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**General Delegation of Palestine
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the Pacific**



INTERN POLICY REPORT

**Indigenous Australian and Palestinian Experience: A
Comparison**

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Introduction

“Indigenous Peoples' experience parallels what has happened to the occupied Palestinians [... both] have suffered through the process of settlement, colonization, or militarization of their homelands.”¹ Israel and Australia were both founded on the destruction of the existing native population, replacing this population with a new, European one. Palestinians being cleared from the land through ethnic cleansing, and indigenous Australians being subjected to genocide. Palestinians and Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples have experienced mass cultural erasure and land theft, meanwhile Israel and Australia present themselves as multicultural, tolerant, and democratic. In both cases, the colonising has not ended. Israel continues to occupy Palestinian territories and impose apartheid policies, and Australia continues to subjugate its indigenous communities.

There is no question that Australia was colonised by the British, and that the genocides committed against First Australians were horrendous and immoral. There is, however, some debate as to whether Israel is a colonial project. Since its inception in 1948, the State of Israel has continuously committed human rights violations against Palestinians. According to Human Rights Watch, the Israeli occupation has been characterised by “at least five categories of major violation of international human rights law and humanitarian law”². In 1915, David Ben-Gurion, before he became the first prime minister of Israel, pledged that Jewish settlers would “turn the wasteland and desolation into a flourishing ... oasis, as did the English settlers in North America”³. Later, as incumbent prime minister, he spoke in Israel to a crowd of Jews from the United States and insisted they were all “on the edge of colonization”⁴. There are many similarities between the actions of Israel towards Palestinians and the actions of any other coloniser to the people whose land they seek to steal for their own: “contrary to common assumptions, Zionism constitutes an intensification of, rather than a departure from, settler colonialism.”⁵

There is tremendous value in recognising links between stories, histories, and narratives. It allows for the formation of connection between communities. Groups that have suffered similar histories are linked, and they might find strength and solidarity in their understanding of their shared pain. With this in mind, I will be discussing ways in which the experiences of Indigenous Australians and Palestinians overlap.

Literature Review

While comparisons are often drawn between settler-colonialism and Indigenous experiences in Australia, the US, New Zealand, and Canada, there has not been much research into such parallels with Israel and Palestinians. Salamanca, et al. address this in their paper on *Settler Colonialism in Palestine*, recognising that “Zionism and the

¹ Viterbo quotes a public statement made by Native American academics. Viterbo, 2016-2017, p.722, quoting Gale C. Toensing, *Indigenous Scholars Oppose Navajo President 'Becoming Partners' With Israel*, INDIAN COUNTRY, June 4, 2013

² These being “unlawful killings; forced displacement; abusive detention; the closure of the Gaza Strip and other unjustified restrictions on movement; and the development of settlements, along with the accompanying discriminatory policies that disadvantage Palestinians.” Human Rights Watch. “Israel: 50 Years of Occupation Abuses,” June 4, 2017.

³ Viterbo, 2016-17, p726

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Salamanca et al., 2012, p4

Palestinians are gradually being included in the growing body of scholarly works on comparative settler colonialism”⁶.

A 2014 Al Jazeera opinion piece by Vacy Vlazna, *What do Israel and Australia have in Common?*, argues that the colonial atrocities committed against Palestinians and Indigenous Australians “bear close resemblance and are written in blood and great injustice”⁷. The author compares Israel’s Independence Day with Australia Day, which are both days of celebration for colonisers. Conversely, the anniversary of the Nakba, or Catastrophe, and Invasion Day are both days of mourning for the Indigenous peoples of each land. The colonisers of both places justified their occupation with *terra nullius* and proceeded to violently take over the land. Vlazna points out the differences in Australia and Israel’s assimilation policies. In Australia, indigenous peoples were forcefully assimilated in various ways, perhaps the most horrific being the kidnapping of indigenous children in order for them to be raised to be more palatable to white Australian society. In Israel, there has been no such effort. The Zionist goal is instead to get “rid of all Palestinians from the river to the sea”⁸ so that Israel can become a purely Jewish nation-state.

