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The Heretics' Hour Interview with Fredrick Töben July 15, 2011



The intrepid revisionist from Australia gives his views on a wide-range of subjects, including his home of Adelaide; the [Adelaide Institute](#); arrests, court cases and latest [efforts to bankrupt him](#); Bishop Williamson's latest appeal loss; the state of Revisionism; Nationalism; developing character; the similarity between 9/11 and Holocaust; and more.

13 MB / 32 kbps mono / 0 hour 56 min.



Contact Carolyn:

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Posted by Mike Conner · Filed Under [The Heretics' Hour](#)

Tagged: [Carolyn Yeager](#)

Top CIA Officer: Israel Will Probably Attack Iran in September

By www.JPOST.COM July 16, 2011

Robert Baer tells LA KPFK radio that strike on Tehran likely to happen before vote on Palestinian state, that PM wants US to be involved.

Israel will probably attack Iran in September, a veteran CIA officer who spent 21 years in the Middle East, including in Lebanon and Syria, told a Los Angeles radio show on Tuesday. While former CIA officer Rober Baer didn't reveal the sources

behind his prediction, he referred to former Mossad chief Meir Dagan's warnings of an Israeli attack on Iran as "no bluff."

Baer told the KPFK Los Angeles show Background Briefing that previous comments made by Dagan that an Israeli attack on Iran could lead to a regional war, "tell us with near certainty that Netanyahu is planning an attack, and in as much as I can

guess when it's going to be, it's probably going to be in September before a vote on the Palestinian state."

Baer added that Netanyahu is "also hoping to draw the United States into the conflict, and in fact there's a warning order inside the Pentagon to prepare for conflict with Iran."

The retired senior CIA officer predicted a scenario in which Israel would attack the Natanz nuclear facility as well as "a couple of others to degrade their capabilities."

"The Iranians will strike back were they can and that will be in Basra and in Baghdad," where the US has a diminished troop presence, Baer said, adding "we've started to look at Iran's targets in Iraq and across the border."

Baer, however, diffused predictions of regional war, saying, "What we're facing here is an escalation, not a planned all-out war."

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article28599.htm>

How sad to see to see individuals still plying that well-worn dialectic divide left-right wing.

It is not possible to grasp some of the essential problems and their possible solutions if we remain stuck in this divide that aims to deflect from the far deeper one, the national versus international dichotomy.

Both Labor and Liberal thinkers are beholden to selling off Australian assets as part of the new One World Order that

fears nation states who seek autark principles of self-realisation.

So, what 10 needs is someone who dares attack the demons lurking beneath climate change rhetoric and deception, namely an international movement requiring a continuous tax source in order to keep its imperial dreams alive.

After all, empires of the past fades into oblivion when their tax source faded - and that is the crux of what ails Australia: we must break away from foreign debt enslavement otherwise our national assets will be sold off as is happening to Greece right now.

How many Australians know that the nation and its various states and territories have a business number that is registered in Washington?

Our Australia and its people are already corporatised, meaning it does not belong to the people any more, and that's not addressed by any politician because they are too fearful to mention that the people don't own Australia any more.

That's the sadness of our current political game - as it was during the 1930s when Adolf Hitler did something about disconnecting from such nation-destroying political forces.

<http://www.ipost.com/Defense/Article.aspx?id=22960>

[5](#)

Channel Ten Plan To "Introduce More Right Wing Voices"



By Jess McGuire on July 11, 2011 at 1:59 PM

You know what I was thinking when I woke up early the other morning? I thought to myself, "God, it'd be great to sit down and eat breakfast in front of the television while watching some fuckwit right wing pundit who earns an fortune peddling messages of hate to the masses tell me how awful things like carbon tax and gay marriage and social welfare and asylum seekers are!" so as you can imagine I'm pretty pleased to learn that Channel Ten are planning on having a crack at creating their own breakfast television show hosted by someone "lively and contentious" a la Andrew Bolt!

From The Australian:

The Ten Network has plans for a news-based television breakfast program to rival Nine's Today and Seven's Sunrise. Pleased with the success of the Logie-winning morning show The Circle, interim chief executive Lachlan Murdoch has asked executives to develop a third breakfast program to run between 6am and 9am, tentatively called AM.

Ten's breakfast program would replace the two early news bulletins, at 6am and 9am, if it were to go ahead. Ten, which last week cancelled two long-running programs, Video Hits and Sports Tonight, to save money, is keen to mine new sources of revenue, and the breakfast time slot is proving a lucrative market for the other networks.

...

With News Limited columnist Andrew Bolt installed as the high-profile host of a politically conservative talk show, The Bolt Report, on Sundays, Ten is actively pursuing other options for balancing what is available on television by introducing more right-wing voices.

Sources say the network is after "lively and contentious" voices like Bolt's and is searching for fresh talent.

I think it's spelled "cuntentious."

Comments

Mase

July 11, 2011 at 3:08 PM

Nobody's going to force you to watch it, dear.

Channels 7 and 9 will still have their Left-wing luvvy-fests on. as will the taxpayer-funded ABC; it's just that there will be an

option for the approximately 50% of Australians who aren't die-hard Labor-voting Leftist cheerleaders.

It's almost as though you're frightened witless that the half of Australia who doesn't conform to your way of thinking might finally have an option.

Tolerance much? Or are you only happy to "tolerate" those who think exactly as you do?

[Permalink Reply](#)

K

July 11, 2011 at 3:22 PM

You think Labor is left wing. Your argument is now moot.

[Permalink Reply](#)

James

July 11, 2011 at 3:39 PM

Channel 7 and 9 left-wing? Bless your cotton socks, Gina :)

[Permalink Reply](#)

Ellen

July 11, 2011 at 3:41 PM

Where are these 'left-wing luvvyfests' on Seven and Nine? The Kochies and their like couldn't be more insipid and apolitical. For people like Mase, anyone who isn't a foaming-at-the-mouth right-wing nutjob like Bolt is 'left-wing'. And I see he's parroting the 'ABC is leftist' lie. In fact, ABC commentators are forced by the charter to remain neutral. Unlike at News Ltd (who control 70 percent of the newspapers) where it's gloves-off right-wing all the way. The right-wing 'might finally have an option', says Mase, ignoring the fact that they have more options than anyone.

[Permalink Reply](#)

Clinton

July 11, 2011 at 3:21 PM

The obvious key is right in the middle of that peice... "Lachlan Murdoch"... the Murdochs cant get a firm foothold in Australia with Fox News so this is their way in

[Permalink Reply](#)

Ludicrousity

July 11, 2011 at 3:25 PM

Ha! Great article :)

[Permalink Reply](#)

Lucy

July 11, 2011 at 3:26 PM

I wonder if Alan Jones would be interested in making the shift from radio to TV?

[Permalink Reply](#)

Michael

July 11, 2011 at 3:29 PM

Okay – I never respond to these things but I'll make an exception for you 'Mase'.

