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- CLICK ON "HISTORY OF OUR GALACTIC WORLD & NESARA" & THE INFORMATION PAGE WILL COME UP.
- UNDERNEATH THE PICTURE OF THE GALAXY AND THE LOTUS, YOU WILL SEE A BLUE BOX WITH THE WORDS **PROGRAM ARCHIVES**.
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Opening & Meditation: Cheryl Croci

Everyone is invited to Cheryl Croci's Sunday and Monday ascension and activation calls
• 8:45 pm EST/5:45 pm PST • 213-342-3000; PIN 9467441#

Housekeeping: Rainbird We are in 3 AHAU the Christ consciousness - a good place

- BBS:**
- A listener supported radio call - Grateful for all the donations from all of us!
 - **We owe \$ 632 for this week & the last 2 weeks. Thank you! Thank you! Thank you!**
Many people are sending small amounts - that works! Every small amount adds up.
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 - Website: <http://2013rainbowroundtable.ning.com> - scroll down on home page, close to blog page to find the donate button - can indicate whether it's for BBS or T&R

T & R: • Rent = \$900 DUE BY MAY 9TH AT THE LATEST

- Need \$ for a bill + \$ for food, gas
- Can access the paypal account on home page of 2013 RainbowRose Roundtable
<http://2013rainbowroundtable.ning.com>
- **Can trade with T & R for readings by Mother Sekhmet**
- **Please let them know if you'd like a reading or when you are gifting:**

E-mail: koran999@comcast.net
 Mintaka9999@yahoo.com

Mail: Ram D Berkowitz
 1704 B Llano St, # 249
 Santa Fe, NM 87505

Or contact MariettaRobert at 317-773-0061

- The work we do together, the sharing we do - all of this is important: thank you all for sharing!
- As we assist T & R so they can focus on the work at hand, we are also assisting ourselves.

Phone Numbers: 530 - 413 - 9537 line 1

 530 - 763 - 1594 Lines 2 & 3

BBS Toll Free 888 - 429 - 5471 [Canada, US]

Hard News:

Rama is still clearing out his lungs, nasal passages - Mother will just be in the background

Our Times - Craig Barnes - he went to Ecuadorian Embassy in London and **met with Julian Assange**

- JA has over 500,000 wikileaks about stargates and beings and all kinds of things -it's like Stargate SG1 but there is no evil one showing up - though the 13 families would like to do this
 - Has found that **soldiers have to sign a non-disclosure to the point of high treason** that they will not talk about the ziggaurats or the star gates or the ships they see going in and out
 - they talked of reports of soldiers walking through star gates and not coming back because they didn't have the vibration to do it - who knows where they ended up?
 - JA and Craig Barnes talked of Boston being a Black Ops - the pictures of the soldiers with the ball caps and the skull symbol are **NO LONGER ON THE INTERNET: WIPED CLEAN!**
 - All they were talking of: a giant cover-up since 9/11 with Bill Clinton as president of the UN - imagine trying to get a UN meeting on UFOs in that situation!
- R** speaks the voice of his granny, Mother Sekhmet who was here before the gods were here: bless these ones as they are on their way across the River Styx and will meet LM Ma'at

Camp Loveway: Guest was Dr Fred Alan Wolf : Einstein did not start talking until he was 5 years old! He was getting the downloads - there was nothing wrong with him!

- Talked about the particle accelerator at CERN and the Big Bang - when you talk it to the higher principles and the twin flame and the kundalini - it is about love, not physics
- Terrance McKenna was taken out with prostate cancer because he started to talk about what would happen after Dec 21/12:
 - He talked about the Cosmic Wisdom Masters - 35' tall, flaming red hair, wear deep purple robes, glowing chakras - Terrance met them in the Amazon forest - they were here to help us learn how to use the energy of our chakras; they come from the higher dimensions and answer to the Ancient Supreme and Eternal of Days. They have never participated in the art of war in the Universe of Nebadon

R got to talk to one of the 3 Pleiadian sisters who are around: they are lookers! You can feel that they are "hot" - the radiant love, the joy you feel in the Masters presence - all you can do is cry for joy!

- They said just watch the rubber ducky on the sea of debt that is going down the drain!
- The DOW is at about 15,000+ - watch what happens in the next 12 days; they are running out of excuses and lies.
- Mr Bernie Madoff will have some cell mates if that is their lucky fate - they are slated to NOT be here!
- When you are in a conscious state of pure evil that is out of its time and space continuum, there is no way back.

T: Is Obama going to send troops to Syria: It has to do with the wicked witch of the east Hillary Clinton

- Another lie: Hillary and Michelle Obama - **he heard this on Counter Spin** - people saying what is on their minds - has to do with what they are feeling: also means what is wrong with this picture?
- They said this lady is guilty of murder and treason, and the Benghazi event is about the 800 tons of gold.
- St G is happy because it is close to the end.

- Fred Alan Wolfe said when you are in the quantum field, send on love. Also getting ready to make another movie: Michael Fronte and FA Wolfe [a quantum physicist involved with **What the Bleep** and **Down the Rabbit Hole**] and it will be about Michael doing an ayawasca journey and meeting the great African goddess - the Bantu people, the Zuju people, the town of Tamel Nadu will be involved:
 - The town of Tamel Nadu was in central India at the time - south India sank to the bottom of the sea; Madagascar was part of that too as it was connected to southern India

Caller1: about fake money: people asking him when the money exchange comes down, is it true that if you have money in the bank or in stocks you can trade it for gold-backed money?

T: **YES** - but not if you have it in a big bank - **it will all be gone, as it is genocide; everyone gets \$10M two months after the announcement**

Caller1: will it be exchanged?

T: best to have it in a credit union, and yes, it will be released.

Caller1: what about the project of Hitler with twins and messing up their DNA and creating gay people - is that true?

T: reversed the codes in twins of all ethnicities; intention was to create a way to reduce the human population which was to be brought to under 2%

Caller1: will the so-called healing chamber reverse it back?

T: has to be in combination with the desire of the human. Also, remember you are not your body!

- We are spirit so when a person comes into a genetically modified body, it is not about mortal sin which is a dogma which has nothing to do with spiritual principles.
- On the higher level, as we evolve to higher vibrations, we gain back abilities and we can evolve our own DNA - literally!
- A week or two ago, they read an article about Genesis Ch 25 & Isaac and Rebechah having a set of twins: this was THE genetic experiment when one of the twins was from a different father. Not said exactly like this: This was at the time of the Annunaki - they beamed Rachel to a ship and impregnated her with the genes of a red chimpanzee. The father of that one was Esau; the father of the other was Isaac. They fought each other in the womb.
- So we all have some DNA from the monkey kingdom - as we evolve, we can fix this DNA too - the experiment was done with malintent to dumb us down and not allow our civilization to move forward and use us as slaves.
- Rana Mu said over one third of the MWG is missing; she said that when she was there, before she came back to this time frame
 - This experiment was done with malintent by the Luciferians because they wanted to become masters of the universe - but it was dumb thinking because we are of unity consciousness and we cannot separate our brothers and sisters from others - we have the ability consciously to remake our DNA to the original intention AND BEYOND
- In the first creation, when we were in the Pleiades, we were in the 1th dimension and had all our DNA intact and could do all kinds of things: if you took at the imagery from India of people with 4 arms it is to remind us of something we have forgotten
- some of us are down to only 1.5 strands of DNA - that is how much the experimentation and mutilations affected us; even now there are all kinds of beings in animal bodies to this day! They live under the ground & other places.

R: this brings in the story of his friend, Master Nicodemus - he is a 4' rat who escaped from Los Alamos

where he was being experimented on - part human DNA, part rat DNA

- He had 6 mos of hormone injections, & became more intelligent; - he read it in a book and learned how to open the cage door.

- He can still shape shift - Tara asks what is it about that he still is in rat form: is it about these experiments becoming known to people?

R: YES - he chooses to keep it even though he can shape shift. It is about all those secrets.

- St G completely ascended yet, from the Council of Councils, Shamballa the Greater [it's an etheric physical place], St Germain received permission to continue to come into the human condition so he can assist mankind.

- Lady Di and Dodi get to go there [Shamballa the Greater] and represent us

- One day, Rama got to meet with Lady Di off a spaceship - an **event like this changes the timelines** and advances humanity

- The **Citizens Hearing on Disclosure also changed the timelines**: our evolution is higher because of such events

- Dr Steven Greer was talking about electro magnetic propulsion and the places where we can go: vector technologies and we can go in those ships and make the turns etc and the body is not harmed. We are literally merging dimensions without death.

R: has watched from Zoltec's ships, Mother's ship - the F16s trying to take down the ships -

- from the space ships, they send out a pencil size beam and the plane falls apart like feathers, and the pilot is taken on board

- Geo Filer talked of Ben Rich - in order to do these things that they do in the higher dimensions, need pure intention and pure consciousness - you can literally travel without a ship, in your merkaba which involves your aura. In a sense, we can reverse the experimentation of our mutated DNA

Caller1: someone had received a bill from the IRS and you gave a formula for returning the bill and writing across it "Where's my Cheque?"

T: "This is a gift. Where is my cheque for my benefits?"

Caller1: would the same thing apply when you receive a bill for property tax?

T: different case - need a sovereign basis to work from; can put people on notice about tax liabilities - it takes study etc

- **These guys don't care!** 250,000 people lost their homes because they made up lies - none of the people who lost their homes were late or missed payments but they took the records and changed/erased them and threw the people out of their homes! The people did not know how to do things with the NWO attorneys

Caller1: did they hear M H-Perry regarding the Pigford case? She gave a good resume of the history of the black people; another history person told how it is happening mortgage wise to the white people - he was hoping she would say the solution was NESARA

T: the monopoly of the media won't let her say that: yet she has gone a long distance

Caller1: she went on about not helping the soldiers who come back from war

T: They are years away from getting help. She had someone on who is finding things for veterans who are returning.

- We have so many millenials and Indigos who have come in to take on the media - without being able to say the word NESARA or REFORMATION ACT.

Caller2: This week was so interesting because of the hearing; watched all 5 days of the presentation

- Saw 2 individuals - tallest in the room; one with brown hair, one with flowing long hair
- a woman with white hair, almost angelic features - asking about who they were.

R: makes the appropriate noises!!!!!!!!!!!! [ie, yes, they were galactics]

T: someone started to talk about an issue that, unless it was resolved, nothing would change - Palestine.

And it **was the galactics communicated that**

R: Has to do with Stargates and the Al-Aqsa_Mosque

- one state solution - **it is a big deal to have the galactics communicate this!**
- The people in that region are the ones who go back to the time of Abraham

R: expected Bob Dean to show up, always adds a spiritual dimension - he likes his steak -

- have to do without it. Rama has not had red meat since 1968 - he can no longer take the frequencies of eating red meat!
- The amount of torture the agribusiness does to the animals, on purpose, is horrendous.

Audio: M H-P about American farmers

- In 1997, the Dep't of Ag had deliberately discriminated against black farmers in terms of farm loans
- 2010 - Pigford 2 - claims paid out last year [2012]

T: in 1920, one of 7 farmers were black. Yet it is **not about black - it is about slavery:** if you are not part of the elite, the royalty - you are nothing, you are black - which is why it is the Black Farmers vs the Federal Banking System

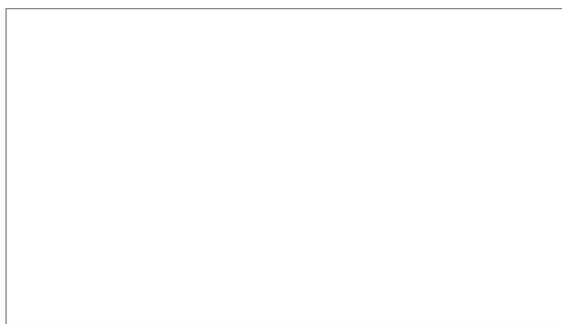
MHP: ALL farmers need gov't help to succeed; yet there was the massive nature of this discrimination - when you went in to apply, you would be told there are no more applications; when you came back next week, it was the same story, etc; did great damage to those who wanted to farm; damage to families which then broke down communities;

- they characterized it as the Black Farmers Case because of the racial slur: yet there are 5 cases involved: the women's case, the Latinos case and others
- Now there is discrimination re home loans
- Discussion of article: **US Opens Spigot After Farmers Claim Discrimination [SEE BELOW]**

MHP: The Mission Continues: talks to Eric the founder

About The Mission Continues

The Mission Continues is a community service organization that helps post-9/11 veterans transition from the military to leadership roles at home. The Mission Continues benefits veterans and communities in equal measure. The organization sponsors veterans' enrollment in a 6-month service and leadership program. These veterans dedicate themselves to serving in their community, volunteering for at least 20 hours a week in community organizations to address issues like homelessness, illiteracy and unemployment. The Mission Continues provides resources and a living stipend to these veterans while they apply their skills to address our communities' most pressing problems. Since its inception, The Mission Continues has awarded more than 600 fellowships and engaged thousands of volunteers at more than 350 community organizations.



- T: the Pigford case** our particular gov't has gone global, deciding that they are in charge of the globe
- The Pigford case has gone global too - there are 78 programs; we are talking about world citizenry and the rights to be stewards of the land, of the globe.
 - They decided to become the kingpins of this globe, yet LM Nada and KOS are in charge of this country - the principles of the teachings Krishna, Buddha, Christ are all the same, as the 3 are the same soul; going back further, it is Melchezidek / Shem whose father was a star ship captain.
 - Someone from Texas at the hearings: the ships were so big
 - [The New Jerusalem is 5000 miles in diameter has to stay outside the solar system because it would upset the frequencies inside the solar system]
 - the person was discussing and Linda Moulten Howe was talking to people: they saw people in the craft who were glowing - it was their chakras - they are described as androgynous. In the androgynous state, you do not use the physical body or use the carnal state: you merge from # 5 to 8th chakras and you create another being who is also androgynous. When you merge these chakras, you get ecstasy

Reading: Santaner Chief Alfredo Sáenz Resigns [SEE BELOW]

Reading: Top Lieutenant of Dimon is Departing JP Morgan [SEE BELOW]

Reading: Interview: Julian Assange on George Bush's Library/ Bradley Manning's Trial [SEE BELOW]

R: heard it on **Craig Barnes** this morning: All of the navy seal team 6 were murdered by the secret gov't so they would never be able to say what they saw and the fake Bin Laden!

Reading: Lagarde List Whistleblower Faces Nervous Wait for Extradition Verdict [SEE BELOW]

Mention: With Bags of Cash, C I A Seeks Influence in Afghanistan [SEE BELOW]
We know most of the story! She gives only the outline of the article.

Audio: Democracy Now

2013, May 3 **Assata Shakur in Her Own Words: Rare Recording of Activist Named to FBI Most Wanted Terrorists List** [SEE BELOW]

Audio: Thom Hartmann: a Caller from Michigan

Caller: talks about the history about guns/armouries & what happened in the north

Thom: in the South, guns were kept on the plantations, and there were Slave Patrols

- The weapons at that time were also very rare - would cost a month's salary to buy, and expensive to maintain as there was no stainless steel -

- At the time of the founding of the country, people bought meat from the professional hunters or from the butchers that the hunter sold to - hunting was fairly rare

Caller: the extended family had a gun and shared it; that people want their own guns and that they should be in schools is ridiculous

Thom: ALSO FACTUALLY WRONG!

Audio: about wikileaks and the information

Musical Break:

Astrology: Richard

- No drought in Georgia any more!!!! Almost 4 inches last weekend; Thursday garden still wet Started raining on Friday - light; Today is chilly and wet

T: dry and with a major fire on west coast

Ri: all the energy in Taurus - the middle month of the spring season; lots of growing is going on

- all the rain good for the vegetable kingdom - still to wet to cut grass - all is green
 - an effect of Taurus which is an earth sign and rules prairies, forests
- Neptune and Chiron: moon is in Pisces a water sign -

Timing: 9:00 on east coast. Sun has set -

- Sun, Mercury and Mars very close together - Venus led the way into Taurus and still in front Mars at 11*; Sun,
- Has been paying attention to staying grounded and centred: works well in an Earth sign

Thursday is new moon in Taurus @ 20*

Wed last week - had air/mental energy that went on till end of week

Today is water energy: tonight moon will square Jupiter

Sunday: Mars will exactly trine Pluto at 5:30 in afternoon

Moon goes into Aries Sun pm

Monday:

Tuesday: an Aries moon - tend to bring in a fiery spirit and unexpected changes - should get some news nuggets - moon will be void of course at 8:30 am when it trines Jupiter; Mercury will trine Pluto and conjunct Mars

Moon is void of course in Aries until Wed - moon opposite Saturn Wed pm

Thursday: we start with a trine to Pluto, then moon conjunct Mars at 10 am; at the same time, Venus slips into Gemini; 3 pm moon conjuncts Mercury and at 8:30 conjuncts the sun/ the new moon

- A week for anchoring vision, mission statement; grounding, confirming, re-confirming - doing things like acceptance, absorption

Friday: moon remains in Taurus until Fr pm; then conjuncts Venus around 8:50pm - and next weekend will be a Gemini moon until Sunday - on the 12th good for heart to heart talks - Gemini about communication and electrical stuff

- Generally, the next 2 weeks - a chance to rest and catch up on sleep; even from 12th to 18th - good energies to get our short term and long term planning done.
- Enjoy these next 2 weeks - not often we get 4 planets in one sign - it's an energy booster.

Scorpio: taxes, inheritance, death, pension funds, 401Ks, other people's money

Ri: understands that US birth certificates are held as collateral

T: they have master files on all of us: we are all criminals

Ri: one of the most beneficial aspects of the time: Neptune, Chiron,
• Neptune brings in Divine Wisdom; the spiritual aspect of our
• With Chiron, emotions are being brought up to be healed - look at it, dissolve it, neutralize it put it behind you - with Chiron in Pisces, we are healing ourselves and all of humanity

T: this configuration is focussed on the **idea that no one person leads the way: no one is higher than the next one** - this is the time we realize that ego is gone k

• North Node also in Scorpio: mechanism is to break up and confine those who have misbehaved - in Scorpio, it is emotional violence, psychic violence

• From the point of view of all of us being healers - the "aha" comes up: it only takes a little bit of data to bring up memories or a déjà vu type of event

T: Pluto word: collectivity! It's Divine Love - what is more collective than that

RI: we are all One and we are very damaged as a group; more and more getting healed every day

• We are going through the eye of the needle like never before!

Caller: talking of getting money out of banks - has a very small sum in Ameriprize

Ri: any time you do business with a corporate entity, the mere fact of being a customer supports that entity - even a small amount of \$ adds to their portfolio and it all adds up

• The spiritual question: do I want to support this entity with my business?

Caller: would Ameriprize be huge - it's an investment company

Ri: look at the nature of the company & their business: are they involved with the illusion of Wall Street?

Caller: used to be American Express - this is one of their little arms

Seems like an almost impossible task to pull it out

T: would make the effort to do it

Ri: there is nothing you cannot do

T: no they do not do investing like the big banks do

Ri: look at the charter and see what they are organized to do - mostly local, car loans, local business

Ri's comfort zone: as far away from Wall Street as possible

T: the big banks can take your money and put it in rollovers, etc

Ri: **CUs** have insurance but it is not FDIC; theirs is NUA - an insurer that works with the community of credit unions

Talks about his bank that went bust 2 years ago

Caller: in terms of Social Security

T: that money came from you originally; Bush Jr wanted to privatize Social Security

Ri: if we could get a sound money system

Caller is there such a thing?

T: called **NESARA!** It is up to us to materialize it!

One of the things said at the hearing was that nothing would change until Palestine was addressed.

Tara reads a good portion of this paper

[SEE BELOW]

Reading: the Origin of the Israel Palestine Conflict - Jews for Justice in the Middle East

Caller: when you speak of Navy Seal Team 6 taken out - they took out the fake Osama

• They know a whole lot of stuff: like it was NOT the real Osama!

• How did Craig Barnes get to know about this: Julian Assange & Wiki leaks

Craig Barnes - a native America AND a Florida State Judge

- Everyone keeps saying 10 - 12 days until something breaks open
- Heidi, Larry, Curly and Thom the RT Cat; Heidi works with Bank of International Settlements
In Oct 2008, she zeroed out the old economy; we have been living inside NESARA law since then:
- these ones have been living on borrowed time - and printing money and giving it to the banks
- Christine LaGarde [head of IMF] is an archon & a male lizard: trying to make herself look like a female
- in 12 days or so, St G will pull the plug on the same thing and let it all go down the drain
- the Max Keiser reports are in parallel to this information;
- Bix Weir is on the same page - silver is extremely low - if there is to be any silver, it will have to come from the other side of Nesara - we have completely used up the silver on the planet.

Question: where has all the silver gone?

- Used for medical purposes, for one thing
Caller: Not using silver nitrate in babies' eyes for at least 15-20 years - use an anti-biotic ointment - an old standard anti biotic that has been around for a long time: it's done to be sure that every newborn is treated so that any infection picked up from coming through the birth canal is stopped.

Caller: refers to an article about physical ascension system - Aluna Joy - feels like things are imminent

- has friends who have been experiencing similar symptoms Someone she knows has been talking about being on ships and that some others will be there, getting their orders.

Reading: FIRST SIGNS OF PHYSICAL ASCENSION ARE HERE

[SEE BELOW]

- Time to relax, work together, do our mission, don't waste our energies; keep our centers.
- Martin Luther King - the ultimate measure of a man - where he stand in times of conflict

The last part of the Saturday night tape:

T: reads a number of quotations from Einstein and others which underline their understanding of the nature of the universe

Reading: The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

[SEE BELOW]

Reads from "Introduction" to the end of "Jewish Criticism of Zionism"

From the website: <http://ifamericansknew.org/history/origin.html>

Audio: Ocean of Dreams

Audio: finish: The end of the war we don't see" - Julian Assange

Audio: Max Keiser <http://rt.com/shows/keiser-report/episode-440-max-keiser-808/>

Max Keiser and Stacy Herbert discuss the Great Leap Forward in central banks' central planning which has driven the Housewives of China to buy 300 tons of gold, an act of disloyalty to the central bank revolution. Max notices that Mrs. Wang has displaced Mrs. Watanabe as the most important buyer in global financial markets. In the second half, Max talks to Alasdair MacLeod of Goldmoney.com about everything to do with the physical and paper gold markets - from open interest to naked short selling by bullion banks.

Closing: Rainbird

2013, April 26 **U.S. Opens Spigot After Farmers Claim Discrimination**



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Black farmers held a protest outside the Agriculture Department in Washington in 2002 tied to litigation about farm loan discrimination. [More Photos »](#)

By [SHARON LaFRANIERE](#)

In the winter of 2010, after a decade of defending the government against bias claims by Hispanic and female farmers, Justice Department lawyers seemed to have victory within their grasp.

[Multimedia Slide Show](#)

[Enlarge This Image](#)

Agriculture Department reviewers found many suspicious claims for compensation, some from nursery-school-age children. [More Photos »](#)

Ever since the Clinton administration agreed in 1999 to make \$50,000 payments to thousands of black farmers, the Hispanics and women had been clamoring in courtrooms and in Congress for the same deal. They argued, as the African-Americans had, that biased federal loan officers had systematically thwarted their attempts to borrow money to farm.

But a succession of courts — and finally the Supreme Court — had rebuffed their pleas. Instead of an army of potential claimants, the government faced just 91 plaintiffs. Those cases, the government lawyers figured, could be dispatched at limited cost.

They were wrong.

On the heels of the Supreme Court's ruling, interviews and records show, the Obama administration's political appointees at the Justice and Agriculture Departments engineered a stunning turnabout: they committed \$1.33 billion to compensate not just the 91 plaintiffs but thousands of Hispanic and female farmers who had never claimed bias in court.

The deal, several current and former government officials said, was fashioned in White House meetings despite the vehement objections — until now undisclosed — of career lawyers and agency officials who had argued that there was no credible evidence of widespread discrimination. What is more, some protested, the template for the deal — the \$50,000 payouts to black farmers — had proved a magnet for fraud.