Another article written in 2012 by Jen Rosenberg for the Sydney Morning Herald, *Historian likens Israel to Aboriginal dispossession*, discusses the perspectives expressed by Ilan Pappé after a tour of Australia. He said of Australia and Israel, “I think it is a very very fair comparison [...] both societies are settler colonial societies, dispossessing the indigenous people”⁹. Ilan Pappé is an Israeli “new historian”, and author of *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* and other works criticising Israel’s brutal treatment of the Palestinian people. This work has presented declassified Israeli and British documents that outline the intentional and detailed plans to ethnically cleanse Palestine for Jewish occupation and argues against the commonplace Israeli assertion that the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians that were expelled simply left of their own accord. The article asserts that “the premise of *terra nullius*, in which European settlers viewed Australia as an unoccupied space, is similar to the idea that the Palestinians willingly gave up their land.”¹⁰

Antonio Cuadrado-Fernandez authored a chapter titled “Globalisation, Transculturalism and Environment: Sharing and Understanding Indigenous Perspectives through Poetry”. In this chapter, he discusses contemporary Indigenous Anglophone poetry, comparing work written by South African, Palestinian, and Indigenous Australian authors. He explains that often this category of poetry is filled with “environmental imagery” and expresses an “intimate sense of oneness with the land”¹¹, a uniquely Indigenous perspective. The author emphasises the value in appreciating the commonalities across Indigenous poetry, particularly the “conception of mind, body and environment as interrelated”¹², arguing that this will help to “create transcultural networks of resistance”¹³.

Another work that compares Indigenous Australian and Palestinian experiences is John Sheehan’s chapter in *Indigenous (In)Justice: Human Rights Law and Bedouin Arabs in the Naqab/Negev*, titled *Applying an Australian Native Title Framework to Bedouin Property*.

⁶ Salamanca et al., 2012, p1

⁷ Vlazna, 2014

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Rosenberg, 2012

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Cuadrado-Fernandez, 2015, p109

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

Sheehan's chapter identifies two major pushes for recognition of the rights and interests of nomadic and semi-nomadic Indigenous peoples: the 1975 decision by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) which "demolish[ed]" *terra nullius*¹⁴, and the 1992 *Mabo* decision by the Australian High Court which finally "accord[ed] the land rights of indigenous peoples the respect deserved in domestic law"¹⁵. In comparison, Sheehan asserts that the State of Israel has demonstrated a "visceral unwillingness"¹⁶ to attempt an approach similar to that demonstrated by Australia. He also notes that property rights in most common-law states are informed by their colonial pasts, and these rights have generally been either "reinforced or modified"¹⁷ by post-colonial statutes and laws. The implication of this is that property rights in common-law countries are often "culturally blind", and the property relationships between citizens and the state can be "fundamentally flawed"¹⁸. This is the case in the legal property relationship between Palestinians and Israel.

Sheehan also discusses the role of international law, which recognises the *terra nullius* category of territory, "over which there is no sovereign"¹⁹. The expression *terra nullius* implies the seizing or occupation of a land which belongs to no man. This seizing or occupation "must be performed by the state, must exercise effective control, and must be intended as a claim of sovereignty over the area"²⁰. This doctrine has been used to justify the acquisition of land by states, even land very clearly already occupied by people. According to Sheehan, "*Terra nullius* created a category of title to property that wholly favoured the settler society at the expense of indigenous inhabitants"²¹. For example, in 1885, most of Africa was determined to be *terra nullius*, despite the obvious fact that it was inhabited. Sheehan explains that this was on the basis that most people on the continent of Africa were without "a social or political organization"²², and also notes that the ICJ did not entirely reject the concept of *terra nullius*, but did determine that it was "not applicable to the territory of Western Sahara at the time of its colonisation, based on specific facts indicating a certain level of social or political organisation by the indigenous inhabitants," specifically being that they were "socially and politically organised in tribes and under chiefs competent to represent them"²³. In the case of Spain colonizing Western Sahara, the ICJ found that they had exploited the concept of *terra nullius* in order to ignore the existing property rights of the indigenous population so that they could assert sovereignty. The 1975 Advisory Opinion of the ICJ "was approved in the 1992 *Mabo* decision providing crucial background for rejecting any notion that Australia was unoccupied at the time of British arrival"²⁴.

