

# **GAZETTE DU GOLFE ET DES BANLIEUES**

Nouvelle série

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Contributions, volontaires et involontaires d'Israël Shamir, Robert Fisk, Phillip Knightley, le brav' général Moshe Yaalon, chef d'état-major de l'armée des assassins, Meron Benvenisti, Manuella Vitali Norsa, Dan Diner, Marie Debs, Janine Zacharia, le physicien Albert Einstein, Ze'ev Schiff et beaucoup d'autres.



La chute du communisme allait reporter ces spéculations à un avenir qui s'approche. Le réservoir russe était potentiellement énorme et très attractif, plein de juifs "ready-made". Mais les juifs russes ne sont pas toujours ce que l'on croit. Aujourd'hui, la presse israélienne n'en fait pas mystère, mais les idiots de l'Occident ne veulent pas le savoir, la moitié des immigrants venus de Russie ne sont pas juifs, de quelque façon qu'on les prenne. Mais ils immigreront encore tous les jours en masse. Les rabbins ont fini par renoncer à les badigeonner.

Plus récemment, on a vu une opération aussi subtile que prometteuse. On sait qu'en Amérique latine, les missionnaires protestants, ceux qui propagent les vues et les méthodes les plus simplistes chez les "indigènes" en faisant appel aux émotions, au transe et aux chants extatiques, ont taillé des croupières à l'Eglise catholique, si longtemps liée au pouvoir colonial. Flairant l'aubaine, des rabbins ont commencé à travailler sur ces gens presque incultes mais vaguement christianisés pour récupérer ceux qui veulent bien aller faire les domestiques, les ouvriers agricoles et les chiens de garde dans le "pays du dieu". Des Indiens du Pérou se voient ainsi "judaïsés" en un clin d'oeil. (voir plus bas)

Certains regardent vers des populations marginales de l'Inde. Alexandre Adler, le porc multicarte, lorgne vers certaines tribus afghanes. Le mythe des Tribus perdues alimente toutes les supercheries.

Aujourd'hui, Israël se comporte comme le sergent recruteur des armées de l'ancien régime: des promesses, du vin, quelques piécettes et on embarque les pauvres, les sans-terre, les démunis de tout, qu'on va installer dans des colonies, dans des mobil-homes dégueulasses, en collant une mitrailleuse dans les mains du fils de la famille pour qu'il aille se faire tuer au service des juifs. Aux juifs de la diaspora, on cache ces choses.

Ce pauvre Camus ne comprend rien à rien et ne sait pas de quoi il parle. Le côté "ethnique", "juif", "race élue" et toutes ces conneries, c'est bon pour les juifs de France et les intellectuels qui leur collent au cul. Mais sur le terrain, ça ne veut strictement rien dire. La seule réalité indiscutable est qu'il faut peupler la Palestine avec des gens qui ne soient pas arabes. Tout sauf les Arabes. Envoyez les Eskimos, les Patagons, les Silésiens, les Rouergats, les Comanches, tout ce que vous trouverez, avec une tête sur laquelle on pourra mettre une kippa le vendredi. Mais pas d'Arabes. Les Arabes, il faut les chasser. Les exterminer. La Solution finale point.

#### LES USINES À FABRIQUER DES JUIFS

### Coming home

By Neri Livneh

In a prefab structure at a school in the West Bank settlement of Alon Shvut, a few dozen people are sitting and singing a popular Hasidic song: "The whole world is a very narrow bridge and the main thing is not to be afraid." They are singing with feeling, even though most of them don't understand a word of the song. As is the custom in religious schools, the class is divided into a men's section and a women's section. The women are wearing hats and the men's heads are covered by knitted skullcaps. The men and women alike have distinct South American Indian features and are dark-skinned.

Batya Mendel, who until two months ago was a Peruvian citizen whose first name was Blanca, analyzes the situation with surprising passion and self-confidence: "Yasser Arafat isn't even a Palestinian and he has no rights to the Land of Israel because he wasn't born in the Land of Israel. This land was promised eternally by God only to those who were born here. Just because I was born in Peru and don't have Jewish roots makes no difference, because the Book of Zephania states that those who want to believe in the Holy One and be believing Jews -- only they have rights to the Land of Israel. Maybe, when the Messiah comes and all the Palestinians are converted to Judaism and believe in God with complete faith, only then will we allow them to live in the Land of Israel."

Almost unnoticed, **a new branch of Jews is springing up** in the settlements, Jews who are connected to Israel and all things Israeli by a very narrow bridge indeed. They have yet to visit Tel Aviv or Haifa, and they have never even heard of Degania, the very first kibbutz, or its neighbor, Kinneret. Miki Kratsman, the photographer, and I had the privilege of being the first secular Jews they ever met. Nevertheless, they feel as deeply rooted and authentic as that composer of quintessentially Israeli songs, Naomi Shemer. They are fired with a historic sense of their right to this land, as though they were the Zinati family from Peki'in, the ancient Jewish town in Galilee.

"We are of **Indian origin**," says Nachshon Ben-Haim, formerly Pedro Mendosa, "but in Peru, in the Andes, there is no Indian culture left. Everyone has become Christian, and before we became Jews, we also were Christians who went to church."

The miracle of the creation of this community of new Jews has to be chalked up wholly and exclusively to the credit -- or debit -- of the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. Two months ago, at the order of the Ashkenazi chief rabbi, Israel Meir Lau, a delegation of rabbis traveled to Peru. During their two weeks in the country, **they converted 90 people to Judaism**, most of them of Indian origin.

"We found a small river between Trujillo and Cajamarca and everyone immersed in it. We took the people from Lima to be immersed in the ocean and then **we also had to remarry them** all in a Jewish ceremony according to the halakha [Jewish religious law]," says Rabbi Eliyahu Birnbaum, a judge in the conversion court and a member of the delegation.

The rabbis converted only those who said they were willing to immigrate to Israel immediately.

"We laid down that condition because in the remote areas where they live, there is no possibility of keeping kosher and it was important for us to ensure that they would live in a Jewish environment. In fact, there was no need for the condition because they were in any case imbued with a love of the Land of Israel in a way that is hard to describe," explains Rabbi David Mamo, the deputy president of the Conversion Court.

Birnbaum adds: "Because we saw their enthusiasm for the Land of Israel, we understood that conversion was part of a complete process including aliyah [immigration to Israel], so we told them: Just as you live in a community here, you should join a community in Israel, too. Rabbi Mamo and I both live in Gush Etzion [a bloc of settlements south of Bethlehem] and we believe that when it comes to community-oriented settlements, there are none that can compare with Alon Shvut and Karmeit Tzur [both in Gush Etzion], which said they would be willing to absorb the new immigrants."

Mamo notes that his settlement, Neveh Daniel, also in Gush Etzion, "would have been happy to receive such a distinguished reinforcement, but we are unable to provide complete housing and absorption - and you have to understand what absorption means in Karmeit Tzur and Alon Shvut. Words cannot describe the warm personal attitude toward each new immigrant, the care and the concern for all their physical and spiritual needs, and, of course, the ulpan [intensive Hebrew course] and the organized social activity. It is the best community integration program that we know of."

### The Columbus factor

The 90 new immigrants, comprising 18 families, were taken straight from the airport to the two settlements. Leah Golan, director of the Jewish Agency department that is responsible for immigration from all Western countries (apart from those in the former Communist Bloc), says, "**we as the Jewish Agency bring to Israel anyone who has been defined as being entitled to aliyah - that is, anyone who has been recognized as a Jew by the Chief Rabbinate or the Interior Ministry.**"

Adds Golan: "Generally, the potential immigrants are in touch with our aliyah emissaries and are given very reliable information about housing, employment and education possibilities in Israel. But in Peru, we do not have an emissary: There is only a small Jewish community of about 3,000 people there, so we only have an office in Lima that is staffed by a local woman. Therefore, the Jewish Agency was not involved in any way in the decision about where these new immigrants would live or what kind of work they would do. All the decisions on those subjects were apparently made by the rabbis."

Theoretically, the new Jews had the option of joining the Jewish community in Peru, but that was ruled out.

"How can I put it without hurting anyone?" Birnbaum says. "**The community in Lima consists of a certain socioeconomic class and did not want them because they are from a lower level.** There was a kind of agreement that if they were converted, they would not join the Lima community, so there was no choice but to lay down the condition that they immigrate to Israel."

The new Jews have not encountered similar difficulties in the settlements, where they have been integrated smoothly. "Now, thank God, we live where the patriarch, Abraham, the No. 1 Jew, roamed," says Ephraim Perez, who until two weeks ago, in Trujillo, Peru, was still known as Nilo.

It turns out that Peru also had an ancient Jewish forefather of its own: "It is known that Christopher Columbus was a Jew," Mandel relates. "And since he was in Peru, many Jews have been born there."

Columbus was Jewish?

Mandel: "They always say that about him in Peru, and he visited many places in Peru and left Jewish blood everywhere. There are also a lot of Christian sects that obey the commandments since then. When we were Christians, we also observed all kinds of commandments, such as Pascha [sic] and Shavuot."

So, in fact, you are of Jewish origin?

"No. In Peru everyone is a mixture of natives and all kinds of conquerors, but there was a great deal of Jewish influence through the Marranos [Jews living during the Spanish Inquisition who secretly kept their faith despite converting to Christianity] and through Columbus. When we were still Christians and went to the church we observed some commandments such as Shabbat and holidays."

Rabbis Mamo and Birnbaum, along with officials of the settlements, refer to the 90 new Jews as the "**Third Aliyah.**"

The term, explains Yeshaya Kasdu, the coordinator of the group of new immigrants at Karmeit Tzur, refers to the fact that "in 1990, there was the First Aliyah of Jewish converts from Peru, then in 1991 came the Second Aliyah, and now we have the Third Aliyah." [He is invoking the terminology for the waves of new immigrants who came to Palestine in the early 20th century.]

The circumstances in which the First Aliyah from Peru was engendered are quite amazing. The leader of the **surprising conversion and immigration movement** from Peru was then known as Sigundo Villanueva; today he has the name of Zerubavel Zidkiya. He is still considered the leader of the new Jews, though most of them have never met him. He and his wife and six of their children, all of whom have families, live in the settlement of Tapuah; two of their children live in Jerusalem. One daughter, Yocheved, lives in the city's ultra-Orthodox Mea She'arim neighborhood, and her brother, Yeshaya Zidkiya, is studying in a yeshiva of newly religious Jews.

Zerubavel Zidkiya's brother, Mordechai Meir (formerly Elvaro Villanueva), and his children also live in Tapuah. Zidkiya's daughter, Hava Peretz, explains that her father does not want to be interviewed "because he is old and sick and doesn't want to spout nonsense." Mordechai Meir, the brother, agreed to be interviewed for this article, but his wife, who has been in the country for 12 years, but can barely speak a coherent sentence in Hebrew, grabbed the receiver from him and shouted, "You not come here, you who say in paper things not good. We are Jews like you, go from here."

When we arrived at their house we were firmly ejected by their son, a young, robust lad. So we had to make do with what we heard from Hava Peretz, who after inviting us to her home in Tapuah, supposedly in order to take us to meet her parents, told us unequivocally that her father had gone to Jerusalem that morning, while her mother, of whom we just managed to catch a glimpse, "has just gone to Petah Tikva with the rest of the family in order to buy a small cupboard."

The residents of Tapuah, by the way, showed no interest in receiving the new group from Peru. Their experience with the former group was not very good, we were told by the secretary, Daniel Shukrun. They have remained a very closed group, he says, a community within a community.

### **The road to Judaism**

"The Tribes of Israel," a book by Rabbi Eliahu Avihayil, tells the story of "The Children of Moses in Peru." Even Avihayil, who finds Jewish communities under every bush **in his relentless search for the lost tribes of Israel**, does not claim that the new Jews from Peru are of Jewish seed. Still, he notes: "Offspring of Marranos used to live in and around Cajamarca, and to this day, there is a tradition in the town of Celendin that they came with the Portuguese to the region and it is possible that someone in the group may have Jewish roots."

The story of the rebirth of hundreds of Indians as Jews imbued with a belief in Greater Israel thus **begins with a revelation**. According to Peretz, her grandfather by chance came into the possession of "the book of the Old Testament. He said -- Aha, very interesting, there is also an Old Testament, not only a New Testament. When my father, Sigundo, was 15 years old, he gave him the book to read."

Until then, the brothers Sigundo and Alvero were practicing Christians. "My father read the book and he right away liked it very much," Peretz continues. "Then my father and my mother got married and my father persuaded her that they should keep Shabbat and she agreed."

The Villanueva family lived in Cajamarca, a city of more than 100,000 inhabitants, located 600 kilometers northwest of Lima and perched about 2,700 meters high in the foothills of the Andes. It was here that the last of the Inca sovereigns was executed by the Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro, in 1533.

"My father was born in Celendin and only afterward his family moved to Cajamarca. In Celendin there was a group of people who believed they were descendants of the Marranos. **They also have a god called Adomolen**, which is like Adon Olam [master of the universe, one of the designations of God in Hebrew]."

So your father is a descendant of the Marranos?

Peretz: "No, I don't think so. But I think influences of Jews came through the Marranos, because there is no god called Adomolen anywhere else in Peru. It is a special god of people who were close to the Marranos."

### *Adomolen, priez pour nous !*

In Cajamarca, the first-born of the Villanueva family, Sigundo, started to read the Bible in earnest and to observe the Sabbath. His brother, Alvero, followed in his footsteps. At a certain stage, the two decided that they had no choice but to leave the church and become Shabbat-observing evangelists.

"They went through all kinds of spiritual journeys," Rabbi Birnbaum says. "That is what characterized the whole group of the First Aliyah from Peru. Sigundo Villanueva, who is a very charismatic individual, apparently swept everyone with him, and contrary to the postmodernist search today, in which people look for meaning and how to realize the 'I,' they sought the truth, which is a type of quest that is very much out of fashion nowadays. You could call it an ancient search in a modern world. They sacrificed the 'I' in order to search for the truth, and in their search, they went through all kinds of religions and sects, all in the wake of Sigundo-Zerubavel, until they arrived at Judaism together with him."

### **School on Shabbat**

"The Tribes of Israel" relates that in 1954, the whole group (which, in addition to the families of the Villanueva brothers, also included local people -- about 50 in all) joined a community of vegetarians in Cajamarca. Being vegetarian enabled them to keep kosher.

"My father was a carpenter and my mother was a housewife," Hava Peretz continues. "When I was a little girl, we suddenly started to keep the Sabbath. My brothers and sisters and I all went to a Christian school and we suffered a lot there because all the exams were on Shabbat and my parents wouldn't let us go to school on Shabbat. So we kept getting failing grades, and we failed in all our subjects and all the teachers hated us.

"Father kept having to transfer us to worse schools, until finally we went to the school of the poorest people in Cajamarca, because that was the only school where the principal agreed to let us take exams on weekdays. That is why we wanted to come to the Land of Israel since we were little. Father would read to us from the Old Testament and we grew up on stories from the Land of Israel, so in the end, when we finally immigrated and we came to [the settlement of] Elon Moreh, we felt we had come home because these were the stories we were raised on."

