocaust, felt closer to German culture. Often times this type even went so far as to accept "historical myths" often carried on by the older generations who do not want to confront the responsibility of the Holocaust. The third type in this model are the minorities that reject the history of the Holocaust and of Germany and are more concerned with their own background and the histories of their native land. Finally, the fourth type consists of those who feel alienated because of their neutral background and their undefined role in society. This type is often referred to as the post-national ethnic perspective, in which they do not see the Holocaust as German Nazis killing Jews, communists, homosexuals, or Poles, but as humanity killing humanity. Most of these model identities come out of relating and comparing the history of the Holocaust to the current German society. Her study shows that despite problems with teaching the Holocaust in diverse classrooms, various opportunities arise for minority students to connect to German history.

Praxis in developing Holocaust education for the future

The various methods that have been developed for Holocaust education have been widely researched and applied throughout the world. However, in Germany Holocaust education remains inconsistent. There are several methods which have been applied at certain sites or that have been developed outside of Germany that may ease the burden on teachers, as well as help avoid conceptual problems.

The collage method, developed by the Wannsee

Conference Center is the first solution to a problem Viola Georgi points out. She asserts that children do not enter the classroom with a *tabula rasa*; instead children come to the classroom with histories and biases of their own. They gain knowledge from their families and the media, an important and powerful source. Teaching must be adjusted for each class, yet it is often difficult to determine the needs of the individual class. The Wannsee Conference uses a collage of historic events and asks students to pick one that has meaning for them and to share its significance. Students will automatically draw parallels to either their personal history or the present. Though this is often a problem for the public, students do not have the social consciousness about the taboos of society. This method not only helps teachers to understand individual backgrounds, but also sensitizes the teacher to notions of guilt. It also allows them to collect information about previous exposure and address historical myth.

The collage method is not a teaching tool. Rather, it is a diagnostic tool for teachers, one that is particularly helpful for teachers of multi-cultural classrooms. Students are enthusiastic about sharing their own stories, and the collage method gives them an outlet to do so. One approach that may follow the collage method is called personalization, which offers the students an opportunity to learn about the life and decisions of someone of their age or sex. Jan Krebs, director of the Anne Frank Zentrum, claims that the center is successful because "people know Anne Frank's face." The center tells the story of one person and by revealing her life demonstrates that individual choices, or lack thereof, can indeed make a difference. The method allows students to follow the story of one person, and limits the perspective of the war. The personalization method is one way of involving children within the story of the Holocaust, and often triggers their interest in the larger context. It often becomes the impetus for questions about what their role would be and forces questions about their own decisions.

The method favored in the U.S., called "Facing History and Ourselves," was developed in Boston as a method of personalization to use in the classroom. Researcher Dr. Viola Georgi states that, "as U.S. programs usually do, 'Facing history' concentrates on the individual, by allowing people to make their very own experiences with history." This approach has now also been adapted within Germany by the Fritz Baur Institute, called "Konfrontationen." The method focuses first on the individual and then on the larger context. It emphasizes the idea of choice by the individual and is an important form of empowerment. The question "who is responsible?" is extra sensitive and allows students to then evaluate the choices that individuals make. In "Konfrontationen," small scripts are handed out to students who create a role for this character. This is clearly important for the German version: as students take a new identity, it helps to avoid feelings of guilt that may lead to escapism.

The “Konfrontationen” approach is extremely important to create a direct link to the present. But often, to avoid escapism, it does not focus on the true identities of students and does not expose their own biases. Claudia Lohrenscheit favors a method developed in the United States known as anti-bias education. This method was adopted by South Africa to “re-educate” after the system of Apartheid (as developed through the book “Shifting Paradigms”—Early Resource Learning Unit). The deconstruction of identity not only makes children aware of their own identities but the gray area in between. Taking the model from South Africa, which has created curriculum to come to terms with a society inhabited both by victims and perpetrators, the curriculum of anti-bias education is designed to make children aware of how they think. It is an important tool because it utilizes methods from Facing History, like role-playing, but also clearly involves the participant. It allows students to share their own backgrounds and makes them aware of discrimination in today’s society.

Yet Matthias Heyl worries that German educators and students shy away from any form of education that makes them think too critically about their own history. Children are not confronted with their own past—that is, the German past; the history of the perpetrators. Germans have appropriated a history of the victim; or more fairly, of trying to understand the Holocaust through empathy. Instead he advocates showing complicity in the Holocaust, the mechanisms by which ordinary people committed such atrocities. Heyl’s method demonstrates an important parallel with the anti-bias approach.

“Shifting Paradigms” uses a flower diagram to pull out forms of identity, ultimately to make a child conscious of the differences that create bias. Heyl uses Venn diagrams to show the different players and the complexity of acting within the Holocaust. Concentric circles show that as a bystander one might play many roles—slowly breaking down the rigid construction of victim and perpetrator. It is a method that teaches children that their identity, their feelings, and their actions cannot be easily assigned to a single domain; children aren’t merely white or black, Jewish or Christian, young or old. Nor were people victims or perpetrators. Even bystanders have been broken down into different categories. In these exercises, Jan Krebs points out, pupils learn something about the “process of discrimination,” a key part that was missing in education.

Heyl demonstrates that this multiplicity of educational approaches makes it hard for regular teachers to teach the Holocaust effectively or to link it responsibly with human rights. Through evaluating choices and identity, and through finding the gray areas in between what seem to be opposing constructs, the connection between the past and the present can be made very organically. For if it isn’t, the words of Primo Levy will become a self-fulfilled prophecy—that is, “the Holocaust happened so it can happen again.”

Perhaps an amalgamation of these teaching methods would be the most powerful program, but Viola Georgi sees another way. She argues that students will profit most if they are not taught about the Holocaust with only one focus. Instead, the Holocaust and human rights should be part of all lessons. If these different methods are all used and deal with the problems of simplification, guilt, and historical myth, Holocaust education can become a tool for empowerment. Human rights will become a discipline that students will feel obligated to uphold, and Holocaust education will proliferate throughout generations.

Holocaust education as a base for a democratic future

While it is clear that the memory of the Holocaust is important in public dialogue, the connection between the past and the future is not explicitly made. Therefore an awareness of the Holocaust is being perpetuated to support educational initiatives. In May 2005 the Monument to the Murdered Jews of Europe opened. Its situation in the heart of Berlin between the Reichstag, the Brandenburg Gate, and the United States Embassy provides visibility to this monument and access for visitors and German citizens. It serves an important symbolic purpose, says Professor Sibylle Quack, the former director of the organization that built the monument. Even though the monument and the information center do not directly link current human rights and the Holocaust, its constant presence between government institutions, tourist attractions, and residential spaces promotes “remembering the past for the future,” she explains.

To promote the benefits of ongoing Holocaust education, the third generation requires a new form of education with a more explicit link. In general, as Germany evolves—as it reunites the East and West and absorbs new immigrant populations—it is important that Germany acknowledges its history and the role of democracy. Democracy demands citizenship of its subjects. Participation and knowledge are essential. Holocaust education and human rights education play an important role in teaching citizenship and the uses of democracy. Thus, the question of integrating these two domains is not only pertinent to ending discrimination but the political future of Germany.

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Mustafa¹ and How He Becomes German in One Day

Daniel Krupka and Dorota Pudzianowska

Chapter 1: The mind is set

The annoying sound of the alarm wakes him up early in the morning. Usually, he goes directly to the bathroom; but today is not a usual day. Not that it matters a lot, but today he will pick up his brand new German passport. Looking into the mirror, seeing his face, he asks himself: “Was ist deutsch? Does a German look like that? Tall—yes! Strong—yes! Clean haircut—yes! Black hair, brown eyes and dark skin—I guess it doesn’t really matter.”

Another annoying sound marks that the coffee is prepared. He steps into the kitchen and recognizes with surprise that his father is already there. On Fridays, he usually does not start working before 2 p.m. and sleeps in. With earnestness in his voice, his father asks him to sit down. “So Mustafa, today you turn your back on the country where you belong!”

Knowing exactly where this discussion will lead, he replies: “What...what are you talking about?”

“You know exactly what I mean. Today you become one of them. You cut off your Turkish roots.”

Here it was again. The old argument his father has raised for six years now, since the day Mustafa applied for German citizenship. Even though he understands his parents’ feelings, he does not share them.

His father immigrated to Germany as a guest worker in the late sixties to work for Mercedes-Benz. Literally coming only with two suitcases, his parents left their house, their land, and all their relatives behind in Anatolia. Leaving all material things in their home country, their attention is much more focused on immaterial values and religion.