'Nobody's going to force you to watch it, dear.' So they can screen the Arayan appreciation hour, or the 7-paedo project and that would be okay? Poor argument.

'Channels 7 and 9 will still have their Left-wing luvvy-fests on. as will the taxpayer-funded ABC'Channel 7 & 9 left wing? They are middle. They will do whatever is popular. Agreed about the ABC, however senior management is working to change that.

Fact – most people don't know left from right (in politics). I know, I teach this. Most who do find out what is truly right and left, then find it hard to align themselves to one party based on, their upbringing, age, knowledge, media, and individual issues.

Finally, 'Tolerance much? Or are you only happy to "tolerate" those who think exactly as you do?'

Basically this statement, and the argument that goes before it prove you to be a hypocrite. Clearly you do not tolerate the left.

Bottom line – step back, look at issues and those presenting them critically, and make your own mind up.

[Permalink Reply](#)

Kirsty

July 11, 2011 at 3:31 PM

This instantly reminds me of certain American television channels.

As for you, Maze, the irony in this of course is that right wing ideology bearers in Australia have an increased tendency to be socially conservative, which as we all know is in opposition to the idea of 'smaller government' (why should a government, for instance, dictate who is allowed to marry in cases of consenting adults?). I'm completely opposed to views that marginalise individuals who don't fit within that nice little niche of white and upper middle class. I don't see this as intolerance. I see this as intolerance of intolerance (meta-intolerance), which is more awesome than a basket of kittens.

[Permalink Reply](#)

amphigory

July 11, 2011 at 3:33 PM

@Mase

what a typical response lol

i'm all for alternative view points, but the attitude of these "right wing" people is atrocious. Bolt comes across like some smug sarcastic know-it-all, it's very difficult to watch, and I don't watch 7 or 9 as their stuff is rubbish.

I guess you can have your right wing love fests – thankfully its on early in the morning and I can easily skip it. And I highly doubt its 50% – that's wishful thinking. I think its just a vocal minority, who seem to have a lot of money to throw at the media to get their way or promote their view.

[Permalink Reply](#)

Tim

July 11, 2011 at 3:39 PM

Mase, the article isn't saying a broad range of opinions isn't a good thing. It's implying that Andrew Bolt and people like him are evil, racist, homophobic, morally reprehensible, economically gutless oxygen thieves who are scared of change and let's face it, even "right wingers" don't want to be put in that category.

[Permalink Reply](#)

Mike

July 11, 2011 at 4:30 PM

Called AM? How unoriginal to pinch a name ABC radio has been using since 1967.

[Permalink Reply](#)

Dr Fredrick Toben

July 12, 2011 at 8:04 PM

How sad to see to see individuals still plying that well-worn dialectic divide left-right wing.

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<http://www.defamer.com.au/2011/07/channel-ten-plan-to-introduce-more-right-wing-voices/>

Farrakhan Blasts the "Coalition of Demons" attacking Libya,

www.FinalCall.com June 15, 2011

Minister Farrakhan exposed the U.S. and NATO's criminal War Libya and Africa during a June 15, 2011 Press Conference at the UN Plaza Hotel. Also presenting were former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, Human Rights Activist Viola Plummer and International Activist Cynthia McKinney.

former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark, states that there were three assassinations in his time – and it must stop...

"Dear Brother [Barack Obama], Be Careful about the Assassination of Mu'ammarr Al-Qadhafi"

Louis Farrakhan: "According to what we understand, only two percent of the Libyan people are in rebellion against their government. Now, you [Obama] mean to tell me that half the people don't want you, and you dare to say that this man [Al-Qadhafi] is illegitimate? What makes him illegitimate, and what makes you legitimate? Is it because you have ruled the

world under white supremacy? Is it because of your former power as a colonial master and a slave master? Is it because of your military might?

"Well let me tell you what's about to happen to all of you. I didn't come here just to have a press conference; I came here to preach the doom of this institution. You say that he is illegitimate, he kills his own people? What's your record? What's your record, America?

"Keep looking at the chessboard. Soon, you will see your pieces coming off the table. Your governments will soon be laying in... some of you, who have plotted against the peoples of the world, will be seen on the back of pickup trucks, driving through the streets of America, with the American people throwing stones and raw garbage at you.

"In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate.

"Dear brother leader, Mu'ammarr Al-Qadhafi, may this letter find you, your family, and the faithful people of the Libyan Arab Republic, in the best health and spirit in spite of the prevailing circumstances.

"Dear brother leader, in the general orders that we were given by the honorable Elijah Muhammad, whose desire was to make us brave fighters, willing at any time to give our lives for Allah's sake and righteousness, it states in general order No. 5 'Do not quit your post until properly relieved.' Allah put you on your post, and neither NATO, the president of the U.S., the Arab League, or anybody else, has the power or authority to tell you to quit your post. Elijah Muhammad told me: 'Die on your post.'

"Dear brother [Barack Obama], be careful about the assassination of Mu'ammarr Al-Qadhafi and others in the Muslim world. Could it be that while you and your staff are planning the death of Mu'ammarr Al-Qadhafi, could it also be that members of your own Democratic Party are plotting to betray you? Could it be that right now, while you are planning for your second term, that there are those in your party [who don't] want you for a second term, and definitely the Republicans don't want you to be a one-term president.

"So, like Abraham Lincoln, who was prosecuting the civil war, and doubted that he would be reelected, won a second term,

but this so angered the opposition that it was then that his own reelection inspired his assassination. Could that be going on right now, under your own nose?

"Think, dear brother, before you act, because as the Bible puts it: 'God is not mocked. As a man soweth, the same shall he also reap.' As Obadiah the Prophet said: 'As thou hast done, so shall it be done unto you.' If they are successful in killing brother Al-Qadhafi, this is not going to be the end. This is the beginning of horrors, as you will see."

"The Future for Europe and America is Bleak, Very Very Bleak; China and Russia – Oh, You All will be at War"

"Al-Qadhafi wasn't in some tent twiddling his thumbs. He was working for the good of the African people. The African people will rise. NATO and... I'm sorry, America – I have got to say it, because I heard it from the mouth of the honorable Elijah Muhammad – Europe is finished.

"All of you who love war will be drowned in your own blood, as it is written: 'Those of you who love to shed the blood of others – Allah will make you drunk with your own blood, as with sweet wine.' Europe is headed for war, as we speak. Yes England, France, Italy, Germany, the honorable Elijah Muhammad told me that at the right time to tell you that Europe is the graveyard of the future. All of you who ran to Europe, to your former colonial masters, it is written that everyone will have to go to their own, and find refuge under their own vine and fig tree.

"And as Europe is trying to push out the Africans, to push out the Pakistanis, you would be wise to prepare yourself to get out of there or die there, because the future for Europe and America is bleak, very very bleak. China and Russia – oh, you all will be at war. You like it, so Allah is going to give it to you. You will have war soon. Mark my words – not my words, but the words of a man who was taught by God. You will face every word that he spoke. You will remember what you heard today – that a man, a real man of God was in your midst, and every word that I speak – you will face it."