One of the major works that focuses on direct comparison between Indigenous Australian and Palestinian experiences is *Ties of Separation: Analogy and Generational Segregation in North America, Australia, and Israel/Palestine* by Hedi Viterbo²⁵. This article

¹⁴ Sheehan, 2013

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Viterbo, 2016-17, p699

first explores the value of analogy as a method, and the role of analogy in legal and political discourse. Viterbo defines the various framings of analogies, including legalistic analogies in the context of generational segregation, rigid conceptualisations of settler colonialism in debates around analogies between different cases, and the reduction of analogy to similarities. Legalistic analogies can be valuable but can also neglect to explore parallels shared by law and policy more broadly. Rigid conceptualisations of settler colonialism in discourse around analogies tends to oversimplify cases and stem from reductive understanding. Finally, analogies being reduced to similarities overlooks “analogies’ predication on difference”²⁶, and risks carrying the implication that similarities are necessary for solidarity. This article explores the connections between analogies and generational segregation in the Native North American, Indigenous Australian, and Palestinian contexts.

Viterbo outlines some of the parallels between the chosen analogies within the context of generational segregation. He discusses its harmful effects, and how it is justified by the coloniser as a benevolent action, arguing that generational segregation is in the best interest of the child. This argument has been used to justify the removal of indigenous children from their communities, supposedly rescuing from the “filthy habits” and “loose morals”²⁷ of their parents, separating them from “prejudicial”²⁸ influences. In reality, children are targeted because of the presumption that they are more elastic than adults and are therefore easier to forcefully assimilate. According to Viterbo, children seem to represent the greatest chance of complete change.

The true target of generational segregation, however, is the transfer of knowledge. This is evident in the case of Palestinians incarcerated in Israeli prisons. Imprisoned adults are unable to pass knowledge onto their children or children in their community, and imprisoned children are unable to be taught. Additionally, Viterbo discusses the ways in which child separation has been used to govern and control Indigenous adults. The threat of child removal has long been used to make adults more compliant. In the mid-1800s in Australia, arguments in favour of removing Indigenous children from families as “a necessary means to break Indigenous resistance”²⁹ were common.

The generational segregation of Palestinians in Israeli custody has gotten worse over time. Previously, Palestinian children, teenagers, and adults tended to be held together in the same facilities. This enabled the transfer of valuable political knowledge between generations of prisoners, and Viterbo even describes Israeli prisons as being a sort of academy of political activism. When Israeli prison authorities became aware of this, they made changes to interrupt this knowledge transfer. Beginning in the early 2000s, there was increasing separation between prisoners of different ages. Legal changes were made, and as such joint incarceration of minors and adults has been almost entirely eliminated. It is important to note that adults in mixed facilities were mostly political prisoners, not criminals. Viterbo describes the positive impact they had on the young people they were incarcerated with, acting as a source of educational, psychological, and material support for them. Now, as a result of Israeli judiciary insistence on generational segregation in prisons, incarcerated children and young people have been cut off from that support, denying them access to intergenerational knowledge, and putting them at increased risk of abuse by

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p711

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p711

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p716

prison staff. Viterbo described the new laws as a “counter barrier of rehabilitation, education and treatment”³⁰.

As well as interrupting the natural transfer of political knowledge between generations, imprisonment can also mean limited access to academic information. Palestinians in Israeli custody have been barred from accessing study materials that contain analogies of settler-colonial states such as Australia, and the Israeli supreme court has also banned courses involving the study of genocide and Indigenous child removal. The justification for this is that it might compel students towards fanaticism. In reality, it is because they recognise the value of an education about parallel cases involving military and colonial regimes, and liberation movements beyond Palestine. In short, they did not want the Palestinian prisoners to learn from the actions of other Indigenous peoples, such as First Australians.

White Australia and a Jewish Nation-State

In Australia, indigenous people technically have full equal rights under the law, as do the Palestinians who have remained on their land since 1948. However, Al Jazeera reports of Palestinians facing “constant discrimination, citing inferior services and unfair allocations for education, health and housing”³¹, a statement which can also extend to apply to the situation of indigenous Australians. The legacy of discrimination continues despite policy and legal changes, impacting both marginalised peoples.