In 1961, the Villanueva brothers decided to leave the evangelical church and establish an autonomous community. Many students joined Sigundo's group, and in 1967, by now numbering about 200 people, they decided to leave Cajamarca and build their own neighborhood outside the city. They made contact with Rabbi Abraham Ben Hamo, then the Sephardi rabbi of Lima, and he sent them books on Judaism. The leaders of the group then decided that the males had to be circumcised and eventually found a Jewish physician, Dr. Reuven Cogan, who, in 1971, agreed to perform the mass ceremony. However, serious arguments broke out over this issue. About half the men in the group refused to undergo the ritual and left with their families. As a result, the "kibbutz" outside Cajamarca broke up and its members moved to Cajamarca, Trujillo and Lima.

Not long afterward, Sigundo's whole family moved to Trujillo, a city also located in northwest Peru (current population: about 650,000), "so that we would be able to keep up our lives in an organized group and **not mix in with others**, because we were like a commune," Peretz explains.

"We went about eight kilometers out of the city and at a place called El Milagro, in a desert, we built our community. There was no water and no electricity. We did everything slowly, by ourselves. Then my father also built a

synagogue -- not alone, everyone helped him -- and we started to go to the synagogue. My father taught there and afterward also my little brother, Yehesha."

### **Fear of mixed marriage**

The breakup of the community outside Cajamarca also generated a leadership struggle between the Villanueva brothers. In July 1987, David Lis an engineer from Rishon Letzion who spent a long time in Peru, sent a letter to Rabbi Avihayil's Amishav Society requesting assistance so that the members of the group could be formally converted to Judaism and immigrate to Israel. The rabbis in Lima, Ben Hamo and his Ashkenazi counterpart, Yaakov Kraus, made a similar recommendation to the Chief Rabbinate of Israel. At the end of 1989, with the consent of the chief rabbi, Mordechai Eliyahu, a delegation that included Rabbi Avihayil and Rabbi Mordechai Uriya, the president of the Haifa Rabbinical Court, traveled to Peru. There they co-opted Rabbi Kraus and established a conversion court that converted 58 people from Trujillo and Lima.

"On the 23rd day of the month of Menachem Av 5749 [August 24, 1989], the Children of Moses immersed themselves according to Jewish law in the Mocha River. Then weddings were held, according to halakha, for all those who were previously married, with great festivity. The conversion in Lima of the Alvero, Villanueva and Selirose families was completed on the 28th day of the month of Menachem Av on the shore of Lima."

**Immediately afterward, they immigrated to Israel** and settled at Elon Moreh. Rabbi Uriya was asked to assist, as he had previously been an emissary in Latin America for a few years.

"The chief rabbis asked me to join Rabbi Avihayil, as I speak Spanish," he explains, "and I did go with him. At first I was astonished to see Indians, real Indians, who wanted to convert to Judaism, but then I saw that they were strong in their faith and that they observe the commandments. They are very simple but good-hearted people with a powerful spirit, and after examining the matter we decided to convert them. However, we did not convert all of them, only those we saw as serious and who said they were willing to 'go up' [immigrate] to the Land of Israel."

How did they come to Judaism?

Uriya: "The Indians are Christians, and in Christianity there are sects who observe Shabbat and keep kosher. So these people reached the conclusion that as long as they were already observing Shabbat and keeping kosher, they might as well be Jews."

But why make their conversion conditional on their immigrating to Israel? After all, aren't there many people who become Jews but do not move to Israel?

"The condition was because of the agreement that was reached with rabbis of the previous generation, according to which it is forbidden to convert people who intend to remain in Peru. I think that what underlies that regulation is fear of mixed marriage."

Who decided that they would go to settlements in the territories?

"That I really do not know. It may have been due to considerations of where they could be best integrated and that the settlements agreed to receive them." [...]

*Haaretz*, 18 juillet 2002.

<<http://www.jafi.org.il/papers/2002/july/harjuly18.htm>>

## Zap -- You're Jewish

by Hirsh Goodman

When it comes to the settlement movement, the sky is now the limit, including a crash course of 12 working days in how to transform from an Andes Indian into a settler Jew

The *Ha'aretz* newspaper's weekend magazine of July 19 carried a cover story about 90 Indians from villages tucked far up in the remote mountains of Peru who had been converted to Judaism in Lima in a record two weeks. They were then flown to Israel where they were sent directly to two Israeli settlements on the West Bank, Alon Shvut and Karmeit Tzur, where they will study in yeshiva and pray, at the state's expense, for the messiah to arrive.

The 90, constituting 18 family units, remarkably, were converted by an official rabbinical delegation sent from Israel with the blessings of Chief Ashkenazi Rabbi Israel Lau. Though they cannot speak a word of Hebrew, the 90 were given Hebrew names. Though they have never heard of Theodor Herzl, they are ardent Zionists who do not doubt for a minute that Israel is the Jewish state. And while Israeli politics are a total mystery to them, as is the debate over the future of the territories, that Judea and Samaria belong to the State of Israel is beyond question.

Why the 90 Peruvian Indians wanted to become Jewish was not made quite clear in the piece, other than a general sentiment that Abraham was the father of us all. What is made clear is that the 3,000-strong Peruvian Jewish community told the rabbinical delegation that they could convert whomever they want, as long as the converts don't remain in Peru. The Jewish community, it was explained, has enough difficulties of its own without having to deal with the "socioeconomic" problems the new converts would have brought with them.

One explanation for this passion to become Jewish, though, may be that **a warm mobile home in the Judean Hills was a better prospect than scratching out a living in the Andes.** [...]

Adding to our numbers is admirable in these troubled times, but why a serious and staid Jewish scholar like Rabbi Lau would go along with the scheme is **an enigma**. One can understand the folks at Alon Shvut and Karmeit Tzur being happy to get their hands on anyone prepared to join them. But it is **hard to believe** that Israel would send out an official rabbinical delegation to **convert** these people to a religion they know nothing about and bring them slap into the middle of a conflict **they have no part in**.

To have done so is, frankly, **incomprehensible** and becomes all the more so when viewed in the context of the rabbinate's attitude toward others who have tried to convert. Why, one wonders, does it take only two weeks to convert a Peruvian mountain Indian while tens of thousands of immigrants to Israel from the former Soviet Union, who have been here for a decade, **serve in the army** and have become the backbone of society, are put through the wringer before they are accepted as Jews? The criteria demanded of them for conversion are so strict that most simply cannot go through the process. In consequence they have to continue going to Cyprus to get married, and are buried outside the cemetery wall, **even when they die for their country**. And here we have people who don't know a mohel from a shohet who are immediately inducted into what is supposed to be a non-proselytizing religion and brought to Israel **to live on the dole**.

I am all for the ingathering of the exiles and I have nothing against Peruvians, Indian or otherwise. But I find it confusing when someone like Sigundo Villanova seems to get one up on someone as undeniably brilliant as Rabbi Israel Lau and on the government of Israel by circumventing the regular immigration route of the Jewish Agency.

As always, it seems that when it comes to **supporting the needs of the settlement movement**, at the end of the day, the sky is the limit, including a crash course of 12 working days in how to transform from an Andes Indian into a settler Jew. The main requirement is that our 90 new brethren believe that all of the Land of Israel is ours and like their leader, the now-Zerubavel Tzadkiya, dividends will come down the road when the children and grandchildren, many of them, will make places like Tapuah thrive.

Tapuah, apple in Hebrew, was once considered a rotten apple by the mainstream settler movement, a place inhabited by **fanatics who adhered to the hate philosophy of the late rabbi Meir Kahane**. The community was an embarrassment to serious Land of Israel idealists who claimed they had an aspiration to coexist with the Arabs. That they should now be bending even the most sacred rules to make the spirit of Tapuah thrive is a sign of just how desperate and confused the settler movement -- and the rabbinate that is effectively supporting them -- seems to have become.

*The Jerusalem Report*

<<http://www.jrep.com/Columnists/Article-1.html>>

## LES NÉO-JUIFS SONT DANS LA PLAINE

656 nouveaux immigrants sont arrivés la semaine dernière en Israël.

L'Agence juive annonce que 342 sont originaires de Russie et d'Europe de l'est. 135 sont venus de France, 61 d'Argentine et les autres de Belgique, de Suisse, de Grande-Bretagne, d'Afrique du sud, d'Allemagne, d'Ethiopie, d'Inde, du Brésil, de Colombie, des Etats-Unis et du Canada. Depuis le début de l'année 2002, 17.608 nouveaux immigrants sont arrivés en Israël. [*On ne nous donne jamais le nombre de départs...* ]

Arutz 7, 4 août 2002

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## QUI A CONQUIS L'IRAQ ?

Les Perses de Cyrus (-500)

Alexandre le Grand (-300)

Les Romains n'ont pas osé.

Les Perses sassanides (100)

Les Arabes juste devenus musulmans (650)

Les Byzantins n'ont pas osé.

Les Mongols

Les Turcs

Les Anglais (1920)

Les Américains n'ont pas osé (1991).

A qui le tour ?

## LA QUESTION CENTRALE: L'ILLÉGITIMITÉ DE L'ENTREPRISE SIONISTE

*Le Monde a dû racler les fonds de tiroir pour trouver un malheureux sioniste encore capable d'aligner ses pauvres arguments pour justifier les massacres en cours. Nous allons commenter ce chef d'oeuvre.*

## Les trois légitimités d'Israël

par Dan Diner

C'était à la fin des années 1950. A Jérusalem, David Ben Gourion et Nahum Goldmann eurent une conversation qui dura jusqu'au petit matin. Les deux personnalités en présence, en dépit de leurs convictions sionistes communes, étaient fondamentalement différentes: le fondateur d'Etat plein d'énergie faisait face au grand diplomate, un sceptique ironique dans la tradition de la diaspora. Ben Gourion exprima des pensées étonnamment sombres. Il estimait qu'il

pourrait encore être enterré en Israël, mais sans doute plus son fils Amos. Goldmann l'interrogea sur les raisons d'un tel pessimisme. Après quelques hésitations, Ben Gourion livra son doute le plus profond: jamais les Arabes n'accepteraient Israël. Assurément, Dieu avait promis le pays au peuple d'Israël. Mais, poursuivit Ben Gourion, ce dieu est notre Dieu, cela n'engage aucunement les Arabes. L'anéantissement des juifs d'Europe, l'Holocauste? Il faudrait plutôt vider la Rhénanie des Allemands pour faire de la place à un Etat juif. Mais en quoi les Arabes étaient-ils concernés par cela? Après un long silence pensif, Goldmann répliqua ironiquement qu'il espérait que les Arabes ne penseraient pas comme Ben Gourion. Cette conversation nocturne entre Nahum Goldmann et Ben Gourion touchait le cœur du conflit entre Arabes et Juifs: **la question de la légitimité.**

Autrement dit, comment les Juifs et les Arabes palestiniens justifient-ils les uns par rapport aux autres leur prétention sur cette terre? En ce qui concerne Israël, **sa légitimité n'est pas évidente**, mais se partage en trois variantes. On peut appeler **la promesse divine** à laquelle se réfère Ben Gourion la légitimation unilatérale. Une telle prétention ne peut guère obliger les Arabes, qui sont ses adversaires directs dans le conflit. C'est pourquoi elle doit être pour ainsi dire **imposée physiquement**, par la poursuite de la colonisation des territoires occupés au nom de la Bible. Cette promesse lie également, dans une version séculière amoindrie, les Israéliens qui, pour des raisons pragmatiques, se sont tenus à l'écart des territoires occupés depuis 1967. Qui renonce à Hébron, leur dit-on, abandonne la prétention sur Tel-Aviv. Pourtant, les arguments contraires sont nombreux. Les frontières de 1948 sont d'une certaine façon sacro-saintes. [*Mais non, en aucune façon. D'ailleurs ce ne sont pas des frontières et elles ne sont reconnues comme telles par personne, pas même Israël.* ] Il s'agit après tout des "frontières d'Auschwitz", comme les appela Abba Eban, l'ancien ministre israélien des affaires étrangères, après la foudroyante victoire militaire de 1967. Il voulait dire par là qu'un repli sur les frontières de 1948, en raison de leur précarité militaire, **n'entraîne pas en ligne de compte**. Abba Eban forgea l'expression "frontières d'Auschwitz" dans une intention **péjorative**. Mais cette image pourrait, en un tout autre sens, **fonder une légitimité puisée dans les horreurs de l'Holocauste.** [*C'est à ça que sertent la loi Gayssot et toutes sortes de chantages grotesques* ] Israël tire de l'anéantissement des Juifs le droit impérieux de protéger ces "frontières d'Auschwitz", y compris par la menace de destruction au moyen de l'arme ultime. [*D'Auschwitz à Hiroshima, on voit ce qu'est l'éthique juive... la rationalité du massacre* ]

La légitimité des frontières d'Auschwitz -- les frontières d'Israël de 1948 à 1967 -- n'est pourtant que partiellement universelle. [*On peut même franchement dire qu'elle n'est pas universelle du tout !* ] En effet, l'Holocauste n'oblige catégoriquement que le monde occidental. Il est étroitement solidaire de l'antisémitisme, lequel appartient à une tradition noire de la chrétienté. [*C'est un froid mensonge, mais il sert encore beaucoup. En réalité, et de plus en plus de gens s'en rendent compte, le Zolo n'oblige personne. C'est un truc du siècle dernier, basta !* ] Si l'antisémitisme devait "s'universaliser" au-delà de l'Occident, la légitimation de l'Etat juif liée à l'expérience de l'antisémitisme pourrait également prétendre à une validité universelle. Ce serait le cas par exemple si les Arabes et les musulmans engagés dans le conflit faisaient leur la vision du monde paranoïaque de l'antisémitisme. [*C'est un raisonnement idiot qu'il convient de remettre sur ses pieds: si les juifs justifient par leurs actes la haine universelle, ils devront s'arrêter ou disparaître.* ]

A côté de la légitimité unilatérale de la promesse divine et de la légitimité partiellement universelle des frontières d'Auschwitz, il y a une troisième légitimation possible d'Israël. Elle est à la fois simple et complexe: Israël a un droit irrévocable à l'existence **pour la simple raison qu'il existe.** Une telle tautologie apparente du pur état de fait est fondée en termes de droit naturel. Elle est par là universelle. [*Ça, c'est la meilleure. C'est la légitimation du fait accompli, l'abolition complète du droit, la reconnaissance de la nature exclusivement brutale et prédatrice du sionisme, l'aveu irréfragable de la nature colonialiste et terroriste de cette entreprise. Ben Gourion avait bien raison de douter qu'on puisse accepter ses descendants.* ] C'est précisément ce qui fait de cette variante de la légitimité la seule valable d'un point de vue politiquement réaliste. Du côté des Arabes, il suffirait de reconnaître l'état de fait de l'existence d'Israël, indépendamment de toute légitimation israélienne interne, qu'elle se réfère à la Bible ou à Auschwitz. [*Pourquoi prendre les autres pour des idiots ? Ben Gourion, et avant lui Jabotinsky l'avaient bien dit: jamais les Arabes (ni quiconque d'ailleurs) n'accepteront de se voir déposséder de leur pays. Les juifs devront donc en partir.* ] Nahum Goldmann a dû penser à une reconnaissance de l'état de fait quand il a répliqué à Ben Gourion qu'il espérait que les Arabes ne penseraient pas comme lui.