More at:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qNLqQ2cN-PA>

Note what Barrister Robin Margo wanted the court to do to Töben:

Holocaust revisionist fined for contempt, AAP, April 16, 2009

"The courts have held, but his conduct shows he does not accept that the freedom of speech citizens of this country enjoy does not include the freedom to publish material calculated to offend, insult or humiliate or intimidate people because of their race, colour or national or ethnic origin," Justice Lander said.

In a judgment in the Federal Court, Justice Bruce Lander said Dr Toben's conduct had been wilful and he had steadfastly refused to comply with the law.

"It is conduct that amounts to criminal contempt."

Dr Toben had pleaded not guilty to 28 counts of contempt arising from allegations from former president of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, Jeremy Jones.

Mr Jones first lodged a complaint with the Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission in 1996 and later applied to the Federal Court to uphold its ruling, which it did in 2002.

But in hearings last year, counsel for Mr Jones, Robin Margo SC, told the court Dr Toben had defied its orders for six years. Mr Margo said the Adelaide Institute website was still

publishing, (in July 2008), "virulent anti-semitic material", including that there were no death gas chambers at the



Holocaust revisionist Fredrick Toben has been found guilty of criminal contempt after defying orders to stop

publishing racist material on his Adelaide Institute website.

Auschwitz concentration camp and that the holocaust was "the world's filthiest blood libel".

He urged the court to fine Dr Toben, or impose a period of imprisonment if he could not pay.

After handing down his judgment, Justice Lander adjourned the case to take submissions on penalty.

The federal court ruling came after Dr Toben fled [sic] Britain in November last year when a German authorities' bid to have him extradited to face charges of Holocaust denial failed.

The 64-year-old had been arrested a month earlier at Heathrow Airport on a European warrant but a British court later ruled it invalid because it did not provide enough detail. German authorities vowed to continue their attempts to have Dr Toben arrested in other countries. Holocaust denial is a crime in Germany and offenders can face up to five years in jail.

AAP

<http://www.brisbanetimes.com.au/national/holocaust-revisionist-fined-for-contempt-20090416a8hh.html#ixzz1SGrOM0kI>

The 4 July 2011 Hearing

– and a Further Submission to the Federal court of Australia with the additional problem of identifying the alleged Respondent Jeremy Shaun Jones.

IN THE FEDERAL COURT OF AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA REGISTRY

No: SAD 69 and 73 of 2009

GERALD FREDRICK TOBEN

Applicant

JEREMY SHAUN JONES

Respondent

APPLICANT'S FURTHER SUBMISSIONS

AS INVITED TO DO BY HIS HONOUR AT THE 4 JULY 2011 HEARING

Had my legal representative, Dr John Walsh of Brannagh, been permitted to appear from Melbourne per telephone on this day, then Sir John would have, among others, run the following arguments in support of having any FCA and FMC Order of Costs dismissed. I offer the following for the Court to consider:

1. Mr Lewis, for alleged Respondent Jones, stated in his Further Submissions of 28 June 2011, at §14:

"There is no evidence before the Court to indicate that Mr Perkins did not receive a copy of the estimate issued by the Registrar. Service of the estimate was in accordance with FCR O7."

I counter this assertion in my Affidavit of 4 July 2011 at §8. with an email from Mr Perkins, dated 3 July 2011, wherein Mr Perkins states he did not receive FCA Registrar's letter of 4 August 2010:

"I have not seen and I know nothing of the letter of 4 August 2010 that you mention."

2. Mr Lewis in his 28 June 2011 Submission at §15.c states:

"The amount stated in the certificate of taxation was a significant reduction in the total costs and disbursements set out in the Respondent's bill of costs. There is no evidence before the court that the Applicant, even if he had filed a Notice of Objections, would have achieved a better result."

At this Certificate of Taxation stage of proceedings it is important to raise the Common Law principles embodied in the concepts of 'champerty' and 'maintenance' that aim to discourage individuals, on behalf of others, suing or litigating for benefit. These principles should have been applied and no costs at all should have been awarded.

Further, it was not possible for me to attend to costing matters when I am not informed that they have been set down for a hearing. Thus I was severely disadvantaged.

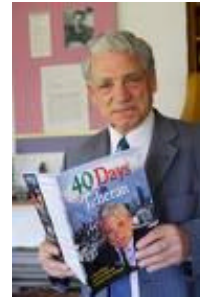
3. A media report of 3 June 2011 sheds further light on this issue:

[J-Wire](#) Jewish Online News from Australia&New Zealand

Toben in court – facing bankruptcy

June 3, 2011 by J-Wire Staff

Fredrick Toben lost a case brought by the Executive Council of Australian Jewry in 2009 for uploading articles to his website implying that those offended by Holocaust denial were of limited intelligence...he was sentenced to three months in prison and \$56,000 in costs were awarded to Jeremy Jones who was the plaintiff. No money was received and Toben has faced bankruptcy proceedings in Adelaide's Federal Court.



Fredrick Töben

Jones, who had been acting on behalf of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry told J-Wire: "Not a cent has been received...and although the costs have been awarded to me, any funds received would go straight into the ECAJ revenue as they funded the case. The money reflects only the costs incurred in running the case...not a cent is due to me personally."

Toben asked Justice Anthony Besanko to adjourn the case so that his lawyer could attend court. He was told this was not possible in bankruptcy matters but he was given additional time.

Adelaide Now reports that Toben said that "they" are trying to stop him functioning.

<http://www.jwire.com.au/news/toben-in-court-facing-bankruptcy/16626#more-16626>

4. It is significant to note alleged Respondent Jones is reported as stating:

"Not a cent has been received...and although the costs have been awarded to me, any funds received would go straight into the ECAJ revenue as they funded the case. The money reflects only the costs incurred in running the case...not a cent is due to me personally."

This also indicates that because the Executive Council of Australian Jewry – ECAJ – could not act against me in the FCA, as it had before the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission – HREOC – beginning in 1996, Respondent Jones was being used, as a patsy/proxy/a pawn by the ECAJ to run the case against me. This is contrary to all the principles of law.

5. This fact further explains why alleged Respondent Jeremy Jones was nowhere to be seen in court and Solicitors

Lewis/Wertheim of Slater & Gordon conducted the case without Mr Jones being present. Hence the court has Mr Lewis' Affidavits only. In fact, it appears that the law firm, Slater & Gordon, was intimately and directly involved in this action against me. This would amount to 'unconscionable conduct' within the meaning of the Competition & Consumer Act 2010, §131, Schedule 2, section 20, 21 and 22.

6. The final sentence in the above *Jwire* article: "Toben in court – facing bankruptcy", expresses the aim of the legal persecution tactics that have been employed against me since 1996:

"Adelaide Now reports that Toben said that "they" are trying to stop him functioning."