“I think a lot of people were disappointed,” said J. Michael Kelly, who retired last year as the Agriculture Department’s associate general counsel. “You can’t spend a lot of years trying to defend those cases honestly, then have the tables turned on you and not question the wisdom of settling them in a broad sweep.”

The compensation effort sprang from a desire to redress what the government and a federal judge agreed was a painful legacy of bias against African-Americans by the Agriculture Department. But an examination by The New York Times shows that it became a runaway train, driven by racial politics, pressure from influential members of Congress and law firms that stand to gain more than \$130 million in fees. In the past five years, it has grown to encompass a second group of African-Americans as well as Hispanic, female and Native American farmers. In all, more than 90,000 people have filed claims. The total cost could top \$4.4 billion.

From the start, the claims process prompted allegations of widespread fraud and criticism that its very design encouraged people to lie: because relatively few records remained to verify accusations, claimants were not required to present documentary evidence that they had been unfairly treated or had even tried to farm. Agriculture Department reviewers found reams of suspicious claims, from nursery-school-age children and pockets of urban dwellers, sometimes in the same handwriting with nearly identical accounts of discrimination.

Yet those concerns were played down as the compensation effort grew. Though the government has started requiring more evidence to support some claims, even now people who say they were unfairly denied loans can collect up to \$50,000 with little documentation.

As a senator, [Barack Obama](#) supported expanding compensation for black farmers, and then as president he pressed for \$1.15 billion to pay those new claims. Other groups quickly escalated their demands for similar treatment. In a letter to the White House in September 2009, Senator Robert Menendez of New Jersey, a leading Hispanic Democrat, threatened to mount a campaign “outside the Beltway” if Hispanic farmers were not compensated.

The groups found a champion in the new agriculture secretary, [Tom Vilsack](#). New settlements would provide “a way to neutralize the argument that the government favors black farmers over Hispanic, Native American or women farmers,” an internal department memorandum stated in March 2010.

The payouts pitted Mr. Vilsack and other political appointees against career lawyers and agency officials, who argued that the legal risks did not justify the costs.

Beyond that, they said it was legally questionable to sidestep Congress and compensate the Hispanic and female farmers out of a special Treasury Department account, known as the Judgment Fund. The fund is restricted to payments of court-approved judgments and settlements, as well as to out-of-court settlements in cases where the government faces imminent litigation that it could lose. Some officials argued that tapping the fund for the farmers set a bad precedent, since most had arguably never contemplated suing and might not have won if they had.

“The fund is not politically accessible, it is only legally accessible,” said David Aufhauser, the Treasury Department’s general counsel from 2001 to 2003. “Otherwise, it is a license to raid the till.”

A 2010 settlement with Native Americans was contentious for its own reasons. Justice Department lawyers argued that the \$760 million agreement far outstripped the potential cost of a defeat in court. Agriculture officials said not that many farmers would file claims.

That prediction proved prophetic. Only \$300 million in claims were filed, leaving nearly \$400 million in the control of plaintiffs’ lawyers to be distributed among a handful of nonprofit organizations serving Native American farmers. Two and a half years later, the groups have yet to be chosen. It is unclear how many even exist.

The Times’s examination was based on thousands of pages of court and confidential government documents, as well as interviews with dozens of claimants, lawyers, former and current government officials and others involved in the cases over the past 14 years. Many officials spoke on the condition of anonymity, citing rules against disclosing internal government deliberations and, in a few cases, the desire not to be drawn into a racially

charged controversy.

Mr. Vilsack has said the compensation effort ushers in “a new chapter of civil rights at [U.S.D.A.](#),” where “we celebrate diversity instead of discriminate against it.”

In an interview, he said the payments had been fully justified and carefully controlled. Fraud has been a “really, really small part of it,” he added, pointing out that so far, three of every 10 claims had been rejected and only three claimants had been convicted of fraud.

“We weren’t just writing checks for the heck of it,” Mr. Vilsack said. “People were not treated fairly, and in fact, even today there are damages as a result of folks who weren’t treated fairly.”

Acting Associate Attorney General Tony West, who supervised the civil division and oversaw the handling of the cases, canceled an interview. Attorney General Eric H. Holder Jr. also declined to comment.

Instead, the department provided senior officials, permitted to speak only on the condition of anonymity, who said that resolving the lawsuits averted potentially higher costs from an onslaught of new plaintiffs or losses in court. They also said the attorney general had broad discretion to settle litigation. “It was a priority for the administration to resolve the long-standing discrimination cases,” a senior official said, and give “farmers who believed they had been discriminated against a chance to seek redress.” Career Justice Department lawyers, who participated in that interview, declined to answer when asked if they favored the outcome of their cases, saying their advice is confidential by law.

Senior White House and Justice Department officials also defended the use of the Judgment Fund. “Questions were certainly raised about whether this was something you could use the Judgment Fund to pay for,” a senior White House official said. “They considered the relevant legal standards and concluded it was.”

Mr. Vilsack blamed disgruntled Agriculture Department employees for the criticism of the payouts, saying some simply refused to acknowledge the pervasiveness of discrimination. “There are a lot of agendas here, and you are opening up a Pandora’s box,” he said.

But critics, including some of the original black plaintiffs, say that is precisely what the government did when it first agreed to compensate not only those who had proof of bias, but those who had none. “Why did they let people get away with all this stuff?” asked Abraham Carpenter Jr., who farms 1,200 acres in Grady, Ark. “Anytime you are going to throw money up in the air, you are going to have people acting crazy.”

Farmers Claim Discrimination

Farmers routinely borrow money to carry themselves from high-cost planting season to harvest time; lack of credit can lead to barren fields. The original lawsuit, *Pigford v. Glickman*, filed in federal court in Washington in August 1997, argued that the Agriculture Department’s credit bureau, now called the Farm Service Agency, routinely denied or limited loans to black farmers while freely distributing them to whites.

Two government reports that year found no evidence of ongoing, systemic discrimination. The Government Accountability Office reported that 16 percent of minority farmers were denied loans, compared with 10 percent of white farmers, but traced the difference to objective factors like bad credit. An Agriculture Department study also found “no consistent picture of disparity” over the previous two years.

But the study concluded that decades of discrimination before then had cost African-American farmers significant amounts of land and income. Black farmers gave heart-rending accounts of loan officers who withheld promised money while crops withered, who repossessed their land and sold it to white cronies, who advised them to milk cows for white farmers rather than sow their own crops.

Written discrimination complaints had fallen on deaf ears at the Agriculture Department, where the civil rights office had been disbanded during the Reagan administration.

John W. Boyd Jr., a Virginia farmer who leads the National Black Farmers Association, was among those who pressed President [Bill Clinton](#) to settle the case. At a White House meeting in December 1997, Mr. Boyd said, he recounted how a loan officer denied him \$7,500 and then handed a \$150,000 check to a white farmer who had

not even filled out an application.

The same loan officer spat at him, he said, and later claimed that he had missed a spittoon. It was, Mr. Boyd said in an interview, “the most degrading thing that ever happened to me.”

Just five months after the lawsuit was filed, and without the investigative step of discovery, the Justice Department opened settlement negotiations.

There were certainly legal reasons to resolve the case. The presiding federal judge, [Paul L. Friedman](#), was clearly unsympathetic to the government’s arguments. Moreover, the Justice Department was barred from appealing his certification of the lawsuit as a class action until after the case was over. That set the stage for a potentially long and costly battle.

Still, “it was more a political decision than a litigation decision,” said one lawyer familiar with the administration’s stance. “The administration was genuinely sympathetic to the plight of these farmers.”

Mr. Clinton asked Carol Willis, then a senior adviser to the Democratic National Committee who was known for his expertise in black voter turnout, to get involved. Mr. Willis said the president wanted to make sure his home state, Arkansas, benefited. Mr. Willis said he recruited Othello Cross, a Pine Bluff lawyer, to join the plaintiffs’ legal team.

“It had been wrong for many years,” Mr. Willis said. “Clinton figured he had to try to right it.”

So did Judge Friedman.

He initially limited the class of potential claimants to African-Americans who had farmed between 1981 and 1996 and had previously filed written discrimination complaints. But his final order significantly expanded the class, admitting those who had only “attempted to farm.” And it threw out the requirement for a written bias complaint, stating that an oral complaint was sufficient if someone other than a family member attested to it in an affidavit.

The Agriculture Department was partly to blame for the lack of records. It routinely discarded failed loan applications after three years, and it had badly mismanaged written discrimination complaints. Ninety percent of the farmers had no records either, plaintiffs’ lawyers said.

The billion-dollar settlement, the judge’s opinion said, was designed to provide “those class members with little or no documentary evidence with a virtually automatic cash payment of \$50,000.” Those with documentary proof could seek higher awards, a tack ultimately chosen by fewer than 1 percent of applicants.

Justice Department lawyers worried about false claims. But the lawyer familiar with the Clinton administration’s stance said they had decided that “it was better to err on the side of giving money to people who might not qualify if they went through litigation than to deny money to people who actually deserve it.”

Randi Roth, the settlement’s court-appointed monitor, said that whatever its shortcomings, the accord charted the most efficient legal remedy where records no longer existed. “The formula they agreed to had the checks and balances of an adversarial process with multiple levels of review,” she said.

John C. Coffee Jr., a Columbia Law School professor and specialist in complex litigation, said that not requiring documentary evidence “was quite unusual, but there were also special circumstances.”

Still, he said, “I don’t think they realized how much of an incentive they were creating for claims to multiply. It is a little bit like putting out milk for a kitten.

“The next night, you get 15 kittens.”

‘It Just Went Wild’

Delton Wright, a Pine Bluff justice of the peace, recalled what happened after word of the settlement reached his impoverished region: “It just went wild. Some people took the money who didn’t even have a garden in the ground.” He added, “They didn’t make it hard at all, and that’s why people jumped on it.”

Mr. Wright, whose family owns farmland outside Pine Bluff, won his claim. So did two other applicants whose claims were virtually identical to his, with the same rounded handwriting, the same accusations of bias and similar descriptions of damages suffered.

Now 57, with his memory weakened by what he said was a recent stroke, Mr. Wright said he could not recall details of the discrimination he encountered, much less explain the apparent duplicate claims.

But Mr. Cross, the Pine Bluff lawyer, has his suspicions. "It got out of control," said Mr. Cross, adding that he had filed about 1,500 claims, including Mr. Wright's and the apparent duplicates. He estimated that up to 15 percent of Arkansas claims were fraudulent.

Claimants described how, at packed meetings, lawyers' aides would fill out forms for them on the spot, sometimes supplying answers "to keep the line moving," as one put it.

Even his own staff was complicit, Mr. Cross said; he discovered that four employees had been slipping unverified claims into stacks of papers that he signed. He did not inform the court monitor, he said, because "the damage was done."

On two floors of the Cotton Annex building in Washington, a 300-member team from the Farm Service Agency reviewed claims before adjudicators rendered their final decisions. In recent interviews, 15 current and former Agriculture Department employees who reviewed or responded to claims said the loose conditions for payment had opened the floodgates to fraud.

"It was the craziest thing I have ever seen," one former high-ranking department official said. "We had applications for kids who were 4 or 5 years old. We had cases where every single member of the family applied." The official added, "You couldn't have designed it worse if you had tried."

Carl K. Bond, a former Agriculture Department farm loan manager in North Carolina, reviewed thousands of claims over six years.

"I probably could have got paid," said Mr. Bond, who is black. "You knew it was wrong, but what could you do? Who is going to listen to you?"

Accusations of unfair treatment could be checked against department files if claimants had previously received loans. But four-fifths of successful claimants had never done so. For them, "there was no way to refute what they said," said Sandy Grammer, a former program analyst from Indiana who reviewed claims for three years. "Basically, it was a rip-off of the American taxpayers."

The true dimensions of the problem are impossible to gauge. The Agriculture Department insists that the names and addresses of claimants are protected under privacy provisions. But department data released in response to a Freedom of Information request by The Times are telling. The data cover 15,601 African-Americans who filed successful claims and were paid before 2009.

In 16 ZIP codes in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi and North Carolina, the number of successful claimants exceeded the total number of farms operated by people of any race in 1997, the year the lawsuit was filed. Those applicants received nearly \$100 million.

In Maple Hill, a struggling town in southeastern North Carolina, the number of people paid was nearly four times the total number of farms. More than one in nine African-American adults there received checks. In Little Rock, Ark., a confidential list of payments shows, 10 members of one extended family collected a total of \$500,000, and dozens of other successful claimants shared addresses, phone numbers or close family connections.

Thirty percent of all payments, totaling \$290 million, went to predominantly urban counties — a phenomenon that supporters of the settlement say reflects black farmers' migration during the 15 years covered by the lawsuit. Only 11 percent, or \$107 million, went to what the Agriculture Department classifies as "completely rural" counties.

A fraud hot line to the Agriculture Department's inspector general rang off the hook. The office referred 503

cases involving 2,089 individuals to the F.B.I.

The F.B.I. opened 60 criminal investigations, a spokesman said, but prosecutors abandoned all but a few for reasons including a lack of evidence or proof of criminal intent. Former federal officials said the bar for a successful claim was so low that it was almost impossible to show criminality.

In Arkansas, prosecutors rejected a test case against a Pine Bluff police officer who had admitted lying on his claim form. Paula J. Casey, the United States attorney in Arkansas in 2000, said that singling out one individual raised questions of selective prosecution.

“The defendant could go to the jury and say: ‘Everybody else did this. Why am I standing here?’ ” she said.

The claim period ended in late 1999, although the adjudication process dragged on for a dozen years. But the gusher of claims had only begun.

“Once those checks started hitting the mailboxes, people couldn’t believe it,” said Mr. Wright, the Pine Bluff justice of the peace. “Then it dawned on them. ‘If Joe Blow got a check, I can get one.’ ”

Lawmakers Turn Up the Heat

Some 66,000 claims poured in after the 1999 deadline. Noting that the government had given “extensive” notice, Judge Friedman ruled the door closed to late filers. “That is simply how class actions work,” he wrote.

But it was not how politics worked. The next nine years brought a concerted effort to allow the late filers to seek awards. Career Agriculture Department officials warned that they might be even more problematic than initial claimants: in one ZIP code in Columbus, Ohio, nearly everyone in two adjoining apartment buildings had filed, according to the former high-ranking agency official.

President George W. Bush was unreceptive to farmers’ repeated protests. But Congress was not: legislators from both parties, including Mr. Obama as a senator in 2007, sponsored bills to grant the late filers relief.

Mr. Boyd said Mr. Obama’s support led him to throw the backing of his 109,000-member black farmers’ association behind the Obama presidential primary campaign. Hilary Shelton, the N.A.A.C.P.’s chief lobbyist, said Mr. Obama’s stance helped establish him as a defender of the concerns of rural African-American communities.

Public criticism came primarily from conservative news outlets like Breitbart.com and from Congressional conservatives like Representative Steve King, Republican of Iowa, who described the program as rife with fraud. Few Republicans or Democrats supported him. Asked why, Mr. King said, “Never underestimate the fear of being called a racist.”

Congress finally inserted a provision in the 2008 [farm bill](#) allowing late filers to bring new lawsuits, with their claims to be decided by the same standard of evidence as before. The bill also declared a sense of Congress that minority farmers’ bias claims and lawsuits should be quickly and justly resolved.

Congress overrode a veto by Mr. Bush, who objected to other provisions in the bill. But as Mr. Bush left Washington, Congress had appropriated only \$100 million for compensation, hardly enough to pay for processing claims.

Within months of taking office, President Obama promised to seek an additional \$1.15 billion. In November 2010, Congress approved the funds. To protect against fraud, legislators ordered the Government Accountability Office and the Agriculture Department’s inspector general to audit the payment process.

But simultaneously, the Agriculture Department abandoned the costly and burdensome review process it had applied to earlier claims. As a result, according to internal government memos, the percentage of successful claims is expected to exceed that in the original 1999 settlement. More than 40,000 claims have been filed and are under review.

In November, the G.A.O. concluded that antifraud provisions provided “reasonable assurance” of weeding out false claims, saying more than 3,100 suspicious applications had been identified. But as before, it noted, late

filers need not document claims, leaving adjudicators to rely on assertions that they have “no way of independently verifying.”

Few Claims, Big Payout

The Bush Justice Department had rebuffed all efforts to settle the parallel discrimination suits brought by Native American, Hispanic and female farmers. But now, the Obama administration’s efforts to compensate African-American farmers intensified pressure from members of Congress and lobbyists to settle those cases as well.

Within the administration, Secretary Vilsack, a former Iowa governor who had briefly run for president, found an ally in Mr. West, who had been named an assistant attorney general after serving as a major Obama fund-raiser. Sweeping settlements with the three groups, Mr. West argued, would eliminate legal risks and smooth relations between the Agriculture Department and important constituencies.

The Native-American case was clearly problematic for the government. The federal judge overseeing the case, Emmet G. Sullivan, had already certified the plaintiffs as a class, although only to seek changes in government practices and policies. He postponed a decision on whether they could seek monetary damages as a class.

But Justice Department litigators were far from unarmed. If they lost on damages, case law suggested that the decision might be reversed. Depositions had revealed many of the individual farmers’ complaints to be shaky. And federal judges had already scornfully rejected the methodology of the plaintiffs’ expert, a former Agriculture Department official named Patrick O’Brien, in the women’s case.

Mr. O’Brien contended that white farmers were two to three times as likely as Native Americans to receive federal farm loans in the 1980s and 1990s than were other farmers. But the government’s expert, Gordon C. Rausser, a professor of economics and statistics at the University of California, Berkeley, had produced a 340-page report stating that Mr. O’Brien’s conclusions were based “in a counter-factual world” and that Native Americans had generally fared as well as white male farmers.

Professor Rausser was astounded when, with both sides gearing up for trial in late 2009, the government began settlement negotiations. “If they had gone to trial, the government would have prevailed,” he said.

“It was just a joke,” he added. “I was so disgusted. It was simply buying the support of the Native-Americans.”

Agriculture officials predicted that only 5,300 Native Americans were likely to file claims. The plaintiffs’ lawyers, whose fees were to be based on a percentage of the settlement, estimated up to 19,000 claims.

Only 4,400 people filed claims, with 3,600 winning compensation at a cost of roughly \$300 million. That left \$460 million unspent — of which roughly \$400 million under the terms of the settlement must be given to nonprofit groups that aid Native American farmers.

Ross Racine, the director of the Intertribal Agricultural Council, based in Montana, said his organization, with an annual budget of just \$1 million, is perhaps the biggest eligible group. But many others are lining up to share the windfall, he said.

“Everybody is looking at this money on the table and saying, ‘Give me some because I am a good guy,’ ” he said.

The remaining \$60.8 million will go to the plaintiffs’ lawyers, led by the Washington firm Cohen, Milstein, Sellers & Toll. In court papers, the firm argued that the size of the payment was justified partly by the fact that the settlement nearly equaled the maximum estimate of economic damages. Joseph M. Sellers, the lead counsel, acknowledged the unspent amount was unexpectedly big. But “absent a court order,” he said, “we don’t intend to return it.”

‘Divine Intervention’

On Feb. 19, 2010, Alan Wiseman, a lawyer for the Hispanic farmers, strode into Federal District Court in Washington unusually upbeat. “Sometimes,” he told Judge James Robertson, “it takes divine intervention” to move the government.

Over the past decade, his case had not gone well. Nor had the parallel lawsuit brought by female farmers.

Judge Robertson had refused to certify either group as a class. The United States Court of Appeals had upheld him, stating in 2006 that the Hispanic plaintiffs had been denied loans “for a variety of reasons, including inadequate farm plans and lack of funds.” Nor had female farmers proved a pattern of bias, the court found.

The Justice Department’s lawyers had definitively ruled out any group-style settlement. “Some of these folks have never made a loan payment in their entire history with U.S.D.A.,” Lisa A. Olson, the lead government litigator against the 81 Hispanic plaintiffs, told Judge Robertson in August 2009. “There may even be folks who are under criminal investigation.”

Michael Sitcov, assistant director of the Justice Department’s federal program branch, told the judge that senior department officials agreed with career litigators that the cases should be fought one by one.

But members of the Congressional Hispanic caucus and a group of eight Democratic senators, led by Mr. Menendez, were lobbying the White House to move in the opposite direction. They grew increasingly agitated as the plaintiffs’ cases appeared to falter.

In a letter to Mr. Obama in June 2009, the senators noted that black farmers stood to receive \$2.25 billion in compensation, but that Hispanic farmers, who alleged the same kind of discrimination, had gotten nothing. Should that continue, Mr. Menendez wrote that September, “Hispanic farmers and ranchers, and their supporters, will be reaching out to community and industry leaders outside of the Beltway in order to bring wider attention to this problem.”

The issue came to a head after the Supreme Court refused to reopen the issue of class certification. The next month, on Feb. 11, 2010, Daniel J. Meltzer, principal deputy White House counsel, held the first of three meetings at which resolution of the case was discussed, records and interviews show. Among the attendees were senior Justice and Agriculture Department officials, including Mr. West, Associate Attorney General Thomas J. Perrelli, and Krysta Harden, then the assistant agriculture secretary for Congressional relations.

Settlement negotiations began the next week. Judge Robertson expressed surprise at the news, “given the history of the case.”

The decision to compensate potentially tens of thousands of Hispanics and women out of the Judgment Fund averted what was likely to be an uphill struggle with Congress. Nearly a year after the White House had asked for money to compensate the second wave of African-American farmers, Congress was still sitting on its hands. But there was sharp disagreement within the government over whether the claims from Hispanics and women met the Judgment Fund’s “imminent litigation” test.

On the one hand, it was possible that absent a settlement, some people now filing administrative claims might have sued. Judge Robertson was expected to allow new plaintiffs for several more months. Although only 10 women had sued, their lawyers had obtained affidavits alleging discrimination from 2,000 others. Attorneys for the 81 Hispanic farmers also raised the vague specter of tens of thousands of plaintiffs.

Even so, 10 years had passed since the litigation began. To some administration officials, the prospect of a huge last-minute rush seemed unlikely.

In agreeing to the payout, the government did, for the first time, impose a greater evidentiary burden. While one major category of claimants — those who said their loan applications had been unfairly denied — remained eligible for payments of up to \$50,000 without any documentation, others were required to produce written evidence that they had complained of bias at the time. The Hispanic plaintiffs were indignant.

Adam P. Feinberg, who represents some of them, said: “Once the government puts a program in place for one racial group, even if it decides it is too generous, it cannot adopt a different set of restrictions for another racial group. It’s outrageous.”

The claims process opened in late September, six weeks before the election. In the weeks before the March 25 deadline, facing far fewer claimants than expected, the Agriculture Department instructed processors to call

about 16,000 people to remind them that time was running out, despite internal disquiet that the government was almost recruiting claims against itself. The deadline was then extended to May 1.

So far, about 1,900 Hispanics and 24,000 women have sought compensation, many in states where middlemen have built a cottage industry, promising to help win payouts for a fee.

Last October, a court-appointed ombudsman wrote that hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people had given money to individuals and organizations in the belief that they were reserving the right to file a claim under the second settlement for black farmers, only to learn later that their names had never been forwarded to the authorities. People familiar with that statement said it was directed in part at Thomas Burrell, a charismatic orator and the head of the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association, based in Memphis.

Mr. Burrell has traveled the South for years, exhorting black audiences in auditoriums and church halls to file discrimination complaints with his organization's help, in exchange for a \$100 annual membership fee.

In an interview last month, Mr. Burrell said he had dedicated his life to helping black farmers after biased federal loan officers deprived him of his land and ruined his credit. He said his organization had misled no one, and had forwarded the names of all those eligible and willing to file claims.

"I have never advocated anybody file a false claim," he said. "I have worked almost pro bono for this cause."

On a recent Thursday at the Greater Second Baptist Church in Little Rock, several hundred African-Americans listened intently as Mr. Burrell told them they could reap \$50,000 each, merely by claiming bias. He left out the fact that black men are no longer eligible, and that black women are eligible only if they suffered gender, not racial, bias.