“Dad, I know that it is very hard for you to understand, but just as you grew up in Turkey, I did so in Germany. Many of my friends are German. I speak better German than Turkish. I live here and I want to stay here.”

“Don’t you think we should keep a link to the country where our fathers are buried?”

“Of course I do. But the citizenship does not change anything. It is just a paper—a useful one.” At this moment, dialogue is no longer possible, and Mustafa decides to leave.

Right in front of his house, along the Maybachufer beside

the Landwehrkanal, the market is already busy. Most of the people Mustafa sees on a daily basis in Neukölln would like to have a German passport. Why cannot his father understand that? He wants to participate in the society he lives in and enjoy all the rights that are guaranteed with this piece of paper. Herein he agrees with Özcan Mutlu, a Green party politician who says “citizenship means equality, full rights, and the access to the political decision making.”

Chapter 2: The papers are taken

Getting off the U7 at Meringdamm, approaching the city hall of Kreuzberg/Friedrichshain, a cold shiver runs down Mustafa’s back. It took him six years to get to that point. He does not even remember how often he had to come here in order to supply the naturalization office with all the necessary information. Six years of walking through these dark, never ending corridors; he did not give up when many of his friends did. They were simply exhausted with and discouraged by all the bureaucratic procedures. Every door he passes now in the building reminds him of one false piece of information he got here. Just a couple of weeks ago, one official told him that he could not become German if he received Bafög,² but this is simply not true as the lawyer of Mira, a Jewish Russian friend of Mustafa, explained. And there was even more of such an “informative” supply.

Finally, he reaches his destination and knocks on the office door. Mr. Kowalski, one of the rather competent and friendly officials calls him in. Two young people are already sitting in the office.

“I am finishing the interview with these two HIA fellows on the topic of naturalization. It might be of interest for you. Please join us if you want.” Turning his head to the students, Mr. Kowalski continues, “Persons to whom the citizenship of a state is not ascribed at birth may be able to acquire it later in life through naturalization (Brubaker 2002). In recent years, in Germany there were two major changes making naturalization easier. First, in 1990 the right to be naturalized was created—if the necessary conditions are fulfilled, one gets the citizenship. Before that date the decision to naturalize was at the state’s discretion. Then, in 2000 the conditions themselves were modified—instead of 15 years of residence for adults, only 8 years are now required. This latter change was part of a more important reform, the Nationality Act, which made access to citizenship easier in general as the *sui sanguinis* principle was modified. Now children born in Germany from a foreign parent who have stayed legally for 8 years in Germany get

citizenship at birth. Between the age of 18 to 23 those of them who have dual citizenship have to choose one of the countries. Until that point, one has temporary dual citizenship. Does that answer your question?”

The students nod their heads, thank him, and leave the office but not without receiving a brochure from Mr. Kowalski who says, “here are some figures by the Statistisches Bundesamt that might be useful for the paper you have to write.”

Mustafa asked for a copy and was thrilled to get one.

This is the moment when the orchestra should start playing and the big naturalization ceremony should begin, but nothing like that happens in Germany. Mr. Kowalski hands him his new papers and the certificate. After a short handshake, Mustafa, now a full-scale German citizen, leaves the office.

Chapter 3: Realizing some facts

On his U6 subway ride to the University, Mustafa reads the brochure that he received at the naturalization office:

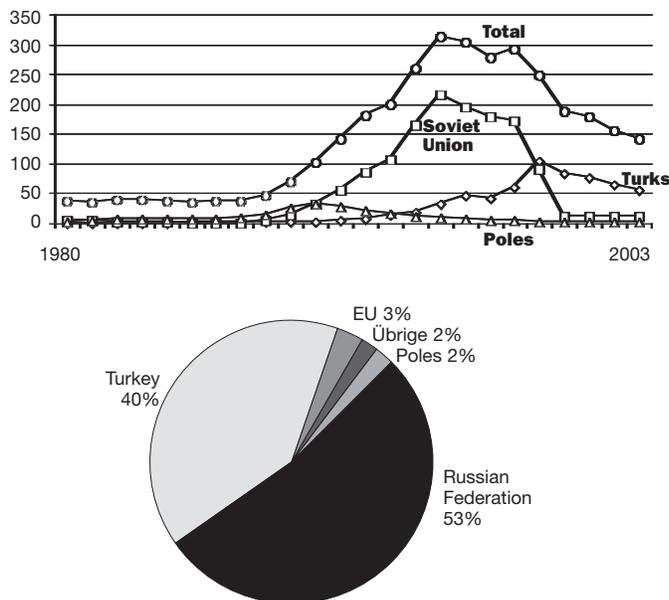
Naturalization in Germany There are 6.7 million foreigners living in Germany today, which is 8.2 percent of the total population and 600,000 people fewer than two years ago. A reason for this lower number is the increase in naturalizations that goes along with a decrease in immigration. Additionally, almost four million naturalized Aussiedler (ethnic German immigrants) from Eastern Europe and Central Asia live in Germany. 4.5 million of the foreigners are eligible for German citizenship (almost 70 percent). Out of the group that is eligible, 85 percent are actually willing to naturalize. According to a government report, 1.8 million former foreigners in Germany are already naturalized. Therefore almost 7 percent of the total population (82.5 million) received the German citizenship through naturalization. All in all 14 million—more than one sixth of the population in Germany—have a migration background (Fücks 2005).

The major group of those who became naturalized was from the territory of the former Soviet Union. The all-time high in the middle of the 1990s can be explained by the high number of ethnic German immigrants. Ethnic German immigrants or Spätaussiedler can claim immediate German citizenship as constitutional right, once they are approved of Aussiedler status.³

With the decreasing number of naturalizations of people from the former Soviet Union, another group became numerically the most important: people with Turkish origin. In 2003, 140,731 people naturalized in Germany, 8.9 percent fewer than the year before. 40 percent of the natural-

ized people in that year were Turks. This number is much higher than the share of Turkish citizens among the population with foreign citizenship (26 percent) according to reports of the Statistisches Bundesamt.

Naturalization 1980–2003



Mustafa realizes that the Nationality Act mentioned by Mr. Kowalski was of real importance since it changed the definition of what it means to be German. One does not necessarily have to have German parents in order to be considered German. Actually, one of his professors recently remarked that the cultural boundaries of Germanness have become “increasingly distant from the main traditional criterion of German nationhood, the blood principle” (Darieva 2005).

Another aspect of the figures in the brochure that Mustafa found interesting is the steady growth of naturalizations within the Turkish community. This finding might be the result of the change in strategy by the Turkish communities during the early 1990s. After a fruitless fight for the voting right on a local level and a defeat in the constitutional court, the Turkish community in Berlin encouraged their members to naturalize in order to get political rights.

Chapter 4: Doubts emerge

Reaching the campus, Mustafa approaches a group of his colleagues gathered in the courtyard at Humboldt University. This circle of friends does not reflect the statistical fact that every sixth German citizen has an immigrant background—all of them do. Halina, who got her passport last year, is of Polish origin and married to a German. She wanted to have the German passport as soon as possible just to be a part of what she considered her new community. She had no patriotic or nostalgic feelings about Poland. For her, the Polish identity was more like a burden

she wanted to get rid of. The mixed history and the geographic closeness of the two countries might explain her attitude towards the issue.

Mira is a Russian Jew and tries to get citizenship, but has a lot of problems with the naturalization procedure, which she judges as highly bureaucratic. She came as *Kontingentflüchtling*—a special status awarded to Jews from the former Soviet Union. Even though it was easy for her family to immigrate because of an entrance privilege, once in Germany they were treated as refugees. Her father, for example, a doctor, could exercise his profession only on a basis of two-year contracts. However, for him it was never a question of taking on German citizenship. He does not speak fluent German and he does not identify with Germany. In fact, for many older people in the immigrant community, language is a barrier in applying for citizenship. And even if they get citizenship, the other people of the community make fun of them since they speak German with a terrible Russian accent and everyone perceives them as Russians.

The third person standing outside is Mehmet, a second generation Turk who kept his passport and now shouts to Mustafa, “Hey, buddy. How is it going?”

Halina adds, “Hey German, where is your Schäferhund?” With some suspicion in his voice Mehmet asks, “What do you mean, German? Are you a Kartoffel⁴ now?”

Annoyed with this sarcastic remark, Mustafa replies, “Do you want to go through the visa procedure every time you leave the country? Don’t you want to vote?”