Under protest and under duress I paid the FCA costs of \$56,470.72 – and now face further possible costs: a. in the FMC \$4, 227.74 on account of Mr Lewis taking out the Creditors Petition, and b. in the FCA because I resisted the bankruptcy moves initiated against me. I did this because bankruptcy would threaten my intentions to stand as an

Independent at the next federal election. Awarding costs against me would further 'hammer me into the ground'.

7. I repeat No. 10 of my 4 July 2010 Affidavit: "The above gives support to my view how antagonistic Lewis and Wertheim, as representatives of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry, are towards me. An application of the Civil Dispute Resolution Act of 2011 binds the Federal Court to overarching principles that attempt to get away from nit-picking on legal requirements but attempts to look at the total picture and attempts to ensure that justice is done and there be no orders made as to costs."

As the matter of costs is a discretionary matter for a judge I request that an Order be made that there be no Order for Costs in this matter.

Adelaide

4 July 2011

Fredrick Töben

Mob: 0417088217

Email: toben@toben.biz

- and better late than never: on the morning of 8 July 2011, the day of the final hearing, the following email is sent to:

From: Fredrick Toben toben@toben.biz

Sent: Friday, 8 July 2011 11:18 AM

To: associate.besankoj@fedcourt.gov.au

Cc: slewis@slatergordon.com.au; johnwb@norfolk.nf

Subject: URGENT: Today's hearing Friday 8 July 2011 2:15pm –

Dear Associate

Please inform his Honour of the following:

1. I have just been sent a video link featuring Mr Steven Lewis addressing the Jewish Board of Deputies on 20 July 2010:

<http://www.iwire.com.au/news/wentworth-candidates-address-board-of-deputies-plenum/10541>

2. Please note Mr Lewis' comment beginning at 17.40 minutes into the clip:

'...to work on the Toben case we're able to jail Toben ... we're about to bankrupt Toben ...'

3. This explains why the Executive Council of Australian Jewry refused to negotiate with me and settle the matter, which was the stance taken when the legal persecution began in 1996 before HREOC.

4. It is thus clear that this whole proceeding is politically motivated – and I should therefore not have to bear the costs of this politically motivated action.

For your consideration.

Dr Töben - currently in Sydney

The 8 July 2011 Judgment ordered Töben pay the court costs to whom? To the solicitor firm Slater and Gordon!

Here's an item of interest because this fellow's name was mentioned in Lewis' clip:

Goot bye and goot luck, AJN, NOVEMBER 21, 2010

WHEN I assumed the presidency of the Executive Council of Australian Jewry (ECAJ) with an experienced and committed team three short years ago, I did so on the basis of a strategic plan for the ECAJ that I had prepared with my NSW colleagues.

The plan recognised that while the ECAJ is the national roof body of the Jewish community, drawing its members from and being accountable to the whole Australian Jewish community, and was performing very valuable work, it was not properly equipped to fulfil its potential and to meet the increasing challenges the community faced in a wide range of areas.

Central to the plan was the recognition that heightened challenges require a heightened and greater professional public affairs advocacy effort. The times demanded a strong

representative voice, which did not seek to quell other voices but which sought to coordinate and leverage them. These were the challenges that I believed the ECAJ must be equipped to meet.

As I noted in 2007, if the ECAJ was to fulfill its role, it must be seen and accepted as: the official representative spokesperson of Australian Jewry; the authoritative source of policy; the first point of contact for comment; and a professional coordinator of representational views on all lay matters and questions that concern Australian Jewry. This, in turn, would require the ECAJ to be properly resourced with personnel, finances, research capabilities and knowledge resources.

In that sense, it was well past time to re-position the ECAJ as the pre-eminent national representative organ of the Jewish community and coordinator of community representation. We had put it on a professional footing to enable the community's voice to be listened to with respect, knowing that the ECAJ is representative, measured and reasonable in its advocacy as well as focused on leveraging and coordinating views.

That was our challenge and I am pleased to say that in the intervening three years, we have seen the transformation of the ECAJ. Specifically: we appointed Peter Wertheim as the ECAJ's executive director, who has had experience in communal leadership at a high level, understands the community and the issues, and has recognised skills and experience as an advocate of those issues; we anchored the administration of the ECAJ in Sydney, so that regardless of the state in which the president lives in the future, the administrative headquarters will not change as was the case for the first 60-plus years of the organisation; we secured proper office facilities and established a funding base beyond the subscriptions of our affiliates (the roof bodies of each state and the ACT) and our constituents (the federal Jewish communal organisations); and we have had our voice heard internationally.

This paradigm shift has enabled, and will in the future enable, the ECAJ to perform its vitally important work in a more professional, efficient and, above all, effective manner in a wide range of areas, including political advocacy, communal security, interfaith and other communal engagement, legal and other action against anti-Semitism, promotion of human

rights generally, educational issues and representing the Australian Jewish community at world Jewish forums.

While a great many activities have been undertaken by the ECAJ in the current three-year term of office, I would highlight in particular the ECAJ's: intervention to have a Jewish 2020 Summit; representations to the federal government to not attend the Durban 11 conference in Geneva in 2009; setting up of the Jewish Communal Security Fund; the convening of the Conference to Combat Anti-Semitism; establishment of the Trade Union Task Force to work with Australian unions and the Australian Council of Trade Unions on a range of domestic and foreign policy issues; shutting down several anti-Semitic websites via complaints to the Australian Human Rights Commission; successful intervention with the federal and state governments to preserve shechitah; progress in having the Shoah included as a mandatory element in the national year 10 history curriculum; successful prosecution of Holocaust denier Fredrick Toben for contempt of the Federal Court of Australia; work in reversing the call by the National Council of Churches of Australia to consider a boycott of Israel; steering the development of the World Jewish Congress's (WJC) international action plan against the assault on Israel's legitimacy; and our promotion of greater understanding of the vital work of the Claims Conference.

BUT while what has been achieved is an important start, much remains to be done to consolidate the ECAJ's organisational improvements and funding base and to buttress the community in the troubled times ahead.

Those challenges will see the ECAJ establish a more regular presence in the national capital to serve parliamentarians, the bureaucracy, the diplomatic community and the press gallery. The ECAJ will also be implementing a comprehensive plan to proactively advocate for Israel's legitimacy as the nation state of the Jewish people, and to repel the assault on Israel's legitimacy, especially through the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign. In addition, the ECAJ will, of course, vigorously pursue the fight against anti-Semitism in all its manifestations and the myriad domestic issues with which the ECAJ is charged, including Jewish education, counter-acting assimilation, and defending and enlarging human rights.

The necessary significant strengthening and reaffirmation of the role of the ECAJ which must continue, should not be seen as a move to exclude other organisations from their legitimate roles in the community, but rather as a necessary refocusing of effort in a cooperative endeavour to maximise the effectiveness of representation on behalf of Australian Jewry.

I am confident the incoming committee of management of the ECAJ led by Dr Danny Lamm will be equal to the task ahead and I look forward to working with them as immediate past president as well as to my ongoing role as a vice-president of the WJC and as a director of the Claims Conference.

The ECAJ presidency has been an exhilarating and challenging experience and I thank the community for affording me the opportunity to be its leader.