In the early 20th century, the Australian government anticipated that Indigenous people would become extinct over time, but soon they saw that this was not the case. It became the government’s goal to create a singular, homogenous, white Australian culture, pursued through devastating assimilation policies³². Australians Together references The Initial Conference of Commonwealth and State Aboriginal Authorities in 1937, where the government clearly outlined their approach: “The policy of assimilation means in the view of all Australian governments that all Aborigines and part-Aborigines are expected eventually to attain the same manner of living as other Australians and to live as members of a single Australian community enjoying the same rights and privileges, accepting the same responsibilities, observing the same customs and influenced by the same beliefs, hopes and loyalties as other Australians.”³³

This goal of complete homogeneity is very similar to that of Israel. In 2018, Israel passed a nation-state law, officially declaring itself to be the nation-state of Jewish people, stipulating that “Israel is the historic homeland of the Jewish people and they have an exclusive right to national self-determination in it”³⁴. The Legal Centre for Arab Minority Rights in Israel, Adalah, condemned the law for advancing “ethnic superiority by promoting racist policies”³⁵. Adalah has also reported that there are over 65 laws in place in Israel that directly discriminate against Palestinians living both in the Occupied Territories and in Israel itself “on the basis of their national belonging”³⁶. The General Director of Adalah asserted

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p707

³¹ “6,000 Palestinian Children Jailed by Israel since 2015: NGO,”

³² “Australians Together”, n.d.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ “Israel Passes Controversial ‘Jewish Nation-State’ Law,” n.d.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ *Ibid.*

that “the Jewish nation-state law features key elements of apartheid, which is not only immoral but also absolutely prohibited under international law”³⁷.

In a 1996 speech on assimilation versus self-determination in Darwin, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Social Justice Commissioner, Michael Dodson, had the following to say about assimilation policies: “Assimilation relied on the well-established and widely-accepted view that we were inferior to white Australians, that our way of life, our culture and our languages were substandard. [...] Embedded within the policy of assimilation was a clear expectation of the cultural extinction of Indigenous peoples.”³⁸ The Stolen Generations were the result of Australia’s assimilation policy and involved the kidnapping of indigenous children from their families by the state and federal government³⁹. The suffering caused by these policies is still being felt by indigenous communities. Australian officials at the time asserted that Indigenous children “need protection and control, otherwise they become a menace to the white race”⁴⁰, and that they should be “rescued” from their families so they could be raised into “decent and useful members of the community”⁴¹. One Australian state official in 1947 said, “it is infinitely better to take a child from its mother, and put it in an institution... than to allow it to be brought up subject to the [Aboriginal] influence.”⁴²

The same assimilation policies that stole generations of children are no longer in place, but indigenous children are still being stolen and placed into state care. “Indigenous children comprise only 2.7% of Australian children but they were 20% of children in care in 1993”⁴³. According to the Australian Institute of Family Studies, “poverty, assimilation policies, intergenerational trauma and discrimination and forced child removals have all contributed to the over-representation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander children in care, as has a lack of understanding of the cultural differences in child-rearing practices and family structure”⁴⁴. In addition to this, UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous people Victoria Tauli-Corpuz reported that ““high rates of incarceration were described to [her] as a tsunami affecting indigenous peoples [...] while Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders make up only three per cent of the total population, they constitute 27 per cent of the prison population, and much more in some prisons.”⁴⁵

According to Al Jazeera, as of the 6th of April 2019, there were 5,700 Palestinians imprisoned by Israel, 250 of which were children⁴⁶. Quoting the Palestinian Prisoners’ Association, they reported that at least 6,000 Palestinian children had been in Israeli detention since 2015, 98 percent of which had been “subjected to psychological and/or physical abuse while in Israeli custody”⁴⁷. Some of these children were detained after being seriously wounded, often by gunshot, by Israeli soldiers, and “children are often forced to sign statements written in Hebrew - a language they cannot read”⁴⁸. Minors are interrogated, arrested during night-time raids, and are deprived of food and water and

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Dodson, 1996

³⁹ “The Stolen Generations,” n.d.

⁴⁰ Viterbo, 2016-17, p711

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.* p712

⁴³ “Bringing Them Home - Chapter 21 | Australian Human Rights Commission,” n.d.

⁴⁴ Child Family Community Australia, n.d.