Les trois espèces de légitimité, la sioniste, la juive et l'israélienne, n'apparaissent sans doute pas dans leur pureté, mais dans des mélanges de compositions variées et parfois contradictoires. Elles n'en déterminent pas moins souterrainement l'agenda politique. Ainsi la clôture élevée à présent entre Israël et les territoires occupés tout au long de la frontière de 1948, si elle se justifie par des arguments de sûreté, trace surtout une ligne entre les emblèmes physiques des deux principaux discours de légitimation de l'Etat juif : la légitimité unilatérale, telle qu'elle est réclamée par les colons et leurs partisans, et la légitimité partiellement universelle, qui s'appuie sur le vieil Israël de 1948 et les frontières d'Auschwitz. Au lieu de décider politiquement de la priorité à établir entre ces légitimités, le débat est déplacé au moyen de la clôture. Il se traduit par une plus grande sécurité pour les Israéliens de l'intérieur et une sécurité moindre des colons dans les territoires occupés.

Les négociateurs israéliens et palestiniens envoyés à Oslo en 1993 ne pensaient pas comme Ben Gourion, ou plutôt ne pouvaient pas penser comme lui. Il leur était vite devenu clair que parler de la légitimité historique et, du même coup, du passé ne pouvait conduire qu'à une collision de leurs consciences respectives et à une rupture des discussions. Le passé pouvant être lu et interprété différemment dans le sens des autolégitimations respectives, ce n'est qu'au présent que les Israéliens et les Palestiniens prêts au compromis peuvent se rencontrer. Pour parvenir à la conclusion d'une paix, **il convenait de neutraliser le passé.** C'est ce qui arriva, les deux partis s'imposant une amnésie provisoire. Il convenait de différer les questions ultimes du conflit -- le problème de Jérusalem, de



television stations across the United States held a five-hour telethon to raise money for the victims of suicide bombers in Israel. And on Oct. 20, Rabbi Eckstein's group hopes to gather 100,000 churches and a million Christians for a day of prayer and solidarity with Israel. Christian supporters of Israel argue there are a host of reasons to back the Jewish state besides helping speed along the apocalypse, such as God's promise to Abraham in Genesis that those who bless Israel will themselves be blessed.

"This is where both our faiths were born, where Moses and Jesus walked," said Ralph Reed, an influential Republican lobbyist and strategist, former director of the Christian Coalition and co-chairman with Rabbi Eckstein of the Stand for Israel campaign. "There are also shared democratic values... and Israel has historically been our most reliable ally in that part of the world. A lot of American Christians feel an almost patriotic duty to defend Israel." But the core reason for the overwhelming support for Israel among conservative Christians is the Biblical prophecy of the end-times, a view that has received a boost with the hugely successful novelization of the apocalypse in the 10-volume *Left Behind* series. "When it comes to Israel, by and large there is an admiration and a love of Israel and a certain love of the Jewish people," said Marc Gopin, a professor of international diplomacy at Boston's Tufts University and author of *Holy War, Holy Peace: How Religion Can Bring Peace to the Middle East*. "But a fairly large portion have a specific end-game in mind."

Unlike mainstream Christians, who tend to read much of the Bible as allegory, conservative Christians see it as the literal word of God, and that word spells out impending doom for this world. A recent poll by *Time* magazine found that 59% of Americans believe the events described in the Book of Revelations will come true. According to a school of Biblical interpretation called dispensationalism that dates back to the 19th century, the sequence of events leading to the end of the world begins when the Jews are restored to their homeland, something that happened when the state of Israel was created. That scenario then predicts Jews will become hated and despised by the whole world and Israel will make an alliance with a powerful figure who turns out to be the Biblical Antichrist. He will lead his armies against a force of 200 million soldiers under the "kings of the east" at Armageddon, near Jerusalem, leading to the return of Jesus and the establishment of God's kingdom on Earth.

Some Jews will be destroyed and the remaining Jews will accept Jesus as their Messiah. The enthusiastic support of Christian conservatives has had a significant impact on U.S. policy toward Israel. Based on the Bible, they believe God gave all the land of Israel to the Jews, leaving little room for a land-for-peace deal with the Palestinians. Palestinians should aspire to "a prosperous life in Israel," said Tom DeLay, a born-again Christian and one of the most powerful Republicans in the House of Representatives, during a recent television interview. Although evangelical Christians were his firmest supporters during the 2000 election, there is no evidence that George W. Bush, the U.S. President, shares their millennial views. But he is arguably the most fervent Christian president in history and was strongly influenced by a 1998 trip to Israel while he was governor of Texas. He has also been a strong backer of Mr. Sharon's hard line toward Palestinian terrorism.

While Mr. Reed, who occasionally advises the President, doubts Mr. Bush is awaiting the coming of the Lord in Jerusalem, he made it clear that "American Christians are one of the most critical allies that the state of Israel has in the whole world. "You can make a strong case that the religious conservative constituency can have the most significant impact on American foreign policy since the end of the Cold War. They want to make sure that any peace process respects Israel's sovereignty and security."

*National Post*, Thursday, August 15, 2002

LES JUIFS SONT-ILS DES IMBÉCILES ?

### Red Heifer to be Shipped To Israel

Those of you who have been following the 'red heifer stories are probably aware that Melody, the red heifer born in Israel in late 1996, has been disqualified for use in the Red Heifer Ceremony (see Numbers, 19).

Now, however, the Messianic Times reports that Clyde Lott, a Mississippi cattle breeder, is planning to airlift 500 Red Angus cattle to Israel, 140 of them at a time. The purpose of these shipments is two fold; to improve the quality of beef cattle in Israel, and to possibly provide the stock necessary so that a qualified red heifer might be born in the land of Israel which could be used in the Red heifer ceremony. Lott is said to believe that between five and seven of the heifers that are included in these shipments might fit the Numbers 19 requirements for a totally red cow. It could be from a descendant of one of these heifers that the eventual red heifer sacrifice will be found....

14 Aug 2002

Rappelons aux incrédules que "certains" juifs croient devoir hâter la fin du monde en commençant à reconstruire le Temple de Salomon, ce qui en ferait la troisième édition, la dernière ayant été détruite par les troupes romaines qui en avaient légèrement marre de ces judéens et de leur souk. L'un d'eux, Flavius Josèphe a raconté tout ça très bien.

Un certain nombre de gens aujourd'hui bien décidés à chasser les Arabes et à détruire la mosquée Al Aqsa qui se trouve sur le site supposé du Temple, veulent donc se lancer dans cette mythique reconstruction. Pour pouvoir le faire avec l'accord de leur dieu innomable *Yavait-qu'à*, il attendent un signe. ils ont déterminé que ce signe serait la naissance à Jérusalem d'une génisse rousse qui sera complètement et purement rousse. C'est tiré d'une texte bourré de recettes de magie et de prescriptions finement tarabiscotée, et que personne ne lit jamais, *Nombres*, un des cinq livres dits fondamentaux de la Torah ou, comme disent les chrétiens grecs, le Pentateuque. En fait, c'est le quatrième livre, juste avant celui qui est le plus déterminant et qui est à la base de la fabrication de l'identité juive, le



David Horowitz, who demands all-out war on the Arab world, and Stephen Schwartz, ex-Trotskyite, who became a major theoretician of the Riyadh-as-"kernel of evil" school". Even anti-Zionist Trotskyite Lenni Brenner, whose brilliant pen and cheerful style I admire, decided to join the US warriors, and called to launch feminist crusade against Saudi Arabia.

The Jewish-owned media amplified these opinions. A Jewish journalist, Miss Slavin, reported in USA TODAY [5], published by the top Jewish leader, Mort Zuckerman, that a Jewish analyst Max Singer, (a founder of the conservative Hudson Institute, who never had been to Saudi Arabia but frequents Israel), suggested to Pentagon officials to dismantle the Kingdom. Value of Mr Singer's opinion is next to nil, but it has received good media coverage more important opinions have been denied. There was no article by an Arab-American calling to dismantle Israel, just for the balance. It appears the organised Jews firmly planted Saudis in the cross-hairs of their formidable weapon, the mass media.

It leaves us with a difficult query, why do some American forces, and the American Jews among them, want to destroy Saudi Arabia, the faithful ally of the US and a very moderate power in regional context? And another one, what could be done about it?

## II

### WHY AND HOW

Optimists argue that it is just a threat, a psychological warfare, a pressure applied to the kingdom. The reasons for such pressure could be explained by need of American oil companies to threaten Saudis into obedience and extend their contracts. Alternatively, the US military needs to use Saudi air bases for attack on Iraq, and the Arabs are not sufficiently obsequious.

But I am not sure it is an empty threat. We live in the shadow of ongoing meltdown of the dollar and the American-based financial pyramid [6]. It began in August 2001, caused 9/11 as the means to slow the meltdown, and goes on, gathering speed as an avalanche snowball. Saudis have too much dollar reserves. Elimination ("freezing") of their dollar assets would slow the meltdown, as vast trillions of dollars will vanish from the marketplace. While injection of money causes inflation, its evaporation will cause deflationary, upward pressure on the dollar. In other words, for the Wall Street, it makes sense to freeze Saudi assets, as they froze the assets of Iran and Iraq.

Saudi rulers probably have time to counteract it, if they use the advice of Woody Allen, "take the money and run". They should shift their holdings out of the collapsing dollar zone, into Euro, Yen or gold. The great idea of golden "Islamic dinar" promoted by the wise Prime Minister of Malaysia, Dr Mahathir should be activated immediately. The Saudis could learn much from Dr Mahathir who succeeded to turn his strife-torn poor country living off oil and natural rubber into the prosperous land of national accord and stable economy. The Malaysians squared the circle: their immigrant communities are fully integrated, have equal rights, and still do not endanger the indigenous Malay group. They develop high tech industries, support charities, provide welfare state; there is no discrimination, no poor or needy people in Malaysia. They do not depend on the US, do not provide their land for the US bases, do not invest in the US, and still remain on friendly terms with Washington. Following the Malaysian way, the Kingdom will reduce its vulnerability.

Alas, it would not diminish the Jewish appetite for Arab oil, nor the organised Jewish hostility to ar- Riyadh. Saudi rulers are uncomfortably conscious of the threat, but they misinterpreted its context. They accepted as a real coin, the faked three-dollar bill of "peace-seeking Israel". That is why Prince Abdullah tried to entice Israel with his peace plan. That is why the Kingdom's support of the Palestinian cause is rather symbolic. Saudi rulers have been told by their American advisers that Israel would not push for Saudi destruction if Saudis will behave, that is stay away from the Palestinian problem. Now, the Saudis have to pay heed to unpleasant reality. Israel is not just a small Middle Eastern country anymore, but a forward element of the new aggressive international force, Jewish supremacists. They have too many good reasons to undo Saudi Arabia.

-- This prosperous and well-armed country must be brought down to its knees before Israel will make its most important step, seizure and destruction of the beautiful Umayyad Mosques in Jerusalem.

-- Saudis have too much money, too much oil and too few friends. This combination brought Kuwait down, but the US bombed Iraq to restore the Emir of Kuwait. Washington is not going to repeat this feat when the Saudi oil fields will pass into Israeli hands.

-- The Viagra of Saudi money would invigorate flabby Dow Jones.

There is an additional reason. The Jewish conscience had been poisoned by sweet dreams of revenge for the defeats of times long gone. Mainstream Jewish scholars of 19th and 20th century betrayed their audience, and, instead of describing real Jewish history, created an idealised and distorted picture of wonderful past, old grievances, undeserved wrong-doing and revenge dreams. Their readers swallowed the fabricated stories and grew up as unrestrained nationalists. Modern Jews are victims of nationalist propaganda, misled and disoriented, induced with desire to rectify the mythic wrong.

The Jewish state was established to undo the perceived results of the Roman victory of AD 70, and now a new idea floats in the air, to undo the perceived results of Prophet Muhammad's victory over the Jewish tribes [7] and to bring the peninsula under Jewish rule. Together with the desire to undo the victory of Christianity, this archaic spirit will inevitably cause more turmoil in the world.

This spirit reminded me of Sweeney Todd, the Demon Barber in a late 1970s horror musical comedy. Sweeney Todd 'has served the dark and vengeful god, and trod the path a few did trod', namely turned his customers into savoury pies' stuffing in order to exact revenge on the Judge who wronged him.  
The Saudis should act before it is too late. They should

- re-think their relationship with the Palestinians, and treat them as their outward defence rather than as poor relatives. Without Palestinians, Saudi Arabia would be taken over tomorrow.

- there should be more effort and money spent on public discourse in the US and Europe, as Edward Said constantly reminded the Arabs.

- We should confront the archaic tendency among Jews and promote a different spirit, a spirit of understanding and brotherhood. Though it is not taught in Jewish schools, Prophet Muhammad won his battles not only by sword, but by attracting like-minded Jews to the banner of Islam, as well. Early converts, the Jews for Allah and His Messenger, fought under the green banner of Islam on every battlefield from Yarmuk to Cairo.

There are many good Jews, in Israel and in the US alike, and there is no reason for confrontation between the descendents of Abraham, but the restless spirit of Sweeney Todd should be exorcised.

NOTES:

[1] Briefing Depicted Saudis as Enemies, Ultimatum Urged To Pentagon Board, By Thomas E. Ricks Washington Post Staff Writer Tuesday, August 6, 2002; Page A01

[2] The PowerPoint That Rocked the Pentagon, The LaRouchie defector who's advising the defense establishment on Saudi Arabia. By Jack Shafer and GOING AFTER THE SAUDIS Big Oil joins up with the neocons and a LaRouche 'defector' By Justin Raimondo August 9, 2002  
<<http://www.antiwar.com/justin/justincol.html>>

[3] Debating War Against Iraq By Jonah Goldberg -- Jewish World Review -- July 17, 2002  
<<http://www.jewishworldreview.com/cols/jonah.html>>

[4] April 7, 2002

[5] Anti-Saudi arguments get heard Friday, Aug 9, 2002 Barbara Slaviv, USA Today

[6] Sultan and Shaitan

<<http://www.israelshamir.net/english/sultan.htm>>

[7] Kainuka, Kuraiza and Haibar tribes of Arabia in AD 627

<[info@israelshamir.net](mailto:info@israelshamir.net)> 12 août 2002.

RÉPUGNANTE AMÉRIQUE

*Newsweek* et *Le Monde* confirment avec retard *La Gazette du Golfe*

Le pentagone est-il responsable de crimes de guerre du fait que ses alliés afghans ont tué des talibans qui s'étaient volontairement rendus en novembre 2001 ? interroge *Newsweek* dans son dernier numéro. "Où étaient les forces américaines, demande le magazine, lorsque des centaines de ces prisonniers sont morts, étouffés dans des conteneurs scellés, lors de leur transfèrement de Kunduz vers la prison de Sheberghan ?" La première réponse est bien connue: les Forces spéciales étaient en permanence, par petits groupes, au cœur du dispositif qui a mené à ces drames, en particulier aux côtés du général Rachid Dostom dont les hommes font, dans cette affaire, figure d'accusés.

"Rien ne suggère", écrit toutefois l'hebdomadaire, que les Américains aient été "prévenus, qu'ils aient vu les prisonniers chargés dans les conteneurs ou qu'ils aient eu la possibilité de s'y opposer". Au terme de son enquête, *Newsweek* accuse cependant le Pentagone, non seulement d'avoir ignoré ses demandes répétées d'explications, mais aussi d'avoir menti. En outre, les témoignages qu'il cite et qui recourent ceux déjà recueillis dès décembre par d'autres médias – dont *Le Monde* – montrent que, si les Américains n'étaient au courant de rien, ils devaient bien être les seuls dans ce cas dans la région.