<http://www.jewishnews.net.au/goot-bye-and-goot-luck/16617>

... and so the Holocaust-Shoah racket continues while individuals continue to bend to Jewish pressure:

Professor accused of Holocaust hoax JOSHUA LEVI, JULY 4, 2011

A LEADING international Holocaust scholar was accused of being behind a literary hoax during a recent lecture in Sydney.

The academic, Professor Jan Gross from Princeton University, presented a session on his latest book, *Golden Harvest*, which asserts that Polish people dug through the ashes of murdered Jews to search for valuables after the Holocaust, at the University of NSW last week.

But members of Polish advocacy group Nasza Polonia attended the lecture in protest at Prof Gross' thesis, handing out letters titled, "Holocaust Profiteering by Literary Hoax" and questioning the accuracy of his book.



Professor Jan Gross

"He has painted a picture of Poles as we are not liking Jews, which is wrong," Nasza Polonia president Adam Gajkowski said. "One third of all the trees planted in Yad Vashem are

planted in memory of Polish people who saved Jews during World War II so it's wrong that he painted a picture of Polish people wanting to rob the Jews."

Gajkowski admitted that he is not a historical expert and conceded that the alleged atrocities could have happened, but only in rare cases. "Gross presented a picture that he said was taken at the graves and of the ashes of Jews that were killed but he is wrong," he said. "His historical workshop is very poor, full of misrepresentations and false accusations."

While critique is a legitimate course of academic discussion, those at the session said Gajkowski and his supporters were loud and interrupted the presentation.

Several members of the Jewish community attended the session, including former NSW Jewish Board of Deputies president David Knoll, who said the group wasn't just defending Polish people.

"Gajkowski and other members were disrupting the entire session," he said.

While Knoll and some other audience members were concerned about Nasza Polonia's motivations, Gajkowski denied his group held any hostile feelings toward Jewish people. "The concentration camps and gas chambers were there. The ovens in which the bodies were burned were there. I don't think that I'm anti-Semitic and I don't have anything against Jewish people," he said.

<http://www.jewishnews.net.au/professor-accused-of-holocaust-hoax/21587>

... and for good measure let's repeat the crowning glory of Töben's work. Three weeks before the Teheran Holocaust Conference he left for Teheran, then on 27 November 2006 an Adelaide process server attempted to serve the Steven Lewis initiated FCA writ that demanded Töben turn up at the FCA, Sydney, on 5 December 2006 – if not, then a warrant should be issued for his arrest. On 5 December 2006 David Brockschmidt collected the mail at Töben's home and read the letter advising of same, and immediately informed the FCA Registry that Töben was in

Teheran. The matter was adjourned. In November 2007 Töben was persuade to sign an apology letter that Lewis had dictated to the Adelaide pro bono barrister, Paul Chambers. Upon signing it Töben reports that he felt sick, then when the Australian Jewish News in its Friday edition claimed in headlines that Töben had apologised for his Holocaust work, and that the court order contained an order to delete an Internet link, which was not canvassed in the Apology or elsewhere, Töben unilaterally withdrew his apology – and his well-being returned. From then on Lewis and the 'alleged' prime mover in this legal saga, Jeremy Jones, went for their pound of flesh – as Lewis, while canvassing for votes before his NSW Jewish community, glotingly admits as being one of his crowning achievements. This man has problems indeed. He does not care about the upholding of the prime pillar of our civilisation – the ideal of TRUTH. The London Heathrow Airport arrest indicated how fearful some members of Britain's judiciary are when it comes to matters Holocaust-Shoah-Zionism-Israel:

Adelaide 'Holocaust denier' Fredrick Toben wins extradition case

ALLAN HALL, LONDON DAILY MAIL, [The Advertiser](#) , November 20, 2008 11:30pm



Dr Fredrick Toben (right) with Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad at a Holocaust conference in Tehran in 2006. Photo source: Adelaide Institute.

AN Adelaide "revisionist historian" who questions the Holocaust will walk free, after Germany abandoned its efforts to extradite him from Britain.

Germany wanted Dr Fredrick Toben to stand trial over his repeated claims that the murder of six million Jews in the Nazi Holocaust was a lie.

Such statements are forbidden under the German constitution and punishable with long jail terms.

But Toben - arrested at Heathrow Airport last month - convinced British authorities they had no right to send him on to Germany if he had committed no offence under British law. Germany launched an action at the High Court in London but it was revealed overnight that it has now been withdrawn.

Toben's solicitor, Kevin Lowry-Mullins, said he has also signed a consent order with the German Government to end the case.

Lawyers acting for the German Government had argued that Toben, 64, the founder and director of the revisionist Adelaide Institute, should be extradited to face trial for posting claims on its website that there was no mass murder of Jews by the Nazis.

Daphne Wickham, a judge at Westminster Magistrates Court, ruled that the warrant used to arrest the Australian as he travelled from America to Dubai was "vague and imprecise".

Toben was unable (sic - three individuals were standing by to post bail) to raise the imposed £100,000 bail, and remained in custody awaiting the German appeal.

Mr Lowry-Mullins said: 'The offence is not made out in the UK. If Dr Toben had been extradited back to Germany for Holocaust denial, which does not exist as an offence in this country, then we would have found ourselves in a situation where hypothetically, the Iranian Government could have asked for all the gay Iranian asylum-seekers to be extradited back to Iran.'

Mr Lowry-Mullins confirmed that Toben was still in the UK waiting for the return of his passport.

A spokesman for the Justice Ministry in Berlin confirmed the appeal was at an end but gave no further details.

German-born Toben emigrated to Australia in 1954 with his family when he was just 10.

In April 1999, Toben was arrested in Germany and sentenced to ten months' imprisonment for denial of the Holocaust. He only served seven months, and was then released upon paying a \$5000 bond.

<http://www.adelaidenow.com.au/holocaust-denier-stops-extradition/story-e6freol3-111118100498>

Iran Stands Firm!

Israeli leaders understand the futility of military adventurism against Iran: An Interview with Abolghasem Bayyanat By Kourosh Ziabari



Abolghasem Bayyanat is an independent political analyst writing mainly on Iran's foreign policy developments. Over the

past decade, his political commentaries and articles have appeared in numerous popular media and online journals, including Foreign Policy Journal, Foreign Policy In Focus, Monthly Review, Eurasia Review, AntiWar.com, Tehran Times, Middle East Online, San Francisco Chronicle, Online Opinion, American Chronicle, and a number of other national newspapers and online journals across the world. He has also published a number of book chapters and articles in academic journals. Besides academic studies in political science and international relations, he has also practical experience in international diplomacy. In the past, he has worked for several years as international trade expert and researcher in Iran, as part of which he was involved in various bilateral and multilateral trade negotiations between Iran and its trade

partners around the world. He is currently completing his Ph. D studies in political science at Maxwell School of Syracuse University. His latest articles can also be read on his own blog at [Iran Diplomacy Watch](#) .