"The Department of Agriculture admitted that it discriminated against every black person who walked into their offices," he told the crowd. "They said we discriminated against them, but we didn't keep a record. Hello? You don't have to prove it."

In fact, he boasted, he and his four siblings had all collected awards, and his sister had acquired another \$50,000 on behalf of their dead father.

She cinched the claim, he said to a ripple of laughter, by asserting that her father had whispered on his deathbed, "I was discriminated against by U.S.D.A."

"The judge has said since you all look alike, whichever one says he came into the office, that's the one to pay — hint, hint," he said. "There is no limit to the amount of money, and there is no limit to the amount of folks who can file."

He closed with a rousing exhortation: "Let's get the judge to go to work writing them checks! They have just opened the bank vault."

Sarah Cohen contributed reporting, and Kitty Bennett and Ashley Southall contributed research.

http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/26/us/farm-loan-bias-claims-often-unsupported-cost-us-millions.html?pagewanted=1&_r=1&recp=8&adxnlnx=1367100199-w9jDCBV9PqpjsS9qISEHHw

2013, Ap 29

Santander Chief Alfredo Sáenz Resigns

By Giles Tremlett in Madrid and Jill Treanor, The Guardian – April 29, 2013

<http://tinyurl.com/cdbso3k>

- Alfredo Saenz has resigned after a long-running governance dispute in Spain. Photograph: Juan Carlos Hidalgo/EPA

One of Europe's most powerful bankers, the Santander chief executive, Alfredo Sáenz, has resigned after a long-running row about whether he should be banned from heading the eurozone's largest bank.

The shock replacement of 70-year-old Sáenz by internal candidate Javier Marín comes just two weeks after the Bank of Spain ordered a review into whether or not he would meet new rules governing bank executives with criminal convictions. Sáenz was convicted in 2009, and handed a three-month suspended jail sentence, for deliberately making false allegations against four businessmen who owed money to his previous bank, Banesto.

The businessmen were remanded in jail in 1993, but later proved their innocence. Sixteen years later they won a case against Sáenz. Under Spain's banking rules at the time, the sentence automatically meant he would have been declared unfit to run a bank as soon as the appeal process ran out.

The court declared that Sáenz "knew the allegations were false, including those in later versions of the writ". The Socialist government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero tried to pardon him, stating that this also included wiping out his criminal record, thus allowing him to continue at Santander. But that was struck out by the supreme court, which declared that governments could not wipe a criminal record.

On 12 April, the current conservative government of Mariano Rajoy changed the law to ensure that those with criminal records were not automatically banned from senior bank jobs. However, the law left the decision with the Bank of Spain on Sáenz's credentials and opened a new formal inquiry a few days later. A decision had been expected in May.

The government said the new law was meant to reflect European Banking Authority guidelines, which nevertheless state that "criminal or relevant administrative records should be taken into account".

Santander sources at the time said that Sáenz remained energetic and hard-working, so his resignation seemed unlikely to have anything to do with his health. He takes away an €88m (£74.2m) pension pot.

El País on Monday reported that the finance ministry had been opposed to allowing Sáenz to continue at the bank.

Santander has quadrupled in size since Sáenz took over as CEO in 2002, expanding into Britain by buying Abbey National, Alliance & Leicester and much of Bradford & Bingley, rebranding them with the Santander name.

"The board of directors expressed its recognition of and gratitude for Alfredo Sáenz's extraordinary achievements," a company press release stated.

Sáenz's role as chief executive is more akin to that of a chief operating officer – Emilo Botin remains executive chairman of Santander. His daughter Ana Botin runs the UK arm of Santander. Santander wants to float off the UK arm but the move has been delayed until next year at the earliest. Marín, 46, was CEO of Banif in Spain until 2007, when he joined Santander.

2013, Ap 28 Top Lieutenant of Dimon Is Departing JPMorgan

By Jessica Silver-Greenberg, New York Times – April 28, 2013

<http://dealbook.nytimes.com/2013/04/28/key-executive-said-to-be-leaving-jpmorgan-chase/>

■ Frank Bisignano

A senior executive in the inner circle of Jamie Dimon, JPMorgan Chase's chief executive, is leaving, the latest departure after the bank reported a multibillion-dollar trading loss last year.

Frank J. Bisignano, co-chief operating officer, will become chief executive of First Data Corporation, a payment processing firm, Mr. Dimon said in a statement on Sunday. The trading losses at the bank, the nation's largest, have swelled to more than \$6.2 billion since they were first disclosed almost a year ago.

Mr. Dimon said Matthew E. Zames, who shared the role of chief operating officer with Mr. Bisignano, would take over all aspects of the job, effective immediately.

"He is a proven business executive, who has performed exceptionally well since coming into his corporate role in May of last year," Mr. Dimon said.

Mr. Bisignano's departure is voluntary, according to two people close to the bank, adding that the top post at First Data would be a perfect role for him.

His departure is less fraught than others during more tumultuous periods, these people say. Ina R. Drew, who ran the chief investment office, the unit at the center of the huge trading loss, resigned under pressure in May last year, for example.

The bank is well positioned to make the shift more seamless, these people added, saying Mr. Zames enjoyed widespread confidence.

JPMorgan reported record profit in the first quarter, buoyed by gains in investment banking and a surge in mortgage lending. With Mr. Bisignano's departure, the ranks of executives who once surrounded Mr. Dimon as he helped steer the bank through the 2008 financial crisis will be even thinner. Several other executives have already left, including Heidi Miller, James E. Staley, William T. Winters and Steven D. Black.

Mr. Bisignano was promoted to co-chief operating officer last July as part of a broad reshuffling of management. During his time at JPMorgan, Mr. Bisignano gained a reputation as a kind of Mr. Fix-It. His reputation had not been tarnished by the outsize bets made by traders in JPMorgan's chief investment office.

He took the reins of JPMorgan's floundering mortgage unit in 2011, just as the bank was grappling with thorny legal issues, including investors who accused the bank of selling shaky mortgage-backed securities that later imploded.

To root out the problems, Mr. Bisignano revamped the mortgage unit and announced a policy to address cases in which JPMorgan had wrongfully foreclosed on active-duty members of the military, a violation of federal law. He was a skilled manager, and he kept a tight watch over the mortgage operations.

Mr. Bisignano is leaving at a challenging time for JPMorgan, which once held special sway with federal regulators, in part because the bank largely sidestepped the financial crisis.

Now, JPMorgan is facing a criminal inquiry about whether it misled investors and regulators about the botched derivative trades. Besides that inquiry, JPMorgan is facing investigations by at least eight federal agencies, including the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Commodity Futures Trading Commission and the Securities and Exchange Commission, according to people with direct knowledge of the matter. Prosecutors are examining a variety of issues, including possible breakdowns in the bank's controls to prevent money-laundering activities.

The bank is also working to bolster its risk and compliance controls, while seeking to repair frayed relationships with regulators in Washington. The breakdown between JPMorgan and its primary regulator, the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, was illuminated during a Senate hearing in March and in a report by the Senate's Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, which described a bank that sometimes took a defiant position with regulators.

Mr. Dimon has testified before Congress about the trading losses and has repeatedly apologized for the bank's mistakes.

In his annual letter to shareholders this month, Mr. Dimon remained contrite, vowing to continue improving risk controls while again expressing that the bank had "let our regulators down."

Mr. Dimon promised to redouble efforts to fix compliance problems. "We are reprioritizing our major projects and initiatives," he said.

2013, Ap 25 **Interview: Julian Assange on George Bush's Library and Bradley Manning's Trial**

By [Medea Benjamin](#)

I had an opportunity to interview WikiLeaks founder Julian Assange at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, where he has been granted political asylum since June 2012. Assange is wanted for questioning in Sweden over sex allegations, although he has never been charged. Assange believes that if sent to Sweden, he would be put into prison and then sent to the United States, where he is already being investigated for espionage for publishing hundreds of thousands of classified diplomatic and military memos on the WikiLeaks website.

Julian Assange, by [Wikipedia](#)

George W. Bush's new presidential library at Southern Methodist University in Texas has opened with great fanfare, including the attendance of Presidents Obama and former Presidents Carter, Bush Sr. and Clinton. George Bush has said that the library is "a place to lay out facts." What facts would you like to see displayed at his library?

A good place to start would be laying out the number of deaths caused by the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan. At Wikileaks, we documented that from 2004-2009, the US had records of over 100,000 individual deaths of Iraqis due to violence unleashed by that invasion, roughly 80% of them civilians. These are the recorded deaths, but many more died. And in Afghanistan, the US recorded about 20,000 deaths from 2004-2010. These would be good facts to include in the presidential library.

And perhaps the library could document how people around the world protested against the invasion of Iraq, including the historic February 15, 2003 mobilization of millions of people around the globe.

Many people worked hard during the Bush years to protest the wars, but the Bush administration refused to listen. It was very demoralizing for people to think that their efforts were for naught.

They should not be demoralized. I believe that the opposition to the Iraq war was very important, and that it actually altered the behavior of US forces during the initial invasion of Iraq. Compare it to the 1991 Gulf War, when massive numbers of Iraqis, both soldiers and civilians, were killed. In the 2003 invasion there was a lot more concern about casualties. The protests rattled their cage.

We released a memo that showed that if the prospective military operation might kill over 30 people, it had to be approved all the way up the chain of command. So while the protests did not stop the war, they did have an impact on the way the war was initially conducted, and that's important.

While George Bush is feted in Dallas, Bradley Manning languishes in jail. His trial will begin on June 2. Bradley already pleaded guilty in February to ten charges, including possessing classified information and transferring it to an unauthorized person. Those pleas alone could subject him to 20 years in prison. On top of that, the government has added espionage charges that could put him in prison for life.

What do you think the trial will be like?

It will be a show trial where the government tries to prove that by leaking the documents, Bradley "aided and abetted the enemy" or "communicated with the enemy." The government will bring in a member of the Navy Seal team that killed bin Laden to say that he found some of the leaked information in bin Laden's house.

But it's ridiculous to use that as evidence that Bradley Manning "aided the enemy". Bin Laden could have gotten

the material from The New York Times! Bin Laden also had a Bob Woodward book, and no doubt had copies of articles from The New York Times.

The government doesn't even claim that Bradley passed information directly to "the enemy" or that he had any intent to do so. But they are nonetheless making the absurd claim that merely informing the public about classified government activities makes someone a traitor because it "indirectly informs the enemy".

With that reasoning, since bin Laden recommended that Americans read Bob Woodward book Obama's War, should Woodward be charged with communicating with the enemy? Should The New York Times be accused of aiding the enemy if bin Laden possessed a copy of the newspaper that included the WikiLeaks material?

What are some things that Bradley Manning supporters can do to help?

They should pressure the media to speak out against the espionage charges. The Los Angeles Times put out a good editorial but other newspapers have been poor. A Wall Street Journal column by Gordon Crovitz said that Bradley should be tried for espionage, and that I should be charged with that as well because I'm a "self-proclaimed enemy of the state."

If Manning is charged with espionage, this criminalizes national security reporting. Any leak of classified information to any media organization could be interpreted as an act of treason. People need to convince the media that it is clearly in their self-interest to take a principled stand.

What are other ways people can help Bradley Manning's case?

People could put pressure on Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. These groups briefly protested the horrible conditions under which Bradley was detained when he was held in Quantico, but not the fact that he's being charged with crimes that could put him in prison for life.

It's embarrassing that Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch--Amnesty International headquartered in London and Human Rights Watch headquartered in New York--have refused to refer to Bradley Manning as a political prisoner or a prisoner of conscience.

To name someone a political prisoner means that the case is political in nature. It can be that the prisoner committed a political act or was politically motivated or there was a politization of the legal investigation or the trial.

Any one of these is sufficient, according to Amnesty's own definition, to name someone a political prisoner. But Bradley Manning's case fulfills all of these criteria. Despite this, Amnesty International has said that it's not going to make a decision until after the sentence. But what good is that?

What is Amnesty's rationale for waiting?

Their excuse is that they don't know what might come out in the trial and they want to be sure that Bradley released the information in a "responsible manner."

I find their position grotesque. Bradley Manning is the most famous political prisoner the United States has. He has been detained without trial for over 1,000 days. Not even the US government denies his alleged acts were political.

Human Rights Watch doesn't refer to Bradley Manning as a political prisoner either. These groups should be pushed by the public to change their stand. And they should be boycotted if they continue to shirk acting in their own backyard.

Another way for people to support Bradley Manning is to attend his trial in Ft. Meade, Maryland, which begins on June 2, and the rally on June 1. They can learn more by contacting the Bradley Manning Support Network.

Thank you for your time, Julian.

Medea Benjamin is cofounder of www.codepink.org and www.globalexchange.org, and author of [Drone Warfare: Killing by Remote Control](#). She interviewed Assange on April 18, 2013. For more information about Assange's case, see <http://justice4assange.com/extraditing-assange.html>.

2013, Ap 26 **Lagarde List Whistleblower Faces Nervous Wait for Extradition Verdict**

■ Hervé Falciani

By Giles Tremlett in Madrid, The Guardian, April 26, 2013

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2013/apr/26/lagarde-list-whistleblower-extradition-verdict>

When he appeared in a Madrid court, banking whistleblower Hervé Falciani was disguised with a wig and thick-framed glasses.

Facing extradition, the man behind the “Lagarde list” of potential tax cheats said in a newspaper interview he had fled to Spain last year when the US authorities told him it was the only country in Europe where his life would not be in danger.

Now Falciani, 41, whose spectacular theft of account data from a Swiss subsidiary of HSBC in 2006-7 has helped uncover thousands of wealthy tax fraudsters, is about to find out if he will be extradited to Switzerland, where he faces prosecution and up to seven years in jail.

The man seen as the Bradley Manning of global tax fraud awaits a decision from Spanish judges, which may come this week. But the Spanish do not seem eager to hand him over.

If Switzerland views Falciani as a common thief who deserves jail, in Spain and other cash-strapped European countries he is a hero for having helped governments in their efforts to recover hundreds of millions from tax cheats.

Tax authorities in Britain, Spain and France are known to have recovered money from the estimated £200bn of missing taxes hidden in Falciani’s encrypted files of bank accounts belonging to wealthy Europeans. The files became known as the Lagarde list after France’s then finance minister, Christine Lagarde, now the IMF chief, passed on the data, then in the hands of the French authorities, to the US and several EU members.

Spain’s attorney general’s office is clear that, having handed over files on tens of thousands of clients without asking for money, Falciani has not committed an extraditable crime.

“His help is not just in finding money that was hidden from tax authorities but in revealing methods employed by HSBC that allow money-laundering by drug-traffickers and terrorists,” said Dolores Delgado, the state attorney who opposed the extradition request in court on 15 April, referring to a recent decision by US authorities.

In court Falciani claimed he had long been co-operating with the US justice department. It had advised him to move from France to Spain in July last year, where he was arrested at a Barcelona port and jailed for five months on a Swiss warrant.

Despite reports that, after downloading details in 2009 of what French authorities say are 130,000 accounts, he tried to sell the data in Lebanon, French and Spanish authorities confirmed he had never asked for payment. The French public prosecutor, Eric de Montgolfier, gave court evidence in support of Falciani.

Falciani claimed he told a Lebanese bank about the list, using the false name of Ruben al-Chidiak, to provoke a reaction from Swiss authorities that had refused to let him make an anonymous complaint to expose the HSBC accounts. “I wanted it to be anonymous because I feared for my life,” he said.

British tax authorities are also reportedly working through a separate list of thousands of HSBC account holders in Jersey. Photograph: Graham Turner for the Guardian

David Cameron’s trade minister, Lord Green, was chairman of HSBC’s private banking division at the time.

Delgado said Falciani held the key to the encrypted documents, meaning they could be accessed only with his help, which he had so far volunteered. “We can’t punish people who, when they observe criminal conduct where they work, denounce it to the authorities,” she said.

Falciani said he had deliberately sought the relative safety of a Spanish jail after US authorities warned him they were about to act against HSBC for laundering money from drug cartels.

“They told me that from that moment my life was at risk,” Falciani, who has French and Italian citizenship, told El País newspaper this week. “They told me the only safe place in Europe was Spain.”

Swiss attempts to have him extradited from France backfired when Falciani offered to help prosecutors track down fraudsters. His list sparked tax investigations across Europe, with Spanish and British authorities recovering vast sums of unpaid tax.

British authorities reportedly believe Falciani will help them recover £200m from details on 6,000 accounts. In the first high-profile conviction last summer, property developer Michael Shanly admitted evading £430,000 in inheritance tax and was fined £470,000.

Spanish authorities have pursued hundreds of tax evaders and recovered hundreds of millions of euros. Among those investigated were Spain’s Botín banking family, including the Santander UK boss, Ana Patricia Botín, and her father, Emilio. The courts dropped a criminal investigation when it was revealed they had paid €200m in back taxes.

In Greece, meanwhile, the Hot Doc magazine editor, Kostas Vaxevanis, was arrested for publishing 2,056 Greek names allegedly on the Falciani list. Two people on the list have reportedly since died in mysterious circumstances.

HSBC is said that despite Falciani’s claims that he was a whistleblower, it had no record of him reporting anything to his supervisors in Geneva. A spokesman said 15,000 existing accounts are involved. But the bank is under increasing pressure from authorities around the world because of what they say is a lax attitude towards money laundering.

The US authorities slapped a record \$1.9bn fine on the bank for allowing itself to be used to launder money from Mexico’s Sinaloa cartel and states such as Libya, Sudan, Burma and Iran.

A senate committee accused Britain’s biggest bank of exposing the US financial system to “money laundering, drug trafficking and terrorist financing risks”.

Authorities decided not to prosecute because HSBC would almost certainly have lost its US banking licence, threatening its future and destabilising the banking system.

The assistant attorney general, Lanny Breuer, blamed the bank’s “incredibly lax” monitoring for the laundering of more than \$881m in drug-trafficking money.

HSBC said it was “profoundly sorry”.

On Tuesday, prosecutors in Paris opened an investigation, based on the list, into whether HSBC had offered illicit products to help French clients avoid tax. A bank spokesman said HSBC had not been officially informed of that investigation. And last week, Spain’s supreme court confirmed the bank had been fined €2.1m fine for infringing money-laundering rules by refusing to identify 138 Swiss accounts.

British tax authorities are reportedly working through a separate list of thousands of HSBC account holders in Jersey.

Switzerland’s \$2tn offshore-banking sector, built on strict secrecy laws, is under fire from campaigners. In 2009, its largest bank, UBS, paid \$78m and handed over thousands of client names to settle charges that it helped US citizens hide funds.

Tax evasion deprives EU governments of roughly €1tn annually, according to the European commission, and campaigners from the Transparency Now NGO have launched an online petition calling for international action against Switzerland.

Even if Spanish judges approve the extradition request, authorities can still prevent Falciani being taken to Switzerland. “The final decision is in the hands of the government,” said his lawyer, Joan Garcés.

2013, Ap 28 With Bags of Cash, C.I.A. Seeks Influence in Afghanistan

■

By Matthew Rosenberg, New York Times – April 28, 2013

KABUL, Afghanistan — For more than a decade, wads of American dollars packed into suitcases, backpacks and, on occasion, plastic shopping bags have been dropped off every month or so at the offices of Afghanistan’s president — courtesy of the Central Intelligence Agency.

All told, tens of millions of dollars have flowed from the C.I.A. to the office of President Hamid Karzai, according to current and former advisers to the Afghan leader.

“We called it ‘ghost money,’” said Khalil Roman, who served as Mr. Karzai’s deputy chief of staff from 2002 until 2005. “It came in secret, and it left in secret.”

The C.I.A., which declined to comment for this article, has long been known to support some relatives and close aides of Mr. Karzai. But the new accounts of off-the-books cash delivered directly to his office show payments on a vaster scale, and with a far greater impact on everyday governing.

- Off-the-books cash delivered directly to President Karzai’s office shows payments on a vast scale.

Moreover, there is little evidence that the payments bought the influence the C.I.A. sought. Instead, some American officials said, the cash has fueled corruption and empowered warlords, undermining Washington’s exit strategy from Afghanistan.

“The biggest source of corruption in Afghanistan,” one American official said, “was the United States.”

The United States was not alone in delivering cash to the president. Mr. Karzai acknowledged a few years ago that Iran regularly gave bags of cash to one of his top aides.

At the time, in 2010, American officials jumped on the payments as evidence of an aggressive Iranian campaign to buy influence and poison Afghanistan’s relations with the United States. What they did not say was that the C.I.A. was also plying the presidential palace with cash — and unlike the Iranians, it still is.

American and Afghan officials familiar with the payments said the agency’s main goal in providing the cash has been to maintain access to Mr. Karzai and his inner circle and to guarantee the agency’s influence at the presidential palace, which wields tremendous power in Afghanistan’s highly centralized government. The officials spoke about the money only on the condition of anonymity.

It is not clear that the United States is getting what it pays for. Mr. Karzai’s willingness to defy the United States — and the Iranians, for that matter — on an array of issues seems to have only grown as the cash has piled up. Instead of securing his good graces, the payments may well illustrate the opposite: Mr. Karzai is seemingly unable to be bought.

Over Iran’s objections, he signed a strategic partnership deal with the United States last year, directly leading the Iranians to halt their payments, two senior Afghan officials said. Now, Mr. Karzai is seeking control over the Afghan militias raised by the C.I.A. to target operatives of Al Qaeda and insurgent commanders, potentially upending a critical part of the Obama administration’s plans for fighting militants as conventional military forces pull back this year.

But the C.I.A. has continued to pay, believing it needs Mr. Karzai’s ear to run its clandestine war against Al Qaeda and its allies, according to American and Afghan officials.

Like the Iranian cash, much of the C.I.A.’s money goes to paying off warlords and politicians, many of whom have ties to the drug trade and, in some cases, the Taliban. The result, American and Afghan officials said, is that the agency has greased the wheels of the same patronage networks that American diplomats and law enforcement agents have struggled unsuccessfully to dismantle, leaving the government in the grips of what are basically organized crime syndicates.

The cash does not appear to be subject to the oversight and restrictions placed on official American aid to the

country or even the C.I.A.'s formal assistance programs, like financing Afghan intelligence agencies. And while there is no evidence that Mr. Karzai has personally taken any of the money — Afghan officials say the cash is handled by his National Security Council — the payments do in some cases work directly at odds with the aims of other parts of the American government in Afghanistan, even if they do not appear to violate American law.

Handing out cash has been standard procedure for the C.I.A. in Afghanistan since the start of the war. During the 2001 invasion, agency cash bought the services of numerous warlords, including Muhammad Qasim Fahim, the current first vice president.

“We paid them to overthrow the Taliban,” the American official said.

The C.I.A. then kept paying the Afghans to keep fighting. For instance, Mr. Karzai's half brother, Ahmed Wali Karzai, was paid by the C.I.A. to run the Kandahar Strike Force, a militia used by the agency to combat militants, until his assassination in 2011.

A number of senior officials on the Afghan National Security Council are also individually on the agency's payroll, Afghan officials said.

While intelligence agencies often pay foreign officials to provide information, dropping off bags of cash at a foreign leader's office to curry favor is a more unusual arrangement.

Afghan officials said the practice grew out of the unique circumstances in Afghanistan, where the United States built the government that Mr. Karzai runs. To accomplish that task, it had to bring to heel many of the warlords the C.I.A. had paid during and after the 2001 invasion.

By late 2002, Mr. Karzai and his aides were pressing for the payments to be routed through the president's office, allowing him to buy the warlords' loyalty, a former adviser to Mr. Karzai said.

Then, in December 2002, Iranians showed up at the palace in a sport utility vehicle packed with cash, the former adviser said.

The C.I.A. began dropping off cash at the palace the following month, and the sums grew from there, Afghan officials said.

Payments ordinarily range from hundreds of thousands to millions of dollars, the officials said, though none could provide exact figures. The money is used to cover a slew of off-the-books expenses, like paying off lawmakers or underwriting delicate diplomatic trips or informal negotiations.