D'abord, les négociations ayant mené à la reddition de milliers de talibans et de leurs alliés à Kunduz – le chiffre de 6 000 a été avancé – se sont déroulées en présence de trois officiers de renseignement américains et d'une douzaine de membres des Forces spéciales. Lesquels devaient bien savoir que la seule grande prison de la région, celle de Sheberghan, n'était prévue que pour 800 détenus. Il fut certes convenu que le gros des prisonniers afghans retourneraient dans leurs villages, de même que la plupart des Pakistanais, alors que le sort des combattants "arabes" et étrangers serait décidé par l'ONU.

Mais les Américains devaient aussi savoir qu'une telle promesse comptait peu face à la "tradition" qui s'était établie dans la région, quand Mazar-e-Charif avait changé trois fois de maîtres en deux ans : celle de tuer les prisonniers en les laissant étouffer dans des conteneurs au soleil, avant de jeter les corps dans le désert de Dasht-e-Leili, à l'ouest de Sheberghan. Selon des rapports de l'ONU, ce fut le sort infligé à 1 250 talibans en 1997, puis à des "centaines" de leurs ennemis, surtout Hazaras, en 1998.

**Vingt-sept camions**

Trois ans plus tard, c'est donc une nouvelle occasion de vengeance qui s'est présentée. D'autant plus que les Américains, qui planifiaient la nouvelle guerre, n'ont guère donné le bon exemple, avec l'épisode de la forteresse de Qala-e-Jangi – quand, aidés des Britanniques, ils ont dirigé l'opération visant à mater la révolte des talibans non afghans qui y avaient été parqués, en refusant ensuite qu'elle fasse l'objet de la moindre enquête. Cette opération

s'était révélée pour le moins disproportionnée, avec ses 86 survivants sur 400 détenus – des survivants d'ailleurs "imprévus", tous les prisonniers ayant été, un moment, donnés pour morts (Le Monde daté des 17 et 18 février).

C'est parce que le massacre de Qala-e-Jangi monopolisait l'attention que les Forces spéciales, disent leurs défenseurs, n'auraient pas remarqué le sort des autres prisonniers – les milliers d'Afghans et de Pakistanais parqués, à quelques kilomètres de là, dans un enclos traversé par une route à l'ouest de Mazar-e Charif, fermée pour l'occasion. Ils y ont été ligotés et mis dans des conteneurs (jusqu'à 200 hommes par compartiment), puis escortés par des soldats du général Dostom jusqu'à la prison de Sheberghan – "où les Américains étaient présents depuis le début", selon un témoin cité par Newsweek. Vingt-sept camions seraient ainsi arrivés à la prison entre le 29 novembre et le 1er décembre, dont l'un au moins ne contenait plus que des morts, selon l'un des chauffeurs.

Interrogé par Le Monde en décembre, Hadji Mohammed, l'un des médecins de la prison, a estimé à "cinq cents peut-être" le nombre des morts par asphyxie dans ces camions. Les prisonniers parlaient, eux, de "près d'un millier", alors que le directeur de la prison, le général Jurabek, avouait seulement "une quarantaine de morts, dans un camion qui s'était renversé". Plus tard, un autre proche du général Dostom devait donner à Newsweek le chiffre de "100 à 120 morts – surtout des blessés qui n'ont pas supporté le voyage", en soulignant que nul n'avait jamais cherché à tuer des détenus, contrairement à ce qu'assurent les survivants.

La vérité git sans doute sous les sables de Dasht-e-Leili, là où Bill Haglund, le spécialiste de médecine légale qui a épaulé les enquêteurs de l'ONU, a trouvé, en janvier, 15 corps dans une tranchée de 3 m de long, dont tout porte à croire qu'ils sont morts en novembre par suffocation. Là, aussi, où des villageois ont dit avoir vu l'arrivée, début décembre, de "quatre ou cinq conteneurs" puis de bulldozers et de soldats de Rachid Dostom qui ont interdit tout accès au site. Le mémorandum confidentiel de l'ONU, que vient de révéler Newsweek, "recommande fortement", de son côté, "de geler toute activité liée à [cette enquête] d'une extrême sensibilité politique, tant qu'une décision n'aura pas été prise sur sa finalité : procès criminel, "commission Vérité" ou autre".

Sophie Shihab  
Le Monde, du 21 août 2002.

## The Death Convoy of Afghanistan

*Witness reports and the probing of a mass grave point to war crimes. Does the United States have any responsibility for the atrocities of its allies? A Newsweek Investigation*

By **Babak Dehghanpisheh, John Barry and Roy Gutman**

Aug. 26 issue -- Trudging over the moonscape of Dasht-e Leili, a desolate expanse of low rolling hills in northern Afghanistan, Bill Haglund spotted clues half-buried in the gray-beige sand. Strings of prayer beads. A woolen skullcap. A few shoes. Those remnants, along with track marks and blade scrapes left by a bulldozer, suggested that Haglund had found what he was looking for. Then he came across a human tibia, three sets of pelvic bones and some ribs.

Mass graves are not always easy to spot, though trained investigators know the signs. "You look for disturbance of the earth, differences in the vegetation, areas that have been machined over," says Haglund, a forensic anthropologist and pioneer in the field of "human-rights archeology." At Dasht-e Leili, a 15-minute drive from the Northern Alliance prison at Sheber-ghan, scavenging animals had brought the evidence to the surface. Some of the gnawed bones were old and bleached, but some were from bodies so recently buried the bones still carried tissue. The area of bulldozer activity -- roughly an acre -- suggested burials on a large scale. A stray surgical glove also caught Haglund's eye. Such gloves are often used by people handling corpses, and could be evidence, Haglund thought, of "a modicum of planning."

Haglund was in Dasht-e Leili on more than a hunch. In January, two investigators from the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights had argued their way into the nearby Sheberghan prison. What they saw shocked them. More than 3,000 Taliban prisoners -- who had surrendered to the victorious Northern Alliance forces at the fall of Konduz in late November -- were crammed, sick and starving, into a facility with room for only 800. The Northern Alliance commander of the prison acknowledged the charnel-house conditions, but pleaded that he had no money. He begged the PHR to send food and supplies, and to ask the United Nations to dig a well so the prisoners could drink unpolluted water.

### Stories of mass graves

But stories of a deeper horror came from the prisoners themselves. However awful their conditions, they were the lucky ones. They were alive. Many hundreds of their comrades, they said, had been killed on the journey to Sheberghan from Konduz by being stuffed into sealed cargo containers and left to asphyxiate. Local aid workers and Afghan officials quietly confirmed that they had heard the same stories. They confirmed, too, persistent reports about the disposal of many of the dead in mass graves at Dasht-e Leili.

That's when Haglund, a veteran of similar investigations in Rwanda, Sri Lanka, the Balkans and other scenes of atrocity, was called in. Standing at what he reckoned from the 'dozer tracks was an edge of the grave site, he pushed a long, hollow probe deep into the compacted sand. Then he sniffed. The acrid smell reeking up the shaft was unmistakable. Haglund and local laborers later dug down; at five feet, they came upon a layer of decomposing corpses, lying pressed together in a row. They dug a trial trench about six yards long, and in that -- short length found 15 corpses. "They were relatively fresh bodies: the flesh was still on the bones," Haglund recalls. "They were scantily clad, which was consistent with reports that [before they died] they had been in a very hot place." Some had

their hands tied. Haglund brought up three of the corpses, and a colleague conducted autopsies in a tent. The victims were all young men, and their bodies showed "no overt trauma" -- no gunshot wounds, no blows from blunt instruments. This, too, Haglund says, is "consistent" with the survivors' stories of death by asphyxiation.

How many are buried at Dasht-e Leili? Haglund won't speculate. "The only thing we know is that it's a very large site," says a U.N. official privy to the investigation, and there was "a high density of bodies in the trial trench." Other sources who have investigated the killings aren't surprised. "I can say with confidence that more than a thousand people died in the containers," says Aziz ur-Rahman Razekh, director of the Afghan Organization of Human Rights. Newsweek's extensive inquiries of prisoners, truckdrivers, Afghan militiamen and local villagers -- including interviews with survivors who licked and chewed each other's skin to stay alive -- suggest also that many hundreds of people died.

The dead of Dasht-e Leili -- and the horrific manner of their killing -- are one of the dirty little secrets of the Afghan war. The episode is more than just another atrocity in a land that has seen many. The killings illustrate the problems America will face if it opts to fight wars by proxy, as the United States did in Afghanistan, using small numbers of U.S. Special Forces calling in air power to support local fighters on the ground. It also raises questions about the responsibility Americans have for the conduct of allies who may have no interest in applying protections of the Geneva Conventions. The benefit in fighting a proxy-style war in Afghanistan was victory on the cheap -- cheap, at any rate, in American blood. The cost, Newsweek's investigation has established, is that American forces were working intimately with "allies" who committed what could well qualify as war crimes.

### **False statements**

Nothing that Newsweek learned suggests that American forces had advance knowledge of the killings, witnessed the prisoners being stuffed into the unventilated trucks or were in a position to prevent that. They were in the area of the prison at the time the containers were delivered, although probably not when they were opened. The small group of Special Forces soldiers were more focused at the time on prison security, and preventing an uprising such as the bloody outbreak that had happened days earlier in the prison fort at Qala Jangi. The soldiers surely heard stories of deaths in the containers, but may have thought them exaggerated. They also may have believed that the dead were war casualties, or wounded prisoners who, among thousands of their comrades, simply didn't survive the rugged journey from the surrender point to the prison. But it's also true that Pentagon spokesmen have obfuscated when faced with questions on the subject. Officials across the administration did not respond to repeated requests by Newsweek for a detailed accounting of U.S. activities in the Konduz, Mazar-e Sharif and Sheberghan areas at the time in question, and Defense Department spokespersons have made statements that are false.

Questions can be raised, as well, about international agencies. How seriously has the United Nations pursued investigations of what happened at Sheberghan? The reports of atrocity come at a time when the international community is desperately trying to bring stability to Afghanistan. Well-meaning officials may be wondering if a full-scale investigation might set off a new round of Afghan slaughter. Would it be worth it? A confidential U.N. memorandum, parts of which were made available to Newsweek, says that the findings of investigations into the Dasht-e Leili graves "are sufficient to justify a fully-fledged criminal investigation." It says that based on "information collected," the site "contains bodies of Taliban POW's who died of suffocation during transfer from Konduz to Sheberghan." A witness quoted in the report puts the death toll at 960. Yet the report also raises urgent questions. "Considering the political sensitivity of this case and related protection concerns, it is strongly recommended that all activities relevant to this case be brought to a halt until a decision is made concerning the final goal of the exercise: criminal trial, truth commission, other, etc."

The militia leader whose forces allegedly carried out the killings is Gen. Abdul Rashid Dostum, one of Afghanistan's most ruthless and effective warlords. Dostum's spokesperson, Faizullah Zaki, told Newsweek that many people did die of suffocation. But he put the total number at "between 100 and 120 people, a few from each container," and said that some of them "were seriously injured and died en route." He suggested that the uprising at Qala Jangi prison, just three days earlier, might have affected their treatment. "If the incident at Qala Jangi hadn't happened, it's possible that the prisoners would have been transferred more peacefully. There would have been less irregularities," he said, adding: "They suffocated. Died, not killed. Nobody killed anybody." Zaki also said that General Dostum was not in the place where the prisoners were loaded into containers. "The technical details of the transfer were left to lower-level commanders," he said, adding that "there was a handful of American soldiers that didn't leave [Dostum's] side" during the period in question.

### **U.S. Involvement**

The close involvement of American soldiers with General Dostum can only make an investigation all the more sensitive. "The issue nobody wants to discuss is the involvement of U.S. forces," says Jennifer Leaning, professor at the Harvard School of Public Health and one of the pair of Physicians for Human Rights investigators who pushed their way into Sheberghan. "U.S. forces were in the area at the time. What did the U.S. know, and when and -- where -- and what did they do about it?"

The Taliban and Qaeda forces at Konduz surrendered in a negotiated deal that took two to three days to hammer out. According to Shams-ul-Haq (Shamuk) Naseri, a mid-level Northern Alliance commander who was present, the talks were held in the presence of three American intelligence officers and a dozen or more Special Forces soldiers. Northern Alliance commanders, including General Dostum, agreed to relatively generous conditions: The Afghan fighters would be allowed to go home to their villages. Most of the Pakistanis could also return home after the Americans picked out suspected Qaeda operatives. Arabs and other foreign fighters would be turned over to the United Nations or some other international organization. According to another Afghan present at the talks, Said

Vasiqullah Sadat, the Taliban representatives insisted that their men surrender to General Dostum, because they figured he was the least likely to seek revenge for past killings. The surrender would formally start on Sunday, Nov. 25 -- to give time for the Taliban leaders to sell the deal to their forces in Konduz.

The day after negotiations ended, roughly 400 hard-core fighters made a break for it anyway, fleeing west. But the vast majority of fighters trapped in Konduz surrendered "like sheep," according to Naseri. "One went and the rest followed." The agreed site for the actual surrender was Yerganak, a desert spot about five miles west of Konduz. Most of the top Taliban and foreign commanders drove out, and their vehicles were promptly confiscated by the Northern Alliance. The rest walked. Four checkpoints had been set up at Yerganak to disarm the fighters and load them onto whatever vehicles were available: pickups, big-wheeled, open-topped Russian Kamaz trucks, even some container trucks. But the numbers streaming out of Konduz overwhelmed the facilities, and most of those surrendering waited three or four days in the desert.

### **Credible muscle**

Dostum and another Northern Alliance commander, Atta Mohammed, were at Yerganak to monitor the surrender. So were dozens of American Special Forces troops, according to U.S. and Afghan participants. Some of the Special Forces teams were zipping around the area on four-wheeler motorcycles; Dostum was filmed at the time enjoying a ride on the back of one. The Americans provided much of the food and water given to the waiting masses. But they were there primarily to provide credible muscle, a message that was reinforced by the frequent appearance of U.S. bombers streaking overhead.

At about this time, soldiers from Dostum's militia arrived at a container depot on the outskirts of Mazar-e Sharif, about 100 miles to the west, and recruited a driver we'll call Mohammed, a bearded man in his mid-40s. (Newsweek has changed the names of several witnesses in this report to lessen the chance of reprisals.) Mohammed was told that his container truck was needed to ship captive Taliban fighters to Sheberghan prison. He was to pick them up that evening at the old fort in Qala Zeini, which lies on the road between Mazar-e Sharif and Sheberghan. The road actually passes through the fort: one gate in, one gate out.

Mohammed arrived at Qala Zeini about 7 that evening. Several other container trucks were already waiting inside the fort. So were about 150 soldiers, all Afghans. At about 9, the prisoners -- a mix of Afghans, Pakistanis, Arabs and Chechens -- arrived from Yerganak in open trucks and pickups. Soldiers ordered the prisoners down from the trucks and stripped them of their turbans, caps and vests. Then they herded the captives into the containers, as many as 200 to a truck. The fighters realized they were not going home, as promised. "F--k Shamuk Naseri," one driver recalls a prisoner's screaming. "He betrayed us." The doors of the container trucks were locked.