What follows is the complete text of my in-depth interview with Mr. Bayyemat in which we discussed the standoff over Iran's nuclear program, the prospect of Iran-West relations and the politics of Israel's nuclear activities.

Kourosh Ziabari: The past decade has been witness to unending and unremitting clash between Iran and the West over Tehran's nuclear program. The West has constantly accused Iran of trying to build nuclear bombs while Tehran has persistently denied the allegation. What do you think about the nature of Iran's nuclear program? Why has it become so controversial and contentious? We already know that there are four nations in the world, who are not signatories of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, but nobody in the international community pressures them to halt their nuclear program and nobody investigates their nuclear arsenals. Why Iran is being singled out?

Abolghasem Bayyemat: Iran's nuclear program is driven by two major factors. The most important factor is genuine domestic need for electric power generation. Iran's fossil fuel reserves have been fast depleting over the past few decades in light of the growing domestic consumption caused by population growth, ongoing industrialization and economic development in Iran. The prospect of full depletion of fossil fuel reserves motivated Iranian leaders to seek alternative sources of energy. Nuclear power presented itself as the most reliable alternative source of energy for Iran, given its sustainability and tested performance in developed countries.

The second important factor is that developing nuclear power and harnessing nuclear energy represents an advanced scientific realm and progress in that front serves as a source of national pride for Iran. A limited number of nations in the world have been able to master the full nuclear fuel cycle. Development of an indigenous nuclear fuel cycle capacity along with progress in other advanced scientific realms such as space program and stem cell research can thus positively influence Iran's national self-image and elevate its international prestige.

The reasons why Iran's nuclear program has become controversial are twofold. First, Iran's decision to materialize its rights under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to develop peaceful applications of nuclear technology and nuclear fuel cycle in particular; what can make this controversial in the eyes of Western powers is the dual use of nuclear technology. Possessing full nuclear fuel cycle technology enables states to produce the material needed for ultimate use in nuclear weapons. Building nuclear bombs of course requires much more than just possessing sufficient stock of highly-enriched uranium or plutonium, but mastering this technology enables such states to make the essential ingredients for a bomb and thus become closer to building nuclear warheads.

One may rightly argue that the safeguards mechanisms of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) makes it every thing but feasible for the member states of the NPT to proceed to producing weapons-grade material for nuclear bombs. The main rejoinder to this argument is that states arguably always have the option to withdraw from the NPT under certain circumstances and terminate IAEA inspections on their nuclear facilities, if they are willing to face the consequences of such an action. In a nutshell, possessing nuclear fuel cycle

technology or seeking nuclear threshold status can pose risks for nuclear proliferation in the world, even though the NPT grants this right to its member states.

While a necessary condition, this factor however is not a sufficient cause for Iran's nuclear issue becoming controversial. After all there are a number of other nuclear threshold countries in the world, not to mention nuclear-armed states, whose nuclear programs have not drawn any international controversy. What makes Iran's nuclear program controversial is Iran's political identity as a state or who Iran is or what it stands for. The combination of seeking nuclear threshold status and Iran's political identity has turned Iran's nuclear program into a controversial issue. Speaking in the language of social sciences methodology, there is an interactive effect between these two variables in the sense that each of these two variables is significant only in combination with the other variable or its effect is intensified in interaction with the other. Iran's political ideology as practiced in its foreign policy, especially in regard to the Middle East region and the United States, largely represents Iran's political identity.

The reason why Iran is being singled out while there are other countries in the region and beyond which are not parties to the NPT and have weaponized their nuclear programs with impunity is the same as above. On the surface, it is all a legal issue in that those countries which are not signatories to the NPT are not bound by its rules, including the IAEA safeguards mechanisms, and have thus been able to nuclearize with impunity. However, if this were so, those countries which withdraw from the NPT and are thus no longer bound by its regulations should enjoy the same privileges as those outside the NPT, as notifications of withdrawal from the NPT automatically come into force after three months without any need for approval by other contracting parties. There are conflicting interpretations of paragraph 1 of Article X of the NPT though. Yet the reality is that this is not the case and states may face harsh punitive measures by hegemonic powers even if they are not subject to the NPT regulations, as the experience of the withdrawal of North Korea from the NPT demonstrates.

In sum, the reason why Iran is being singled out while some aggressive nuclear-armed states in the region enjoy impunity is primarily political rather than legal. Iran's political identity, as shaped by its official ideology and the history of its relationship with the United States and European powers, has put its foreign policy at odds with the interests of imperial powers in the region. The international controversy over Iran's nuclear issue can thus be understood in this context.

KZ: Over the past years, the United Nations Security Council, under the pressure of the United States and its European allies, imposed four rounds of crippling economic sanctions against Iran over its nuclear program. These sanctions targeted Iran's oil and gas sector, aviation industry, health and medicine sector, consular affairs and in a nutshell, every aspect of the daily life of the Iranian citizens who had been trying to rise from the ashes of the devastating war with Iraq in 1980s. What do you think about these sanctions and their impact on the life of the Iranian citizens? Don't these sanctions resemble some kind of human rights violation? Iranian people are deprived of having access to the most essential commodities of their daily life as a result of these sanctions. What's your take on that?

AB: The sanctions against Iran have publicly been represented by Western powers as selective and targeted measures with

the aim of only pressuring the Iranian government to reconsider its position on its nuclear issue. This public image has been promoted to avoid a public opinion backlash against Western governments. The experience of the U.S. sanctions against Iraq in the 1990s, which contributed to a humanitarian catastrophe in that country whereby hundreds of thousands of Iraqi children reportedly perished as a result of malnutrition and shortage of medicines and other medical supplies exacerbated by the U.S. sanctions, had created public aversion to the use of sanctions as an instrument of foreign policy. Despite Western governments' rejection of any analogy between their current sanctions against Iran and those imposed on Iraq in the 1990s, the reality is that Western governments have set their feet on the same path especially by introducing unilateral sanctions against Iran.

Many of the measures adopted against Iran, such as those targeting Iran's energy sector, civil aviation and maritime transportation, among others, are indiscriminate by nature and have impacts much wider than that publicly advertised by Western governments. They are designed to inflict collective punishment on the whole country with the ostensible aim of pressuring the Iranian government. As such, they are contrary to international law and international moral principles as established and advocated by Western governments themselves.

To have a better sense of the impact of the Western sanctions on the general population of Iran, we can take a look at the sanctions imposed against Iran's energy sector as an example. The stated goal of these measures is to deprive Iran from its principal source of revenue over time by prohibiting foreign investments in its oil and natural gas sectors and disrupting Iran's international financial transactions in these products. Western governments justify these measures by arguing that revenues emanating from oil exports and the sale of other energy products help Iran finance its nuclear program. However, the reality is that while a fraction of Iran's foreign exchange revenues may also be channeled to finance Iran's nuclear program, Western governments tend to ignore the fact that these same revenues also account for the bulk of Iran's public budget which helps finance public health services, public education, subsidized food for the poor and many other social services programs.