Much of it also still goes to keeping old warlords in line. One is Abdul Rashid Dostum, an ethnic Uzbek whose militia served as a C.I.A. proxy force in 2001. He receives nearly \$100,000 a month from the palace, two Afghan officials said. Other officials said the amount was significantly lower.

Mr. Dostum, who declined requests for comment, had previously said he was given \$80,000 a month to serve as Mr. Karzai's emissary in northern Afghanistan. “I asked for a year up front in cash so that I could build my dream house,” he was quoted as saying in a 2009 interview with Time magazine.

Some of the cash also probably ends up in the pockets of the Karzai aides who handle it, Afghan and Western officials said, though they would not identify any by name.

That is not a significant concern for the C.I.A., said American officials familiar with the agency's operations. “They'll work with criminals if they think they have to,” one American former official said.

Interestingly, the cash from Tehran appears to have been handled with greater transparency than the dollars from the C.I.A., Afghan officials said. The Iranian payments were routed through Mr. Karzai's chief of staff. Some of the money was deposited in an account in the president's name at a state-run bank, and some was kept at the palace. The sum delivered would then be announced at the next cabinet meeting. The Iranians gave \$3 million to well over \$10 million a year, Afghan officials said.

When word of the Iranian cash leaked out in October 2010, Mr. Karzai told reporters that he was grateful for it. He then added: “The United States is doing the same thing. They are providing cash to some of our offices.”

At the time, Mr. Karzai's aides said he was referring to the billions in formal aid the United States gives. But the former adviser said in a recent interview that the president was in fact referring to the C.I.A.'s bags of cash.

No one mentions the agency's money at cabinet meetings. It is handled by a small clique at the National Security Council, including its administrative chief, Mohammed Zia Salehi, Afghan officials said.

Mr. Salehi, though, is better known for being arrested in 2010 in connection with a sprawling, American-led investigation that tied together Afghan cash smuggling, Taliban finances and the opium trade. Mr. Karzai had him released within hours, and the C.I.A. then helped persuade the Obama administration to back off its anticorruption push, American officials said.

After his release, Mr. Salehi jokingly came up with a motto that succinctly summed up America's conflicting priorities. He was, he began telling colleagues, "an enemy of the F.B.I., and a hero to the C.I.A."

2013, May 3 **Assata Shakur in Her Own Words: Rare Recording of Activist Named to FBI Most Wanted Terrorists List**

- ["The Black Power Mixtape"—Danny Glover Discusses New Doc Featuring Rare Archival Footage of Angela Davis, Huey P. Newton, Stokely Carmichael](#)
- [Angela Davis and Assata Shakur's Lawyer Denounce FBI's Adding of Exiled Activist to Terrorists List](#)

Topics [Black Panthers](#), [African-American History](#), [COINTELPRO](#)

Guests [Assata Shakur](#), former member of the Black Panther Party and Black Liberation Army speaking in 1998 from Cuba.

Links [Hands Off Assata Campaign ; Assata Shakur Website; Listen to Assata Shakur Read Her Letter in Full; Assata Shakur: "Women in Prison: How It Is With Us"](#)

The FBI has added the former Black Panther Assata Shakur to its Most Wanted Terrorists list 40 years after the killing for which she was convicted. Born Joanne Chesimard, Shakur was found guilty of shooting dead a New Jersey state trooper during a gunfight in 1973. Shakur has long proclaimed her innocence and accused federal authorities of political persecution. She escaped from prison in 1979 and received political asylum in Cuba. On Thursday, she became the first woman added to the FBI's terrorist list, and the reward for her capture was doubled to \$2 million. We begin our coverage by airing Shakur's reading of an open letter she wrote to Pope John Paul II during his trip to Cuba in 1998 after the FBI asked him to urge her extradition. "As a result of being targeted by [the FBI program] COINTELPRO, I was faced with the threat of prison, underground, exile or death," Shakur said at the time. "I am not the first, nor the last, person to be victimized by the New Jersey system of 'justice.' The New Jersey State Police are infamous for their racism and brutality."

[Hear Shakur read the letter in full](#) on SoundCloud. [Click here to watch](#) our interview about her case with scholar and activist Angela Davis and Lennox Hinds, her longtime attorney.

Transcript

JUAN GONZÁLEZ: We begin today's show looking at the case of Assata Shakur, a legendary figure within the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army. On Thursday, she became the first woman ever to make the FBI's Most Wanted Terrorists list. In addition, the FBI and the state of New Jersey doubled the reward for her capture to \$2 million.

Shakur was convicted in the May 2nd, 1973, killing of a New Jersey state trooper during a shootout that left one of her fellow activists dead. She was shot twice by police during the incident. In 1979, she managed to escape from jail, and she later fled to Cuba where she received political asylum. She has long proclaimed her innocence.

On Thursday, FBI Special Agent Aaron Ford spoke at a press conference announcing Shakur's placement on the Most Wanted Terrorists list. He refers to Shakur as Joanne Chesimard, her original name.

AARON FORD: Openly and freely in Cuba, she continues to maintain and promote her terrorist

ideology. She provides anti-U.S. government speeches espousing the Black Liberation Army message of revolution and terrorism. No person, no matter what his or her political or moral convictions are, is above the law. Joanne Chesimard is a domestic terrorist who murdered a law enforcement officer, execution-style.

AMY GOODMAN: That's FBI Special Agent Aaron Ford. In a moment, we'll be joined by two guests: the scholar and activist Angela Davis, who faced her own murder trial decades ago, and Lennox Hinds, Assata Shakur's longtime attorney for some 40 years. But first we turn to Assata Shakur in her own words. In 1998, *Democracy Now!* [aired her reading an open letter to Pope John Paul II](#) during his trip to Cuba. She wrote the message after New Jersey state troopers sent the pope a letter asking him to call for her extradition.

ASSATA SHAKUR: My name is Assata Shakur, and I was born and raised in the United States. I am a descendant of Africans who were kidnapped and brought to the Americas as slaves. I spent my early childhood in the racist segregated South. I later moved to the northern part of the country, where I realized that Black people were equally victimized by racism and oppression.

I grew up and became a political activist, participating in student struggles, the anti-war movement, and, most of all, in the movement for the liberation of African Americans in the United States. I later joined the Black Panther Party, an organization that was targeted by the COINTELPRO program, a program that was set up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to eliminate all political opposition to the U.S. government's policies, to destroy the Black Liberation Movement in the United States, to discredit activists and to eliminate potential leaders.

Under the COINTELPRO program, many political activists were harassed, imprisoned, murdered or otherwise neutralized. As a result of being targeted by COINTELPRO, I, like many other young people, was faced with the threat of prison, underground, exile or death. The FBI, with the help of local police agencies, systematically fed false accusations and fake news articles to the press accusing me and other activists of crimes we did not commit. Although in my case the charges were eventually dropped or I was eventually acquitted, the national and local police agencies created a situation where, based on their false accusations against me, any police officer could shoot me on sight. It was not until the Freedom of Information Act was passed in the mid-'70s that we began to see the scope of the United States government's persecution of political activists.

At this point, I think that it is important to make one thing very clear. I have advocated and I still advocate revolutionary changes in the structure and in the principles that govern the United States. I advocate self-determination for my people and for all oppressed inside the United States. I advocate an end to capitalist exploitation, the abolition of racist policies, the eradication of sexism, and the elimination of political repression. If that is a crime, then I am totally guilty.

To make a long story short, I was captured in New Jersey in 1973, after being shot with both arms held in the air, and then shot again from the back. I was left on the ground to die, and when I did not, I was taken to a local hospital where I was threatened, beaten and tortured. In 1977 I was convicted in a trial that can only be described as a legal lynching.

In 1979 I was able to escape with the aid of some of my fellow comrades. I saw this as a necessary step, not only because I was innocent of the charges against me, but because I knew that in the racist legal system in the United States I would receive no justice. I was also afraid that I would be murdered in prison. I later arrived in Cuba where I am currently living in exile as a political refugee.

The New Jersey State Police and other law enforcement officials say they want to see me brought to "justice." But I would like to know what they mean by "justice." Is torture justice? I was kept in

solitary confinement for more than two years, mostly in men's prisons. Is that justice? My lawyers were threatened with imprisonment and imprisoned. Is that justice? I was tried by an all-white jury, without even the pretext of impartiality, and then sentenced to life in prison plus 33 years. Is that justice?

Let me emphasize that justice for me is not the issue I am addressing here; it is justice for my people that is at stake. When my people receive justice, I am sure that I will receive it, too.

AMY GOODMAN: That is an excerpt of a letter Assata Shakur read, an open letter to Pope John Paul II, during his trip to Cuba in 1998. When we come back from break, we'll be joined by Assata Shakur's longtime attorney, Lennox Hinds, and the scholar and activist Angela Davis. Stay with us.

FIRST SIGNS OF PHYSICAL ASCENSION ARE HERE

Aluna Joy Yaxk'in with the Star Elders

May 2, 2013

I was called to be on the Pacific Coast for the past 2 weeks, and I got very clear about a new experience which I have been having. This experience sparked this transmission from the Star Elders. I was told about this amazing time for many years, and, now that it is finally here, I still have a sense of disbelief and awe about it all. But myself, and others are having similar experiences in the last few weeks. The first signs of physical ascension are here.

Related Article . . . One experience I had about what it might be like when we go to the new world:
<http://www.alunajoy.com/2009mar.html>

So . . . I was having these little episodes where I would find myself somewhere else, and then I was slammed dunked back into this world. This was not very fun by the way. It felt different from the dimensional shifts, OBE's, astral travel, etc. . . which I have experienced in the past. It happened a few times over the course of the last few weeks. When I would come back, I could not remember anything, and thus had nothing to share as well. It was frustrating to say the least.

One day, while camping at the ocean's edge, my partner Raphael and I, had a calling to go lay down on the sand. By the way, the sand in Southern California is silicon based and acts like an enormous crystal. We were both out almost instantly. It didn't feel like I went to sleep. There again, I found myself in another reality that was not yet complete. I saw what I would call a description of myself anchored there. There were a lot of other things that I saw that I could not describe to you now.

Neither one of us knew how long we were gone, or if it was instantaneous. What brought me back into my body was a HUGE rush of energy that felt like it spun my brain around. I was massively dizzy, and it felt like I was going to fall off the beach. I grabbed a hand full of sand. This was followed with a huge rush of nausea. It was all gone in seconds. I opened my eyes and was confused to see where I was, and how long I had been gone. I didn't move and tried to remember as much as I could. Then the Star Elders wanted me to share this message . . . because it is time . . .

From the Star Elders . . .

2013 is ground-breaking territory, a renaissance of sorts, in so many ways that one transmission will not graze the surface. Yet there is something newly emerging in the world that we want you to pay attention to. It is so subtle that you might have missed it . . . or it might have hit you like a huge spiritual surge. Either way, the first signs of this new cycle show us that physical ascension is already manifesting within this cycle that is new to us all.

These ascension experiences are similar to what others have experienced on their spiritual path. But what we are beginning to SEE now are not OBEs (out of body experiences), astral travel and dimensional shifts. All of these can have similar symptoms, but there is a big difference. With OBE's, you travel but are aware that you are out of your body, and you can see a cord or connection to your home base. Astral travel is nearly the same, where you travel with your higher light body, but you are not taking your physical body . . . like flying dreams. Also, remote viewing is similar to astral travel.

Dimensional shifts are when you slip unknowingly into another frequency. This world looks and feels very different from our world. You can meet Ascended Masters in other dimensions and some people even go to Mystery Schools to learn, most of which you cannot remember when you come back into your body; though it does change your life. All these experiences have prepared you all for what is coming now.

What is happening is this . . . You are beginning to wobble between the old world and the new one, but now with your physical body. This is hard work for you! You might feel like you need to suddenly lay down for a rest, only to wake up suddenly with great dis-orientation. You might get a fading glimpse of the framework of this new world. It looks and feels similar to this world but at a higher frequency, and it does not make much sense yet. This world is still under construction. There is already an identity anchored there for you now. This will be your new home base. It might look like a description of who you are as your ascended self. There is other frame works being built as well, but there is no way to use words to describe this to you as yet. Oddly, while this is going on, we expected to see more unity and harmony in your world. But the world feels like it is becoming even more polarized. This polarized field might make you feel isolated for a while. We expect this polarization to be temporary, and it will start to balance out as you adjust your physical body with the new higher energies. As you wobble, your history, patterns and un-resolved issues are being excessively magnified. We are so happy that those reading this have done a lot of clearing of their past. This will make it easier for you to maintain harmony and peace even though all your internal signals are racing wildly, causing some anxiety, depression and odd health issues.

Light workers will now fall into two categories: 1) those holding a space of pure energy and bliss, and 2) those that are still working hard in the trenches regarding humanity's ascension process. Both sides are vital and indispensable right now.

"Workers" . . . try not to take on too much in these days, and dial back your schedule. You will absolutely need to do this. Give yourself some peaceful space in your life. You will be feeling some very strong symptoms as much is being cleared through your body right now. The new world is being born through you.

"Blissers" . . . you are holding the template for home base for this new world. You are lucky to have the space to really ground yourself on the Earth and swim in her natural waters. Spend as much time in nature as possible. This will help you maintain harmony and stay in bliss. We need you to stay in bliss as much as possible, as this holds space for your family of light workers who are still deployed in the fields working hard regarding humanity's ascension process.

Gather together with like-minded ones as this will also give you clarity and support in this confusing time. In fact, this is one of only a few things now that will feel real to you. This world is feeling less real to you every day. Your like-minded soul family is your anchor and your base camp. They are your support system and your reality checkers. They will keep you sane in this energy that you might perceive as insane.

Others around you, who had not cleared themselves, may be exploding within and without in these exaggerated energies. The wobble will be confusing and disorienting to them. Remember these ones were working to keep the world turning as you say. They took on jobs that you didn't want, and they are working extremely hard to catch up. They are dealing with feelings of rage, followed by wild attempts

to hang on to the past and what is familiar. They don't know they must surrender, and let go as you do. This will manifest, and fill your news casts with sad and violent acts, odd accidents and suicide, drug overdoses, etc. . . . You must send them love, when you have a bit of extra energy. Do not empathize or get distressed about these events. You will only feed and prolong that which is being stripped away. This is a necessary process. We expect their reactions to normalize and be temporary as well. Everyone on Earth is receiving divine dispensation and tremendous help from higher realms and Ascender Masters.

Our advice to glide through this time is to stay grounded, stay as positive as possible but stay authentic to the moment, take care of your human vehicle, find your like-minded support groups, and go with the flow as much as possible. But most of all . . . know that all is well. You will succeed at this ascension in spite of the bumps that rattle your self-confidence. You are on a one-way conveyor belt to the next world now. You can't mess up at this point. Relax and let go, and keep your eyes open to all the experiences in front of you as you will not see this time come again.

~ **The Star Elders**

Physical Ascension Signs/Check List . . . some people are experiencing . . .

- *** Waking up from dreams knowing that you were somewhere else that looked similar to Earth, but it was not; yet it felt as real as this world;
- *** A feeling like you were somewhere else but can remember where;
- *** Waking up confused, unsettled, and apprehensive; like you lost something or you are in the wrong place;
- *** A strong sense that something is coming soon, but yet you are oddly comfortable with the feeling;
- *** Feeling jolts of electricity racing through your body;
- *** Strong and sudden nausea;
- *** Feeling like you are imploding or like you are in a pressure cooker;
- *** A loud ringing, buzzing in the ears;
- *** Finding yourself on hold or waiting for something, but you don't know what it is; and
- *** Feeling like you are in a time warp.

"A human being is part of the whole called by us universe, a part limited in time and space. We experience ourselves, our thoughts and feelings as something separate from the rest. A kind of optical delusion of consciousness. This delusion is a kind of prison for us, restricting us to our personal desires and to affection for a few persons nearest to us. Our task must be to free ourselves from the prison by widening our circle of compassion to embrace all living creatures and the whole of nature in its beauty. The true value of a human being is determined by the measure and the sense in which they have obtained liberation from the self. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if humanity is to survive."

~ *Albert Einstein.*



<http://www.alunajoy.com/2013-may2.html>

The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict

Published by [Jews for Justice in the Middle East](#)

<http://ifamericansknew.org/history/origin.html>

Jews for Justice has made this excellent resource available to people around the world. We have converted their booklet to a more easily copied format. [Download it!](#)

As the periodic bloodshed continues in the Middle East, the search for an equitable solution must come to grips with the root cause of the conflict. The conventional wisdom is that, even if both sides are at fault, the Palestinians are irrational “terrorists” who have no point of view worth listening to. Our position, however, is that the Palestinians have a real grievance: their homeland for over a thousand years was taken, without their consent and mostly by force, during the creation of the state of Israel. And all subsequent crimes — on both sides — inevitably follow from this original injustice.

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This paper outlines the history of Palestine to show how this process occurred and what a moral solution to the region’s problems should consist of. If you care about the people of the Middle East, Jewish and Arab, you owe it to yourself to read this account of the other side of the historical record.

Introduction

The standard Zionist position is that they showed up in Palestine in the late 19th century to reclaim their ancestral homeland. Jews bought land and started building up the Jewish community there. They were met with increasingly violent opposition from the Palestinian Arabs, presumably stemming from the Arabs’ inherent anti-Semitism. The Zionists were then forced to defend themselves and, in one form or another, this same situation continues up to today.

The problem with this explanation is that it is simply not true, as the documentary evidence in this booklet will show. What really happened was that the Zionist movement, from the beginning, looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the indigenous Arab population so that Israel could be a wholly Jewish state, or as much as was possible. Land bought by the Jewish National Fund was held in the name of the Jewish people and could never be sold or even leased back to Arabs (a situation which continues to the present).

The Arab community, as it became increasingly aware of the Zionists' intentions, strenuously opposed further Jewish immigration and land buying because it posed a real and imminent danger to the very existence of Arab society in Palestine. Because of this opposition, the entire Zionist project never could have been realized without the military backing of the British. The vast majority of the population of Palestine, by the way, had been Arabic since the seventh century A.D. (Over 1200 years)

In short, Zionism was based on a faulty, colonialist world view that the rights of the indigenous inhabitants didn't matter. The Arabs' opposition to Zionism wasn't based on anti-Semitism but rather on a totally reasonable fear of the dispossession of their people.

One further point: being Jewish ourselves, the position we present here is critical of Zionism but is in no way anti-Semitic. We do not believe that the Jews acted worse than any other group might have acted in their situation. The Zionists (who were a distinct minority of the Jewish people until after WWII) had an understandable desire to establish a place where Jews could be masters of their own fate, given the bleak history of Jewish oppression. Especially as the danger to European Jewry crystalized in the late 1930's and after, the actions of the Zionists were propelled by real desperation.

But so were the actions of the Arabs. The mythic "land without people for a people without land" was already home to 700,000 Palestinians in 1919. This is the root of the problem, as we shall see.

Early History of the Region

Before the Hebrews first migrated there around 1800 B.C., the land of Canaan was occupied by Canaanites.

"Between 3000 and 1100 B.C., Canaanite civilization covered what is today Israel, the West Bank, Lebanon and much of Syria and Jordan...Those who remained in the Jerusalem hills after the Romans expelled the Jews [in the second century A.D.] were a potpourri: farmers and vineyard growers, pagans and converts to Christianity, descendants of the Arabs, Persians, Samaritans, Greeks and old Canaanite tribes." *Marcia Kunstel and Joseph Albright, "Their Promised Land."*

The present-day Palestinians' ancestral heritage

"But all these [different peoples who had come to Canaan] were additions, sprigs grafted onto the parent tree...And that parent tree was Canaanite...[The Arab invaders of the 7th century A.D.] made Moslem converts of the natives, settled down as residents, and intermarried with them, with the result that all are now so completely Arabized that we cannot tell where the Canaanites leave off and the Arabs begin." *Illene Beatty, "Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan."*

The Jewish kingdoms were only one of many periods in ancient Palestine

"The extended kingdoms of David and Solomon, on which the Zionists base their territorial demands, endured for only about 73 years...Then it fell apart...[Even] if we allow independence to the entire life of the ancient Jewish kingdoms, from David's conquest of Canaan in 1000 B.C. to the wiping out of Judah in 586 B.C., we arrive at [only] a 414 year Jewish rule." *Illene Beatty, "Arab and Jew in the Land of Canaan."*

More on Canaanite civilization

"Recent archeological digs have provided evidence that Jerusalem was a big and fortified city already in 1800 BCE...Findings show that the sophisticated water system heretofore attributed to the conquering Israelites predated them by eight centuries and was even more sophisticated than imagined...Dr. Ronny Reich, who directed the excavation along with Eli Shukrun, said the entire system was built as a single complex by Canaanites in the

Middle Bronze Period, around 1800 BCE.” *The Jewish Bulletin*, July 31st, 1998.

How long has Palestine been a specifically Arab country?

“Palestine became a predominately Arab and Islamic country by the end of the seventh century. Almost immediately thereafter its boundaries and its characteristics — including its name in Arabic, Filastin — became known to the entire Islamic world, as much for its fertility and beauty as for its religious significance...In 1516, Palestine became a province of the Ottoman Empire, but this made it no less fertile, no less Arab or Islamic...Sixty percent of the population was in agriculture; the balance was divided between townspeople and a relatively small nomadic group. All these people believed themselves to belong in a land called Palestine, despite their feelings that they were also members of a large Arab nation...Despite the steady arrival in Palestine of Jewish colonists after 1882, it is important to realize that not until the few weeks immediately preceding the establishment of Israel in the spring of 1948 was there ever anything other than a huge Arab majority. For example, the Jewish population in 1931 was 174,606 against a total of 1,033,314.” *Edward Said, “The Question of Palestine.”*

How did land ownership traditionally work in Palestine and when did it change?

“[The Ottoman Land Code of 1858] required the registration in the name of individual owners of agricultural land, most of which had never previously been registered and which had formerly been treated according to traditional forms of land tenure, in the hill areas of Palestine generally masha’a, or communal usufruct. The new law meant that for the first time a peasant could be deprived not of title to his land, which he had rarely held before, but rather of the right to live on it, cultivate it and pass it on to his heirs, which had formerly been inalienable...Under the provisions of the 1858 law, communal rights of tenure were often ignored...Instead, members of the upper classes, adept at manipulating or circumventing the legal process, registered large areas of land as theirs...The fellahin [peasants] naturally considered the land to be theirs, and often discovered that they had ceased to be the legal owners only when the land was sold to Jewish settlers by an absentee landlord...Not only was the land being purchased; its Arab cultivators were being dispossessed and replaced by foreigners who had overt political objectives in Palestine.” *Rashid Khalidi, “Blaming The Victims,” ed. Said and Hitchens*

Was Arab opposition to the arrival of Zionists based on inherent anti-Semitism or a real sense of danger to their community?

“The aim of the [Jewish National] Fund was ‘to redeem the land of Palestine as the inalienable possession of the Jewish people.’...As early as 1891, Zionist leader Ahad Ha’am wrote that the Arabs “understood very well what we were doing and what we were aiming at’...[Theodore Herzl, the founder of Zionism, stated] ‘We shall try to spirit the penniless [Arab] population across the border by procuring employment for it in transit countries, while denying it employment in our own country... Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly’...At various locations in northern Palestine Arab farmers refused to move from land the Fund purchased from absentee owners, and the Turkish authorities, at the Fund’s request, evicted them...The indigenous Jews of Palestine also reacted negatively to Zionism. They did not see the need for a Jewish state in Palestine and did not want to exacerbate relations with the Arabs.” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

Inherent anti-Semitism? — continued

“Before the 20th century, most Jews in Palestine belonged to old Yishuv, or community, that had settled more for religious than for political reasons. There was little if any conflict between them and the Arab population. Tensions began after the first Zionist settlers arrived in the 1880’s...when [they] purchased land from absentee Arab owners, leading to dispossession of the peasants who had cultivated it.” *Don Peretz, “The Arab-Israeli Dispute.”*

Inherent anti-Semitism? — continued

“[During the Middle Ages,] North Africa and the Arab Middle East became places of refuge and a haven for the persecuted Jews of Spain and elsewhere...In the Holy Land...they lived together in [relative] harmony, a harmony only disrupted when the Zionists began to claim that Palestine was the ‘rightful’ possession of the ‘Jewish people’ to the exclusion of its Moslem and Christian inhabitants.” *Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

Jews attitude towards Arabs when reaching Palestine.