“Musti, you are Turk, you will be never perceived as German here! Anyway, who are you going to cheer for when Turkey plays against Germany in the World Cup?” said Mehmet.

Mustafa was confused.

Chapter 5: Anger is rising

Without further comment on what Mehmet just said, Mustafa excuses himself and goes to the panel discussion on integration issues he organized as leader of the Turkish student association at the university. The speakers, Mustafa Cakmakoglu and Soris Nahawandi, are the two commissioners for foreigners and migration affairs, aids to the mayors of Berlin-Mitte and Kreuzberg/Friedrichshain. The main argument both speakers make is that the discourse on immigration and integration in Germany has and always had a negative undertone. In their eyes, even though there were major changes in the law the perception of the people did not change, and the public discourse remains hostile towards immigrants. Instead of considering the society as whole, the dividing categories of “us” and “them” are often stressed.

Mustafa’s earlier enthusiasm concerning the changes in citizenship law cools down with what he hears. No wonder many Turks feel marginalized and as second class citizens if the discussion is only problem-oriented. For Mustafa, it seems that the law itself cannot change what people think or say. Therefore, the argument often brought to the surface by politicians and academia is that the new Nationality Act, which redefined the meaning of being German, is only half true. It changed the formal conception of Germanness, but not the peoples’ perception. The expression “passport German” shows that in the minds of many Germans, a German with, for instance, Turkish origin is still perceived and treated as a Turk along the simple logic of “once a foreigner, always a foreigner” (Fücks 2005).

Mustafa concludes that the Nationality Act might be a big step for Germany, but not for the immigrants themselves. Paradoxically, this positive change in law might have negative effects on the public discourse; it eventually hinders every discussion, as further changes are not perceived as necessary (Geiger, Ruf 2001). As long as the political class in Germany views the society as divided, with one detached from the other, no inclusive society is possible. What is perceived as an ethnic or cultural conflict (“us” versus “them”) is predominantly a social problem and should be treated as such by the whole society. It has to be acknowledged that Germany is a country that is heavily shaped by successive waves of immigration. Although some politicians deny this fact, Germany is already an immigration country and its society is already a hybrid one.

Deep in thought, Mustafa begins to question his decision to take the German passport. The fact that he always has to hear Turkish people being called this or that results somehow in a stronger identification with his kin. This is probably what scholars call “reactive ethnicity” or “negative identity.” Was he, therefore, naive to think that he could ever become a real German? Does he even want to be German if it means that he has to be part of one group and not the other?

Chapter 6: Nostalgic confusion

With these mixed feelings in his heart, Mustafa leaves the discussion to go to the movies to see the latest piece of Fatih Akin: “Crossing the Bridge—The Sound of Istanbul.” This documentary on the music scene of the pulsating Bosphorus metropolis portrays the city in its cultural diversity and versatility. Watching the movie and recognizing many of the artists as well as the sites, he experiences the emotional link to what he thought was only his parents’ home. The ambivalent feelings provoked earlier by his disappointment regarding his place within German society are now taken a step further by his bewilderment and admiration for the beauty of Turkey. He begins to understand the sentiment of his fathers’ generation, which does not seem to be that distant anymore.

How would it be to go back to Turkey? Can he even talk about “going back” to a country that he only knows from short trips and some nostalgic stories of his parents? Take Mehmet for example. He does not stop talking about going to Istanbul. For him, everything is better in Turkey. The climate is much nicer, people are more laid back—not as stiff, cold, and unfriendly as in Germany—and the economy is developing really fast. Mehmet does not see any advantage in staying in Germany, but what he does not acknowledge is the fact that in Turkey he will be always an alien—an “Almanci.” Even though an increasing number of peers emigrate from Germany to Turkey, Mustafa doubts whether moving is the solution to their problems. Would it not be better to improve the situation here?

Chapter 7: Getting active

With the strong feeling that something has to be done, Mustafa comes to Cum Laude, a restaurant near the University where he meets his fellows from the Turkish Student Association. Right away, he raises the naturalization issue and puts it on the agenda for discussion.

By the end of the evening, they come up with some ideas for a position paper on naturalization policy that they are going to hand over to all political parties with regard to their campaigns for the upcoming federal election in September. In their view, at present, the biggest problem, but also the issue that is easiest to approach for politics, seems to be the administrative procedure of naturalization. It is highly bureaucratic now, with a high number of documents required and numerous forms to be filled out. This process takes a long time, needs a lot of financial resources, and requires sufficient knowledge. For many people it is simply discouraging. Access to German citizenship should be much easier. People who fulfill the necessary conditions should be encouraged to make use of their right to naturalize and should feel welcomed, as they are in countries such as Canada (Fücks 2005). Instead of leaving the initiative of an application for naturalization to the immigrants (Wunderlich 2005), the state should ask the eligible foreigners to become a member of the citizenry.

Furthermore, Mustafa and his friends consider the ban on dual citizenship to be a problem for many immigrants. For those who regard citizenship as a form of identification, this requirement constitutes a serious obstacle. Moreover, there are many exceptions to the rule (for Russian Jews, Iranians, and Moroccans)—40 percent of naturalized people have dual citizenship because of various existing exceptions. Those immigrants who have to make a choice find themselves in a very unjust situation. Therefore, the right to keep previous citizenship should be extended to all immigrants.

After all these mixed feelings about the Nationality Act, on the one hand, and peoples’ perceptions, on the other, Mustafa concludes that the citizenship law reform is of importance, especially for the younger generation. It

should, however, be regarded only as a first step on the road to a more inclusive society. In order to achieve this goal, the public discourse must take a turn towards openness, fairness, and mutual understanding. The academic discussion has to reach the ground.

At the end of the day, tired but satisfied, Mustafa makes peace with the decision to take the passport...at least for now.

Notes

¹Characters with a first name only are fictitious, but created on the basis of actual interviews.

²“Bafög” stands for “Berufsausbildungsförderungsgesetz” and means the law that guarantees financial support to students.

³The access for German minorities to this gate of entry was limited after the end of the Cold War. In 1993, a new law basically limited the countries of origin to the former Soviet Union. In 1996, a German language test was introduced. As an effect, the number of new applicants decreased by nearly 30 percent,” (Darieva 2005).

⁴In Germany some younger Turks call the German “Kartoffel” (“Potato”).

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Koray Yilmaz-Günay, Board member of the Migration Council in Berlin (27 June, 2005).

Elena Eyngorn, Head of Germany's Union of Jewish students (27 June, 2005).

Özcan Mutlu, Member of the Berlin city parliament, Green party (27 June, 2005).

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Antje Scheidler, researcher at the Department of Demography at Humboldt University Berlin, HiA German program coordinator (28 June, 2005).

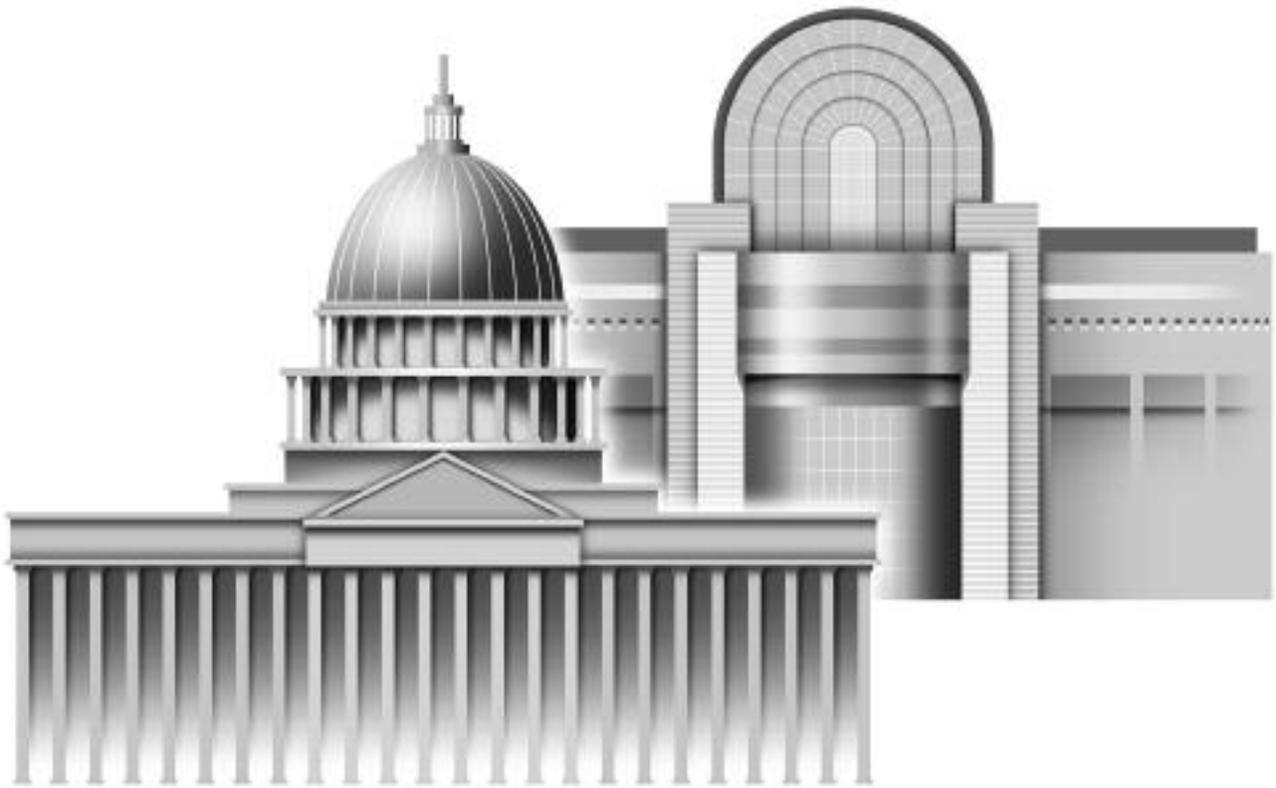
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HIA Internship Programs