Around 80 percent of Iran's foreign exchange revenues come from the export of energy products and any long-term disruption of such revenues can seriously hamper the Iranian government's capacity to provide public services to its people. Western governments may rejoice at this prospect but they would be disappointed to find out that this will have minimal impact on the resolution of Iran's nuclear issue. The Iranian government will be able to continue financing its nuclear program as it does not constitute a substantial item on the government budget and the public anger at the disruption of social services will also be directed at the West rather than the Iranian government. Other Western sanctions against Iran such as those targeting civil aviation and maritime transportation sectors also have the effect of inflicting a collective punishment upon the general population of Iran without making any meaningful contribution to the resolution of Iran's nuclear issue.

KZ: With their sophisticated intelligence apparatus, the United States and its European allies should have come to the conclusion that Iran does not have the intention of building nuclear bombs nor does it have the capability to build one. Iran has repeatedly stated that it will publicly announce once it decides to build an

atomic bomb because it is afraid of nobody. Is the pressure on Iran over its nuclear program part of an agenda to derail Iran's status as a regional superpower and isolate it internationally, or is it really a matter of ignorance and unawareness on the side of the West?

AB: As I explained in my answer to your first question, gaining nuclear threshold status is not equivalent to having the capacity to manufacture a nuclear bomb but it enables the states possessing such capacity to produce the essential ingredients for ultimate use in a bomb, should they choose to terminate their membership in the NPT. A number of American and also European political and intelligence officials have publicly acknowledged that Iran does not have the political will to manufacture nuclear weapons but they insist that they cannot predict Iran's future intentions.

Possessing nuclear threshold status or even developing nuclear arms is not a sufficient cause for international controversy over a state's nuclear program. As I mentioned earlier, Iran's political identity interacts with its nuclear threshold capacity to turn its nuclear program into a matter of concern for the West. When it comes to the motives of Western countries in their confrontation with Iran over its nuclear program, we should note that the West is not a monolithic and united front. Both the United States and major European powers have an interest in preventing Iran from maintaining nuclear threshold status. But the role of political identity of Iran is more determining in its relations with the United States than with most European powers as the latter maintained largely normal commercial and political relations with Iran before its nuclear program came into the spotlight.

In contrast, Iran's problems with the United States will not come to an end with the resolution of Iran's nuclear issue and the relations of the two countries will continue to be strained due to the long-standing crisis in their relationship. As in the past, other contentious issues will emerge in the relations of the two countries thus serving as a pretext for sustaining the deep-seated hostility between the two countries. Given the largely conflicting political identity of the two governments which in most contexts has defined conflicting foreign policy interests for the two countries, the United States views its relations with Iran as a zero-sum game and will thus struggle to contain Iran's growing power and influence in the region, even if this would mean swimming against the tide and creating unnecessary costs for its foreign policy in the region.

KZ: Israel is said to be the sole possessor of nuclear weapons in the Middle East. With a declared policy of deliberate ambiguity, it has prevented the international community from investigating its arsenals, and the global organizations such as the UNSC in turn have shown little interest in focusing on Israel's dossier. Why can Israel enjoy immunity from international law and be exempted from being held accountable before the public opinion?

AB: As you indicated, it is an open secret that Israel possesses a formidable nuclear weapons arsenal. There are multiple reasons why Israel has escaped international scrutiny over its nuclear program. The apparent reason is legal. Israel has refused to become a member of the NPT and is thus not bound by its rules. This has in part provided a shelter for Israel from international criticism over its nuclear program. As you have also brought up, Israel's policy of strategic ambiguity with regard to its nuclear weapons program has also contributed to this immunity from international scrutiny. Unlike India and Pakistan, Israel has not openly tested any nuclear device for

various reasons and this has also helped its nuclear weapons program go largely unnoticed.

But above all, the unconditional and unwavering U.S. support for Israel at the UN Security Council and other international forums has effectively blocked international calls for investigation into Israel's nuclear program. There is no hope for introducing any resolution in the UNSC on this matter as the United States stands too ready to veto any resolution which happens to be slightly critical of Israel. The fact that Israel is not a member of the NPT has also facilitated the task of the United States in preventing the issue of Israel's nuclear arsenals from appearing on the agenda of relevant international organizations by supplying it with a convenient legal justification.

Despite this prospect, any call for international probe into Israel's nuclear program should primarily come from Israel's neighboring countries as, more than any other country in the world they are endangered by Israel's nuclear weapons arsenal. However, autocratic Arab rulers have historically placed the survival of their regimes above their national interests and popular preferences. Given the lack of democratic accountability in the Arab world, conservative authoritarian Arab regimes have refrained from seriously pushing for international scrutiny into Israel's nuclear weapons program and calling for nuclear disarmament in the Middle East region, as demanded by their publics. These regimes have instead defined their interests in close harmony with Israeli and U.S. interests in the region by calling for international pressure on Iran's IAEA-monitored nuclear program.

KZ: During the recent years, Israel has been incessantly threatening Iran against a nuclear strike and a preemptive war. The United States also has repeated the same slogans with a different frequency. Don't these threats exemplify violation of the UN Charter and Geneva Convention? Do you take seriously these threats? Overall, do you think that either of these two stalwart allies will finally attack Iran?

AB: As you have also suggested, issuing unprovoked military threats against a sovereign state constitutes a breach of various instruments of international law governing peace and security. These threats should be taken seriously and condemned by the international community as they set a dangerous precedent in international relations. Yet they do not represent a genuine military threat against Iran and remain largely as a propaganda tactic. Israeli leaders understand both the risks and futility of any such military adventures against Iran. There are several factors which discourage the execution of such military threats against Iran. First, there is the feasibility problem in the sense that there are serious challenges for Israel in executing such a military threat against Iran. The long distance between the two countries poses various obstacles for carrying out such a military adventure, including flying over unfriendly countries, refueling problem for attacking aircrafts, Iran's effective air defense and so on.

Second, any such military attacks against Iran's nuclear facilities will largely be ineffective and futile. Most nuclear facilities of Iran are protected with passive defense arrangements, since they are buried deep in mountains or under ground and are also scattered all over the country. Under the best circumstances, any hypothetical attack by Israel on Iran's nuclear facilities will only exert minimal damage on Iran's nuclear capabilities and thus delaying its nuclear progress for only a short time. Iran has achieved self-sufficiency in most elements of its nuclear program and will be

able to rebuild its nuclear facilities within a reasonable amount of time drawing on its indigenous capacities.

Third, the fallout from such a military adventure will be unbearable for Israel. Iran will definitely retaliate against Israel with full force in the event of such an attack on its nuclear facilities. Iran's regional allies will also play their own part in carrying out such a retaliation against Israel. This in turn will raise the prospect of an all-out regional war and Israeli is all but willing to endure such costs. Cool-headed Israeli politicians grasp the extent of calamities that such a military adventure against Iran would unleash for Israel and have thus strongly warned in public against considering such an option.