⁴⁵ “Australia’s Aboriginal Children ‘Essentially Being Punished for Being Poor’ – UN Rights Expert,” 2017

⁴⁶ “6,000 Palestinian Children Jailed by Israel since 2015: NGO,” April 6, 2019.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

otherwise abused while in custody, leaving them “suffering from nightmares [and] insomnia, declin[ing] in school achievement and reacting aggressively with their environment and society.”⁴⁹ Viterbo described the rehabilitation of Palestinian child-prisoners by Israelis as a means for them to learn “to function in accordance with norms and productively”⁵⁰, in other words, so that they become more agreeable to Israeli society through assimilation.

The 2017 Australian Royal Commission into the Protection and Detention of Children in the Northern Territory was an investigation into how children were being treated in state custody (whether in detention or in the welfare system). The Royal Commission found that children in detention centres in the were “frequently subjected to verbal abuse and racist remarks”⁵¹ and staff would deliberately withhold children’s access to things such as food, water, and toilets, and would at times coerce detainees into committing “degrading, humiliating and/or harmful acts”⁵², or acts of violence on other detainees⁵³.

As already discussed in the above literature review, generational segregation has been experienced by Palestinians and Indigenous Australians in alike ways. Viterbo explains that the continued legacy and ongoing process of child removal is defined by “hyperincarceration, criminal justice issues, [and] child welfare system.”⁵⁴ He also asserts points out that the “institutional sites of generational segregation have much in common”⁵⁵, which in this case is Australian and Israeli jails holding incarcerated First Australian and Palestinian prisoners. “The removal of generations of children disrupted transfers in knowledge and oral culture between generations, and thus cultural knowledge was lost,”⁵⁶ and will continue to be lost if the hyper-incarceration issues in Australia and Israel of indigenous peoples is not interrupted.

Because of genocide and language marginalisation, the number of indigenous languages spoken in Australia has significantly dropped. A key study by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) found that there is “great variety in the situations of traditional languages,”⁵⁷ but all are at risk of declining. The survey data also indicated that traditional language is a very critical element of Indigenous Australians’ identity⁵⁸. In 2018, Israel passed a law defining the country as the nation-state of Jewish people. The bill made Hebrew the national language of Israel, and downgraded Arabic to “special status”, disenfranchising the Arabs living within Israel⁵⁹. Not speaking the national language of the country one lives in inhibits access to education, high paying jobs, and positions of political influence.

International Law

According to the ACT Human Rights Commission, international law “defines the legal responsibilities of nation-states: in their conduct with one another and their treatment of

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Viterbo, 2016-17, p711

⁵¹ *Royal Commission into the Protection and Detention of Children in the Northern Territory*, 2017, p159

⁵² *Ibid.*, p166

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p169

⁵⁴ Viterbo, 2016-17

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ “The Stolen Generations,” n.d.

⁵⁷ Marmion, Obata, and Troy, 2014, p40

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p41

⁵⁹ “Israel Passes Controversial ‘Jewish Nation-State’ Law,” n.d.

individuals within their boundaries”⁶⁰. And so, while at first glance it might appear that an international law framework might not be applicable to the case of Indigenous Australians, by this definition it is highly relevant. “Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people hold distinct human rights under international law,”⁶¹ which is established by treaties or norms. International human rights treaties are a set of standards to be agreed upon by signatories, as well as mechanisms to ensure their complete implementation. One such treaty is the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP)⁶².

The UNDRIP was adopted by the General Assembly in September 2007, with 144 countries in favour, 11 abstentions, four countries opposed (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the USA), and 34 countries absent (of which Israel was one). All four of the countries that voted against the UNDRIP have violent colonial pasts; all have committed genocide against Indigenous peoples, including Australia. Australia would later formally support the UNDRIP in 2009 under Labour prime minister Kevin Rudd, but Israel is yet to acknowledge the declaration. Both Australia and Israel have failed to meet the UNDRIP’s provisions. The 1989 International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention 169 on Indigenous and tribal peoples is another example of an international human rights treaty that has not been ratified by Australia or Israel⁶³.