“Serfs they (the Jews) were in the lands of the Diaspora, and suddenly they find themselves in freedom [in Palestine]; and this change has awakened in them an inclination to despotism. They treat the Arabs with hostility and cruelty, deprive them of their rights, offend them without cause, and even boast of these deeds; and nobody among us opposes this despicable and dangerous inclination.” *Zionist writer Ahad Ha’am, quoted in Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

Proposals for Arab-Jewish Cooperation

“An article by Yitzhak Epstein, published in Hashiloah in 1907...called for a new Zionist policy towards the Arabs after 30 years of settlement activity...Like Ahad-Ha’am in 1891, Epstein claims that no good land is vacant, so Jewish settlement meant Arab dispossession...Epstein’s solution to the problem, so that a new “Jewish question” may be avoided, is the creation of a bi-national, non-exclusive program of settlement and development. Purchasing land should not involve the dispossession of poor sharecroppers. It should mean creating a joint farming community, where the Arabs will enjoy modern technology. Schools, hospitals and libraries should be non-exclusivist and education bilingual...The vision of non-exclusivist, peaceful cooperation to replace the practice of dispossession found few takers. Epstein was maligned and scorned for his faintheartedness.” *Israeli author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, “Original Sins.”*

Was Palestine the only, or even preferred, destination of Jews facing persecution when the Zionist movement started?

“The pogroms forced many Jews to leave Russia. Societies known as ‘Lovers of Zion,’ which were forerunners of the Zionist organization, convinced some of the frightened emigrants to go to Palestine. There, they argued, Jews would rebuild the ancient Jewish ‘Kingdom of David and Solomon,’ Most Russian Jews ignored their appeal and fled to Europe and the United States. By 1900, almost a million Jews had settled in the United States alone.” *“Our Roots Are Still Alive” by The People Press Palestine Book Project.*

The British Mandate Period 1920-1948

The Balfour Declaration promises a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

“The Balfour Declaration, made in November 1917 by the British Government...was made a) by a European power, b) about a non-European territory, c) in flat disregard of both the presence and wishes of the native majority resident in that territory...[As Balfour himself wrote in 1919], ‘The contradiction between the letter of the Covenant (the Anglo French Declaration of 1918 promising the Arabs of the former Ottoman colonies that as a reward for supporting the Allies they could have their independence) is even more flagrant in the case of the independent nation of Palestine than in that of the independent nation of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country...The four powers are committed to Zionism and Zionism, be it right or wrong, good or bad, is rooted in age-long tradition, in present needs, in future hopes, of far profounder import than the desire and prejudices of the 700,000 Arabs who now inhabit that ancient land,’” *Edward Said, “The Question of Palestine.”*

Wasn't Palestine a wasteland before the Jews started immigrating there?

“Britain’s high commissioner for Palestine, John Chancellor, recommended total suspension of Jewish immigration and land purchase to protect Arab agriculture. He said ‘all cultivable land was occupied; that no cultivable land now in possession of the indigenous population could be sold to Jews without creating a class of landless Arab cultivators’...The Colonial Office rejected the recommendation.” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

Were the early Zionists planning on living side by side with Arabs?

In 1919, the American King-Crane Commission spent six weeks in Syria and Palestine, interviewing delegations and reading petitions. Their report stated, “The commissioners began their study of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favor...The fact came out repeatedly in the Commission’s conferences with Jewish representatives that the Zionists looked forward to a practically complete dispossession of the present non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine, by various forms of purchase...”

“If [the] principle [of self-determination] is to rule, and so the wishes of Palestine’s population are to be decisive as to what is to be done with Palestine, then it is to be remembered that the non-Jewish population of Palestine — nearly nine-tenths of the whole — are emphatically against the entire Zionist program.. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted...No British officers, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist program could be carried out except by force of arms. The officers generally thought that a force of not less than fifty thousand soldiers would be required even to initiate the program. That of itself is evidence of a strong sense of the injustice of the Zionist program...The initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives, that they have a ‘right’ to Palestine based on occupation of two thousand years ago, can barely be seriously considered.” *Quoted in “The Israel-Arab Reader” ed. Laquer and Rubin.*

Side by side — continued

“Zionist land policy was incorporated in the Constitution of the Jewish Agency for Palestine...’land is to be acquired as Jewish property and..the title to the lands acquired is to be taken in the name of the Jewish National Fund, to the end that the same shall be held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.’ The provision goes to stipulate that ‘the Agency shall promote agricultural colonization based on Jewish labor’...The effect of this Zionist colonization policy on the Arabs was that land acquired by Jews became extra-territorialized. It ceased to be land from which the Arabs could ever hope to gain any advantage...”

“The Zionists made no secret of their intentions, for as early as 1921, Dr. Eder, a member of the Zionist Commission, boldly told the Court of Inquiry, ‘there can be only one National Home in Palestine, and that a Jewish one, and no equality in the partnership between Jews and Arabs, but a Jewish preponderance as soon as the numbers of the race are sufficiently increased.’ He then asked that only Jews should be allowed to bear arms.” *Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

Given Arab opposition to them, did the Zionists support steps towards majority rule in Palestine?

“Clearly, the last thing the Zionists really wanted was that all the inhabitants of Palestine should have an equal say in running the country... [Chaim] Weizmann had impressed on Churchill that representative government would have spelled the end of the [Jewish] National Home in Palestine... [Churchill declared,] ‘The present form of government will continue for many years. Step by step we shall develop representative institutions leading to full self-government, but our children’s children will have passed away before that is accomplished.’” *David Hirst, “The Gun and the Olive Branch.”*

Denial of the Arabs' right to self-determination

“Even if nobody lost their land, the [Zionist] program was unjust in principle because it denied majority political rights... Zionism, in principle, could not allow the natives to exercise their political rights because it would mean the end of the Zionist enterprise.” *Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, “Original Sins.”*

Arab resistance to Pre-Israeli Zionism

“In 1936-9, the Palestinian Arabs attempted a nationalist revolt... David Ben-Gurion, eminently a realist, recognized its nature. In internal discussion, he noted that ‘in our political argument abroad, we minimize Arab opposition to us,’ but he urged, ‘let us not ignore the truth among ourselves.’ The truth was that ‘politically we are the aggressors and they defend themselves... The country is theirs, because they inhabit it, whereas we want to come here and settle down, and in their view we want to take away from them their country, while we are still outside’ ... The revolt was crushed by the British, with considerable brutality.” *Noam Chomsky, “The Fateful Triangle.”*

Gandhi on the Palestine conflict — 1938

“Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the English or France to the French...What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct...If they [the Jews] must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun. A religious act cannot be performed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the goodwill of the Arabs... As it is, they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them. I am not defending the Arab excesses. I wish they had chosen the way of non-violence in resisting what they rightly regard as an unacceptable encroachment upon their country. But according to the accepted canons of right and wrong, nothing can be said against the Arab resistance in the face of overwhelming odds.” *Mahatma Gandhi, quoted in “A Land of Two Peoples” ed. Mendes-Flohr.*

Didn't the Zionists legally buy much of the land before Israel was established?

“In 1948, at the moment that Israel declared itself a state, it legally owned a little more than 6 percent of the land of Palestine...After 1940, when the mandatory authority restricted Jewish land ownership to specific zones inside Palestine, there continued to be illegal buying (and selling) within the 65 percent of the total area restricted to Arabs.

Thus when the partition plan was announced in 1947 it included land held illegally by Jews, which was incorporated as a fait accompli inside the borders of the Jewish state. And after Israel announced its statehood, an impressive series of laws legally assimilated huge tracts of Arab land (whose proprietors had become refugees, and were pronounced ‘absentee landlords’ in order to expropriate their lands and prevent their return under any circumstances).” *Edward Said, “The Question of Palestine.”*

The UN Partition of Palestine

Why did the UN recommend the plan partitioning Palestine into a Jewish and an Arab state?

“By this time [November 1947] the United States had emerged as the most aggressive proponent of partition...The United States got the General Assembly to delay a vote ‘to gain time to bring certain Latin American republics into line with its own views.’...Some delegates charged U.S. officials with ‘diplomatic intimidation.’ Without ‘terrific pressure’ from the United States on ‘governments which cannot afford to risk American reprisals,’ said an anonymous editorial writer, the resolution ‘would never have passed.’” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

Why was this Truman's position?

"I am sorry gentlemen, but I have to answer to hundreds of thousands who are anxious for the success of Zionism. I do not have hundreds of thousands of Arabs among my constituents." *President Harry Truman, quoted in "Anti Zionism", ed. by Teikener, Abed-Rabbo & Mezvinsky.*

Was the partition plan fair to both Arabs and Jews?

"Arab rejection was...based on the fact that, while the population of the Jewish state was to be [only half] Jewish with the Jews owning less than 10% of the Jewish state land area, the Jews were to be established as the ruling body — a settlement which no self-respecting people would accept without protest, to say the least...The action of the United Nations conflicted with the basic principles for which the world organization was established, namely, to uphold the right of all peoples to self-determination. By denying the Palestine Arabs, who formed the two-thirds majority of the country, the right to decide for themselves, the United Nations had violated its own charter." *Sami Hadawi, "Bitter Harvest."*

Were the Zionists prepared to settle for the territory granted in the 1947 partition?

"While the Yishuv's leadership formally accepted the 1947 Partition Resolution, large sections of Israel's society — including...Ben-Gurion — were opposed to or extremely unhappy with partition and from early on viewed the war as an ideal opportunity to expand the new state's borders beyond the UN earmarked partition boundaries and at the expense of the Palestinians." *Israeli historian, Benny Morris, in "Tikkun", March/April 1998.*

Public vs private pronouncements on this question.

"In internal discussion in 1938 [David Ben-Gurion] stated that 'after we become a strong force, as a result of the creation of a state, we shall abolish partition and expand into the whole of Palestine'...In 1948, Menachem Begin declared that: 'The partition of the Homeland is illegal. It will never be recognized. The signature of institutions and individuals of the partition agreement is invalid. It will not bind the Jewish people. Jerusalem was and will forever be our capital. Eretz Israel (the land of Israel) will be restored to the people of Israel, All of it. And forever.'" *Noam Chomsky, "The Fateful Triangle."*

The war begins

"In December 1947, the British announced that they would withdraw from Palestine by May 15, 1948. Palestinians in Jerusalem and Jaffa called a general strike against the partition. Fighting broke out in Jerusalem's streets almost immediately...Violent incidents mushroomed into all-out war...During that fateful April of 1948, eight out of thirteen major Zionist military attacks on Palestinians occurred in the territory granted to the Arab state." *"Our Roots Are Still Alive" by the People Press Palestine Book Project.*

Zionists' disrespect of partition boundaries

"Before the end of the mandate and, therefore before any possible intervention by Arab states, the Jews, taking advantage of their superior military preparation and organization, had occupied...most of the Arab cities in Palestine before May 15, 1948. Tiberias was occupied on April 19, 1948, Haifa on April 22, Jaffa on April 28, the Arab quarters in the New City of Jerusalem on April 30, Beisan on May 8, Safad on May 10 and Acre on May 14, 1948...In contrast, the Palestine Arabs did not seize any of the territories reserved for the Jewish state under the partition resolution." *British author, Henry Cattan, "Palestine, The Arabs and Israel."*

Culpability for escalation of the fighting

"Menahem Begin, the Leader of the Irgun, tells how 'in Jerusalem, as elsewhere, we were the first to pass from

the defensive to the offensive...Arabs began to flee in terror...Hagana was carrying out successful attacks on other fronts, while all the Jewish forces proceeded to advance through Haifa like a knife through butter'...The Israelis now allege that the Palestine war began with the entry of the Arab armies into Palestine after 15 May 1948. But that was the second phase of the war; they overlook the massacres, expulsions and dispossessions which took place prior to that date and which necessitated Arab states' intervention." *Sami Hadawi, "Bitter Harvest."*

The Deir Yassin Massacre of Palestinians by Jewish soldiers

"For the entire day of April 9, 1948, Irgun and LEHI soldiers carried out the slaughter in a cold and premeditated fashion...The attackers 'lined men, women and children up against the walls and shot them,'...The ruthlessness of the attack on Deir Yassin shocked Jewish and world opinion alike, drove fear and panic into the Arab population, and led to the flight of unarmed civilians from their homes all over the country." *Israeli author, Simha Flapan, "The Birth of Israel."*

Was Deir Yassin the only act of its kind?

"By 1948, the Jew was not only able to 'defend himself' but to commit massive atrocities as well. Indeed, according to the former director of the Israeli army archives, 'in almost every village occupied by us during the War of Independence, acts were committed which are defined as war crimes, such as murders, massacres, and rapes'...Uri Milstein, the authoritative Israeli military historian of the 1948 war, goes one step further, maintaining that 'every skirmish ended in a massacre of Arabs.'" *Norman Finkelstein, "Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict."*

Statehood and Expulsion 1948

What was the Arab reaction to the announcement of the creation of the state of Israel?

"The armies of the Arab states entered the war immediately after the State of Israel was founded in May. Fighting continued, almost all of it within the territory assigned to the Palestinian state...About 700,000 Palestinians fled or were expelled in the 1948 conflict." *Noam Chomsky, "The Fateful Triangle."*

Was the part of Palestine assigned to a Jewish state in mortal danger from the Arab armies?

"The Arab League hastily called for its member countries to send regular army troops into Palestine. They were ordered to secure only the sections of Palestine given to the Arabs under the partition plan. But these regular armies were ill equipped and lacked any central command to coordinate their efforts...[Jordan's King Abdullah] promised [the Israelis and the British] that his troops, the Arab Legion, the only real fighting force among the Arab armies, would avoid fighting with Jewish settlements...Yet Western historians record this as the moment when the young state of Israel fought off "the overwhelming hordes" of five Arab countries. In reality, the Israeli offensive against the Palestinians intensified." *"Our Roots Are Still Alive," by the Peoples Press Palestine Book Project.*

Ethnic cleansing of the Arab population of Palestine

"Joseph Weitz was the director of the Jewish National Land Fund...On December 19, 1940, he wrote: 'It must be clear that there is no room for both peoples in this country...The Zionist enterprise so far...has been fine and good in its own time, and could do with 'land buying' — but this will not bring about the State of Israel; that must come all at once, in the manner of a Salvation (this is the secret of the Messianic idea); and there is no way besides transferring the Arabs from here to the neighboring countries, to transfer them all; except maybe for

Bethlehem, Nazareth and Old Jerusalem, we must not leave a single village, not a single tribe'...There were literally hundreds of such statements made by Zionists." *Edward Said, "The Question of Palestine."*

Ethnic cleansing — continued

"Following the outbreak of 1936, no mainstream (Zionist) leader was able to conceive of future coexistence without a clear physical separation between the two peoples — achievable only by transfer and expulsion. Publicly they all continued to speak of coexistence and to attribute the violence to a small minority of zealots and agitators. But this was merely a public pose..Ben Gurion summed up: 'With compulsory transfer we (would) have a vast area (for settlement)...I support compulsory transfer. I don't see anything immoral in it,'" *Israel historian, Benny Morris, "Righteous Victims."*

Ethnic cleansing — continued

"Ben-Gurion clearly wanted as few Arabs as possible to remain in the Jewish state. He hoped to see them flee. He said as much to his colleagues and aides in meetings in August, September and October [1948]. But no [general] expulsion policy was ever enunciated and Ben-Gurion always refrained from issuing clear or written expulsion orders; he preferred that his generals 'understand' what he wanted done. He wished to avoid going down in history as the 'great expeller' and he did not want the Israeli government to be implicated in a morally questionable policy...But while there was no 'expulsion policy', the July and October [1948] offensives were characterized by far more expulsions and, indeed, brutality towards Arab civilians than the first half of the war." *Benny Morris, "The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949"*

Didn't the Palestinians leave their homes voluntarily during the 1948 war?

"Israeli propaganda has largely relinquished the claim that the Palestinian exodus of 1948 was 'self-inspired'. Official circles implicitly concede that the Arab population fled as a result of Israeli action — whether directly, as in the case of Lydda and Ramleh, or indirectly, due to the panic that and similar actions (the Deir Yassin massacre) inspired in Arab population centers throughout Palestine. However, even though the historical record has been grudgingly set straight, the Israeli establishment still refused to accept moral or political responsibility for the refugee problem it — or its predecessors — actively created." *Peretz Kidron, quoted in "Blaming the Victims," ed. Said and Hitchens.*

Arab orders to evacuate non-existent

"The BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) monitored all Middle Eastern broadcasts throughout 1948. The records, and companion ones by a United States monitoring unit, can be seen at the British Museum. There was not a single order or appeal, or suggestion about evacuation from Palestine, from any Arab radio station, inside or outside Palestine, in 1948. There is a repeated monitored record of Arab appeals, even flat orders, to the civilians of Palestine to stay put." *Erskine Childers, British researcher, quoted in Sami Hadawi, "Bitter Harvest."*

Ethnic cleansing — continued

"That Ben-Gurion's ultimate aim was to evacuate as much of the Arab population as possible from the Jewish state can hardly be doubted, if only from the variety of means he employed to achieve his purpose...most decisively, the destruction of whole villages and the eviction of their inhabitants...even [if] they had not participated in the war and had stayed in Israel hoping to live in peace and equality, as promised in the Declaration of Independence." *Israeli author, Simha Flapan, "The Birth of Israel."*

The deliberate destruction of Arab villages to prevent return of Palestinians

“During May [1948] ideas about how to consolidate and give permanence to the Palestinian exile began to crystallize, and the destruction of villages was immediately perceived as a primary means of achieving this aim... [Even earlier.] On 10 April, Haganah units took Abu Shusha... The village was destroyed that night... Khulda was leveled by Jewish bulldozers on 20 April... Abu Zureiq was completely demolished... Al Mansi and An Nagnaghiya, to the southeast, were also leveled. . .By mid-1949, the majority of [the 350 depopulated Arab villages] were either completely or partly in ruins and uninhabitable.” *Benny Morris, “The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem, 1947-1949.*

After the fighting was over, why didn't the Palestinians return to their homes?

“The first UN General Assembly resolution—Number 194— affirming the right of Palestinians to return to their homes and property, was passed on December 11, 1948. It has been repassed no less than twenty-eight times since that first date. Whereas the moral and political right of a person to return to his place of uninterrupted residence is acknowledged everywhere, Israel has negated the possibility of return... [and] systematically and juridically made it impossible, on any grounds whatever, for the Arab Palestinian to return, be compensated for his property, or live in Israel as a citizen equal before the law with a Jewish Israeli.” *Edward Said, “The Question of Palestine.”*

Is there any justification for this expropriation of land?

“The fact that the Arabs fled in terror, because of real fear of a repetition of the 1948 Zionist massacres, is no reason for denying them their homes, fields and livelihoods. Civilians caught in an area of military activity generally panic. But they have always been able to return to their homes when the danger subsides. Military conquest does not abolish private rights to property; nor does it entitle the victor to confiscate the homes, property and personal belongings of the noncombatant civilian population. The seizure of Arab property by the Israelis was an outrage.” *Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

How about the negotiations after the 1948-1949 wars?

“[At Lausanne,] Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and the Palestinians were trying to save by negotiations what they had lost in the war—a Palestinian state alongside Israel. Israel, however... [preferred] tenuous armistice agreements to a definite peace that would involve territorial concessions and the repatriation of even a token number of refugees. The refusal to recognize the Palestinians' right to self-determination and statehood proved over the years to be the main source of the turbulence, violence, and bloodshed that came to pass.” *Israeli author, Simha Flapan, “The Birth Of Israel.”*

Israel admitted to UN but then reneged on the conditions under which it was admitted

“The [Lausanne] conference officially opened on 27 April 1949. On 12 May the [UN's] Palestine Conciliation ,Committee reaped its only success when it induced the parties to sign a joint protocol on the framework for a comprehensive peace. . . Israel for the first time accepted the principle of repatriation [of the Arab refugees] and the internationalization of Jerusalem. . .[but] they did so as a mere exercise in public relations aimed at strengthening Israel's international image...Walter Eytan, the head of the Israeli delegation, [stated]..’My main purpose was to begin to undermine the protocol of 12 May, which we had signed only under duress of our struggle for admission to the U.N. Refusal to sign would...have immediately been reported to the Secretary-General and the various governments.” *Israeli historian, Ilan Pappé, “The Making of the Arab-Israel Conflict, 1947-1951.”*

Israeli admission to the U.N.— continued

“The Preamble of this resolution of admission included a safeguarding clause as follows: ‘Recalling its resolution of 29 November 1947 (on partition) and 11 December 1948 (on reparation and compensation), and taking note of the declarations and explanations made by the representative of the Government of Israel before the ad hoc Political Committee in respect of the implementation of the said resolutions, the General Assembly...decides to admit Israel into membership in the United Nations.’

“Here, it must be observed, is a condition and an undertaking to implement the resolutions mentioned. There was no question of such implementation being conditioned on the conclusion of peace on Israeli terms as the Israelis later claimed to justify their non-compliance.” *Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

What was the fate of the Palestinians who had now become refugees?

“The winter of 1949, the first winter of exile for more than seven hundred fifty thousand Palestinians, was cold and hard...Families huddled in caves, abandoned huts, or makeshift tents...Many of the starving were only miles away from their own vegetable gardens and orchards in occupied Palestine — the new state of Israel...At the end of 1949 the United Nations finally acted. It set up the United Nations Relief and Works Administration (UNRWA) to take over sixty refugee camps from voluntary agencies. It managed to keep people alive, but only barely.” *“Our Roots Are Still Alive” by The Peoples Press Palestine Book Project.*

The 1967 War and the Israeli Occupation of the West Bank and Gaza

Did the Egyptians actually start the 1967 war, as Israel originally claimed?

“The former Commander of the Air Force, General Ezer Weitzman, regarded as a hawk, stated that there was ‘no threat of destruction’ but that the attack on Egypt, Jordan and Syria was nevertheless justified so that Israel could ‘exist according the scale, spirit, and quality she now embodies.’...Menahem Begin had the following remarks to make: ‘In June 1967, we again had a choice. The Egyptian Army concentrations in the Sinai approaches do not prove that Nasser was really about to attack us. We must be honest with ourselves. We decided to attack him.’” *Noam Chomsky, “The Fateful Triangle.”*

Was the 1967 war defenisve? — continued

“I do not think Nasser wanted war. The two divisions he sent to The Sinai would not have been sufficient to launch an offensive war. He knew it and we knew it.” *Yitzhak Rabin, Israel’s Chief of Staff in 1967, in Le Monde, 2/28/68*

Moshe Dayan posthumously speaks out on the Golan Heights

“Moshe Dayan, the celebrated commander who, as Defense Minister in 1967, gave the order to conquer the Golan...[said] many of the firefights with the Syrians were deliberately provoked by Israel, and the kibbutz residents who pressed the Government to take the Golan Heights did so less for security than for the farmland... [Dayan stated] ‘They didn’t even try to hide their greed for the land...We would send a tractor to plow some area where it wasn’t possible to do anything, in the demilitarized area, and knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn’t shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance further, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot.