The prisoners probably realized their fate. **"Death by container" has been a cheap means of mass murder** used by both the Taliban and the Northern Alliance for at least five years. Abandoned freight containers -- international standard size, 40 feet by 8 feet by 8 feet -- litter the roads of Afghanistan, rusting reminders of the many tons of aid that have poured into the country over the past 20 years. It was reputedly a savage Uzbek general named Malik Pahlawan who first saw the container's potential as a killing machine in 1997. After a Taliban assault on Mazar-e Sharif had been repulsed, Pahlawan -- according to a subsequent U.N. report -- killed some 1,250 Taliban by leaving them in containers in the desert sun. When the containers were opened, it was found the inmates had been grilled black. When the Taliban took Mazar-e Sharif in 1998, they in turn killed several hundred enemies in the same fashion.

### **'We're dying. give us water!'**

In the case of the Taliban prisoners from Konduz, the November temperatures weren't hot enough to blacken them. But after a few hours, they started beating on the sides of their overstuffed cells. "We're dying. Give us water!" some shouted. "We are human, not animals." Mohammed used a hammer and spike to bang holes in his container, until one of Dostum's soldiers heard the banging and angrily demanded to know what he was doing. Mohammed said that he was sealing holes to prevent the prisoners' escape.

After the soldier had gone, one of the prisoners in the container stuck his face close to one of the holes. "Are you a Muslim?" he asked. "Yes," Mohammed replied. "Look at my tongue," said the prisoner, and stuck it out. It was cracked from dehydration. Mohammed filled a two-liter Fanta bottle with water and passed it in through the hole. He also pushed in 10 pieces of bread, all he had. "Thank Allah you are a Muslim," the prisoner said.

Some of the other drivers Newsweek has traced say they, too, tried to help. One described how he also poked holes in his container and tried to bring water to the prisoners. But Dostum's soldiers spotted him, and five of them gave him a beating with their rifle butts. Mohammed saw the beating and spent the rest of the night inside his locked cab. Someone else saw a similar scene at Qala Zeini, and tried to send a warning. In December, Abdullah was in the settlement of Langar Khaneh, which is close to the fort of Qala Zeini. When the gates of Qala Zeini were closed for a day and a half, and traffic diverted through Langar Khaneh, Abdullah's curiosity was aroused. He made his way over to the fort and peered inside. As he watched, four container trucks were driven into the fort. Not long after, prisoners arrived in pickups and Kamaz trucks, he says. Soldiers in the fort -- Dostum's men, Abdullah says -- proceeded to tie up the prisoners with their own turbans.

Those who didn't move fast enough or who tried to resist were beaten. Most prisoners, says Abdullah, were bound around their upper arms and blindfolded, but some were hogtied. Unruly prisoners were grabbed by hand and foot and swung into the containers on their bellies. When the containers were full, they were locked. Abdullah was in no doubt what he was witnessing. "The only purpose was to kill the prisoners," he says.

### Missing containers

Wondering whom he could alert to these preparations, Abdullah recalled an acquaintance who was working with the American forces based in Mazar. He was Said Vasiqullah Sadat, who was at the surrender negotiations and served as a translator for the Americans. Abdullah says that he told Vasiqullah what was happening, and he says Vasiqullah responded: "We will act." The next day, Abdullah said, a group of Americans arrived at Qala Zeini in two dust-colored pickups. But the containers were gone, and -- says Abdullah -- the Americans turned around and drove back to Mazar.

Vasiqullah is cautious when asked about this version of events. He says that on the fourth day of the surrender at Yerganak -- Nov. 28 -- he headed back to Mazar with several cars full of American soldiers. Some of these were billeting in Atta Mohammed's headquarters in Mazar. Vasiqullah confirms that he "soon" heard about prisoners' being transferred into containers at Qala Zeini. But he will not confirm that he heard this from the witness from Langar Khaneh. Nor will he confirm that he passed the news on to the Americans he was working with. "The Americans were distracted at this time," he says. The uprising at the Qala Jangi prison in Mazar-e Sharif -- in which CIA operative Mike Spann was killed and the American John Walker Lindh was discovered -- had occurred on Nov. 25. "Many of them were taking care of arrangements for shipping Mike Spann's body out of Mazar airport." But, says Vasiqullah, the containers could not have remained a secret for long. "I think the Americans found out soon," he says. "They were at Sheberghan prison from the beginning."

At 11 a.m. on Nov. 29, according to the driver Mohammed, a convoy of 13 container trucks set out from Qala Zeini. Each driver had soldiers in the cab beside him. A driver we'll call Ghassan, who had picked up his load of human cargo at a concrete bridge 31 miles west of Mazar-e Sharif, was also on the move around this time. He recalls that some in his container were alive, and beating on the sides. "They just want water ... Keep driving," he was ordered. By the time the trucks arrived at Sheberghan prison, many were ominously quiet. Mohammed was the driver of the second truck in line, but he got down from his cab and walked into the prison courtyard as the doors of the lead truck were opened. Of the 200 or so who had been loaded into the sealed container not quite 24 hours before, none had survived. "They opened the doors and the dead bodies spilled out like fish," says Mohammed. "All their clothes were ripped and wet."

Mohammed says all 176 prisoners inside his truck survived because he had disobeyed orders and punched holes in the sides. (His account is supported by other witnesses.) He and others also say that no Americans were present when the trucks in his convoy were opened.

### \$750 for an air hole

The following day, Nov. 30, a fresh convoy of seven trucks arrived at Sheberghan. The day after, Dec. 1, brought a third convoy -- also seven trucks. Newsweek has traced drivers from both later convoys. Their recollections are that most of those containers contained many dead bodies. But not all. The inmates of one truck in those convoys passed about 45,000 Pakistani rupees (about \$750) to the driver through a crack in the floor as a bribe to cut air holes and spray in water through a hose. All 150 inmates survived. In at least one container, the prisoners themselves managed to rip holes in the wooden floor, and all of them survived.

Abdul, a 28-year-old pashtun, is one who lived. Newsweek interviewed him in Sheberghan prison. He recalls that his container was packed to the breaking point. After nearly 24 hours without water, Abdul says, the prisoners were so desperate with thirst that they began licking the sweat off each other's bodies. Some prisoners began to lose their reason and started biting those around them. Abdul's was one of the containers in the third convoy to Sheberghan: by the time they reached the prison, he says, only 20 to 30 in his container were alive.

Other survivors now in Sheberghan tell almost identical stories. One 20-year-old was shoved into a fully packed container. After about eight hours, he thinks, the prisoners began kicking the sides of the container and shouting for air and water. None came. Some of the prisoners began using their turbans to soak and drink the sweat off each other's bodies. After a few more hours many of the prisoners started going crazy and bit each other's fingertips, arms and legs. Anything to get moisture. By the time they reached Sheberghan, the young man says, only about 40 in his container were still alive.

### Packed 'like cattle'

For some, the agony in the containers was intensified because they were tied up. This appears to have been a fate reserved for Pakistani -- and perhaps other non-Afghan -- prisoners. Mahmood, 20, says he surrendered at Konduz along with 1,500 other Pakistanis. All were bound hand and foot either with their own turbans or with strips ripped from their clothing, he says. Then they were packed in container trucks "like cattle," he says. He reckons that about 100 people died in his container.

The drivers remain tormented by what they took part in. "Why weren't there any United Nations people there to see the dead bodies?" asks one. "Why wasn't anything being done?" Another driver shook uncontrollably as he spoke with Newsweek.

The convoys of the dead and dying, along with many truckloads of living prisoners, seem to have arrived at Sheberghan for perhaps 10 days. Prying eyes were kept away. The Red Cross, learning of the arrivals of prisoners from Konduz, applied on Nov. 29 to get into Sheberghan. Dostum's commander at the prison promised that access would be granted within 24 hours. In fact, it was not until Dec. 10 that the Red Cross got into the prison. By then, most of the bodies had probably been buried. (Dostum's spokesman denies that access was blocked by prison officials.)

There were witnesses near the burial site who noticed unusual activity. The hamlet of Lab-e Jar is about half a mile east of the grave site. On several nights in the first half of December, Dostum's soldiers forbade the villagers to leave

their homes. Most of the villagers are now too frightened to talk. "Bodies have been buried there for years," says one. "You know what happened. I know what happened. But nothing is going to change if we talk about it." Still, Newsweek found some who were willing to say what they saw. One man, 49, claims that around the first week in December, Dostum's soldiers blocked the dirt road running past Dasht-e Leili for several days. "No cars, no donkey carts, not even pedestrians were allowed to go down the road," he says. He personally saw four or five container trucks at the burial site, he says. When U.N. investigators talked with the people of Lab-e Jar in May, two residents told of seeing bulldozers at work on the site around the middle of December.

### Questioning survivors

A widening circle of organizations and individuals know, in broad terms, what happened after the fall of Konduz. The Red Cross has questioned survivors and compiled a report about the events; top officials at the Red Cross's Geneva headquarters have met to discuss, inconclusively, what to do next. A pair of U.N. investigators were present when Haglund dug his trial trench across the Dasht-e Leili grave site. After questioning local witnesses, they, too, compiled a report. Two U.N. entities -- the Assistance Mission to Afghanistan and the U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights -- have also been mulling what to do. "You have to understand, you're dealing with a potentially explosive issue here," says a Red Cross official in Afghanistan, explaining why he was hesitant to discuss the matter. Until now, anyway, the American military has not conducted a full-fledged investigation, nor has it been asked to participate in one by other agencies. U.N. sources say that their inquiries have not implicated U.S. forces. **Publicly, the Pentagon has kept its distance.** At the end of January, Department of Defense officials were told (by the PHR) of the discovery of what appeared to be a recent mass grave. In late February, officials at the Pentagon and the State Department were given confidential copies of the first formal report compiled by Haglund and his colleagues at the PHR. Consistently, however, the Pentagon has responded that Central Command investigated and found that U.S. troops know nothing of any killings -- that the Pentagon indeed has no reason to believe there were killings. In June, DOD spokesman Lt. Col. Dave Lapan said that Central Command had questioned individually the forces in Afghanistan "several months ago": "Central Command looked into it and found no evidence of participation or knowledge or presence. Our guys weren't there, didn't watch and didn't know about it -- if indeed anything like that happened." A DOD statement a week later was emphatic: "No US troops were present anywhere near that site in November. US troops were present in the December/January timeframe when the mass graves were discovered."

**But is that entirely true?** The American unit most directly involved was the 595 A-team, part of the Fifth Special Forces Group based at Fort Campbell, Ky. The leader of the dozen-man 595 was Capt. Mark D. Nutsch. Throughout the Afghanistan operation, the Pentagon insisted that reporters identify Special Forces personnel **by their first names only**, claiming this was necessary to protect their families back home from possible terrorist reprisals. But the Army waived that concern in April, when—at the instigation of his Army superiors -- the Kansas state Legislature passed a resolution of both houses honoring Captain Nutsch, a 33-year-old native of Kansas. Nutsch's wife, Amy, and their baby daughter, Kaija, born while Nutsch was in Afghanistan, were present at the very public ceremony. Contacted recently by Newsweek about the container deaths, Nutsch said **he did not want to discuss** them.

### 595's assignment

The Special Forces A-teams were the shock troops of the U.S. assault on the Taliban. They were the crucial link between the Northern Alliance militia on the ground and U.S. firepower in the air. Attached to each A-team in the Afghan campaign was at least one Air Force Special Operations soldier called a combat air controller. It was the high-precision airstrikes called in by those CACs that destroyed the Taliban forces. Each A-team was assigned to a specific local commander, and 595's assignment was to work with General Dostum.

595's role in the Afghan conflict made them legends to the wider public. Heloed into Afghanistan, like the rest of the teams, in a Special Forces Chinook, they met up with Dostum on Oct. 19 at his headquarters at Darra-e Suf in the mountain fastnesses south of Mazar-e Sharif. It was the 595 unit that famously carried out its missions on horseback; it was snippets from Nutsch's dispatches that a euphoric Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld took to reading at his press briefings. Invigorated -- by American air power -- and **lubricated by the money distributed lavishly to wavering locals by the CIA paramilitaries** -- Dostum and his fellow Northern Alliance commanders swept north out of the mountains. The climax of the brief campaign began on Nov. 4, when the Northern Alliance launched a three-pronged assault on the major city in the north, Mazar-e Sharif, orchestrated and micromanaged by an assembly of Special Forces, including two A-teams.

595 members had been with Dostum at the surrender negotiations, and then again at the actual surrender at Yerganak. As a consequence they were not with their CIA colleagues, Mike Spann and Dave Tyson, when that pair went to Qala Jangi prison to question the fresh batch of Qaeda and Taliban hard-liners who had arrived there after the abortive breakout from Konduz. The 595 commander, Nutsch, felt bitter about Spann's death. "This was a guy we considered part of our unit," he told Robert Young Pelton, a reporter working for CNN and National Geographic Adventure. "If we had been there, Mike's death would not have happened."

Over the three days that the first convoys of dead were arriving at Sheberghan, Special Forces troops were in the area. There was also a separate, four-man U.S. intelligence team, in combat gear, at the prison doing first selections of Qaeda suspects for further questioning. According to Pelton, a swashbuckling freelancer who specializes in writing about dangerous places, Special Forces soldiers were mainly concerned about security at the prison. At the same time the containers of dead were arriving, many truckloads of living prisoners were also streaming in: On the evening of Dec. 1, for instance, a container arrived bearing the 86 survivors from Qala Jangi. One of them was John Walker Lindh. It was the 595 team's medic, Bill, who first treated Lindh. Pelton believed at the time, and still does, that the dead from container trucks numbered "40-some odd" and were mostly people who died of wounds suffered

in the siege of Konduz. "When I was with 595, we went over this time and again," says Pelton. "What happened is that these people basically died because they were wounded." A senior Defense Department official, speaking to Newsweek on background, said the Pentagon asked the commander of the Fifth Special Forces Group to look into the reports of container deaths. That commander, Col. John Mulholland, reported back that the A-team knew that numbers, perhaps even large numbers, of Taliban prisoners had died on the journey to Sheberghan. But the Special Forces believed that these deaths had occurred from wounds or disease. Newsweek put this account to Colonel Mulholland through the public-affairs office of the Special Operations Command, but got **no response** by the time Newsweek went to press.

### Agonizing dilemma

For the Red Cross, the killings at Sheberghan represented an agonizing dilemma. The organization's code of operating out of the public eye -- a trade-off that allows them access to places no one else is allowed to go, and enables them to provide aid to people in the most difficult circumstances -- inhibited its officials from going public with what they heard. "We approached the ICRC more than two months ago to look into this, and they showed no interest," says Aziz ur Rahman Razekh of the Afghan Organization of Human Rights. "We got a frosty reception." In fact, the Red Cross was concerned from the start about the fate of prisoners turning up at Sheberghan. The Taliban's surrender of the northern towns was an extended process; and the first dribble of prisoners from Konduz -- captured on its outskirts -- began to arrive at Sheberghan on Nov. 22-23. The ICRC office in Mazar-e Sharif learned of these arrivals; and on Nov. 29, a small team sought entry to Sheberghan prison. They were turned away. Asked about this now, an ICRC official says: "The authorities did not want us there." (Dostum's spokesman denies that prison officials refused them access.)