The Lantos / Humanity in Action Capitol Hill Fellowship Program

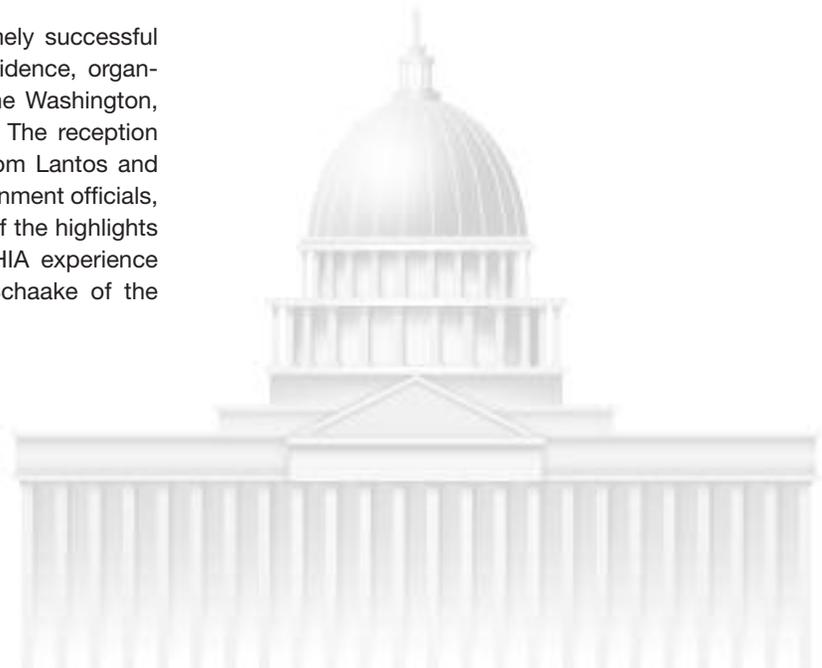
The Lantos/HIA Capitol Hill Fellowship program had a banner year in 2005, the program's fourth year. Ten fellows from Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands worked in Congressional offices from January 24 to May 27, 2005. The fellows were placed in the offices of U.S. Representatives who hold a wide range of ideological and political views, including Tom Lantos, Grace Napolitano, Betty McCollum, Frank Wolf, John Conyers, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, Jose Serrano, Lincoln Diaz-Balart and Ed Royce. The fellows overwhelmingly agreed that the program far exceeded their expectations, and, in all cases, the placing offices were highly complimentary of the performance of their respective fellows.

In addition to their work on Capitol Hill, the fellows took part in a speaker's program each Monday. As a group, they met with a minimum of three speakers each Monday. They also took part in off-site visits with non-governmental providers of services to minorities. The goal of the Monday program is to examine important social, political, educational, religious and cultural issues faced by the United States. The fellows stated that the sessions with more than 40 officials, who represented various positions on controversial issues, such as gun control, abortion, federalism, immigration policy, for example, succeeded in achieving that goal.

This year, the program included an extremely successful reception at the French Ambassador's residence, organized largely by the HIA senior fellows in the Washington, D.C. area and the ten Lantos/HIA fellows. The reception was in honor of Congressman and Mrs. Tom Lantos and was attended by scores of diplomats, government officials, academics, and other friends of HIA. One of the highlights of the evening was a speech about the HIA experience delivered by Lantos/HIA fellow Marietje Schaake of the Netherlands.

The Lantos/HIA program also included a series of social events designed to smooth the fellows' stay in the United States. On their arrival in January, we held a very enjoyable welcome reception for the group where they were able to mingle with many of the senior HIA fellows who live in the area. During their four-month stay, we also held periodic social events, such as picnics, pizza dinners, and video nights. The program concluded with a one-day "retreat," during which we conducted an exhaustive evaluation of both their Capitol Hill experience and the Monday program. Their assessment of the entire 2005 Lantos/HIA program was highly positive.

Anna Isgro
Program Director



On Being a Lantos/HIA Fellow in the U.S. House of Representatives

Armin Huhn, German Fellow, 2004

At this particular point in my life, my past looks a lot brighter than my future. It feels old saying that. But, with more than a year of cramming and graduation exams in front of me, I often get lost in my memories of those 5 months in Washington, D.C.

Let me seize this opportunity to describe a little bit about what it is like to get up in the morning, dress in a suit, and walk past the tourists, the limousines, and the security to go to work in this amazing place they call “the Hill.”

“The representative from California has the floor”

This spring I have been working for Congressman Ed Royce, a Republican representing the 40th District of California, Orange County. For the past eight years, as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa, Mr. Royce has been a passionate proponent of good governance, democratization, trade liberalization, development, and human rights on that continent. Due to a recent shift in U.S. interest in the war on terror and energy supply policy, Africa had moved up the ladder of priorities in U.S. foreign policy.

Just a few weeks into my fellowship, as a result of a reorganization of chairmanships for the 109th Congress, Mr. Royce became Chairman of the new Subcommittee on International Terrorism and Nonproliferation, and thus now occupies the top of the agenda. During this transitional period, the entire staff, including myself, moved with him, trying not to leave any unfinished business behind and at the same time preparing him and the members of the new subcommittee for their upcoming hearings. The topics of these hearings were entirely new to me. I had to study and at the same time analyze issues like new terrorist safe havens, their financial networks, the threat of nuclear terrorism, uranium enrichment technology and its proliferation, the nuclear black market and the current non-proliferation treaty regime. My personal tasks and projects in the office didn't seem to be following any obvious rules and pretty soon I began to realize the meaning of something I'd been told before starting.

“Your internship here is what you make of it”

I started out with little research projects for the background memos that would be given to the members on the subcommittee prior to our hearings. About 3 to 5 times a week I attended briefings, meetings, and lunches with officials, ambassadors and sometimes even ministers or opposition leaders from various African countries, with American experts from NGOs, the private sector, US AID or UN bod-

ies operating in Africa. The more I was able to establish relationships to Mr. Royce and the more senior staff, the more interesting work came across my desk. I wrote letters to the Worldbank, got to talk to expert witnesses in advance, and assisted in formulating questions specifically tailored to Mr. Royce. It took me two weeks to research and find bullet points for the authorization act of the Trans Sahara Counter Terrorism Initiative. But I will never forget that morning when I walked into the office and Greg, the staff assistant and now a good friend, had something to ask me.

“Hey Armin, do you wanna draft a resolution?”

Who me? Needless to say, that was big-very big compared to how small “the Hill” and all the people working there can make one feel. Mr. Royce wanted a resolution passed by the House and the Senate calling on the Nigerian government to hand over former President of Liberia and suspected war criminal Charles Taylor to the Special Court for Sierra Leone, which has indicted him on 17 counts for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and other crimes under international humanitarian law. The more I researched and talked to people on the hill about what the resolution was meant to include, the more strongly I felt about what I was doing, and that this was exactly the right place and the right task for an HIA fellow.