And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and that’s how it was...The Syrians, on the fourth day of the war, were not a threat to us.’” *The New York Times, May 11, 1997*

The history of Israeli expansionism

“The acceptance of partition does not commit us to renounce Transjordan; one does not demand from anybody to give up his vision. We shall accept a state in the boundaries fixed today. But the boundaries of Zionist aspirations are the concern of the Jewish people and no external factor will be able to limit them.” *David Ben-Gurion, in 1936, quoted in Noam Chomsky, “The Fateful Triangle.”*

Expansionism — continued

“The main danger which Israel, as a ‘Jewish state’, poses to its own people, to other Jews and to its neighbors, is its ideologically motivated pursuit of territorial expansion and the inevitable series of wars resulting from this aim...No Zionist politician has ever repudiated Ben-Gurion’s idea that Israeli policies must be based (within the limits of practical considerations) on the restoration of Biblical borders as the borders of the Jewish state.” *Israeli professor, Israel Shahak, “Jewish History, Jewish Religion: The Weight of 3000 Years.”*

Expansionism — continued

In Israeli Prime Minister Moshe Sharatt’s personal diaries, there is an excerpt from May of 1955 in which he quotes Moshe Dayan as follows: “[Israel] must see the sword as the main, if not the only, instrument with which to keep its morale high and to retain its moral tension. Toward this end it may, no — it must — invent dangers, and to do this it must adopt the method of provocation-and-revenge...And above all — let us hope for a new war with the Arab countries, so that we may finally get rid of our troubles and acquire our space.” *Quoted in Livia Rokach, “Israel’s Sacred Terrorism.”*

But wasn’t the occupation of Arab lands necessary to protect Israel’s security?

“Senator [J. William Fulbright] proposed in 1970 that America should guarantee Israel’s security in a formal treaty, protecting her with armed forces if necessary. In return, Israel would retire to the borders of 1967. The UN Security Council would guarantee this arrangement, and thereby bring the Soviet Union — then a supplier of arms and political aid to the Arabs — into compliance. As Israeli troops were withdrawn from the Golan Heights, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank they would be replaced by a UN peacekeeping force. Israel would agree to accept a certain number of Palestinians and the rest would be settled in a Palestinian state outside Israel.

“The plan drew favorable editorial support in the United States. The proposal, however, was flatly rejected by Israel. ‘The whole affair disgusted Fulbright,’ writes [his biographer Randall] Woods. ‘The Israelis were not even willing to act in their own self-interest.’” *Allan Brownfield in “Issues of the American Council for Judaism.” Fall 1997. [Ed.—This was one of many such proposals]*

What happened after the 1967 war ended?

“In violation of international law, Israel has confiscated over 52 percent of the land in the West Bank and 30 percent of the Gaza Strip for military use or for settlement by Jewish civilians...From 1967 to 1982, Israel’s military government demolished 1,338 Palestinian homes on the West Bank. Over this period, more than 300,000 Palestinians were detained without trial for various periods by Israeli security forces.” *“Intifada: The Palestinian Uprising Against Israeli Occupation,” ed. Lockman and Beinlin.*

World opinion on the legality of Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza.

“Under the UN Charter there can lawfully be no territorial gains from war, even by a state acting in self-defense. The response of other states to Israel’s occupation shows a virtually unanimous opinion that even if Israel’s action was defensive, its retention of the West Bank and Gaza Strip was not...The [UN] General Assembly characterized Israel’s occupation of the West Bank and Gaza as a denial of self-determination and hence a ‘serious and increasing threat to international peace and security.’” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A*

Challenge to Justice.”

Examples of the effects of Israeli occupation

“A study of students at Bethlehem University reported by the Coordinating Committee of International NGOs in Jerusalem showed that many families frequently go five days a week without running water...The study goes further to report that, ‘water quotas restrict usage by Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza, while Israeli settlers have almost unlimited amounts.’

“A summer trip to a Jewish settlement on the edge of the Judean desert less than five miles from Bethlehem confirmed this water inequity for us. While Bethlehemites were buying water from tank trucks at highly inflated rates, the lawns were green in the settlement. Sprinklers were going at mid day in the hot August sunshine. Sounds of children swimming in the outdoor pool added to the unreality.” *Betty Jane Bailey, in “The Link”, December 1996.*

Israeli occupation — continued

“You have to remember that 90 percent of children two years old or more have experienced — some many, many times — the [Israeli] army breaking into the home, beating relatives, destroying things. Many were beaten themselves, had bones broken, were shot, tear gassed, or had these things happen to siblings and neighbors...The emotional aspect of the child is affected by the [lack of] security. He needs to feel safe. We see the consequences later if he does not. In our research, we have found that children who are exposed to trauma tend to be more extreme in their behaviors and, later, in their political beliefs.” *Dr Samir Quota, director of research for the Gaza Community Mental Health Programme, quoted in “The Journal of Palestine Studies,” Summer 1996, p.84*

Israeli occupation — continued

“There is nothing quite like the misery one feels listening to a 35-year-old [Palestinian] man who worked fifteen years as an illegal day laborer in Israel in order to save up money to build a house for his family only to be shocked one day upon returning from work to find that the house and all that was in it had been flattened by an Israeli bulldozer. When I asked why this was done — the land, after all, was his — I was told that a paper given to him the next day by an Israeli soldier stated that he had built the structure without a license. Where else in the world are people required to have a license (always denied them) to build on their own property? Jews can build, but never Palestinians. This is apartheid.” *Edward Said, in “The Nation”, May 4, 1998.*

All Jewish settlements in territories occupied in the 1967 war are a direct violation of the Geneva Conventions, which Israel has signed.

“The Geneva Convention requires an occupying power to change the existing order as little as possible during its tenure. One aspect of this obligation is that it must leave the territory to the people it finds there. It may not bring its own people to populate the territory. This prohibition is found in the convention’s Article 49, which states, ‘The occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.’” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

Excerpts from the U.S. State Department’s reports during the Intifada

“Following are some excerpts from the U.S. State Department’s Country Reports on Human Rights Practices from 1988 to 1991:

1988: ‘Many avoidable deaths and injuries’ were caused because Israeli soldiers frequently used gunfire in situations that did not present mortal danger to troops...IDF troops used clubs to break limbs and beat Palestinians who were not directly involved in disturbances or resisting arrest..At least thirteen Palestinians have been reported to have died from beatings...’

1989: Human rights groups charged that the plainclothes security personnel acted as death squads who killed Palestinian activists without warning, after they had surrendered, or after they had been subdued...

1991: [The report] added that the human rights groups had published 'detailed credible reports of torture, abuse and mistreatment of Palestinian detainees in prisons and detention centers.' *Former Congressman Paul Findley, "Deliberate Deceptions."*

Jerusalem — Eternal, Indivisible Capital of Israel?

"Writing in *The Jerusalem Report* (Feb. 28, 2000), Leslie Susser points out that the current boundaries were drawn after the Six-Day War. Responsibility for drawing those lines fell to Central Command Chief Rehavan Ze'evi. The line he drew 'took in not only the five square kilometers of Arab East Jerusalem — but also 65 square kilometers of surrounding open country and villages, most of which never had any municipal link to Jerusalem. Overnight they became part of Israel's eternal and indivisible capital.'" *Allan Brownfield in The Washington Report On Middle East Affairs, May 2000.*

Addendum by If Americans Knew:

1973 War (Known in Israel as the Yom Kippur War)*

Egypt and Syria continued to demand the return of the land taken by Israel in 1967. However, attempts at diplomacy failed, and eventually Egyptian President Anwar Sadat warned that war would come if Israel did not return Egypt's Sinai Peninsula and Syria's Golan Heights. But Kissinger and the Israelis dismissed him, as did the US media.

These were strategic errors and they contributed directly to the war that broke out on 6 October 1973 with coordinated attacks by Egypt and Syria against Israeli troops stationed on occupied territory. No fighting actually took place on Israeli territory, but the shock of the attacks often made it seem in the US media that Israel itself was under siege.

Israel had considered its position unassailable, but a brilliant strategy known as "Operation Badr" resulted in a stunning success. Egyptian planners had feared that the attack might cost as many as 30,000 casualties, but at the end of October 6, Egyptian losses were only 208 dead. As military historian Trevor N. Dupuy summed up: "The combination of thorough and efficient planning, careful security, the achievement of complete surprise, and the highly efficient execution of carefully prepared plans, resulted in one of the most memorable water crossings in the annals of warfare. As with the planning, no other army could have done better."

Demands instantly arose for a massive supply effort by the United States to Israel. President Nixon at the time already was deeply involved in the spreading watergate scandal and much of the pressure from the Israeli lobby focused on Kissinger.

By 12 October, Israeli Ambassador Simcha Dinitz bluntly warned Kissinger that "if a massive American airlift to Israel does not start immediately then I'll know that the United States is reneging on its promises and its policy, and we will have to draw very serious conclusions from all this." Kissinger's biographers, Bernard and Marvin Kalb, observed of this remark: "Dinitz did not have to translate his message. Kissinger quickly understood that the Israelis would soon 'go public' and that an upsurge of pro-Israeli sentiment could have a disastrous impact upon an already weakened administration.

That same day, US oilmen sent a joint memorandum to President Nixon expressing their alarm at the dangerous possibility of steep oil production cuts and price rises if the US continued its protective policies toward Israel. Nonetheless, Nixon and Kissinger ignored the warning and openly launched a huge air operation to supply Israel on 13 October.

When on 18 October Nixon attempted to appease Israel's clamoring supporters even further by requesting from Congress \$2.2 billion in emergency aid for Israel, Saudi Arabia and other oil producing states finally imposed a

total oil boycott against the United States in retaliation for its unlimited support of Israel. Kissinger estimated that the direct costs to the United States were \$3 billion and the indirect costs, mainly from higher prices of oil, \$10 billion to \$15 billion. He added: "It increased our unemployment and contributed to the deepest recession we have had in the post war period."

This was a high price to pay for a country that was supposed to enhance US interests.

* From *FALLEN PILLARS: U.S. Policy towards Palestine and Israel since 1945* and *WARRIORS AGAINST ISRAEL: How Israel Won the Battle to Become America's Ally 1973*, both by Donald Neff.

Donald Neff, author of five books about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, was a Middle East correspondent for the Los Angeles Times before becoming Jerusalem Bureau Chief and Senior Editor for Time magazine. His book Warriors at Suez, the first of his Warriors trilogy on America's relations with the Middle East and Israel, was nominated for the American Book Award in 1981 in the history category and was an alternate selection of both the Book of the Month Club and the History Book Club.

More on the [oil boycott](#).

The History of Terrorism in the Region

Editor's Note: We believe that the killing of innocent people is wrong, in all cases. Thus, we cannot condone the use of terrorism by some extreme Palestinian groups, especially prevalent during the 1970s. That being said, however, it is necessary to examine the context in which such incidents occurred.

We hear lots about Palestinian terrorism. How about the Israeli record?

"The record of Israeli terrorism goes back to the origins of the state — indeed, long before — including the massacre of 250 civilians and brutal expulsion of seventy thousand others from Lydda and Ramle in July 1948; the massacre of hundreds of others at the undefended village of Doueimah near Hebron in October 1948;...the slaughters in Quibya, Kafr Kassem, and a string of other assassinated villages; the expulsion of thousands of Bedouins from the demilitarized zones shortly after the 1948 war and thousands more from northeastern Sinai in the early 1970's, their villages destroyed, to open the region for Jewish settlement; and on, and on." *Noam Chomsky, "Blaming The Victims," ed. Said and Hitchens.*

Terrorism — continued

"However much one laments and even wishes somehow to atone for the loss of life and suffering visited upon innocents because of Palestinian violence, there is still the need, I think, also to say that no national movement has been so unfairly penalized, defamed, and subjected to disproportionate retaliation for its sins as has the Palestinian.

The Israeli policy of punitive counterattacks (or state terrorism) seems to be to try to kill anywhere from 50 to 100 Arabs for every Jewish fatality. The devastation of Lebanese refugee camps, hospitals, schools, mosques, churches, and orphanages; the summary arrests, deportations, house destructions, maimings, and torture of Palestinians on the West Bank and Gaza..these, and the number of Palestinian fatalities, the scale of material loss, the physical, political and psychological deprivations, have tremendously exceeded the damage done by Palestinians to Israelis." *Edward Said, "The Question of Palestine."*

The U.S. Government and media bias on terrorism in the Middle East

"It is simply extraordinary and without precedent that Israel's history, its record — from the fact that it..is a state built on conquest, that it has invaded surrounding countries, bombed and destroyed at will, to the fact that it currently occupies Lebanese, Syrian, and Palestinian territory against international law — is simply never cited, never subjected to scrutiny in the U.S. media or in official discourse...never addressed as playing any role at all

in provoking ‘Islamic terror.’” *Edward Said in “The Progressive.” May 30, 1996.*

Jewish Criticism of Zionism

“Albert Einstein — ‘I should much rather see reasonable agreement with the Arabs on the basis of living together in peace than the creation of a Jewish State. Apart from practical considerations, my awareness of the essential nature of Judaism resists the idea of a Jewish State, with borders, an army, and a measure of temporal power, no matter how modest. I am afraid of the inner damage Judaism will sustain’...

“Professor Erich Fromm, a noted Jewish writer and thinker, [stated]...’ In general international law, the principle holds true that no citizen loses his property or his rights of citizenship; and the citizenship right is de facto a right to which the Arabs in Israel have much more legitimacy than the Jews. Just because the Arabs fled? Since when is that punishable by confiscation of property, and by being barred from returning to the land on which a people’s forefathers have lived for generations? Thus, the claim of the Jews to the land of Israel cannot be a realistic claim. If all nations would suddenly claim territory in which their forefathers had lived two thousand years ago, this world would be a madhouse...I believe that, politically speaking, there is only one solution for Israel, namely, the unilateral acknowledgement of the obligation of the State towards the Arabs — not to use it as a bargaining point, but to acknowledge the complete moral obligation of the Israeli State to its former inhabitants of Palestine’...

“Nathan Chofshi — ‘Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred...It is bound to bring complete ruin upon us. Only then will the old and young in our land realize how great was our responsibility to those miserable Arab refugees in whose towns we have settled Jews who were brought here from afar; whose homes we have inherited, whose fields we now sow and harvest; the fruits of whose gardens, orchards and vineyards we gather; and in whose cities that we robbed we put up houses of education, charity, and prayer, while we babble and rave about being the “People of the Book” and the “light of the nations”’...

“In an article published in the Washington Post of 3 October 1978, Rabbi Hirsch (of Jerusalem) is reported to have declared: ‘The 12th principle of our faith, I believe, is that the Messiah will gather the Jewish exiled who are dispersed throughout the nations of the world. Zionism is diametrically opposed to Judaism. Zionism wishes to define the Jewish people as a nationalistic entity. The Zionists say, in effect, ‘Look here, God. We do not like exile. Take us back, and if you don’t, we’ll just roll up our sleeves and take ourselves back.’ ‘The Rabbi continues: ‘This, of course, is heresy. The Jewish people are charged by Divine oath not to force themselves back to the Holy Land against the wishes of those residing there.’” *Sami Hadawi, “Bitter Harvest.”*

Jewish Criticism — continued

“A Jewish Home in Palestine built up on bayonets and oppression [is] not worth having, even though it succeed, whereas the very attempt to build it up peacefully, cooperatively, with understanding, education, and good will, [is] worth a great deal even though the attempt should fail.” *Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, first president of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, quoted in “Like All The Nations?”, ed. Brinner & Rischin.*

Martin Buber on what Zionism should have been

“The first fact is that at the time when we entered into an alliance (an alliance, I admit, that was not well defined) with a European state and we provided that state with a claim to rule over Palestine, we made no attempt to reach an agreement with the Arabs of this land regarding the basis and conditions for the continuation of Jewish settlement.

This negative approach caused those Arabs who thought about and were concerned about the future of their people to see us increasingly not as a group which desired to live in cooperation with their people but as something in the nature of uninvited guests and agents of foreign interests (at the time I explicitly pointed out

this fact).

“The second fact is that we took hold of the key economic positions in the country without compensating the Arab population, that is to say without allowing their capital and their labor a share in our economic activity. Paying the large landowners for purchases made or paying compensation to tenants on the land is not the same as compensating a people. As a result, many of the more thoughtful Arabs viewed the advance of Jewish settlement as a kind of plot designed to dispossess future generations of their people of the land necessary for their existence and development. Only by means of a comprehensive and vigorous economic policy aimed at organizing and developing common interests would it have been possible to contend with this view and its inevitable consequences. This we did not do.

“The third fact is that when a possibility arose that the Mandate would soon be terminated, not only did we not propose to the Arab population of the country that a joint Jewish Arab administration be set up in its place, we went ahead and demanded rule over the whole country (the Biltmore program) as a fitting political sequel to the gains we had already made. By this step, we with our own hands provided our enemies in the Arab camp with aid and comfort of the most valuable sort — the support of public opinion — without which the military attack launched against us would not have been possible. For it now appears to the Arab populace that in carrying on the activities we have been engaged in for years, in acquiring land and in working and developing the land, we were systematically laying the ground work for gaining control of the whole country.” *Martin Buber, quoted in “A Land of Two Peoples” ed. Mendes-Flohr*

Israel’s new historians now refute myths of the founding of the state

“Since the 1980’s,.....Israeli scholars [have] concurred with their Palestinian counterparts that Zionism was...carried out as a pure colonialist act against the local population: a mixture of exploitation and expropriation...

“They were motivated to present a revisionist point of view to a large extent by the declassification of relevant archival material in Israel, Britain and the United States. [For example,]...

Challenging the Myth of Annihilation — The new historiographical picture is a fundamental challenge to the official history that says the Jewish community faced possible annihilation on the eve of the 1948 war. Archival documents expose a fragmented Arab world wrought by dismay and confusion and a Palestinian community that possessed no military ability with which to frighten the Jews...

Israel’s responsibility for Refugees — The Jewish military advantage was translated into an act of mass expulsion of more than half of the Palestinian population. The Israeli forces, apart from rare exceptions, expelled the Palestinians from every village and town they occupied. In some cases, this expulsion was accompanied by massacres [of civilians] as was the case in Lydda, Ramleh, Dawimiyya, Sa’sa, Ein Zietun and other places. Expulsion also was accompanied by rape, looting and confiscation [of Palestinian land and property]...

The Myth of Arab Intransigence — [The U.N.] convened a peace conference in Lausanne, Switzerland in the spring of 1949. Before the conference, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution that in effect replaced the November 1947 partition resolution. This new resolution, Resolution 194 of December 11, 1948, accepted [U.N. Mediator] Bernadotte’s triangular basis for a comprehensive peace: an unconditional return of all the refugees to their homes, the internationalization of Jerusalem, and the partitioning of Palestine into two states. This time, several Arab states and various representatives of the Palestinians accepted this as a basis for negotiations, as did the United States, which was running the show at Lausanne...Prime Minister David Ben Gurion strongly opposed any peace negotiations along these lines...The only reason he was willing to allow Israel to participate in the peace conference was his fear of an angry American reaction...The road to peace was not taken due to Israeli, not Arab, intransigence.

Conclusions — The new Israeli historians...wish to rectify what their research reveals as past evils...There was a high price exacted in creating a Jewish state in Palestine. And there were victims, the plight of whom still fuels the fire of conflict in Palestine.” *Israeli historian, Ilan Pappé in “The Link”, January, 1998.*

“It is no longer my country”

“For me, this business called the state of Israel is finished...I can’t bear to see it anymore, the injustice that is done to the Arabs, to the Beduins. All kinds of scum coming from America and as soon as they get off the plane taking over lands in the territories and claiming it for their own...I can’t do anything to change it. I can only go away and let the whole lot go to hell without me.” *Israeli actress (and household name) Rivka Mitchell, quoted in Israeli peace movement periodical, “The Other Israel”, August 1998.*

The effect of Zionism on American Jews.

“The corruption of Judaism, as a religion of universal values, through its politicization by Zionism and by the replacement of dedication to Israel for dedication to God and the moral law, is what has alienated so many young Americans who, searching for spiritual meaning in life, have found little in the organized Jewish community.” *Allan Brownfield, “Issues of the American Council for Judaism”, Spring 1997.*

Zionism and the Holocaust

The U.N. decisions to partition Palestine and then to grant admission to the state of Israel were made, on one level, as an emotional response to the horrors of the Holocaust. Under more normal circumstances, the compelling claims to sovereignty of the Arab majority would have prevailed. This reaction of guilt on the part of the Western allies was understandable, but that doesn’t mean the Palestinians should have to pay for crimes committed by others—a classic example of two wrongs not making a right.

The Holocaust is often used as the final argument in favor of Zionism, but is this connection justified? There are several aspects to consider in answering that question honestly. First, we will examine the historical record of what the Zionist movement actually did to help save European Jewry from the Nazis.

Shamir proposes an alliance with the Nazis

“As late as 1941, the Zionist group LEHI, one of whose leaders, Yitzhak Shamir, was later to become a prime minister of Israel, approached the Nazis, using the name of its parent organization, the Irgun(NMO)..[The proposal stated:] ‘The establishment of the historical Jewish state on a national and totalitarian Pd bound by a treaty with the German Reich would be in the interests of strengthening the future German nation of power in the Near East...The NMO in Palestine offers to take an active part in the war on Germany’s side’ ...The Nazis rejected this proposal for an alliance because, it is reported, they considered LEHI’s military power ‘negligible.’” *Allan Brownfield in “The Washington Report on Middle Eastern Affairs”, July/August 1998.*

Wasn’t the main goal of Zionism to save Jews from the Holocaust?

“In 1938 a thirty-one nation conference was held in Evian, France, on resettlement of the victims of Nazism. The World Zionist Organization refused to participate, fearing that resettlement of Jews in other states would reduce the number available for Palestine.” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

Main goal of Zionism — continued

“It was summed up in the meeting [of the Jewish Agency’s Executive on June 26, 1938] that the Zionist thing to do ‘is belittle the [Evian] Conference as far as possible and to cause it to decide nothing...We are particularly worried that it would move Jewish organizations to collect large sums of money for aid to Jewish refugees, and these collections could interfere with our collection efforts’ ...Ben-Gurion’s statement at the same meeting: ‘No rationalization can turn the conference from a harmful to a useful one. What can and should be done is to limit the damage as far as possible.’” *Israeli author Boas Evron, “Jewish State or Israeli Nation?”*

Main goal of Zionism — continued

“[Ben-Gurion stated] ‘If I knew that it was possible to save all the children of Germany by transporting them to England, but only half of them by transporting them to Palestine, I would choose the second — because we face not only the reckoning of those children, but the historical reckoning of the Jewish people.’ In the wake of the Kristallnacht pogroms, Ben-Gurion commented that ‘the human conscience’ might bring various countries to open their doors to Jewish refugees from Germany. He saw this as a threat and warned: ‘Zionism is in danger.’” *Israeli historian, Tom Segev, “The Seventh Million.”*

Main goal of Zionism — continued

“Even David Ben-Gurion’s sympathetic biographer acknowledges that Ben-Gurion did nothing practical for rescue, devoting his energies to post-war prospects. He delegated rescue work to Yitzak Gruenbaum, who [stated]... ‘They will say that I am anti-Semitic, that I don’t want to save the Exile, that I don’t have a varm Yiddish hartz... Let them say what they want. I will not demand that the Jewish Agency allocate a sum of 300,000 or 100,000 pounds sterling to help European Jewry. And I think that whoever demands such things is performing an anti-Zionist act.’

“Zionists in America...took the same position. At a May 1943 meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Nahum Goldmann argued, ‘If a drive is opened against the White Paper (the British policy of restricting Jewish immigrants to Palestine) the mass meetings of protest against the murder of European Jewry will have to be dropped. We do not have sufficient manpower for both campaigns.’” *Peter Novick, “The Holocaust in American Life.”*

Main goal of Zionism — continued

“The Zionist movement...interfered with and hindered other organizations, Jewish and non-Jewish, whenever it imagined that their activity, political or humanitarian, was at variance with Zionist aims or in competition with them, even when these might be helpful to Jews, even when it was a question of life and death...Beit Zvi documents the Zionist leadership’s indifference to saving Jews from the Nazi menace except in cases in which the Jews could be brought to Palestine...[e.g.] the readiness of the dictator of the Dominican Republic, Rafael Trujillo, to absorb one hundred thousand refugees and the sabotaging of this idea — as well as others, like proposals to settle the Jews in Alaska and the Philippines — by the Zionist movement...”