The United Nations has condemned both Australia and Israel for the treatment of Indigenous Australians and Palestinians respectively. In 2017, UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous people Victoria Tauli-Corpuz made an official visit to Australia. At the end of her visit, she condemned the high incarceration rates of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders in Australia. She urged Australia to consider the detention of children “only as a last resort” which is “already recommended by the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child”⁶⁴. Tauli-Corpuz acknowledged that there were numerous policies in place to address problems faces by indigenous peoples such as socio-economic disadvantages, but that goals regarding infant mortality, life expectancy, employment, and education had failed. She criticized the implementation of the Indigenous Advancement Strategy initiated in 2014 on the basis that it was “rigid and has wasted considerable resources on administration. [... she had] repeatedly been told about its dire consequences”⁶⁵. The Special Rapporteur for the UN also called for the Australian government to “forge a new relationship with the national representative body for indigenous peoples, the National Congress of Australia’s First Peoples, and restore their funding”⁶⁶. Amnesty International described her assessment of Australia as “scathing”⁶⁷, and wrote that the organisation was “deeply disappointed at the absence of any meaningful response from the Australian Government to the [...] report”⁶⁸.

Israel’s settlement activities have long been recognised by the United Nations and member states to be in direct violation of international law. “During the course of 2016, 18 resolutions adopted in the General Assembly and others in the Human Rights Council had all

⁶⁰ “Cultural Rights in International Law Human Rights Commission Fact Sheet.”, n.d.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² “UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples | Australian Human Rights Commission.”, n.d.

⁶³ “Convention C169 - Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989 (No. 169).”, n.d.

⁶⁴ “Australia’s Aboriginal Children ‘Essentially Being Punished for Being Poor’ – UN Rights Expert”, 2017

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ “Australia Answers to the UN on Its Treatment of Indigenous People,”, 2017

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

condemned Israel⁶⁹. Israel's settlements are a frequently discussed issue because they are in violation of Article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention, as well as Article 43 of the Hague Regulations. Article 49 explicitly prohibits the transfer of persons into occupied territory, stating that "individual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not, are prohibited, regardless of their motive"⁷⁰. The United Nations Security Council reaffirmed in 2016 with Resolution 2334 that "Israel's establishment of settlements in Palestinian territory occupied since 1967, including East Jerusalem, had no legal validity, constituting a flagrant violation under international law and a major obstacle to the vision of two States living side-by-side in peace and security, within internationally recognized borders"⁷¹.

In 2014, Hanan Ashrawi, head of the PLO Department of Culture and Information denounced a comment made by Australia's Foreign Affairs Minister Julie Bishop⁷². During an interview with *The Times of Israel*, Bishop was asked if she agreed "with the 'near-universal view' that Israeli settlements anywhere beyond 1967 lines are illegal under international law, she replied: 'I would like to see which international law has declared them illegal'"⁷³. Dr Ashrawi urged the Australian government to formally clarify their position on settlements, describing the Foreign Minister's stance as a "wilful defiance of international consensus on the settlements issue"⁷⁴.

Conclusions

Both Israel and Australia have worked very hard to curate a particular image of democracy, multi-culturalism, and diversity. Israel has a positive reputation for being "the only democracy in the Middle East"⁷⁵ and a safe haven for the oppressed, and the Australian Human Rights Commission asserts that cultural diversity is "central to [Australian] national identity"⁷⁶. This is purely tokenistic, as there is no genuine effort towards reconciliation or indigenous sovereignty in Israel or Australia. Indigenous peoples are demanding recognition of sovereignty, land rights, language rights, and cultural rights. Palestinians are also demanding freedom from occupation and the right to return. Symbolism is not one of their demands. By making Indigenous solidarity a priority, connections can be made, resilience built against legacies of trauma, counter-hegemonic sources of recognition formed, and "a power base for decolonisation"⁷⁷ will be strengthened.

⁶⁹ "Israel's Settlements Have No Legal Validity, Constitute Flagrant Violation of International Law, Security Council Reaffirms | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.", 2016

⁷⁰ "Treaties, States Parties, and Commentaries - Geneva Convention (IV) on Civilians, 1949 - 49 - Deportations, Transfers, Evacuations.", n.d.

⁷¹ "Israel's Settlements Have No Legal Validity, Constitute Flagrant Violation of International Law, Security Council Reaffirms | Meetings Coverage and Press Releases.", 2016

⁷² Ireland, 2014

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Kamrava, 2005, p.246

⁷⁶ "Face the Facts: Cultural Diversity", 2015

⁷⁷ Boudreau Morris, October 2, 2017, p456

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