With minor modifications to my initial draft, the resolution was passed 421-1. Mr. Royce delivered a speech on the House floor and published an article in the *New York Times* that included my wording. Other HIA fellows had even bigger claims to fame by organizing a commemoration event on the 60th anniversary of the end of the WWII, some organized hearings for the Human Rights Caucus co-chaired by Tom Lantos himself, and Maritje gave a fabulous speech at the French embassy to honour Tom and Annette Lantos. I am including all this to show that the Lantos/HIA Capitol Hill Fellowship is not only a look-over-the-shoulder internship experience, but a pull-up-your-pants-and-show-what-you-can-do opportunity. It is what you make of it, after all.

“Just another manic Monday”

Apart from the Tuesday to Friday internship, every Monday in much the same fashion as the summer school, the fellows, as a group, would meet representatives and speakers from all aspects of American society and political life. This was our chance to get first hand descriptions and Q&As on topics ranging from abortion, drug policy, gun control, homelessness, lobbying, security policy, and the education system to various minority-related topics such

as housing and the job market. We did field trips to one of the first and leading African American Universities, to a charter school in a predominantly Latino and black neighbourhood, and to a clinic specifically run by and for Latinos in Washington, D.C. Again we had the opportunity to meet some people representing the highest echelons and with some inspiring personal stories to tell.

Apart from all the friends and fans of HIA on the Hill—and, of course, Anna Isgro, the coordinator, who did an outstanding job and whose overwhelming hospitality is second to none—there is one person who deserves a separate paragraph in this report, Annette Lantos, Tom Lantos' wife and the true mother of the Capitol Hill Fellowship.

I would open the door to her office, not even sure if the person at the front desk remembered my name, and the first thing I would hear was “Oh, I'm so delighted to see you!” When she says it with her joyful, caring attitude and Hungarian accent, it is impossible to mistake it for one of those Capitol Hill-ish idiomatic expressions thrown at people at receptions before collecting business cards. Sometimes she would grab me by the hand and introduce me to some random Ambassador or Member of Congress who happened to be in the room, or the elevator, or in the cafeteria. Annette is one of a kind and therefore has to be experienced. She cares a lot about the fellows and almost every week she came up with another individual that she wanted us to meet or another documentary she wanted us to watch to teach us a lesson. She touched all of us and left a lasting impression, and there can be no report about this experience without her name and some words of appreciation in it.

To conclude

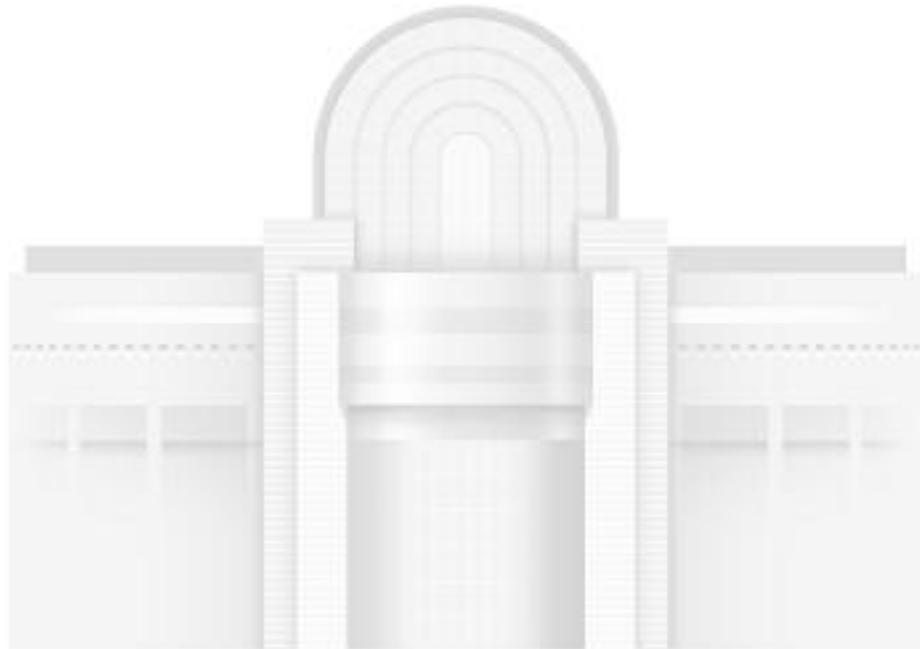
The Capitol Hill Fellowship has by far surpassed all my expectations. We got closer and deeper into the workings of this powerful parliament, than I ever had expected. We met people whose faces are otherwise looking out from inside the TV, and we made friends with lots of good-hearted and fun people on and around the Hill. It was definitely worth it. One of the best things I ever did.

Humanity in Action European Parliament Internship Program 2005

The first year of the HIA European Parliament Internship Program was, by all measures, a success. Nine Humanity in Action senior fellows were placed with nine Members of the European Parliament (MEPs), where they worked for three months, from March 1 to May 30, 2005. The nine senior fellows worked on projects as diverse as child labor, ethnic minorities in Turkey, development, and E.U. immigration policies.

The Friday seminar series included representatives from NGOs, international organizations, the European Commission, and the European Parliament. The speakers were generally very impressed with the engagement and breadth of knowledge of the senior fellows. In addition to the weekly seminar series, we also had several introductory sessions, a mid-term evaluation, a fundraising workshop with Anne Stalfort, and a final event at the Baden-Württemberg representation with Mr. Todd Huizinga of the U.S. Mission to the E.U. The highlight of the program was nearly universally agreed upon: the field trip to Ypres and the tour of the World War I battlefields.

Amanda Klekowski von Koppenfels
Program Director



Interning at the European Parliament in Brussels

Charlotte Annighöfer, German program 2003

Today, after working here for a month, I would like to share with you my first impressions of my internship at the European Parliament in Brussels. I am working at the office of Cem Özdemir who is MEP since the elections of summer 2004, representing the German Green Party (along with twelve other MEPs).

Cem's field of interest is in many ways identical with HIA's. It cannot be understood without being acquainted with his personal background. Born in southern Germany in 1965 as the child of Turkish immigrants, immigrant rights, integration policies and Turkish accession to the European Union have been his main concerns over the past years. He is perhaps the most popular "immigrant politician" in Germany and therefore one of the few MEPs in Brussels whom Germans actually know. While becoming the spokesperson for Turkish migrants in Germany, he also cultivates a special relationship with Turkey on its way to becoming member of the European Union. Being a strong advocate of Turkey's accession, he stresses the need for major reforms in the country to achieve that goal (especially improving the situation of ethnic and religious minorities, women's rights and implementation of human rights on all levels of society in general).

Thus, my work so far has focused to a large extent on minority issues in Turkey. While minorities in Turkey have gained substantial recognition in the country's reform process, their rights are still far from self-evident. These ethnic and religious minorities include the Roma, Jewish, Russian-, Greek-, Syrian-Orthodox and Alevites, many of which have lived there for centuries. The Greek-Orthodox patriarch in Istanbul, who is head of the Greek-Orthodox Church in Turkey, looks back on a long tradition of acceptance in the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, he is not recognized by the Turkish government.

Surely many of the minority issues Turkey is currently facing are the consequence of the failure to address and confront its own history critically, especially the Armenian genocide (the 90th anniversary of which will be in April of this year) and the expulsion of the large Greek communities living in Turkey. Both historical incidents will be touched upon in the next few weeks by our work. There will be a conference in Strasburg on the situation of Armenians in Turkey with Armenian and Turkish scholars attending. The Turkish government still denies that an Armenian genocide has taken place and explains incidents in the context of the First World War. Also Germany has not yet officially recog-

nized the genocide.

Whereas the Armenian genocide is largely taboo, Greek-Turkish relations have come a long way. The premiere of a Greek film by Tassos Boulmetis (*A Touch of Spice*) at the Parliament in Brussels is bound to be great success, judging from the enormous resonance it received in Greece. It talks about the Greeks who were driven out of Istanbul in 1964, their loss and recovery of home and identity.

The weeks at the parliament follow a strict plan of commission meetings, a week in Strasbourg for the parliament session, a week for political group meetings, and sometimes a constituency week. Cem Özdemir is a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, and the Committee against Racial Discrimination. These all deal with many of the issues addressed above, often inviting ambassadors, political scientists or activists to give their views on particular topics.

Last but not least, the Friday lecture series attended by all HIA fellows currently interning at the European Parliament has been tremendously enriching in getting to know other institutions and their work in minority issues. The HIA group has been a great source of help, fun, and serious discussion, and it has been nice to get to know Brussels with everybody.