Other fallout from such a military adventure may include Iran's withdrawal from the NPT and terminating the IAEA inspections on its nuclear facilities. This would not necessarily mean that Iran will revise its attitude towards nuclear weapons and would rush to build atomic bombs, even though it might be forced to go down that path in the aftermath of such an attack, but would largely signify Iran's frustration with international organizations to guarantee the security of its peaceful nuclear activities. Taking these consequences into account, I think as long as rationality guides national security decision-making in Israel, such military threats will never materialize against Iran.

The United States is even more averse to considering a military attack against Iran's nuclear facilities than Israel. The United States is already bogged down in two wars in the neighborhood of Iran and is well aware of its vulnerabilities in these countries, should Iran decide to seriously challenge it in those arenas. To this, one should add a host of domestic problems facing the U.S. government and a public weary of military adventures abroad. For similar reasons, U.S. policy-makers are also convinced of the futility and ineffectiveness of a military option against Iran.

Despite these realities, Israeli politicians tend to repeat their military threats against Iran in part to pressure the United States and other Western powers to intensify their pressure on Iran and in part to divert international attention from their own nuclear weapons arsenal and their continued occupation of the Palestinian lands and their other atrocities against Palestinians.

KZ: Some critics of the foreign policy of President Ahmadinejad administration believe that he isolated Iran in the international stage with his radical policies toward the West. They also say that he failed to direct Iran's nuclear program in the right path and thus lost many opportunities including a cordial and amiable relation with the United States and Europe. Do you agree with them?

AB: I personally do not think some of President Ahmadinejad's rhetoric in foreign policy are helpful but I do not attribute the current standoff between Iran and Western powers to that. I have already explained in my answers to your previous questions what I consider to be the root causes of the crisis in Iran-Western relations.

The existing crisis in Iran-Western relations obviously predates the election of President Ahmadinejad. Iran was branded as part of 'the Axis of Evil' and further demonized by former U.S. President George Bush at a time when actually a reformist president was in power in Iran, who had promoted dialogue between Islam and the Western civilization and had advocated détente in Iran's foreign policy with the West. Under former Iranian President Khatami, Iran had also extended practical cooperation to the United States in its fight against terrorism

after the September 11, 2001, but only to be rewarded with more hostility by the United States.

Having said this, there is no doubt that Iran became subject to more pressure by Western powers since Ahmadinejad came to office. Ahmadinejad's risk-taking behavior in relation to Iran's nuclear policy has provoked further hostile reactions by Western powers against Iran. But no gain in foreign policy comes without its due costs. Iran has also gained significant technological achievements in its nuclear program and has considerably developed its domestic capacity in various areas of nuclear activities.

Even if Iran was forthcoming on the nuclear issue as during President Khatami's tenure, U.S. antagonistic policies towards Iran would persist in new forms. Given that even Khatami's reformist government was not willing to extend the temporary suspension of Iran's nuclear activities, which was adopted as a temporary confidence-building measure, I believe more or less the same level of Western confrontation with Iran would have been inevitable even if a reformist government was still in power in Iran

KZ: What do you think of the prospect of Iran's nuclear standoff? Will the upcoming U.S. Presidential elections have a serious impact on the course of events related to Iran's nuclear program? Some critics of Iran's foreign policy believe that Iran was lucky that Barack Obama won the 2008 elections because every other candidate would certainly attack Iran if won the elections. What's your viewpoint?

AB: It does not appear that the United States is genuinely interested in having Iran's nuclear issue resolved in any reasonable manner as its current strategy is solely geared to inflicting utmost pain on Iran. Western powers' insistence on unrealistic preconditions for negotiations and not showing due flexibility to recognize Iran's core legitimate interests has allowed no room for optimism for the resolution of Iran's nuclear issue any time soon. The hard-line position of the United States has already drawn the sharp criticism of top American foreign policy experts and veteran Western diplomats who command close knowledge of the issue.

I don't see how the upcoming U.S. presidential elections would contribute meaningfully to the resolution of Iran's nuclear issue. Past experience has shown that changing political circumstances may only effect tactical changes in U.S. policy towards Iran and as long as the root causes of the current stand-off are not addressed no permanent solution to the issue can be perceived.

I also don't think that Iran was lucky Obama was elected as U.S. president. Because the Obama administration has played down the option of a military attack against Iran it has been more effective than the Bush Administration to bring European countries and, to some extent, China and Russia on board to exert some pressure on Iran. As soon as the threat of a military attack against Iran gains more currency within the U.S. administration, this fragile coalition would start to crumble down.

The record of Bush administration on Iran serves as an example for how far a hawkish Republican administration would achieve on the Iran front, had it won the U.S. elections. Besides, the first priority of every American administration would have been addressing domestic problems in light of the ongoing economic recession. Opening any new war front on top of Iraq and Afghanistan, much less one on the scale of a

military confrontation with Iran, would have been a recipe for early retirement for any U.S. president under present circumstances.

KZ: Iran has invested a lot in its relationship with China and Russia and considers them its strategic allies; however, both of these countries showed green light to anti-Iranian sanctions in the Security Council and facilitated the imposition of resolutions against Iran in an undeniable complicity with the United States. In the other words, Russia and China flagrantly betrayed Iran in time of need. What do you think about Iran's relations with China and Russia? Why has Iran trusted them several times despite the fact that it was cleared to Tehran that they're not loyal friends?

AB: I would look at the situation somewhat differently. In international relations states are loyal only to their own interests. Realism is still the dominant discourse in international relations and states view their relations with each other largely in realist terms. National interests defined broadly in terms of maximizing their own military power and economic well-being vis-à-vis other states is the guiding principle of the foreign policy of states. Seasoned Iranian foreign policy makers also understand the limits of Iran's bargaining power with regard to China and Russia, when other states, particularly Western powers, are competing with it for their loyalty.

While both China and Russia have important stakes in their relations with Iran, they also maintain by far larger interests in their relations with the United States and other Western powers. China and the United States are economically highly interdependent and the U.S. market serves as the single most important destination for Chinese exports. Russia has similarly important economic and security interests in its relations with the West. Both countries have tried to strike a fine balance between their relations with Iran and the West in order to maximize their benefits and minimize their costs. While their actions in betraying Iran's trust at some points may be morally and legally indefensible, it is not always possible for them to keep both parties to the conflict content and their interests may require that they sometimes lean toward one side at the expense of the other.

Both Russia and China have also significantly softened the language of the Security Council resolutions against Iran and have opposed certain harsh measures against it, a fact which shows that they still maintain important interests in their relations with Iran, which they are not willing to give up unless the West is prepared to pay the necessary price for that. This of course does not mean that Russia and China have no redlines in their foreign policies and are willing to prostitute out their loyalties to the highest bidder, but there are clear limits to the extent to which they can support their allies. The experience of Russian and Chinese inaction towards NATO strikes on Serbia and their no more than verbal opposition to the U.S. invasion of Iraq were enough to remind even the most optimistic Iranian policy makers that they cannot tie their hope to the support of these two countries under all circumstances.

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