Not until Dec. 10 did the Red Cross manage to talk their way into Sheberghan to interview the new prisoners. They swiftly heard about the horrors of the containers. When Newsweek first approached a Red Cross official to ask about the treatment of prisoners from Konduz, his immediate response was: "**I can't talk about containers.**" Told of the stories that prisoners in Sheberghan had already given to Newsweek, he responded in some anguish: "If you're hearing stories about containers now, what do you think we were hearing about then?"

Apparently caught between outrage and its own code of secrecy, the Red Cross may have sought to stir attention to Sheberghan indirectly. In mid-January John Heffernan and Jennifer Leaning of the PHR met by chance in Kabul with two Red Cross officials -- one a senior official based in ICRC headquarters in Geneva. The Geneva official told them that the Red Cross had, they recall her saying, "grave concerns" about the treatment of prisoners by U.S. forces and their allies; and she urged them that this topic was "worth exploring." That was why the PHR pair went up to Sheberghan. At the start of May, the PHR -- frustrated by a lack of response in either Kabul or Washington to their private briefings on Haglund's discoveries at Dasht-e Leili -- issued a report describing his findings. The Red Cross chimed in, producing for reporters -- this was at the Red Cross Kandahar office -- a survivor from one of the containers: Sardar Mohammed, 23, from Kandahar. Mohammed reckoned, he said, that they had been packed 150 to a container. And he claimed that he and his fellow survivors had tallied up more 1,000 who had not survived the ordeal.

It may not be easy for Americans to summon much sympathy for Taliban or Qaeda prisoners. But the rules of war cannot be applied selectively. There is no real moral justification for the pain and destruction of combat if it is not to defend the rule of law. The line is tough to hold even in a conventional conflict. In a proxy war, it's much more difficult. The dead at Dasht-e Leili are proof of that.

With Donatella Lorch in Washington, Karen Breslau in San Francisco and Stryker McGuire in London  
*Newsweek*, 26 août 2002.

<http://www.msnbc.com/news/795153.asp?cp1=1#BODY>

PROGRAM FAIT PAR LES JUIFS

## The Rulers of Hebron

Ever since the occupation of the territories began, the settlers of Hebron have been noteworthy for their militancy, their racist hatred against Palestinian residents of the city and the violent contempt that they and their children demonstrate toward the rule of law and every person in uniform who acts in its name. But those in uniform, and especially the men in blue, have seemed throughout these years to be at a loss in the face of these settlers' determination to make their neighbors' lives unbearable, while trampling on every law and desecrating every Jewish and human value. The acts of these boors have blackened, and continue to blacken, Israel's name. And these serial rioters' stated reliance on the tradition of the patriarch Abraham, a figure described as having "a kindly eye and a humble spirit," is nothing but a gross distortion.

The Civil Administration recently drafted a report that documents some of the acts of the Hebron settlers (*Ha'aretz*, August 11). This document, which was submitted to the prime minister and the defense minister, notes in detail how this unique Jewish settlement rears "shock troops" of boys and girls, steeped in hatred and arrogance, who torment the Palestinians and oppress them in various ways. The graduates of these operations, the young couples, serve as reserves for breaking into Palestinian houses adjacent to the Jewish neighborhoods in order to evict their occupants and annex these houses to the Jewish settlement. "No one dares to deal with them," one security official confessed to a *Ha'aretz* reporter. The settlers' brutal vandalism reached its disgraceful peak two weeks ago, during the funeral of soldier Elazar Leibowitz, a Hebron resident who was murdered in a shooting attack on a road outside the city.

Dozens of residents of the settlement and their guests from outside rioted, shot at Palestinian houses, killed a Palestinian girl and wounded others, beat up passersby and destroyed property. The rioters also faced off with the police, who failed in their efforts to contain or restrain the violent rampage. Colonel (res.) Moshe Givati, an adviser to the public security minister, termed the settlers' assault a "pogrom" - a loaded word that Jews do not lightly apply to the acts of other Jews.

It is hard to understand the behavior of the police -- their lack of preparation before the rioting and their helplessness during it. These same police and Border Police troops acted forcefully in Bethlehem last Shabbat against peace activists who had come there to demonstrate, reminding everyone of their ability to do so - when they so choose. The settlers of Hebron, like the residents of every other settlement in the West Bank and Gaza and of many towns and cities within Israel, have suffered painful losses at the hands of Palestinian terrorists. Their daily lives in the environment they have chosen to inhabit are indeed filled with constant pressure and danger. But this in no way justifies, or even mitigates, the severity of their behavior toward the largely peaceful Palestinian population that surrounds them. And there is certainly nothing in this fact to excuse the ongoing failure of the Israel Police and the other security services to enforce the law rigorously.

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## LA GUERRE DES MOTS

### La presse trouducutée par les espions israéliens

#### L'infiltration israélienne en Afrique et la rencontre de deux racismes

par Marie Debs

Au début des années 90, à la chute du régime de l'Apartheid, le monde a découvert avec étonnement l'importance des liens tissés entre Israël et l'Afrique du Sud raciste sur tous les plans et à tous les niveaux. Une partie de l'opinion mondiale, qui, depuis 1980, avait refusé de croire les informations fournies et les articles publiés par certains journaux, a commencé à se poser la question sur la réalité de la présence israélienne dans le continent noir, y compris dans certains pays du Maghreb arabe.

Il est vrai qu'un grand nombre de livres et de rapports avait déjà été publié sur cette question; mais l'impact que l'on s'attendait d'une telle publication n'avait jamais dépassé les cercles (étroits) d'une certaine catégorie d'intellectuels de gauche, vu que la plupart de ces livres et de ces rapports portaient des signatures arabes, palestiniennes en particulier, et parce que les différents gouvernements qui s'étaient succédés en Israël depuis le début des années 50 avaient pratiqué une certaine politique de camouflage basée sur trois axes bien séparés.

#### Les axes de la politique israélienne

Ces axes, qui avaient reçu l'aval des Etats-Unis et de leur théoricien de la realpolitik, Henry Kissinger, étaient les suivants :

1/ La lutte contre les idées de libération qui ont prévalu dans certaines régions africaines, notamment l'Angola et les ex-colonies portugaises, à partir de l'entraînement de mercenaires, mais aussi de campagnes de propagande où l'anticommunisme jouait le rôle de promoteur « légal ».

2/ Des relations très étendues avec le régime de Pretoria basées sur les liens historiques tissés depuis 1902 par Theodor Herzl avec Cecil Rhodes [1] et poursuivis, à partir des années 20, par Chaïm Weizmann avec le général Jan Smuts.

3/ Une propagande à outrance parmi les peuples d'Afrique nouvellement libérés basée sur une association entre ces peuples et leur lutte contre le colonialisme britannique et les affres de l'antisémitisme qu'Israël « subissait » de la part des peuples arabes (peuples sémites).

Ces axes avaient pour objectif de développer la présence politique, économique et militaire d'Israël en Afrique et, à travers elle, le rôle des Etats-Unis. Et pour mener à bien la mission qui leur était assignée par les Américains (et, aussi, par leurs intérêts propres), les différents gouvernements israéliens ont eu recours, dans la majeure partie des cas, non à une politique à visage découvert, mais à l'infiltration à partir d'organismes existants (la centrale syndicale : Histadrout) ou créés pour l'occasion.

#### Les chevaux de Troie

Un rapport publié en août 1985 par le Centre des études palestiniennes recensait -- à part la centrale syndicale déjà nommée -- 12 organismes qui avaient pour but d'étendre l'influence d'Israël dans les pays du continent africain [2].

Ces organismes sont: L'Organisation sioniste, l'Agence juive, le Congrès juif mondial, le Parti du travail israélien (en tant que membre de l'Internationale socialiste), l'Institut afro-asiatique (créé en 1960 et dans lequel ont étudié une vingtaine de milliers d'Africains dont certains atteignirent des postes gouvernementaux), le Centre des études ouvrières et corporatives (créé en 1963 et dont l'objectif était complémentaire à celui de l'Institut afro-asiatique), le Service de coopération internationale, Machav (qui coordonnait les actions des différents ministères et organismes israéliens s'occupant des relations avec l'Afrique), l'Amicale des Anciens (cadres) africains ayant fait leurs études en Israël, l'Institut Weizmann pour les sciences, l'organisation féminine Hadassa dont le siège était New-York et, enfin, l'Institut des études africaines de Haïfa.

### Les intérêts militaires

Parlons, d'abord, des intérêts militaires d'Israël en Afrique et du commerce des armes qu'il pratiqua (et pratique toujours) avec nombre de régimes africains, dont l'Ouganda, le Zaïre et, bien entendu, le régime de Pretoria avant sa chute, puisque les rumeurs sur une poursuite de la collaboration avec le nouveau régime ne sont pas confirmées. Et si nous n'avons pas pu obtenir des données très récentes sur ce commerce, les chiffres qui datent depuis quelques années sont très révélateurs à ce propos.

Disons tout de suite que ce commerce se caractérise par les immenses intérêts qu'il gère et l'importance stratégique qui lui est inhérente, puisque, sous un nom ou un autre, Israël (et les Etats-Unis derrière lui) a toujours des milliers d'experts militaires disséminés un peu partout sur le continent africain, encadrant des armées répressives et, surtout, constituant des fers de lances prêts à toute éventualité. De plus, certains rapports sur le commerce d'armes israéliennes avaient, au début des années 90, noté le chiffre de 800.000 dollars par an pour les seuls échanges avec Pretoria, tandis que d'autres parlaient de la somme de deux milliards annuellement pour l'ensemble des pays africains. Sans oublier que ces échanges ont permis aux gouvernements israéliens d'obtenir l'uranium nécessaire à la fabrication des bombes atomiques de type Hiroshima et d'autres et, aussi, un espace d'expérimentation des armes nucléaires dans le désert de Kalahari.

Ce commerce d'armes avec le régime raciste de la minorité blanche en Afrique du Sud s'était fait en tout quiétude et sans que Washington y trouve à redire, malgré les sanctions que le Congrès américain avait décrétées en 1986 et qui prévoyaient de couper l'aide militaire aux alliés des Etats-Unis qui avaient des relations avec Pretoria [3].

Il faut dire que Henry Kissinger a joué, là aussi, un rôle très important pour fermer les yeux des congressmen, comme il avait joué un rôle primordial dans la facilitation de tous les accords militaires secrets établis entre Tel-Aviv et les gouvernements africains dans le but d'asseoir les régimes répressifs ou de déstabiliser des régimes démocratiques.

### Les intérêts économiques

Si nous avons mis l'accent sur ce côté militaire, c'est pour montrer les liens qui ont uni, pour un temps, **deux racismes dangereux** pour les peuples africains et, surtout, pour attirer l'attention sur le grand fossé qui sépare en fait la propagande israélienne et les activités subversives qu'il a menées dans nombre de pays, en appui aux nombreuses dictatures et contre les aspirations des populations, que ce soit dans l'exemple le plus flagrant de l'union au régime de l'apartheid ou, encore, dans les complots ourdis en Angola ou, enfin, dans l'infiltration israélienne dans des pays tels le Nigeria, le Zaïre, le Togo ou le Liberia, pour ne nommer que les quatre pays qui constituent, après l'Afrique du Sud, d'importantes bases d'influence économique israélienne en Afrique noire.

Donc, les intérêts militaires étaient doublés d'intérêts financiers et économiques. En effet, le chiffre d'affaires annuel produit par la vente des armes reste important malgré la chute du régime de l'apartheid; à cela, nous devrions ajouter les exportations israéliennes qui s'élèvent, elles aussi, à quelques milliards de dollars par an: produits industriels divers, machines agricoles, fertilisants, engrais, etc.

Mais Israël ne se contente pas de ces exportations, ni de la présence de ses grandes sociétés (Solel Bonet, Koor Industries, Meïr Brothers, Agridno), depuis le début des années 70, dans plus de vingt Etats africains où elles gèrent quelques centaines de projets dans les domaines du bâtiment, de l'extraction et du commerce du diamant et des métaux précieux (l'or zairois, surtout). Les milieux industriels israéliens se sont infiltrés dans l'économie africaine à travers des investissements directs et des prêts consentis par la « Banque Leumi » et la « Japhet Bank ».

Aides militaires diverses, appui à l'apartheid et à certaines dictatures, ventes d'armes, mainmise sur une partie des richesses africaines, infiltration financière : tels sont les différents visages de la présence israélienne en Afrique.

#### NOTES :

[1] Cf. la lettre adressée par Herzl à Rhodes et dans laquelle il lui demande son aide en ces termes: «Il y a des rêveurs dont les visions s'étendent à travers de longues périodes, mais il leur manque la puissance pratique ; puis, il y a des esprits pratiques à qui il manque l'imagination politique fertile. Vous, Mr. Rhodes, vous êtes un politique visionnaire ou un rêveur international... Vous en avez donné des preuves; voilà pourquoi je vous demande d'apposer votre sceau sur le plan sioniste et de proclamer devant les personnes qui ne jurent que par vous: Je, Rhodes, déclare avoir examiné ce plan et je l'ai trouvé correct et pratique. C'est un plan qui recèle de la civilisation; il est parfait (...) pour le progrès de l'humanité et très utile à l'Angleterre et à la Grande-Bretagne».

[2] *La Présence israélienne en Afrique durant trois décennies*, publications du Centre des études palestiniennes, rapport à diffusion restreinte No 30, daté du 20/ 8/ 1985, pages 5-7.

[3] «The comprehensive anti apartheid act», section 508.

D'aucuns prétendent que les Etats-Unis n'avaient pas eu connaissance de ces accords militaires «secrets»; cependant, John Vorster, premier ministre de Pretoria, en visite à Tel-Aviv en 1976, avait signé des accords dans lesquels il est stipulé que «l'Afrique du Sud fournissait à Israël des matières premières et une aide financière, en échange de quoi elle obtiendra des armes israéliennes ou la technologie pour fabriquer ces armes sous licence». Dix ans plus tard, en 1986, Modechai Vanunu, le chercheur israélien en matière nucléaire, avait révélé que les scientifiques sud-africains visitaient régulièrement Israël où ils travaillaient dans un centre secret implanté dans le désert du Negev.

(27 mars 2002)

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BUSH D'OMBRE

## Le nigaud de service

par Israël Shamir

"Il faudrait décerner au président Bush le titre de Sioniste émérite", grinça HaNegbi, brute devenue ministre, lorsque les paroles du président américain eurent fini de résonner dans la chaleur moyen-orientale de cette fin juin. "Non. Mieux que ça : il faudrait le coopter au comité directeur du Likoud", riposta le leader d'opposition Yossi Sarid. Le dirigeant travailliste israélien Shimon Pérès semblait encore plus idiot que jamais auparavant, Bush lui ayant chouravé son hochet préféré; la "menace d'une intervention américaine". Pérès et Sarid n'ont jamais pris la défense des droits humains des Palestiniens, poussés par la sympathie ou la commune humanité, non. Ils ont toujours préféré tromper leurs partisans au sein d'un électorat israélien au nationalisme notoire: "Nous nous comporterions volontiers vis-à-vis des Palestiniens et de leurs territoires aussi brutalement que le Likoud (la droite), mais nous tenons à nos relations spéciales avec les Etats-Unis. Les Américains ne le permettraient pas; c'est pourquoi nous sommes contraints à nous comporter en êtres humains". Désormais, leur interprétation tirée par les cheveux est par terre. Les Américains s'en moquent. Ils ne prennent ombrage d'absolument rien du tout et Israël peut poursuivre sa glissade inexorable vers le cauchemar fasciste.