In conclusion, I can say that this internship has given me the unique opportunity of not only experiencing the work of the European Parliament "on the inside," but also further deepening my knowledge on human rights and minority issues.

Year in Review



2005 Core Programs

Washington, DC Program for 2005 American Fellows

May 31: Orientation, George Washington University
Dr. Judith S. Goldstein, Executive Director, HIA
Sarah Ogilvie, Director, National Institute for Holocaust Education at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum

June 1: Dinner hosted by Judy and Stanley Hallet
Barbara Finkelstein, Professor and Founding Director, International Center for Transcultural Education at University of Maryland

June 1-3: United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Sarah Ogilvie, Director, National Institute for Holocaust Education at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum
Severin Hochberg, Historian, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
Robert Ehrenreich, Director of University Programs, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
Suzanne Brown-Fleming, Program Officer, University Programs, Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies
Jerry Fowler, Staff Director, Committee on Conscience

Opening Program, The Netherlands

June 4
“Welcome,” Marcel Oomen, Program Director, HIA The Netherlands
“Sixty Years Later,” Ed van Thijn, Chairman, HIA The Netherlands
Workshop 1: Expectations
“Hidden Children, Secret Lives” (Film)

June 5
“What is HIA?” Dr. Judith S. Goldstein, Executive Director, HIA
Workshop 2: Cultural Identities
Workshop 3: Poetry with Michael Kunichika
Workshop 4: Human Rights
“Conflicting Human Rights,” Judge W. Thomassen
Workshop 5: Europe and USA Roundtable discussions:
1) Importance of the Holocaust – Dr. Diennek Hondius
2) Rich and Poor – Frans Verhagen
3) Role and Importance of Religion – Prof. Dr. Ruth Oldenziel
4) Multicultural Society vs Melting Pot – Simone Kukenheim
5) The War on Terrorism – Thomas Berghuijs

June 6
“Genocide in Rwanda. Talking to Killers, Aiding Violence?”
Enno Koops and Floris van Eijk, HIA Senior Fellows
“Band-Aids on Open Wounds. Theory and Practice of

Humanitarian Intervention,” Linda Polman
Visit ICTY or ICC or Iran-USA Claims Tribunal
Reception at the residency of Deputy Chief of Mission hosted by Mr. Daniel Russel, U.S. Embassy

June 7
“Massive Violence and Compartmentalization: the Social Arrangements of Extermination,” Prof. Dr. Bram de Swaan
“Muslims in Europe, Minority, Citizens of Outcast?”
Dr. Maurits Berger
Tours through Amsterdam:
Former Jewish Amsterdam – Edward van Voolen
Muslims in Mokum – Marije Roos, HIA Senior Fellow
Inheritance of Colonialism – Lisa Francisco and Jose Aarts, HIA Senior Fellows
Amsterdam Politics – Thomas Berghuijs, Marietje Schaake, and Ekim Alptekin, HIA Senior Fellows
Visit Anne Frank House
“Welcome,” Hans Westra, Director, Anne Frank House

Danish Core Program

June 8
“Welcome,” Uffe Stormgaard, Chair, HIA Denmark
“Danish Mentality,” Anne Knudsen, Chief Editor Weekend Avisen
“Danish politics,” Thomas Larsen, Political Editor of Berlingske Tidende

June 9
Friedhedsmuseet
“Danish Resistance During WWII,” Jørgen Kieler, resistance fighter

June 10
Jewish Museum
“The Rescue of Danish Jews During WWII,” Rabbi Bent Lexner
June 11 Christiania visit

June 13
DIMR (Danish Center for Human Rights)
“Working with Human Rights,” Prof., Judge Mr. Isi Foighel
“Holocaust Aftermath,” Torben Jørgensen, Researcher
“Doctors without Borders: Responses to Genocide,”
Dr. Vibeke Brix Christensen
“German Children Refugees after WWII,” Kirsten Lyloff, Historian
“The Israel-Palestine Conflict,” Herbert Pundik, Senior Correspondent

June 14
 “The Ever-Changing Work with Refugees,” Andreas Kamm, Director
 “Danish Debate on Integration and Immigration,” Rushy Rashid (author and journalist)
 “Danish Red Cross: Danish Refugee and Asylum Policies,” Ann-Sofie Bech
 “RCT and Torture victims,” Psych. Beepat Chandramohun (Kavi)
 “Personal Tale from Rwanda,” Francoise Muyango

June 15
 “Religion and Politics in Denmark: Civic Education, Democracy, and the Question of Secularism,” Anders Berg Sørensen, Professor
 “Minority Religions in DK: Focus on Islam,” Tim Jensen, Lecturer
 Visit to Vesterbro Mosque
 Visit to Helligkors church hosted by Priest Mr. Erik Bock
 “The U.N. and Its Response to Genocide,” Ambassador Mr. Tyge Lehman

June 16
 “Human Rights in National Law,” Prof. Eva Smith
 “Center for Human Rights,” Morten Kjærum, Director
 “Fundamental and Human Rights of Persons with Disabilities,” Holger Kallehaug, Former High Court Judge
 “Complaint Committee for Discrimination,” Prof. Mrs. Pia Justesen

June 17
 Visit to Kofoeds Skole
 “Danish Immigration Policies,” Civil servant Mark Kjeldgaard, Ministry of Integration
 “The Election Night” (Movie), Entertainer Farshad Kholghi
 “Media and the Debate of Muslim Women,” Yildiz Akdogan, Politician

June 18
 Louisiana Tour

June 20
 “The Future of EU,” Tøger Seidenfaden, Chief Editor of *Politiken*
 “How to Write a Journalistic Essay,” Journalist Mr. Lars Bjerg

June 21
 “Political Islam and the Quest for Liberal Democracy in the Societies of the Middle East,” Teacher Garba Diallo
 “GAM3: Basketball Project for Youngsters of Non-Danish Origin,” Mr. Simon Prahm

June 22
 “EU and US,” Prof. Mr. Carl Pedersen
 Visit to the American Embassy and Townhall Discussion on Democracy hosted by Public Diplomacy Officer Mr. Rick Johannsen
 “Bænken” (Film), Director Per Fly

June 23
 St. Hans Party

June 24-July 1
 Research, Writing, and Presentation of Fellows’ Reports

July 1
 Copenhagen Jazz Festival

Dutch Core Program

June 8
 “Introduction,” Anna Timmerman, Program Coordinator, and Marcel Oomen, Program Director, HIA The Netherlands
 Fellows Presentations
 “Highlights of Dutch History”
 “What is the EU?”
 “Colonialism and Slavery”
 “Dutch Democracy, a Monarchy”

June 9
 Fellows Presentations
 “Dutch Perceptions of the Role of the Dutch in WWII”
 “Pillarized Society and the Sexual Revolution”
 “Emancipation in The Netherlands”
 “Islam in the Netherlands”
 “Terrorism in The Netherlands”
 “Dutch Foreign Policy”
 “Typical Dutch”

June 10
 Visit to former SS Concentration Camp Vught
 “Resistance,” Rutger Matthijsen

June 11
 “My Life,” Frieda Menco

June 13
 “Race and Racism in Dutch History,” Dr. Dienne Hondius
 Visit to NiNsee, National Institute for Slavery Education and Inheritance
 “The Relevance of Slavery History Today,” Dr. Glen Willemsen, NiNsee director
 “Katiby Ye Ye – Inner Slavery” Film by Frank Zichem
 Discussion with senior fellows Izalina Tavares and Nailah Fernando

June 14
 “Youth Culture, Racism and the Extreme Right,” Dr. Jaap an Donselaar
 “Reflections of an Idiot,” Prem Radhakishun
 “Dilemmas of Crime and Culture,” Prof. Dr. Frank Bovenkerk

“The Celluloid Closet” Film by Rob Epstein and Jeffrey Friedman.