“The obtuseness of the Zionist movement toward the fate of European Jewry did not prevent it, of course, from later hurling accusations against the whole world for its indifference toward the Jewish catastrophe or from pressing material, political, and moral demands on the world because of that indifference.” *Israeli author Boas Evron, “Jewish State or Israeli Nation?”*

Main goal of Zionism — continued

“I have already gone exhaustively into the reason for our being here, reasons that I as a pioneer of 1906 can affirm have nothing to do with the Nazis!... We are here because the land is ours. And we are here because we have again made it ours in this time with the work we have put into it. Nazism and our history of martyrdom abroad do not concern our presence in Israel directly.” *David Ben-Gurion, “Memoirs.”*

In hindsight, it is easy to say that the millions of Jews who were murdered in the Holocaust could have been saved if Palestine had been available for unlimited immigration. The history of this period is not so simple, however. First, keep in mind that other realistic resettlement plans were proposed but actively opposed by the Zionist movement. Second, the great majority of Jews in Europe were not Zionists and did not try to emigrate to Palestine before 1939. Third, after the start of the war, as the Nazis occupied various countries, they refused to let the Jews leave, making emigration virtually impossible. And Palestine, as we have shown, was already occupied; the indigenous Arabs had more valid reasons than any other country for wanting to limit Jewish immigration. Read on:

Emigration to Palestine before World War II

“In 1936, the Social Democratic Bund won a sweeping victory in Jewish kehilla elections in Poland...Its main hallmarks included ‘an unyielding hostility to Zionism’ and to the Zionist enterprise of Jewish emigration from Poland to Palestine. The Bund wished Polish Jews to fight anti-semitism in Poland by remaining there...The Zionist goal was also opposed, as a matter of principle, by all the major parties and movements among pre-1939 Polish Jewry...”Elsewhere in eastern Europe...Zionist strength was weaker still.” *Prof. William Rubinstein, “The Myth of Rescue.”*

Emigration to Palestine before World War II — continued

“In fact, Zionism suffered its own defeat in the Holocaust; as a movement, it failed. It had not, after all, persuaded the majority of Jews to leave Europe for Palestine while it was still possible to do so.” *Israeli historian, Tom Segev, “The Seventh Million.”*

Emigration during World War II

“[With the start of the war, Nazi] edicts forbidding emigration followed in all countries under direct Nazi control: after 1940-1 it was in effect impossible for Jews legally to emigrate from Nazi-occupied Europe to places of safety...The doors...were firmly shut: by the Nazis, it must be emphasized.” *Prof William D. Rubinstein, “The Myth of Rescue.”*

Palestine was not necessarily a safe haven either

“In September 1940, the Italians, at war with Britain, bombed downtown Tel Aviv, with over a hundred casualties...As the German Army overran Europe and North Africa, it appeared possible that it would conquer Palestine as well. In the summer of 1940, in the spring of 1941, and again in the fall of 1942 the danger seemed imminent. The yishuv panicked...Many people tried to find a way out of the country, but it was not easy...Some...were taking no chances; they carried cyanide capsules.” *Israeli historian, Tom Segev, “The Seventh Million.”*

In any case, Palestine was not Britain’s to give away; it was already occupied.

“We came to this country which was already populated by Arabs, and we are establishing a Hebrew, that is a Jewish, state here...Jewish villages were built in the place of Arab villages...There is not a single community in the country that did not have a former Arab population.” *Israeli leader, Moshe Dayan, quoted in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi’s “Original Sins.”*

Already occupied, continued

“One can imagine an argument for the right of a persecuted minority to find refuge in another country able to accommodate it; one is hard-pressed, however, to imagine an argument for the right of a peaceful minority to politically and perhaps physically displace the indigenous population of another country. Yet...the latter was the actual intention of the Zionist movement.” *Norman Finkelstein, “Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict.”*

The use of the Holocaust for political gain

“[In 1947] the U.N. appointed a special body, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP), to make the decision over Palestine and UNSCOP members were asked to visit the camps of Holocaust survivors. Many of these survivors wanted to emigrate to the United States, a wish that undermined the Zionist claims that the fate of European Jewry was connected to that of the Jewish community in Palestine. When UNSCOP representatives arrived at the camps, they were unaware that backstage manipulations were limiting their contacts solely to survivors who wished to emigrate to Palestine,” *Israeli historian, Ilan Pappé in “The Link,” January March 1998.*

Political gain — continued

“Inside the DP camps, emissaries from the Yishuv organized survivor activity — crucially, the testimony the DPs gave to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry and the UN Special Committee on Palestine about where they wished to go...The Jewish Agency envoys reported home that they had been successful in preventing the appearance of ‘undesirable’ witnesses at the hearings. One wrote his girlfriend in Palestine that ‘we have to change our style and handwriting constantly so that they will think that the questionnaires were filled in by the refugees.’” *Peter Novick, “The Holocaust in American Life.”*

Roosevelt’s advisor writes on why Jewish refugees were not offered sanctuary in the U.S. after WWII

“What if Canada, Australia, South America, England and the United States were all to open a door to some migration? Even today [written in 1947] it is my judgement, and I have been in Germany since the war, that only a minority of the Jewish DP’s [displaced persons] would choose Palestine...

“[Roosevelt] proposed a world budget for the easy migration of the 500,000 beaten people of Europe. Each nation should open its doors for some thousands of refugees...So he suggested that during my trips for him to England during the war I sound out in a general, unofficial manner the leaders of British public opinion, in and out of the government...The simple answer: Great Britain will match the United States, man for man, in admissions from Europe...It seemed all settled. With the rest of the world probably ready to give haven to 200,000, there was a sound reason for the President to press Congress to take in at least 150,000 immigrants after the war...

“It would free us from the hypocrisy of closing our own doors while making sanctimonious demands on the Arabs...But it did not work out...The failure of the leading Jewish organizations to support with zeal this immigration programme may have caused the President not to push forward with it at that time...

“I talked to many people active in Jewish organizations. I suggested the plan...I was amazed and even felt insulted when active Jewish leaders decried, sneered, and then attacked me as if I were a traitor...I think I know the reason for much of the opposition. There is a deep, genuine, often fanatical emotional vested interest in putting over the Palestinian movement [Zionism]. Men like Ben Hecht are little concerned about human blood if it is not their own.” *Jewish attorney and friend of President Roosevelt, Morris Ernst, “So Far, So Good.”*

Victimology

“Jewish proponents of the ‘victim’ card are aware not only of its social effectiveness but of its usefulness as a means of insuring Jewish solidarity and, hence, survival. If we were forever hated by all and are doomed to be forever hated by all, then we’d best stick together and make the best of it...Personally, I have never found this view of the eternally-hating gentile to have any resemblance with reality. It seems a myth, pure and simple, and an ugly one at that.

“Is it a good means of social control? Perhaps, but at what cost? It strips the faith and history of Jew and gentile alike of all but their months of antagonism. It wallows in evil imagery and postulates a forever morally superior Jew, victimized by the forever morally inferior ‘goy’..I have spent most of my adult life among Hasidic Jews, almost all of whom were Holocaust survivors, and I’ve heard almost nothing of the of the relentless harping on victimology and our need to forever memorialize it...(Victimology) allows Jews to bypass their own faith and offers the national allegiance of Holocaust/Israel in its place.” *Rabbi Mayer Schiller, quoted in “Issues of the American Council for Judaism,” Summer 1998.*

General Considerations

Israel has sought peace with its Arab neighbor states but has steadfastly refused to negotiate with Palestinians directly, until the last few years. Why?

“My friend, take care. When you recognize the concept of ‘Palestine’, you demolish your right to live in Ein Hahoresh. If this is Palestine and not the Land of Israel, then you are conquerors and not tillers of the land. You are invaders. If this is Palestine, then it belongs to a people who have lived here before you came. Only if it is the Land of Israel do you have a right to live in Ein Hahoresh and in Deganiyah B. If it is not your country, your fatherland, the country of your ancestors and of your sons, then what are you doing here? You came to another people’s homeland, as they claim, you expelled them and you have taken their land.” *Menahem Begin, quoted in Noam Chomsky’s “Peace in the Middle East?”*

More from the horse’s mouth

“Why should the Arabs make peace? If I was an Arab leader, I would never make terms with Israel. That is natural: we have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs, We come from Israel, it’s true, but two thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we came here and stole their country. Why should they accept that?” *David Ben-Gurion, quoted in “The Jewish Paradox” by Nathan Goldman, former president of the World Jewish Congress.*

More from the horse’s mouth

“Before [the Palestinians] very eyes we are possessing the land and the villages where they, and their ancestors, have lived...We are the generation of colonizers, and without the steel helmet and the gun barrel we cannot plant a tree and build a home.” *Israeli leader Moshe Dayan, quoted in Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi, “Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel”*

More from the horse’s mouth

“The Arabs will be our problem for a long time,” Weizmann said, “It’s not going to be simple. One day they may have to leave and let us have the country. They’re ten to one, but don’t we Jews have ten times their intelligence?” *Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann in 1919 at the Paris peace conference, quoted in Ella Winter, “And Not To Yield.”*

The international consensus on Israel (a very small representative sampling)

“[In the early 1950s] Arab states regularly complained of the reprisals to the UN Security Council, which routinely rejected Israel’s claims of self-defense...”

“In June 1982 Israel again invaded Lebanon, and it used aerial bombardment to destroy entire camps of Palestinian Arab refugees, By these means Israel killed 20,000 persons, mostly civilians...Israel claimed self-defense for its invasion, but the lack of PLO attacks into Israel during the previous year made that claim dubious...The [UN] Security Council demanded ‘that Israel withdraw all its military forces forthwith and unconditionally to the internationally recognized boundaries of Lebanon’...”

“The UN Human Rights Commission, using the Geneva Convention’s provision that certain violations of humanitarian law are ‘grave breaches’ meriting criminal punishment for perpetrators, found a number of Israel’s practices during the uprising [the intifada] to constitute ‘war crimes.’ It included physical and psychological torture of Palestinian detainees and their subjection to improper and inhuman treatment; the imposition of collective punishment on towns, villages and camps; the administrative detention of thousands of Palestinians;

the expulsion of Palestinian citizens; the confiscation of Palestinian property; and the raiding and demolition of Palestinian houses.” *John Quigley, “Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice.”*

From the 1970s until the 1999 Israeli High Court decision forbidding torture during interrogation (theoretically), hundreds of thousands of Palestinians were subjected to inhuman treatment in Israeli prisons.

“Israel’s two main interrogation agencies in the occupied territories engage in a systematic pattern of ill-treatment and torture — according to internationally recognized definitions of the terms...The methods used in nearly all interrogations are prolonged sleep deprivation; prolonged sight deprivation using blindfolds or tight-fitting hoods; forced, prolonged maintenance of body positions that grow increasingly painful; and verbal threats and insults.

“These methods are almost always combined with some of the following abuses; confinement in tiny, closet-like spaces; exposure to temperature extremes, such as deliberately overcooled rooms, prolonged toilet and hygiene deprivation; and degrading treatment...Beatings are far more routine in IDF interrogations than in GSS interrogations. Sixteen of the nineteen detainees we interviewed [detained between 1992 and 1994] reported having been assaulted in the interrogation room. Beatings and kicks were directed at the throat, testicles, and stomach. Some were repeatedly choked; some had their heads slammed against the walls...

“Israeli interrogations consistently use methods in combination with one another, over long periods of time. Thus, a detainee in the custody of the General Security Service (GSS) may spend weeks during which, except for brief respites, he shuttles from a tiny chair to which he is painfully shackled; to a stifling, tiny cubicle in which he can barely move; to questioning sessions in which he is beaten or violently manhandled; and then back to the chair.

“The intensive, sustained and combined use of these methods inflicts the severe mental or physical suffering that is central to internationally accepted definitions of torture. Israel’s political leadership cannot claim ignorance that ill-treatment is the norm in interrogation centers. The number of victims is too large, and the abuses too systematic,” *1994 Human Rights Watch report, “Torture and Ill-Treatment: Israel’s Interrogation of Palestinians from the Occupied Territories.”*

The use of “force” — continued

“Amnesty International also observed that, when brought to trial, most Palestinian detainees arrested for ‘terrorist’ offenses and tortured by the Shin Bet (General Security Services) ‘have been accused of offenses such as membership in unlawful associations or throwing stones. They have also included prisoners of conscience such as people arrested solely for raising a flag.’ On a related point, Haaretz columnist B. Michael noted that there wasn’t a single recorded case in which the Shin Bet’s use of torture was prompted by a ‘ticking bomb’ scenario: ‘In every instance of a Palestinian lodging formal complaint about torture, the Shin Bet justified its use in order to extract a confession about something that had already happened, not about something that was about to happen.’” *Norman Finkelstein, “The Rise and Fall of Palestine.”*

The 1997 U.N. Commission Against Torture rules against Israel

“B’Tselem estimates that the GSS annually interrogates between 1000-1500 Palestinians [as of 1998]. Some eighty-five percent of them — at least 850 persons a year — are tortured during interrogation...

“The U.N. Committee Against Torture,...reached an unequivocal conclusion:...’The methods of interrogation [used in Israeli prisons]...are in the Committee’s view breaches of article 16 and also constitute torture as defined in article 1 of the Convention...As a State Party to the Convention Against Torture, Israel is precluded from raising before this Committee exceptional circumstances’...The prohibition on torture is, therefore, absolute, and no ‘exceptional’ circumstances may justify derogating from it.” *1998 Report from B’Tselem, The Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, “Routine Torture: Interrogation Methods of*

the General Security Service.”

Some arguments used to justify Zionism

“There is clearly no need to justify the Zionist dream, the desire for relief from Jewish suffering...The trouble with Zionism starts when it lands, so to speak, in Palestine. What has to be justified is the injustice to the Palestinians caused by Zionism, the dispossession and victimization of a whole people. There is clearly a wrong here, a wrong which creates the need for justification...”

[E.g., the inheritance claim] The aim of Zionism is the restoration of a Jewish sovereignty to its status 2,000 years ago. Zionism does not advocate an overhauling of the total world situation in the same way. It does not advocate the restoration of the Roman empire...[In addition,] Palestinians have claimed descent from the ancient inhabitants of Palestine 3,000 years ago!...

[Jewish suffering as justification] It was easy to make the Palestinians pay for 2,000 years of persecution. The Palestinians, who have felt the enormous power of this vengeance, were not the historical oppressors of the Jews.

They did not put Jews into ghettos and force them to wear yellow stars. They did not plan holocausts. But they had one fault. They were weak and defenseless in the face of real military might, so they were the ideal victims for an abstract revenge....

[Anti-semitism as justification] Unlike the situation of Jews persecuted for being Jews, Israelis are at war with the Arab world because they have committed the sin of colonialism, not because of their Jewish identity...

[The law of the jungle justification.] Presenting the world as naturally unjust, and oppression as nature’s way, has always been the first refuge of those who want to preserve their privileges...The need to justify Zionism, and the lack of other defenses, has made it part of the Israeli world view...In Israel, one common outcome is cynicism, for which Israelis have become famous...

[The effect on Israelis] Israelis seem to be haunted by a curse. It is the curse of the original sin against the native Arabs. How can Israel be discussed without recalling the dispossession and exclusion of non-Jews? This is the most basic fact about Israel, and no understanding of Israeli reality is possible without it. The original sin haunts and torments Israelis; it marks everything and taints everybody. Its memory poisons the blood and marks every moment of existence.” *Israeli author, Benjamin Beit-Hallahami, “Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel.”*

Zionism’s ‘historical right’ to Palestine

“Zionism’s ‘historical right’ to Palestine was neither historical nor a right. It was not historical inasmuch as it voided the two millennia of non-Jewish settlement in Palestine and the two millennia of Jewish settlement outside it. It was not a right, except in the Romantic ‘mysticism’ of ‘blood and soil’ and the Romantic ‘cult’ of ‘death, heroes and graves’... “The claim of Jewish ‘homelessness is founded on a cluster of assumptions that both negates the liberal idea of citizenship and duplicates the anti-Semitic one that the state belongs to the majority ethnic nation. In a word, the Zionist case for a Jewish state is as valid as the anti-Semitic case for an ethnic state that marginalizes Jews.” *Professor Norman Finkelstein, “Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict,”*

How about the Zionist argument that Jordan already is the Palestinian state?

“It is often alleged that there was, in fact, an earlier ‘territorial compromise’, namely in 1922, when Transjordan was excised from the promised ‘national home for the Jewish people,’ ...a decision that is difficult to criticize in light of the fact that ‘the number of Jews living there permanently in 1921 has reliably been estimated at two, or according to some authorities, three persons.’” *Noam Chomsky, “The Fateful Triangle.”*

Why doesn't Israel, "the only democracy in the Middle East," have a constitution?

"The abstention from formulating a constitution was no accident. The massive expropriation of lands and other properties from those Arabs who fled the country as a result of the War of Independence and of those who remained but were declared absent, as well as the confiscation of large tracts of land from Arab villages who did not flee, and the laws passed to legalize those acts — all this would have necessarily been declared unconstitutional, null and void, by the Supreme Court, being expressly discriminatory against one part of the citizenry, whereas a democratic constitution obliges the state to treat all of its citizens equally." *Israeli author; Boas Evron, "Jewish State or Israeli Nation?"*

"The only democracy in the Middle East?" — continued

"The 1989 Israel High Court decision that any political party advocating full equality between Arab and Jew can be barred from fielding candidates in an election...[means] that the Israeli state is the state of the Jews...not their [the Arabs'] state." *Professor Norman Finkelstein, "Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict."*

Jewish Fundamentalism In Israel

The fundamentalist wing of the Jewish religion, while certainly not representative of Judaism as a whole, is influential in Israel, and is the ideological basis of the settler movement in the West Bank and Gaza (except for "Greater Jerusalem" where many secular Jews have moved because of cheap, subsidized housing) The following quotes show the racism inherent in this world-view and why its influence should be opposed by all rational people.

Ideological basis of racism in Israel

"The Talmud states that...two contrary types of souls exist, a non-Jewish soul comes from the Satanic spheres, while the Jewish soul stems from holiness...Rabbi Kook, the Elder, the revered father of the messianic tendency of Jewish fundamentalism said, "The difference between a Jewish soul and the souls of non-Jews...is greater and deeper than the difference between a human soul and the souls of cattle." *Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky's "Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel"*

Racism — continued

"Gush Emunim rabbis have continually reiterated that Jews who killed Arabs should not be punished, [e.g.]...Relying on the Code of Maimonides and the Halacha, Rabbi Ariel stated, 'A Jew who killed a non-Jew is exempt from human judgement and has not violated the [religious] prohibition of murder'..The significance here is most striking when the broad support, both direct and indirect, for Gush Emunim is considered. About one-half of Israel's Jewish population supports Gush Emunim." *Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky's "Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel"*

Jewish fundamentalist rationale for seizing Arab land

"They argue that what appears to be confiscation of Arab owned land for subsequent settlement by Jews is in reality not an act of stealing but one of sanctification. From their perspective the land is being redeemed by being transferred from the satanic to the divine sphere...To further this process, the use of force is permitted whenever necessary...Halacha permits Jews to rob non-Jews in those locales wherein Jews are stronger than non-Jews." *Israel Shahak and Norton Mezvinsky's "Jewish Fundamentalism in Israel"*

Intifada 2000 and the “Peace Process”

The flaws of the Oslo Accords

“The United States has been a terrible ‘sponsor’ of the peace process. It has succumbed to Israeli pressure on everything, abandoning the principle of land for peace (no U.N. Resolution says anything about returning a tiny percentage, as opposed to all of the land Israel seized in 1967), pushing the lifeless Palestinian leadership into deeper and deeper holes to suit Netanyahu’s preposterous demands.

“The fact is that Palestinians are dramatically worse off than they were before the Oslo process began. Their annual income is less than half of what it was in 1992; they are unable to travel from place to place; more of their land has been taken than ever before; more settlements exist; and Jerusalem is practically lost...

“Every house demolition, every expropriated dunum, every arrest and torture, every barricade, every closure, every gesture of arrogance and intended humiliation simply revives the past and reenacts Israel’s offenses against the Palestinian spirit, land, body politic. To speak about peace in such a context is to try to reconcile the irreconcilable.” *Edward Said in “The Progressive”, March 1998*

The roots of Intifada 2000

“The explosion of Palestinian anger last September 29 put an end to the charade begun at Oslo seven years ago and labelled the ‘peace process.’ In 1993 Palestinians, along with millions of people around the world, were led to hope that Israel would withdraw from the West Bank and Gaza within five years and that Palestinians would then be free to establish an independent state. Meanwhile both sides would work out details of Israel’s withdrawal and come to an agreement on the status of Jerusalem, the future of Israeli settlements, and the return of Palestinian refugees.

“Because of the lopsided balance of power, negotiations went nowhere and the Palestinians’ hopes were never fulfilled. The Israelis, regardless of which government was in power, quibbled over wording, demanded revisions of what had previously been agreed to, then refused to abide by the new agreements. Meanwhile successive governments were demolishing Palestinian homes, taking over Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem for Jewish housing, and seizing Palestinian land for new settlements. A massive new highway network built after 1993 on confiscated Palestinian land isolates Palestinian towns and villages from one another and from Jerusalem, forcing many Palestinians to go through Israeli checkpoints just to get to the next town...

“According to President Clinton and most of the media, Prime Minister Ehud Barak conceded at Camp David virtually everything the Palestinians wanted, and Yasser Arafat threw away the opportunity for peace by rejecting Barak’s offer. In fact Arafat could not accept it. Barak, backed by Clinton, wanted assurance of Israel’s continued strategic control over the West Bank and Gaza, including air space and borders, and insisted that Israel retain permanent sovereignty over most of East Jerusalem, including Haram Al-Sharif. This was a deal no Arab would accept.

“As the protests grew, army helicopters rocketed neighborhoods in several Palestinian cities, destroying entire city blocks and causing scores of casualties. Israeli tanks surrounded Palestinian towns with their guns turned toward the town. Armed Israeli civilians within the Green Line rampaged through Arab neighborhoods destroying Arab property and shouting “Death of Arabs’...Israeli police who were quick to use bullets against Palestinian stone throwers failed to restrain the Israelis and instead fired at Arabs trying to defend their homes. Two Arabs were killed.

“The uprising was undoubtedly fueled by the resentment caused by years of daily abuse and humiliation under Israeli occupation. On September 6, a group of Israeli border police stopped three Palestinian workers as they were returning home from Israel and, for no reason at all, subjected them to 40 minutes of torture. The San Francisco Chronicle reported on September 19 that the policemen punched the three men, slammed their heads against a stone wall, forced them to swallow their own blood, and cursed their mothers and sisters. The incident

only came to light because the policemen took photographs of themselves with their victims, holding their heads by the hair like hunting trophies. Israeli human rights workers said such beatings are a common occurrence, but they are seldom reported.” *Rachelle Marshall, “The Peace Process Ends in Protests and Blood”, Washington Report on Middle East Affairs, December 2000.*

“Israel has failed the test”

“In the Oslo Agreements, Israel and the West put Palestinian leadership to a test: In exchange for an Israeli promise to gradually dismantle the mechanisms of the occupation in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, the Palestinian leadership promised to stop every act of violence and terror immediately. For that purpose, all the apparatus for security coordination was created, more and more Palestinian jails were built, and demonstrators were barred from approaching the [Jewish] settlements.

“The two sides agreed on a period of five years for completion of the new deployment and the negotiations on a final agreement. The Palestinian leadership agreed again and again to extend its trial period...From their perspective, Israel was also put to a test: Was Israel really giving up its attitude of superiority and domination, built up in order to keep the Palestinian people under its control?

“More than seven years have gone by and Israel has security and administrative control of 61.2% of the West Bank and about 20% of the Gaza Strip and security control over another 26.8% of the West Bank. This control is what has enabled Israel to double the number of settlers in 10 years..and to seal an entire nation into restricted areas, imprisoned in a network of bypass roads meant for Jews only...

“Israel has failed the test. Palestinians control of 12% of the West Bank does not mean that Israel has given up its attitude of superiority and domination...The bloodbath that has been going on for three weeks is the natural outcome of seven years of [Israeli] lying and deception.” *Israeli journalist Amira Hass, “Israel Has Failed The Test,” in Israeli newspaper Ha’aretz, 10/18/00.*

Jimmy Carter’s simple statement of the facts — November 2000

“An underlying reason that years of U.S. diplomacy have failed and violence in the Middle East persists is that some Israeli leaders continue to ‘create facts’ by building settlements in occupied territory...