Avec un sourire forcé, je parcours des e-mails et des articles de l'année dernière, datant de l'époque où Bush Junior venait d'être élu président. Nombreux étaient les pontes de droite à exprimer l'opinion que les Juifs avaient perdu, avec son élection, leur ascendant sur la politique américaine. "Des Juifs au cabinet de Bush ? Hou-hou, faites-moi peur !" se lamentait Phillip Weiss, de *l'Observer*. Justin Raimondo, du site *Antiwar.com*, était aux anges devant ce qui avait tout l'air d'être un revers pour les juifs. Mais, quelques mois après, seulement, ils allaient être fixés: la suprématie anglo-saxonne reconquise aux Etats-Unis n'était qu'un mirage. En procurant judicieusement de l'argent à la fois aux Républicains et aux Démocrates, à pratiquement tous les candidats, qu'ils soient de droite ou de gauche, les dirigeants juifs sont capables d'influencer le choix des électeurs en faveur des candidats qui ont leur préférence. Sans doute ne peuvent-ils pas faire nommer telle personne en particulier à tel ou tel poste, mais ils peuvent jouer un rôle dans la première tour, à partir duquel le choix final, quel qu'il soit, importe assez peu. Ils savent ce qu'ils veulent: ils préfèrent les nigauds de service, des gens à l'intelligence, à la compétence et à la volonté limitées, d'une moralité douteuse, qu'ils s'appellent Bush ou Gore, peu leur importe.

"Choisir un gouvernant faible", telle est la règle du jeu pour la prise de contrôle réussie d'un pays par une minorité ethnique ou religieuse. Règle à appliquer dès lors que la population du dit pays n'est pas encore prête à accepter ses vrais gouvernants. Dans *Babylon - 5* et d'autres films de science-fiction, les extraterrestres préfèrent un Terrien mollasson comme faire-valoir. Ils ont appris ça dans l'histoire. Dans la seconde moitié du premier millénaire, un immense Etat eurasiatique, la Khazarie, fit l'objet d'une prise de contrôle de ce genre.

Les Khazars indigènes étaient gouvernés et protégés par des nobles guerriers, Turcs, avec à leur tête le Khan, c'est-à-dire le roi. Durant les sixième, septième et huitième siècles, ils accueillirent quelques vagues d'immigrants juifs, venus tout d'abord de la Perse sassanide puis, plus tard, de l'Irak abbasside et de l'Empire byzantin. Les khans turcs, bienveillants et tolérants, croyaient acquérir, en les recevant, des sujets utiles, intelligents et diligents, mais très vite, ces nouveaux arrivants prirent le contrôle de la Khazarie.

Pour un temps, ils conservèrent la façade du règne de l'aristocratie khazare traditionnelle, en plaçant sur le trône des Khans de plus en plus faibles. En 803, le Juif Obadiah devint le véritable maître de la Khazarie, tandis que le Khan "Goy" continuait à être montré au peuple, une fois par an, en gage de légitimité du pouvoir d'Obadiah. Finalement, le dernier Khan gentil fut déchu, et la fiction du pouvoir khazar prit fin, tandis qu'un Beg juif prenait ouvertement les rênes du pouvoir en Khazarie.

On avance souvent que les dirigeants juifs forcèrent les Khazars à se convertir en masse au judaïsme. Le romancier juif Arthur Koestler pensait que les juifs modernes étaient les descendants de ces Khazars convertis au judaïsme [1]. Mais deux scientifiques russes remarquables, l'archéologue Artamonov et l'historien Leon Gumilev [2], parvinrent après de longues recherches à la conclusion que les Khazars ordinaires n'ont pas été convertis au judaïsme. Les juifs constituaient la classe dirigeante en Khazarie et, d'après Gumilev, ils ne partageaient pas les postes à la Cour ou les responsabilités importantes avec des "étrangers" (non-juifs). Les Khazars devinrent ainsi les sujets d'un pouvoir ethniquement et religieusement allogène. Ils devaient payer des impôts pour entretenir l'armée et la police, et aussi pour financer une politique étrangère des plus aventureuses. Ils finirent par perdre complètement leur pays.

Les Juifs régnaient se sont "éclatés", mais durant fort peu de temps: un siècle après leur prise de contrôle totale, l'Empire khazar achevait de se désintégrer. Des montages de ce genre ne durent pas, car ils détruisent la base même du pouvoir sur lequel ils sont édifiés. Les Khazars s'en moquaient: ils n'avaient pas de part à la fabuleuse richesse de l'Empire. Ils devinrent les Tatars et les Khazaks, et autres nations de la steppe. Leurs voisins ne pleurèrent pas la disparition de l'Empire, fort enclin au génocide et au commerce des esclaves. Les Juifs errèrent et finirent par s'éloigner du bassin dévasté de la Mer Caspienne, s'enfonçant dans les profondeurs polonaises et lituanaises, disparaissant de l'histoire pour un petit millénaire d'hibernation.

Les Juifs de Khazarie avaient besoin d'un nigaud pour tenir le rôle du Khan, car leur pouvoir était loin d'être assuré et, seul, un nigaud autochtone pouvait accepter de satisfaire à leurs exigences. Le discours de Bush sur le Moyen-Orient a montré que ce scion d'une famille riche et puissante est capable de se comporter comme un lapin pris dans les phares d'une voiture. Dès cet instant, le sort de l'Empire américain était scellé.

Notes :

[1] Arthur Koestler, *La Treizième Tribu*.

[2] Leon Gumilev, *La Russie et la Grande Steppe* (en russe).

27 juin 2002. Traduit de l'anglais par Marcel Charbonnier.

N'A BU QU' AUX DINOSAURES

## Iraq attack plans alarm top military

*US and UK commanders 'scratching their heads' to make sense of invasion*

**Richard Norton-Taylor and Julian Borger**

Military commanders on both sides of the Atlantic are privately expressing deep unease about American plans to invade Iraq, believing they are ill thought out with the strategy to achieve the ultimate objective -- toppling Saddam Hussein -- far from clear.

It will be a "gargantuan task" which could spark off a conflagration across the Middle East, a European military official warned yesterday.

A senior British military source said it was clear there was a "desire of the US government [to attack Iraq] on their own if necessary". He added: "We are scratching our heads to see what could make strategic sense."

US contingency plans include: heavy air strikes combined with a relatively small invasion force of 5,000 troops; a force of some 50,000 troops which could be deployed quickly deep inside Iraq; and a massive ground force of 250,000 US troops supported by 25,000 British soldiers.

All the options are described by a British military source as "high risk". British military planners -- under Admiral Sir Michael Boyce, the chief of the defence staff known for his cautious approach and retiring next spring -- are reluctantly drawing up their own contingency plans in the event of an expected request from Washington for support. Some British military sources suggest the US plans, leaked by the Pentagon, are merely psychological warfare on Washington's part. Their preferred option is to continue the existing policy of containment combined with attempts to destabilise the regime.

In pursuit of the "containment" option, American bombers, supported by RAF aircraft, on Sunday attacked a communications site in southern Iraq, the US central command revealed yesterday. It was the sixth such strike this month in response to what the US said were hostile actions by Iraq.

Growing concern among senior members of the armed forces about the wisdom of invading Iraq was echoed yesterday by General Sir Michael Rose, a former head of the SAS and of UN forces in Bosnia.

In an article in London's *Evening Standard* under the heading: "The madness of going to war with Iraq", he said: "There are huge political and military risks associated with launching largescale ground forces into Iraq."

A former chief of defence staff, Field Marshal Lord Bramall, warned in a letter to the Times that an invasion of Iraq would pour "petrol rather than water" on the flames and provide al-Qaida with more recruits. He quoted a predecessor who said during the 1956 Suez crisis: "Of course we can get to Cairo but what I want to know is what the bloody hell do we do when we get there?"

Retired top military personnel frequently express the opinions of serving senior officers. These misgivings about an Iraqi military adventure echo apprehension among senior uniformed officers on the other side of the Atlantic, clear splits have emerged between America's professional soldiers and the gung ho civilian leaders in the White House and the Pentagon.

In briefings calculated to query the administration's persistent sabre rattling towards Iraq, unnamed officers told the *Washington Post* that the policy of containment was working well and that the alternative, a military assault, was too riddled with risk to be worth pursuing. The officers even questioned the motivation behind the Bush administration's preoccupation with ousting Saddam as part of a wider "war on terror". One general described as being "involved in the Afghanistan war" suggested it could be a matter of settling scores for the Bush family, after an alleged Iraqi plot to assassinate the president's father during a 1993 visit to Kuwait. "I'm not aware of any linkage to al-Qaida or terrorism," the general said, "so I have to wonder if this has something to do with his father being targeted by Saddam."

But another uniformed officer at the Pentagon played down the importance of the dissenting voices. "Has there ever been a single military operation where you haven't had some voices wondering whether it's a good idea? Probably not," the officer told *the Guardian*.

Michael O'Hanlon, a strategic analyst at the Brookings Institution thinktank in Washington also argued that the reports of uniform-civilian splits had been exaggerated. "If there are more than one or two on the joint chiefs of staff who are against it, I'd be surprised," he said. "The thrust is how you do it and when you do it. They're not questioning the president's decision on whether to do it."

But he said senior officers were also concerned about "the casual march to war" being pursued by hawks in the administration, who portrayed the operation as relatively risk-free.

Richard Perle, a Pentagon adviser and an advocate of an assault on Iraq, rejected the anxiety voiced as irrelevant. The decision to take on Saddam, he said, was "a political judgment that these guys aren't competent to make".

*The Guardian*, Tuesday July 30, 2002

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/Story/0,2763,765471,00.html>

DUR À EXPLIQUER

## US group says Israel is drag on US PR

By Janine Zacharia

Washington -- The US must do a better job explaining why it supports Israel if it wants to improve its image in the Arab world, a new report issued by the Council on Foreign Relations says.

Figuring out how to improve America's image abroad has taken on a higher priority since September 11 as the US pursues its war on terrorism. The report, completed by an Independent Task Force on Public Diplomacy, says for public diplomacy to be effective it "must be a central element of foreign policy." (...)

Israel, it says, is a "prime example of an unpopular policy that the US should not change merely to curry favor or world audiences. Washington, however, must do better in explaining the motivations behind its policies."

"Without casting itself as Israel's special champion, messages should point out that the United States is a democratic country, and that US policy toward Israel and on other issues is heavily influenced by the views of Congress, powerful interest groups, the press, and public opinion generally," the report says. It makes seven specific recommendations on how to market US policy toward Israel including: stressing widespread sympathy for preservation of state of Israel and its security; highlighting decisions by Egypt and Jordan to establish ties; and emphasizing "that the United States is committed to the survival of Israel, while also trying to curb the widespread impression that the United States unconditionally supports Israeli policies." (...)

Jul. 31, 2002

<http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost/A/JPArticle/ShowFull&cid=1027506396500>

## LES MYSTÈRES DU ONZE SEPTEMBRE

### 11 septembre: un juge rappelle à Bush les exigences de la démocratie

Washington (AFP), le 02-08-2002. Un juge fédéral a infligé, au nom de la défense des valeurs démocratiques, un sévère camouflet à l'administration Bush en ordonnant vendredi la publication "dans les 15 jours" de l'identité de tous les prisonniers détenus en relation avec les attentats du 11 septembre.

La plupart d'entre eux sont emprisonnés sur la base navale de Guantanamo (Cuba). Le département de la Justice (DOJ) "devra révéler dans les 15 jours les noms de ceux qu'il a arrêtés et détenus dans le cadre de son enquête sur les attentats terroristes du 11 septembre", écrit la juge Gladys Kessler du tribunal de Washington dans son jugement. Le DOJ devra aussi publier les noms de leurs avocats.

La juge a cependant prévu deux exceptions: lorsqu'une décision de justice prohibe déjà la publication du nom d'un prisonnier particulier (c'est le cas pour les "témoins matériels"); ou quand le détenu lui-même souhaite que son identité reste confidentielle. De plus, elle a décidé que le département de la Justice avait le droit de garder secrets les dates et lieux de l'arrestation et de la détention.

Une plainte contre le département de la Justice avait été déposée par 23 organisations diverses, allant de centre de recherches à des organisations d'avocats, ou encore de défense des droits de l'homme, parmi lesquels le Centre d'études de sécurité nationale, l'Union américaine pour la défense des libertés civiles (ACLU), l'Institut arabe-américain, Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, le Comité des reporters pour la liberté de la presse, etc.

Le 25 octobre dernier, l'Attorney General (ministre de la Justice) John Ashcroft avait indiqué que "près de 1.000 personnes" avaient été arrêtées et détenues dans le cadre de l'enquête sur les attentats, tout en refusant de révéler les noms des personnes concernées. Un total de 751 détenus ont été arrêtés pour des violations des lois sur l'immigration, dont 74 étaient toujours emprisonnés au 13 juin dernier.

De plus, 129 personnes ont été inculpées pour des crimes fédéraux par la justice fédérale. Sur les 73 qui restaient emprisonnées à la mi-juin, une seule a vu son nom rendu public: Zacarias Moussaoui, le seul inculpé en relation directe avec les attentats du 11 septembre et qui attend son procès. Par ailleurs, le nombre de personnes emprisonnées comme "témoin matériel" n'a jamais été rendu public par les autorités mais au moins 26 noms sont connus. Enfin, le Pentagone a indiqué que le nombre de prisonniers capturés en Afghanistan et soupçonnés d'appartenir aux talibans ou à Al-Qaïda s'élevait à 534 hommes (de 39 nationalités différentes).

La juge relève que la plainte était fondée sur la "loi pour la liberté d'information" (Freedom of Information Act), dont le fondement, dit-elle, est de permettre aux citoyens de savoir "ce que fait l'Etat" et de "lever le voile du secret étatique".

Or, "à ce jour, constate-t-elle, le public ne sait pas combien de personnes ont été arrêtées ou détenues dans le cadre de l'enquête, pas plus qu'il ne sait qui ils sont, où ils sont et s'ils sont représentés par un avocat". Pour sa défense, le département de la Justice avait argué que la publication des noms des détenus "révélerait la direction et les progrès de l'enquête en identifiant les pistes sur lesquelles les enquêteurs concentrent leurs efforts".

Mais la juge a rejeté cet argument, en estimant qu'il était peu plausible, dix mois après les événements du 11 septembre, que les groupes terroristes ne sachent pas déjà lesquels de leurs membres sont détenus par les autorités américaines.