Introduction, Anna Timmerman

June 15

“The idea of ‘Europe’ in the Framework of the European Union,” Prof. Dr. Rosi Braidotti

“Submission”, Film by Theo van Gogh. Discussion with producer Gijs van de Westerlaken

“Genocide: Who’s Responsible?” Prof. Dr. Johannes Houwink ten Cate

“Rwanda Fact, Genocide 1994,” Britha Gasake Kayitesi

June 16

Visit Aya Sofya Mosque with Haci Karacaer

Visit Anne Frank House

“We Amsterdammers,” Jeroen de Lange

“Invisible Parents, the Neighborhood of Mohamed B.” Margalith Kleywegt

Annual HIA Dinner

June 17

Visit Vluchtelingenwerk (Refugeework)

“Refugeework,” Stefan Kok

“Coming to The Netherlands as a refugee”, Davor Gasparac

“What is an Allochtoon” discussion with panel of senior fellows Tsehai Aarten, Karim Maarek and Meline Arakelian. Discussion leader Michael Kunichika

June 18

BBQ hosted by Harry van den Bergh

June 20

Visit Resistance Museum with Mr. and Mrs. Cohen

June 22

“Human Security and Life Line Operations,” Dr. Mient Jan Faber

June 24

Visit Gallery Maria Chailloux

“Freedom of Expression in Turkey,” Burhan Kum

June 27

Visit Women on Waves

“Women on Waves,” Rebecca Gomperts

June 28

“The ‘Action’ in Humanity in Action,” Marietje Schaake, HIA Senior Fellow

June 30-July 2

Presentation of Fellow’s Reports

German Core Program

June 9

“Introduction,” Rainer Ohliger, European Associate Director,

HIA; Antje Scheidler, Program Director and Anne Stalfort, Development Advisor, HIA Germany

“Turning points in Germany’s History in the 20th Century,” Elif Özer and Henry Haaker, 2005 HIA Fellows

“Germany’s Political System,” Daniel Krupka and Fabian Franke, 2005 HIA Fellows

“The German Educational System,” Maria Stemmler, 2005 HIA Fellow

“Religion in Germany,” Birte Schöler and Josephine Landertinger Forero, 2005 HIA Fellows

“Minorities in Germany,” Henriette Rytz and Siddik Bakir, 2005 HIA Fellows

Workshop: Action Plans, Anne Stalfort, HIA Development Advisor, and Karl Lemberg, HIA Senior Fellow

June 10

Discussion with Inge Deutschkron, Holocaust Survivor

Visit Museum “Workshop of the Blind Otto Weidt”

Visit German Resistance Memorial Site, Dr. Ekkehard Klaus

June 11

“Come-Together-Cup,” Soccer against Intolerance, Segregation, and Violence with two Humanity in Action Teams

June 12

Meeting with HIA Senior Fellows in Potsdam

June 13

Visit Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Prof. Dr. Sibylle Quack

Visit Memorial Site Berlin-Hohenschönhausen (a former jail or political prisoners in the GDR), Hans-Eberhard Zahn, Eye Witness

June 14

Meet Tom Koenigs, Federal Government Commissioner for Human Rights Policy and Humanitarian Aid at the Federal Foreign Office

“Educational Projects,” Dr. Sabine Jungk, Entwicklungspolitisches Bildungs- und Informationszentrum

Talk with Cornelia Schmalz-Jacobsen, Chair of HIA Germany and author, and Bartholomäus Figatowski, HIA Senior Fellow

June 15

Meet Dr. Claudia Lohrenscheit and Dr. Wolfgang Heinz, German Institute for Human Rights

“The Ethical Foundations of Human Rights: The Example of the Anti-Discrimination Law,” Dr. Mathias Mahlmann

June 16

“Migration to Germany after World War II,” Antje Scheidler and Rainer Ohliger, HIA Program Directors

Meet Florencio Chicote, Antidiscrimination Network, Turkish

Association Berlin-Brandenburg

Visit Treatment Center for Victims of Torture, Britta Jenkins and Roger Goldber

June 17

Meet Dr. Bernhard Santel, researcher, and Georgios Tsapanos, Ministry of the Interior

“Education and Integration” (Panel Discussion): Özcan Mutlu, Member of the Berlin House of Representatives (Green Party); Jürgen Kaube, Journalist and Board Member of Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V.; and Dr. Bernhard Santel

Meet Ulrich Raiser, Office of the Berlin Commissioner for Migration and Integration

June 18-19

Visit Hof Trebbow

Meet Dr. Ulrich Ivo von Trotha, Vice-chairman of Humanity in Action Deutschland e.V.

June 20

Meet Uriel Kashi, Federal Union of Jewish Students in Germany

Meet Stephan Kramer, Secretary General, Zentralrat der Juden in Deutschland

“Welcome,” Deidre Berger, American Jewish Committee

“Jewish Immigration to Germany,” Sergey Lagodinsky

Visit Jewish cemetery in Berlin-Weißensee

June 21

“Queer goes Public: Changes and Challenges,” Ilona Bubeck and Jim Baker, Publishing House Querverlag

Visit “Remembrance, Responsibility, and Future”

Foundation, Kai Hennig, Stiftung “Erinnerung, Verantwortung und Zukunft”

June 22

Dinner hosted by Caroline and Cord-Georg Hasselmann, HIA host family

“Engagement with Human Rights,” Percy MacLean, Judge

June 22-July 2

Research, Writing, and Presentation of Fellows’ Reports

July 2

Farewell boat tour with host families, board members, guests and friends of HIA

Closing Program, Copenhagen

July 3

“Forgiving Dr. Mengele” (Film)

July 4

Discussion of “Forgiving Dr. Mengele,” Bob Hercules, film director “Truth and Reconciliation Committee,” H.E.

Ambassador Steven Gawe, South African Embassy

“International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia,” Chief Prosecutor Michael Johnson

July 5

“Middle East Perception of the West,” Maie Saraff, Head of Palestinian Representation in Denmark

“Wrapping Up the Summer Program,” Prof. Ida Nicolaisen

2005 Internships

Fall Program for 2005 European Fellows

September 25

Orientation: Dr. Judith S. Goldstein, Executive Director, HIA; Joan Ringelheim, Director, Department of Oral History, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
“The Holocaust and Slavery: Aspects of Memory,” James O. Horton, Benjamin Banneker Professor of American Studies, George Washington University
Dinner hosted by Dana Binnendijk

September 26

Visit United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Visit Museum of the American Indian
Dinner at home of Judy and Stanley Hallet
“Transcultural Issues, Diversity and Pluralism,” Barbara Finkelstein, Professor and Founding Director, International Center for Transcultural Education at University of Maryland

September 27

Visit United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
“The Tragedy of Welfare in America,” Peter Edelman, Professor of Law, Georgetown University

September 28

Visit United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
Visit to United States Congress

September 29

“Gender and Science: What Women—and Larry Summers—Need to Know about Succeeding in Academic Science,” Vita Rabinowitz, Acting Provost, Hunter College
“Human Rights,” David Hawk, Former Executive Director, Amnesty International
“Collaborative Doctrines of Threat and Security: US and India,” Rupal Oza, Director, Women’s Studies program, Hunter College
“How Race and Class Shaped the Public Health Impact of Hurricane Katrina,” Nicholas Freudenberg, Professor, Urban Public Health Program Hunter College

September 30

Visit International Center for Tolerance Education
“American Minorities,” Michael Kunichka and Elidor Mehilli, HIA Senior Fellows
“Minorities and Prisons,” Betsy Ginsberg and Alex Reinert
Visit Ford Foundation

January 15 – May 30:

Lantos / Capitol Hill Fellowship Program

Professor Peter Edelman, Associate Dean, Georgetown University Law Center
Richard Perle, Resident Fellow, American Enterprise Institute
Oscar De Soto, Director, Office for the Promotion of Human Rights and Democracy, US Department of State
Nina Bang-Jensen, Executive Director, Coalition for International Justice
Burt Wides, Senior Counsel, House Judiciary Committee
Joy Zarembka, Director, Campaign for Migrant Domestic Workers’ Rights, Institute for Policy Studies
Michael Haltzel, Chief Counsel, Foreign Relations Committee, US Senate
Roger Ballentine, President, Green Strategies
Dave Engel, Division Director, Policy Development & Research, Department of Housing & Urban Development
Pietro Nivola, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
Ed Lazere, Executive Director, National Center on Budget & Policy Priorities
Michael Greve, Director, Federalism Project, American Enterprise Institute
Avis Buchanan, Director, Public Defender Service for the District of Columbia
James Silverwood, Senior Trial Attorney, Criminal Division, US Department of Justice
Karen Dolan, Director, Cities for Peace, Institute for Policy Studies
Mark Vlasic, Attorney, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher
Jeanne Butterfield, Executive Director, American Immigration Lawyers Association
Jack Martin, Special Projects Director, Federation for American Immigration Reform
Judge Joan Zeldon, Superior Court of the District of Columbia
Dan Freeman, Parliamentarian & Counsel, International Relations Committee, US House of Representatives
Barry Jacobs, Director Strategic Studies, American Jewish Committee
Sanho Tree, Director of Drug Policy Program, Institute for Policy Studies
David Bositis, Senior Researcher, Joint Center for Political & Economic Studies
Cory Smith, Legislative Counsel, Human Rights First
Donna Crane, Deputy Director, NARAL-ProChoice America
Olivia Gans, Director, American Victims of Abortion, National Right to Life Committee