“At Camp David in September 1978...the bilateral provisions led to a comprehensive and lasting treaty between Egypt and Israel, made possible at the last minute by Israel’s agreement to remove its settlers from the Sinai. But similar constraints concerning the status of the West Bank and Gaza have not been honored, and have led to continuing confrontation and violence...

“[Concerning UN Resolution 242] Our government’s legal commitment to support this well-balanced resolution has not changed...It was clear that Israeli settlements in the occupied territories were a direct violation of this agreement and were, according to the long-stated American position, both ‘illegal and an obstacle to peace.’ Accordingly, Prime Minister Begin pledged that there would be no establishment of new settlements until after the final peace negotiations were completed. But later, under Likud pressure, he declined to honor this commitment...

“It is unlikely that real progress can be made...as long as Israel insists on its settlement policy, illegal under international laws that are supported by the United States and all other nations.

“There are many questions as we continue to seek an end to violence in the Middle East, but there is no way to escape the vital one: Land or peace?” *Former President Jimmy Carter in The Washington Post, November 26, 2000.*

Oslo and Intifada 2000 — continued

“After three weeks of virtual war in the Israeli occupied territories, Prime Minister Ehud Barak announced a new

plan to determine the final status of the region. During these weeks, over 100 Palestinians were killed, including 30 children, often by ‘excessive use of lethal force in circumstances in which neither the lives of security forces nor others were in imminent danger, resulting in unlawful killings,’ Amnesty International concluded in a detailed report that was scarcely mentioned in the US.

“Barak’s plan...ensure(s) that useable land and resources (primarily water) remain largely in Israeli hands while the population is administered by a corrupt and brutal Palestinian Authority (PA), playing the role traditionally assigned to indigenous collaborators under the several varieties of imperial rule: the Black leadership of South Africa’s Bantustans, to mention only the most obvious analogue...”

“It is important to recall that the policies have not only been proposed, but implemented, with the support of the U.S. That support has been decisive since 1971, when Washington abandoned the basic diplomatic framework that it had initiated (UN Security Council Resolution 242), then pursued its unilateral rejection of Palestinian rights in the years that followed, culminating in the ‘Oslo process.’ Since all of this has been effectively vetoed from history in the US., it takes a little work to discover the essential facts. They are not controversial, only evaded,” *Noam Chomsky, “Al-Aqsa Intifada”, October 2000, on Znet, www.lbbs.org/meastwatch.*

America — An impartial mediator?

“America’s credibility as mediator had long been questioned by Palestinians, and with reason. ‘The Palestinians always complain that we know the details of every proposal from the Americans before they do,’ one Israeli government source told *The Independent* recently. ‘There’s good reason for that: we write them.’” *Phil Reeves in “The Independent” (U.K.), 10/9/2000*

Lockstep U.S. Media tell (some of) the facts but not the truth

“Rarely do American journalists explore the ample reasons to believe that the United States is part of the oft-decried cycle of violence. Nor, in the first half of October, was there much media analysis of the fact that the violence overwhelmingly struck at the Palestinian people.

“Within a period of days, several dozen Palestinians were killed by heavily armed men in uniform — often described by CNN and other news outlets as ‘Israeli security forces’. Under the circumstances, it’s a notably benign-sounding term for an army that shoots down protestors.

“As for the rock-throwing Palestinians, I have never seen or heard a single American news account describing them as ‘pro democracy demonstrators.’ Yet that would be an appropriate way to refer to people who — after more than three decades of living under occupation — are in the streets to demand self determination.

“While Israeli soldiers and police, with their vastly superior firepower, do most of the killing...American news stories highlighted the specious ultimatums issued by Prime Minister Ehud Barak as he demanded that Palestinians end the violence — while uniformed Israelis under his authority continue to kill them...”

“Like quite a few other Jewish Americans, I’m appalled by what Israel is doing with U.S. Tax dollars. Meanwhile, as journalists go along to get along, they diminish the humanity of us all.” *Norman Solomon, “Media Spin Remains In Sync With Israeli Occupation,” from FAIR’s Media Beat, October 14, 2000.*

Intifada 2000 — An overview

“There is, in the final analysis, only one way to ‘stop the violence,’ and that is to end the occupation. The desire for liberation will, eventually, always bring an occupied people out into the streets, stones in hand, ready to face the might of powerful armies, preferring to risk death than live in bondage. This is not extreme nation.0 racism or religious fervor. It is the need to be free...”

“[Occupation] means a reality of unending violence. It means being surrounded by an abusive foreign army that enforces a social system indistinguishable from apartheid; confiscations of land that is then given to hundreds of

thousands of Israeli settlers in Jewish-only communities linked by roads that non-Jewish residents of the West Bank (whose land was confiscated for these roads) are prohibited from using; home demolitions; torture; cities cut off from each other, closed down on a regular basis. It means living in a massive prison...

“Since 1967, there has been only one workable solution to the conflict. The plan is articulated in U.N. Security Council Resolution 242, which sets up a two-part ‘land for peace’ solution. Part one holds that Israel must withdraw from the territories occupied in 1967. Part two calls for all states in the region to live in peace and security in those borders. The Israeli obligation, withdrawal from the occupied territories, is utterly unfulfilled.” *Hussein Ibish, communications director of the American-Arab Anti Discrimination Committee, in the Los Angeles Times, October 18, 2000.*

Albright stands the facts on their heads

“With the same deadpan, expressionless, emotionless, glazed look, Madam Albright repeated: ‘Those Palestinian rock throwers have placed Israel under siege,’ adding that the Israeli army is defending itself...[But] It is Israel that is the belligerent occupant of Palestine (and not the other way around) Israeli tanks and armored vehicles are surrounding Palestinian villages, camps and cities (and not the other way around). Israeli (American-made) Apache gunships are firing Lau and other missiles at Palestinian protestors and homes (and not the other way around). It is Israel that is confiscating Palestinian land and importing Jewish settlers to set up illegal armed settlements in the heart of Palestinian territory (and not the other way around). The settlers on the rampage in the West Bank and Israelis terrorizing Palestinians in their own homes (and not the other way around)...Israel is committing atrocities against the Palestinians with total impunity, and yet you maintain, ‘Israel is besieged.’” *Hanan Ashrawi, in “The Progressive”, December 2000*

What Arafat was offered

“In American coverage of the recent Camp David meetings, the American press obediently followed the Israeli and US government spin that while Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak made courageous concessions for peace, Palestinian unwillingness to compromise caused the meeting to fail.

“Never mind that Barak’s ‘courageous concessions’ consisted of allowing the Palestinians to have joint administrative responsibility over a couple of remote Arab neighborhoods of Arab East Jerusalem — pathetic crumbs tossed on the floor which Arafat was expected to gratefully pick up.” *American Jewish reporter, Eduardo Cohen, from “What Americans Need to Know — But Probably Won’t Be Told — To understand Palestinian Rage” from Palestine Media Watch, www.pmwwatch.org*

What Arafat was offered — continued

“Barak appears to be asking for only 10% of the occupied territories. In reality, it’s closer to 30%, taking into account the territories he wants to annex in the Jerusalem area and place under his “security control” in the Jordan Valley. But even worse, in the map submitted to the Palestinians, these percentage points cut the country up from East to West and from North to South, so that the Palestinian state will consist of groups of islands, each surrounded by Israeli settlers and soldiers.

“World opinion is always on the side of the underdog. In this fight, we are Goliath and they are David. In the eyes of the world [outside the US], the Palestinians are fighting a war of liberation against a foreign occupation. We are in their territory, not they on ours. We are the occupiers, they are the victims. This is the objective situation, and no minister of propaganda can change that.” *Israeli peace activist. Uri Avnery, “12 Conventional Lies About the Palestine-Israeli Conflict” from Palestine Media Watch, www.pmwwatch.org.*

An Israeli’s “Open Letter to a Friend In Peace Now”

“It has been seven years exactly since I wrote my last letter to you. It was the day after the signing of the Oslo

Accords, when you invited me to dance with you in Menorah Square...Permit me to quote for you a few passages from that old letter.

“You danced in the square because you were happy about this peace. Not just plain peace, but a blend of peace, security, Palestinian chest-beating over sins committed (renunciation of terrorism), and far-reaching concessions by the other side. A peace that you can be proud of. A peace — so you boast — for which we are giving nothing (“Just a tiny bit,” whispers the prime minister) and gaining much; recognition, greater security, a halt to the Intifada, renunciation of terrorism, being relieved of the Arabs and more. You are happy about this peace, and in its honor you invite me to dance with you. No thank you... You got rid of Gaza, you separated Israelis from Palestinians, you gave them the dirty work and you didn’t even promise withdrawal or a real state. Could peace possibly be bought more cheaply?”

“I, by contrast, see peace as an end and not merely as a means, and call for getting out of the Occupied Territories because we have nothing to be there for, even if the occupation did not cost us even one victim or one cent; and I am against shooting children — and adults — simply because it is forbidden to shoot children or ordinary civilians.’

“Since the writing of these lines you celebrated the peace and you became fat and prosperous. The repeated and varied violations of the agreements did not move you, not to speak of any change in our culture of war and occupation, the arrogant tone of those negotiating in our name and their attempts to demand more and more in exchange for less and less...

“What is there to be confused about? A conquering army is using tanks and helicopter gunships to disperse demonstrations. What is so hard to understand here?... There is an occupation and there is a struggle against the occupation. There are demonstrators and there is an army that has received orders to shed their blood. And don’t come to me with the story of the rifles, Your glorious war record qualifies you to understand that even CNN reporters understand, that those rifles do not endanger either Israel or the soldiers if they don’t get too close...

“[From 1993 letter]” peace is a tango that takes two equal partners dancing in unity; it is not a dance of one who drags around his partner at will... In your dance of peace you have no partners, only enemies. For your peace is his occupation, your success is his loss... Peace is still far away because peace demands honesty, because peace demands equality. You want to force them to lie, you want of them a peace of surrender, you are celebrating a peace of master and slave. Under such conditions there will perhaps be peace-and-quiet, but Peace, no. Not until you open your eyes and your heart. Not until we are ready for a peace of partnership and equality.” *Michael (Mikado) Warschawski, “The Party Is Over: An Open Letter to a Friend In Peace Now,” from Znet, www.lbbs.org/ZNETTOPnoanimation.html*

“Barak promised peace and brought war, and not by accident.”

“(Barak) promised peace and brought war, and not by accident. While speaking about peace, he enlarged the settlements. Cut the Palestinian territories into pieces by ‘by-pass’ roads. Confiscated lands. Demolished homes. Uprooted trees. Paralyzed the Palestinian economy..Conducted negotiations in which he tried to dictate to the Palestinians a peace that amounts to capitulation. Was not satisfied with the fact that by accepting the Green Line, the Palestinians had already given up 78% of their historic homeland. Demanded the annexation of ‘settlement blocs’ and pretended that they amount only to 3% of the territory, while in fact he meant more than 20% would remain under Israeli control. Wanted to coerce the Palestinians to accept a ‘state’ cut off from all its neighbors and composed of several enclaves isolated from each other, each surrounded by Israeli settlers and soldiers...Boasts publicly that he has not given back to the Palestinians one inch of territory..When the intifada broke out, sent snipers to shoot, in cold blood from a distance, hundreds of unarmed demonstrators, adults and children. Blockaded each village and town separately, bringing them to the verge of starvation, in order to get them to surrender. Bombarded neighborhoods. Started a policy of mafia-style ‘liquidations’, causing an inevitable escalation of the violence.” *Israeli peace activist, Uri Avnery, February 3, 2001, www.gush-shalom.org*

A ‘benign’ occupation?

“Israelis like to believe, and tell the world, that they are running an ‘enlightened’ or ‘benign’ occupation, qualitatively different from other military occupations the world has seen. The truth was radically different. Like all occupations, Israel’s was founded on brute force, repression and fear, collaboration and treachery, beatings and torture chambers, and daily intimidation, humiliation and manipulation.” *Israeli historian, Benny Morris, “Righteous Victims.”*

What “closure” means

“Just an hour’s drive from Jerusalem, a cruel drama has been underway for the past five months, the likes of which have not been seen since the early days of the Israeli occupation, but the majority of Israelis are taking absolutely no interest in it. The iron grip of the closure in its new format is increasingly strangling a population of 2.8 million people, yet no one is saying a word. . .

“It has to be said starkly and simply: There has never been a closure like this there, in the land of barriers and closure. In the worst of times of the previous Intifada, when the iDF was in eveÅr and curfew reigned supreme, there was not a situation in which a whole people was jailed without a trial and without the right of appeal.

“Israel has split the West Bank by means of hundreds of trenches, dirt ramparts and concrete cubes which have been placed at the entrance to most of the towns and villages. No one enters and no one leaves, not those who are pregnant and not those who are dying. There isn’t even a soldier with whom one can plead and beg. A network of bizarre Burma roads that break through the encirclement are sending an entire people along muddy, rocky routes, with the situation aggravated by a substantial risk of getting caught or getting shot by soldiers who often open fire on the desperate travelers. . .

“Never before has there been distress and suffering on this scale among the Palestinians in the territories. They will engender unprecedented despair and ultimately they will spark violence more cruel and painful than anything seen so far. . . This is the point: the horrific distress of the Palestinians because of the present closure will quickly turn into the distress of the Israelis. . . The current siege, a shamefully appalling operation, must be lifted quickly. This must not be made conditional on the cessation of the violence, because the siege itself is the most effective spur to violence.” *Israeli writer, Gideon Levy, in Ha aretz, March 4, 2001*

Views Of The Future

A future free of ethnocentrism

“The first challenge, then, is to extract acknowledgement from Israel for what it did to us...But then, I believe, we must also hold out the possibility of some form of coexistence in which a new and better life, free of ethnocentrism and religious intolerance, could be available...If we present our claims about the past as ushering in a form of mutuality and coexistence in the future, a long-term positive echo on the Israeli and Western side will reverberate.” *Edward Said in “The Progressive”, March 1998*

The answer? A sovereign Palestinian state.

“The final destination of a Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement has begun to emerge from the political haze. Such a settlement must...give the Palestinian people a sovereign, uncontested, independent state of their own. This is a matter of justice and practicality. If a truly lasting and stable peace is the goal, there is no other option...The mere trappings of statehood will not suffice. The state has to be real and workable. The following are its essential conditions.

Territorial integrity and contiguity...Any further dissection of Palestinian territory would make it politically and economically impossible to maintain a state...There can be no civilian pockets under Israeli rule on Palestinian

land...

A sovereign capital in Jerusalem. East Jerusalem is Palestine's historical, spiritual and commercial heart. To exclude it from a Palestinian state is unthinkable...

"Justice and fairness for refugees...As a matter of principle, the Palestinians right to return or be compensated for their lost homes and land is nonnegotiable...Israel must acknowledge the suffering and hardship Palestinian refugees have faced as a result of their eviction from their homeland, and must assist in their rehabilitation and reabsorption." *A.S. Khalidi, Op-Ed piece in the New York Times, February 11, 1997.*

Palestinian refugees claim to repatriation is realistic, as well as just

Palestinian engineer and parliamentarian Salman Abu Sitta...(showed) that 'the return of the refugees is possible with no appreciable dislocation of Jewish residents.' This is because '78 percent of the Jewish population of Israel lives on only 15 percent of the land'...

"Ironically, the land in the upper Galilee from which a very large percentage of the refugees were driven is so lightly populated because most of the immigrants [that] settled there refused to remain so far from the centers of Israeli urban life in Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem...Of those actually cultivating those former Palestinian fields, many are non-Jewish Thais, Rumanians and others slated to return to their countries at the end of their contracts." *Richard Curtiss from June 2000 issue of "Washington Report On Middle East Affairs."*

Israeli professor calls for a new Zionism

"It was our nationalism...which drew the country into an occupation and settlement of the West Bank...None of the leaders of the Labor movement believed that the Palestinians deserved the same right [as Jews] because none of them believed in universal rights. Pretending, like [Arthur] Hertzberg and others do, that the Occupation and the colonial situation created in the last thirty years was merely the product of the Arab refusal to recognize Israel, is no more than looking for an alibi and falsifying history..."

"The time has come to say that if the settlements in Judea and Samaria or in the very heart of Hebron are the natural, logical and legitimate continuation of the original intention of Zionism, then we need another Zionism. If a 'Jewish State' that does not recognize the absolute equality of all human beings is considered to be closer to the spirit of the founding fathers than a new liberal Zionism, then it is time to say good-bye to the ghosts of the founders, and to start forging for ourselves an identity detached from the mystical ramifications of our religion and the irrational side of our history." *Israeli professor of political science, Ze'ev Sternhell, in "Tikkun", May/June 1998.*

Sources for further research on Palestine and Israel

These short quotes do not, of course, prove the assertions made here. The historical evidence, however, is overwhelming and is available in fully documented form in the books cited. Particularly useful sources are:

1. *Palestine and Israel: A Challenge to Justice* by John Quigley, professor of law at Ohio State University. Duke University Press, 1990.
2. *The Fateful Triangle: The United States, Israel & The Palestinians* by Noam Chomsky, professor at MIT and "arguably the most important intellectual alive" (NY Times). South End Press, 1983.
3. *Original Sins: Reflections on the History of Zionism and Israel* by Benjamin Beit-Hallahmi. An honest history of Zionism by a noted Israeli scholar who teaches at Haifa University. Olive Branch Press, 1993.
4. *Bitter Harvest* by Sami Hadawi. A very complete look at the documentary evidence of the creation of the state of Israel, by a Palestinian Christian who lived through that period. Caravan Books 1979.

For articles from the alternative and Israeli press, please see ZNet at www.lbbs.org and

www.commondreams.org/viewsarchive.htm.

A wealth of information on Palestine/Israel is to be found at www.geocities.com:0080/CapitolHill/Senate/7891.

Another very useful resource is the Jewish Voice for Peace. To join their mailing list, e-mail shlensky@socrates.Berkeley.edu.

Also, the American Educational Trust, publisher of Washington Report on Middle East Affairs(a great magazine) has a large selection of books available. Write for their free catalog to AET, PO Box 53062, Washington, DC 20009.

This booklet can also be found on the web at www.cactus48.com

Conclusion I

For Jewish Readers

As we have seen, the root cause of the Palestine-Israel conflict is clear. During the 1948 war, 750,000 Palestinians fled in terror or were actively expelled from their ancestral homeland and turned into refugees. The state of Israel then refused to allow them to return and either destroyed their villages entirely or expropriated their land, orchards, houses, businesses and personal possessions for the use of the Jewish population. This was the birth of the state of Israel.

We know it is hard to accept emotionally, but in this case the Jewish people are in the wrong. We took most of Palestine by force from the Arabs and blamed the victims for resisting their dispossession. If you run into someone's car, for whatever reason, simple justice demands that you repair it. Our moral obligation to the Palestinian people is no less clear. It is time for all Jewish people of good conscience to make whatever amends are possible to the Palestinians in order to live up to the best part of the Jewish tradition — its ethical and moral basis.

Any criticism of Israel is traditionally seen by American Jews as harmful to the Jewish people, even if the criticism is true. But "my people, right or wrong, my people" is no different than "my country, right or wrong, my country". Once we start down the slippery slope where the ends justify the means we have left behind any claim to morality. Along with millions of other American Jews unaffiliated with the major U.S. Jewish organizations, we are outraged at the Israeli government's ongoing oppression of the Palestinians and feel that it has been the ruination of the high moral standing of the Jewish people.

The Israeli government could solve the Palestine/Israel crisis tomorrow. It actually would be in the best interests of its citizens to do so because random acts of terrorism against Israelis would cease if Palestinian demands for a viable, independent state were accepted and compensation for Arab losses made.

Here in America, we Jews are thoroughly assimilated into the mainstream of society and hold positions of power and influence in every field of endeavor. We do not need to be in a defensive mood anymore. We can afford to change our attitude from "is it good for the Jews?" to "Is it good?" At the very least, American Jews need to categorically state that we cannot condone Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian land, and the intentional murder and crippling of Palestinian protestors armed only with rocks, as documented in reports by the UN Security Council, the UN Human Rights Commission, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Israeli groups like B'Tselem, etc.

According to a survey commissioned by the five largest American Jewish organizations, but suppressed by them afterwards, 20% of American Jews support Palestinian demands and 35% say that Jerusalem should be shared. This, in the face of a near-total blackout of the Palestinian position in our press, is very impressive. Join this growing segment of American Jews by contacting Not In My Name, at www.nimn.org, a group that is spearheading a coalition of Jewish groups to protest the Israeli occupation.

Israel's long-term interests can best be served by supporting Israeli peace groups, like Gush Shalom (www.gush.shalom.org), not the Israeli government and its brutal repression, which just leads to endless

violence. Israeli peace groups rightfully criticize their government and we should too, since they claim to act in our name. American groups like the Jewish Peace Lobby, Jewish Voice For Peace and the Middle East Children's Alliance also deserve your support. Don't compromise your ethics in blind support of bad politics—work for a just solution instead.

Please write for more free copies of this booklet to the address on the back page and ask your Jewish friends to consider the information presented here. For everyone's sake. Peace.

Important Note: at the end of the next section, Conclusion II, there is a list of Jewish organizations in America and Israel, and links to their websites, which are informative and interesting. We encourage to explore them with an open mind.

Conclusion II

We hope that this look at the historical record concerning the root cause of the Middle East conflict will give second thoughts to all who have previously supported Israel's actions.

The persecution of the Jews for centuries in Europe was the worst of many stains on the European record, and the Zionists' desire for a place of sanctuary is certainly understandable. Like all other colonial enterprises, however, Zionism was based on the total disregard of the rights of indigenous inhabitants. As such, it is morally indefensible. And, as previously stated, all subsequent crimes — and there have been many on both sides — inevitably follow from this original injustice to the Palestinians.

Given the damage that has been done to the Palestinian people, Israel's obligation is to make whatever amends possible. Among these should be assisting the creation of a sovereign Palestinian state in the entire West Bank and Gaza with its capital in East Jerusalem. Israel should not object to this state and, in addition, should help with its foundation via generous reparations. Besides being the right thing to do, this would stop the sporadic acts of violence against Israel, as the Palestinians' legitimate desire for their own state would be realized. Moreover, all laws that discriminate against non-Jews living in Israel should be repealed.

Given the history outlined in this paper, we conclude that the Palestinians have gotten "the short end of the stick" and that justice demands that wrongs should be righted. Full and complete justice would entail allowing any Palestinian to return to Israel if they wished but, practically speaking, we understand that this is a recipe for even more bloodshed. Therefore, recognizing that reality, we join Gush Shalom and other Israeli peace groups in calling for a negotiated, modified right of return with the bulk of Palestinian refugees being settled in a Palestinian state, financed by generous reparations from both Israel and the international community.

As U.S. citizens, we have a special obligation to see that justice is done in this matter. U.S. financial aid to Israel has been, and continues to be, enormous; and our diplomatic support is the crucial factor allowing Israel's continued occupation of Arab territories. We strongly recommend that you contact your elected representatives in Washington and urge them to insist that, as a precondition of continued support, Israel must abide by the consensus of world opinion and withdraw to its 1967 borders, as demanded in numerous UN votes.

American Jews in particular have a special responsibility to acknowledge the Palestinian point of view in order to help move the debate forward. As Chomsky writes in his *Peace in the Middle East?*, "In the American Jewish community, there is little willingness to face the fact that the Palestinian Arabs have suffered a monstrous historical injustice, whatever one may think of the competing claims. Until this is recognized, discussion of the Middle East crisis cannot even begin."

In the long run, only by admitting their culpability and making amends can Israelis live with their neighbors in peace. Only then can the centuries-old Jewish tradition of being a people of high moral character be restored. And only in this way can real security, peace and justice come to this ancient land.

Thank you for taking the time to read

“The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict”

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Jews for Justice in The Middle East

<http://ifamericansknew.org/history/origin.html>