Dr. Peter Cohen, Professor, Georgetown University Law Center
Sara Mead, Education Policy Analyst, Progressive Policy Institute
Brandi Graham Penseneau, Federal Liaison, National Rifle Association
Program at Johns Hopkins SAIS: How Arab TV is Changing the Arab World
Paul Krugman, Economist, Speaker at Princeton University Program
Michael Stoops, Director, National Coalition for the Homeless
Dr. Juan Romagoza, Clinica del Pueblo
Irasema Salcido, Founder, CEO, Cesar Chavez Public Charter Schools
Supreme Court Hearing
American Enterprise Institute lecture: "The End of Europe"
Live political TV program, CNN Crossfire
Met with members of Israeli Embassy
Met with members of Dutch Embassy
Met with members of German Embassy

March 1 – May 30:

European Parliament Internship Program, Brussels

Joanna Apap, European Parliament
Nick Grono, International Crisis Group
Nele Verbruggen, PICUM (Migrant Advocacy Group)
Judith Kumin, Head, UNHCR Brussels
Cornelia Bührle, Jesuit Refugee Service
Valeriu Nicolae, European Roma Information Office/ ERIO
Ulrich von Koppenfels, European Commission, DG Competition
Martin Schieffer, European Commission, Justice and Home Affairs
Rolf Timans, European Commission, DG External Relations
Katharine Derderian, Medecins Sans Frontieres
Jürgen Wickert, Friedrich Naumann Foundation

2005 Highlights

January 20

HIA Benefit, New York hosted by Michelle Wallerstein
Helen Mirren
Adam Hochschild

February 28 – March 4

Elidor Mehilli Photo Exhibit, Cornell University
“My own bunker: a photo essay on post-socialist urban transitions,” Elidor Mehilli, HIA Senior Fellow

March 16

Circle of Friends event, Parlamentarische
Gesellschaft at the German Bundestag.
Keynote address by Jürgen Kaube, journalist at Frankfurter
Allgemeine Zeitung and board member of HIA Germany

April 16

Senior Fellows’ Conference, “Connections and
Contradictions,” New York
Session I: Human Rights and Religion
Barrett Duke, Vice President, The Ethics & Religious Liberty
Commission, Southern Baptist Convention
Susan Jacoby, Author of *Freethinkers: A History of
American Secularism*
Burt Neuborne, Professor, NYU School of Law
Session II: Human Rights and Business
Robert Friedman, International Editor, Fortune Magazine
Arvind Ganesan, Business and Human Rights Director,
Human Rights Watch
Marcela Manubens, Vice President of Human Rights
Programs, Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation

May 4

Reception in honor of Congressman Tom and
Annette Lantos at French Ambassador’s Residence,
Washington, D.C. hosted by Ambassador Jean-David
Levitte

May 8

Three Dutch senior fellows met with President Bush and
Prime Minister Balkenende

May 9

Generating Tolerance and Insight Founding Event,
“Between Realpolitik and Moralpolitik: The United
States, Europe and the crisis in Darfur,” Amsterdam

August 21

Movie screening, *DRABET* with discussion by director Per
Fly at Gentofte Kino, Copenhagen

October 2

HIA / Herbert Quandt Foundation dinner for foundations
and initiatives dealing with trans-Atlantic issues

November 1, 15, 29, December 13

Lecture Series, “Explaining Darfur,” University of
Amsterdam
Agnes van Ardenne, Minister of Development
Professor Mohammed Salih
Nick Grono, Vice President of International Crisis Group
Juan Mendez, director of the International Center for
Transitional Justice and UN special advisor on the
prevention of genocide

November 24

Senior Fellows Network Lecture, Karin Schaapman on
prostitution and women trafficking, Amsterdam

December 14 -19

Exchange program for Dutch and Turkish students
organized by senior fellow Doutje Lettinga, Amsterdam

December 19

Conference on multiculturalism and the universities,
Amsterdam

Highlights



Helen Mirren and Michel Wallerstein at the HIA New York benefit.



Aisulu Masytkanova, Dorota Pudzianowska and Michelle Rosenthal in the German program.



Ambassador Jean-David Lavitte the host of the reception honoring Congressman Tom and Annette Lantos.

Preempting the Violence That Comes of Intolerance

By Nora Boustany

Friday, November 18, 2005

The Washington Post

Hindsight is easy. Thinking ahead is harder. While governments are consumed with investigating terrorism and genocide, one group of concerned global citizens strives to protect endangered minorities and stands against intolerance before violence occurs.

Founded in 1998, Humanity in Action trains American and European student leaders to "identify and surmount institutionalized violations in democratic societies," said the executive director, Judith S. Goldstein .

"Chronologically, it is pre-conflict resolution," she added.

The group, whose board of directors is based in the United States, has planning boards in Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland, Germany and France. Its programs are funded through contributions from individuals, corporations and governments.

About 350 students have gone through the program since its inception. The fellows undergo five weeks of core training that includes lectures given by human rights leaders, politicians, diplomats, scholars, artists and philanthropists. The students are challenged to explore innovative approaches to safeguarding human rights.

Senior fellows then can proceed to international internships at several sites, including the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, the U.S. House of Representatives, the European Parliament, Interpol and the Anne Frank Foundation.

On Tuesday night, the group announced that it was launching a core program based in the United States. "The purpose of the American program is to have European students work with American counterparts so they see our models of integration, both our failures and successes," Goldstein said at a dinner hosted by the German ambassador, Wolfgang Ischinger .

After Hurricane Katrina , the public has debated the struggles of America's underclass. Mark Goldberg , a fellow in the Netherlands, said the group hoped to keep the discussion "alive."

Interns based in the United States will be assigned to non-governmental organizations focused on minority issues.

For the past four years, European fellows sponsored by Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.) have interned with members of the Human Rights Caucus, of which he is chairman.

Goldstein's inspiration for founding Humanity in Action was the historical example of how Danish citizens and their monarch intervened to save the lives of Danish Jews during World War II.

"We are interested in the resistance to people who persecute minorities, and we are basically working in democratic societies," she said yesterday.

Targeted attacks in Europe, the recent rioting in France and Katrina have raised new questions about race, ethnicity and class and institutional flaws toward vulnerable population groups, Humanity in Action fellows said.

In 2001, Goldberg explored a Moroccan neighborhood in Amsterdam that is notorious for its restive immigrant youth.

Goldberg said local leaders in the area were "heroic" in their efforts to combat the social and economic problems of their areas but lacked the resources to effectively fight gang activity and crime. One young man who fell through the cracks was Mohammed Bouyeri, who gravitated from petty crime to religious radicalism. In November 2004, Bouyeri killed controversial filmmaker Theo van Gogh , "in the name of Islam," Goldberg said.

After the Van Gogh killing, a debate began in the Netherlands "not unlike the one happening in France right now, about how and where did their national model of minority integration and assimilation fail; and how that has produced a generation of alienated and seemingly angry minority youth," Goldberg said

In another example, Dirk Schmalenbach , a lawyer on the group's German board, said Germany was beginning to worry about its failure to fully integrate the country's more than 3 million Muslims, most of whom are of Turkish origin.

Michael Th. Johnson , registrar at the War Crimes Chamber of the Court of Bosnia in Sarajevo, said that senior trial attorneys and their support staff had come to rely on the contribution of dozens of fellows who had passed through the tribunal.

"HIA is the process of evolving our species to eventually influence those who are in positions of power," said Johnson, an American lawyer. "Our aim is to change a climate of impunity into a climate of prevention."

Next summer, 20 American fellows and a total of 20 from Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Poland and France will meet in New York. They will study historical and modern examples of institutional abuses against select populations; cultural, legal and political resources available to advocates of more inclusive societies; and U.S. participation in world human rights institutions since World War II.

"What we can do, and what we must do, is make the world smaller," said Anna R. Dolinsky, 23, a second-year law student at Georgetown University Law Center. "It will be crucial for American and European fellows to engage in the French experience with minority integration in order to identify lessons learned and needs unmet."

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