Citant la jurisprudence, la juge Kessler relève surtout que "les arrestations secrètes sont +un concept odieux dans une société démocratique+ et profondément contraire aux valeurs fondamentales qui caractérisent une société libre et ouverte telle que la nôtre". Du coup, conclut-elle, "la première priorité du pouvoir judiciaire doit être de s'assurer

que l'exécutif opère toujours dans les limites constitutionnelles et légales qui distinguent une démocratie d'une dictature".

site personnel :

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#### ANTIFASCISME

Lettre cosignée par Einstein, Hannah Arendt et d'autres, publiée dans le *New York Times* du 4 décembre 1948 pour protester contre la visite aux Etats-Unis du massacreur fasciste Menahem Begin

Letters to New York Times December 4, 1948

New Palestine Party Visit of Menachem Begin and Aims of Political Movement Discussed  
TO THE EDITORS OF THE *NEW YORK TIMES* :

Among the most disturbing political phenomena of our times is the emergence in the newly created state of Israel of the "Freedom Party" (Herout), a political party **closely akin** in its organization, methods, political philosophy and social appeal to the **Nazi and Fascist parties**. It was formed out of the membership and following of the former Irgun Zvai Leumi, a **terrorist, right-wing**, chauvinist organization in Palestine. The current visit of Menachem Begin, leader of this party, to the United States is obviously calculated to give the impression of American support for his party in the coming Israeli elections, and to cement political ties with conservative Zionist elements in the United States. Several Americans of national repute have lent their names to welcome his visit. It is inconceivable that those who oppose fascism throughout the world, if correctly informed as to Mr. Begin's political record and perspectives, could add their names and support to the movement he represents.

Before irreparable damage is done by way of financial contributions, public manifestations in Begin's behalf, and the creation in Palestine of the impression that a large segment of America supports Fascist elements in Israel, the American public must be informed as to the record and objectives of Mr. Begin and his movement. The public avowals of Begin's party are no guide whatever to its actual character. Today they speak of freedom, democracy and anti-imperialism, whereas until recently they openly preached the doctrine of the Fascist state. It is in its actions that **the terrorist party** betrays its real character; from its past actions we can judge what it may be expected to do in the future.

#### Attack on Arab Village

A shocking example was their behavior in the Arab village of Deir Yassin. This village, off the main roads and surrounded by Jewish lands, had taken no part in the war, and had even fought off Arab bands who wanted to use the village as their base. On April 9 (THE NEW YORK TIMES), terrorist bands attacked this peaceful village, which was not a military objective in the fighting, killed most of its inhabitants 240 men, women, and children and kept a few of them alive to parade as captives through the streets of Jerusalem. Most of the Jewish community was horrified at the deed, and the Jewish Agency sent a telegram of apology to King Abdullah of Trans-Jordan. But the terrorists, far from being ashamed of their act, were proud of this massacre, publicized it widely, and invited all the foreign correspondents present in the country to view the heaped corpses and the general havoc at Deir Yassin.

The Deir Yassin incident exemplifies the character and actions of the Freedom Party. Within the Jewish community they have preached an admixture of ultranationalism, religious mysticism, and racial superiority. Like other Fascist parties they have been used to break strikes, and have themselves pressed for the destruction of free trade unions. In their stead they have proposed corporate unions on the Italian Fascist model. During the last years of sporadic anti-British violence, the IZL and Stern groups inaugurated a **reign of terror in the Palestine Jewish community**. Teachers were beaten up for speaking against them, adults were shot for not letting their children join them. By gangster methods, beatings, window-smashing, and wide-spread robberies, the terrorists intimidated the population and exacted a heavy tribute. The people of the Freedom Party have had no part in the constructive achievements in Palestine. They have reclaimed no land, built no settlements, and only detracted from the Jewish defense activity. Their much-publicized immigration endeavors were minute, and devoted mainly to bringing in Fascist compatriots.

#### Discrepancies Seen

The discrepancies between the bold claims now being made by Begin and his party, and their record of past performance in Palestine bear the imprint of no ordinary political party. This is the unmistakable stamp of a Fascist party for whom terrorism (against Jews, Arabs, and British alike), and misrepresentation are means, and a "Leader State" is the goal. In the light of the foregoing considerations, it is imperative that the truth about Mr. Begin and his movement be made known in this country. It is all the more tragic that the top leadership of American Zionism has refused to campaign against Begin's efforts, or even to expose to its own constituents the dangers to Israel from support to Begin. The undersigned therefore take this means of publicly presenting a few salient facts concerning Begin and his party ; and of urging all concerned not to support this latest manifestation of fascism.

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New York, Dec. 2, 1948

*Que disent les juifs américains aujourd'hui quand le concubin de feu Begin, le brav'général Charogne vient pousser Boubouche au cul ? Ils béent d'admiration.*

#### LETTRÉ OUVERTE AUX AUTORITÉS FRANÇAISES

Cinq citoyens français ont été arrêtés le mercredi 7 août 2002 alors qu'ils se trouvaient à Naplouse dans le cadre d'une mission de la campagne civile internationale pour la protection du peuple palestinien. Ces personnes sont entrées légalement en Israël et ont décidé de se rendre dans les territoires palestiniens. Après une manifestation pacifique aux côtés des palestiniens contre un couvre-feu particulièrement sévère, l'armée et la police israéliennes ont violemment réprimé les manifestants et arrêté sans aucun motif 9 internationaux (2 américains, 1 italien 1 irlandais et 5 français) Le ministère de l'intérieur a décidé de les expulser. Ils sont actuellement emprisonnés après avoir été déclarés "illégaux" de manière arbitraire. Par ailleurs, ils ont été traités de manière dégradante, dans la mesure où ils furent amenés à leur hôtel pieds et mains enchaînés, avec interdiction de communiquer. La mesure d'expulsion est fondée sur l'illégalité du séjour dans les territoires palestiniens. Or, ces personnes sont entrées légalement en Israël et jouissent d'une liberté de circulation qui est protégée par le droit international. Par conséquent, le séjour dans les territoires palestiniens ne constitue en rien un acte illégal. Cette mesure d'exception constitue une violation du droit international. D'autre part, le gouvernement israélien baffoue le droit des organisations des droits de l'Homme, dont la mission est d'observer les violations de ces droits. Ceci est contraire à la 4ème Convention de Genève. Nous condamnons aussi bien la mesure d'expulsion que le traitement infligé aux personnes arrêtées. Nous condamnons le refus de l'Etat d'Israël de laisser des internationaux témoigner de l'oppression qu'il fait subir à la population dans les territoires palestiniens, alors même qu'un Etat démocratique permet la liberté de circulation. Nous condamnons la criminalisation de la solidarité avec le peuple palestinien. Nous exigeons des autorités françaises qu'elles protestent officiellement auprès de l'Etat d'Israël contre cette entrave à la liberté de circuler. Nous exigeons qu'elles mettent tout en oeuvre, sur le plan politique, juridique et matériel pour assurer la protection de ses ressortissants quand leurs droits individuels sont bafoués et qu'elles veillent au respect de leur dignité. Dans le cadre de l'expulsion qui a d'ores et déjà été décidée, elles doivent demander aux autorités israéliennes que leur détention ne dépasse pas le délai légal de garde à vue. Alors que le gouvernement reconnaît l'autorité palestinienne, le fait de séjourner dans un territoire palestinien relève-t-il, à ses yeux, de l'illégalité? Pour notre part, nous reconnaissons l'existence du peuple palestinien, nous soutenons et continuerons à défendre ses droits légitimes. Nous demandons la libération immédiate des 9 internationaux, parmi lesquels les 5 français, et l'annulation des actes d'expulsion.

Les membres de la 27ème mission de la CCIPPP  
Jerusalem le 9/08/2002

#### MOUCHE À RATS

##### **Musharraf ne croit plus à la thèse Ben Laden**

(Réseau Voltaire - 07/08/02) Dans une interview à paraître dans le *New-Yorker*, le président du Pakistan déclare ne plus croire qu'Oussama Ben Laden ait été le commanditaire des attentats du 11 septembre. " Je ne pense pas qu'il soit possible qu'Oussama ait pu faire ça depuis les montagnes (...) Il était peut-être le sponsor, le financier, la force de motivation. Mais ceux qui ont perpétré cela étaient bien plus modernes (...) Je ne pense pas qu'il ait été le cerveau ou le planificateur. C'était quelqu'un d'autre " a indiqué le président Musharraf. Le 4 octobre 2001, le gouvernement pakistanais s'était déclaré convaincu par les documents transmis par les autorités US de la culpabilité d'Oussama Ben Laden.

<redaction@reseauvoltaire.net> 07 Aug 2002

#### LA NOUVELLE MURAILLE DE CHINE

##### **Débats sur la construction du mur de séparation**

Depuis le début des travaux, engagés voici trois mois, **40 mètres** de barrière de sécurité ont été construits le long de la ligne verte. Le ministère de la Défense impute à la procédure des appels d'offres la lenteur des travaux, supposés aboutir au bout d'un an à l'existence d'une muraille longue de 110 kilomètres. Trois promoteurs se partageaient jusqu'à présent le projet. Ils ont été rejoints hier par sept promoteurs supplémentaires. La lenteur des travaux est également imputable, précise-t-on, aux arrangements territoriaux conclus avec les habitants de la région, ainsi qu'à d'autres problèmes.

Au cours d'un débat qui s'est tenu aujourd'hui au sein de la commission parlementaire du contrôle de l'Etat, des représentants du ministère de la Défense ont affirmé que la construction du mur de séparation, prévue le long de la ligne verte, progresserait de dix kilomètres par semaine. Cette réunion a eu lieu à la suite d'un rapport établi par le contrôleur de l'Etat qui a relevé de nombreuses failles dans l'édification de cette cloison. Le président de la commission, Ran Cohen (Meretz), a déclaré que si aucun progrès n'était enregistré sur le terrain d'ici un mois, il envisagerait de nommer une commission d'enquête gouvernementale. Le chef de l'opposition, Yossi Sarid (Meretz) a approuvé cette proposition.

Arutz 7, 6 août 2002

PAN PAN

## Comment former les massacreurs au berceau

The Pentagon aims to attract a new generation of recruits with video games that simulate grunt life from boot camp to the battlefield

The 62,000 video-game executives flooding into the Los Angeles Convention Center on May 21 might have thought the security staff had gone overboard. Parked out front were a Bradley Linebacker fighting vehicle, an Avenger Humvee, and a cadre of soldiers. But they weren't there to deter terrorists. This convention was selected for the unveiling of a suite of video games called **America's Army**. These are 3-D action games like dozens of others, except for one thing: They're created by the U.S. Army.

Inside the convention center, site of the 2002 Electronic Entertainment Expo (E3), attendees sampled the games in a 1,400-square-foot Army command post, which featured real-live air-assault sergeants rappelling down ropes from the ceiling. Quite a show for the first-ever appearance by the military at E3. Fictional soldiers have long starred in video games. But unlike other publishers, the Army won't try to reap millions off its games. Starting in August, it'll distribute its titles free to young people considering military careers.

**SIMS WITH A MISSION.** To start the games, players create their own customized soldier characters, then guide them through boot camp and various missions -- kind of like **The Sims** but with barracks, M-16s, and stints in Fort Leavenworth military prison. The players can also participate in Web-based team missions with other potential recruits from all over the country. "**We want to teach kids what it's really like to be a soldier,**" says Casey Wardynski, director of the Army's Office of Economic & Manpower Analysis.

America's Army is the latest link in the military's partnership with the \$9 billion U.S. video-game industry. The armed forces have long used computerized combat simulations to train service personnel. Now, they're relying on the game industry to add richer, more realistic graphics and countless plot twists.

In 1999, the Army teamed up with the University of Southern California to launch the Institute for Creative Technologies (ICT), a collaboration among entertainment executives and gamemakers committed to dreaming up new systems for training soldiers. America's Army was developed at another new institute called Modeling, Virtual Environments & Simulation (MOVES) at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, Calif.

**SHOOT TO KILL.** The games-and-defense partnership makes sense in terms of both technology and recruitment, since most game fanatics are males in their teens and twenties. "We need to attract more people from this tech-literate group," says Michael Zyda, director of MOVES.

Clearly, **realism is a big draw.** Designed with \$6 million in Army grants for the PC, the games feature real video footage from Army sites, such as **caves in Afghanistan** and the obstacle course at Fort Benning, Ga. Bits of recorded speech add depth to the action: Smoke cigarettes in boot camp, and your drill sergeant shows up, barking reprimands. "There are millions of potential speeches and scenes," says executive producer John Hiles, a research scientist for MOVES.

**When it comes to killing,** the game doesn't pull any punches, which may alarm video-game critics. Warns clinical psychologist Jeanne B. Funk, a University of Toledo professor who writes about violence and the media: "Games meant for older audiences get into the hands of young children."

**ODD ALLIANCE.** Unlike Halo and Grand Theft Auto 3, however, where part of the fun is shooting everything in sight, **America's Army uses death as a means of completing missions.** "You don't get points for killing," Wardynski says. And trigger-happy players who hit fellow soldiers wind up at Leavenworth.

At ICT, folks look forward to more collaboration. "Hollywood weirdos, computer nerds, and the military -- what a combo," says Executive Director Richard Lindheim. "But it's changing the way the Army does business." Parents be advised: The situations in these games may be real.

By Arlene Weintraub in Los Angeles  
The McGraw-Hill Companies Inc.

FOU ALLIÉ

### **There is a firestorm coming, and it is being provoked by Mr Bush**

*More and more, President Bush's rhetoric sounds like the crazed videotapes of Osama bin Laden*

**By Robert Fisk**

So now Osama bin Laden is Hitler. And Saddam Hussein is Hitler. And George Bush is fighting the Nazis. Not since Menachem Begin fantasised to President Reagan that he felt he was attacking Hitler in Berlin - his Israeli army was actually besieging Beirut, killing thousands of civilians, "Hitler" being the pathetic Arafat - have we had to listen to claptrap like this. But the fact that we Europeans had to do so in the Bundestag on Thursday - and, for the most part, in respectful silence - was extraordinary. I'm reminded of the Israeli columnist who, tired of the wearying invocation of the Second World War to justify yet more Israeli brutality, began an article with the words: "Mr Prime Minister, Hitler is dead." Must we, forever, live under the shadow of a war that was fought and won before most of us were born? Do we have to live forever with living, diminutive politicians playing Churchill (Thatcher and, of course, Blair) or Roosevelt? "He's a dictator who gassed his own people," Mr Bush reminded us for the two thousandth

time, omitting as always to mention that the Kurds whom Saddam viciously gassed were fighting for Iran and that the United States, at the time, was on Saddam's side.

But there is a much more serious side to this. Mr Bush is hoping to corner the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, into a new policy of threatening Iran. He wants the Russians to lean on the northern bit of the "axis of evil", the infantile phrase which he still trots out to the masses. More and more, indeed, Mr Bush's rhetoric sounds like the crazed videotapes of Mr bin Laden. And still he tries to lie about the motives for the crimes against humanity of 11 September. Yet again, in the Bundestag, he insisted that the West's enemies hated "justice and democracy", even though most of America's Muslim enemies wouldn't know what democracy was. In the United States, the Bush administration is busy terrorising Americans. There will be nuclear attacks, bombs in high-rise apartment blocks, on the Brooklyn bridge, men with exploding belts - note how carefully the ruthless Palestinian war against Israeli colonisation of the West Bank is being strapped to America's ever weirder "war on terror" - and yet more aircraft suiciders. If you read the words of President Bush, Vice- President Dick Cheney and the ridiculous national security adviser, Condoleezza Rice, over the past three days, you'll find they've issued more threats against Americans than Mr bin Laden.

But let's get back to the point. The growing evidence that Israel's policies are America's policies in the Middle East - or, more accurately, vice versa - is now being played out for real in statements from Congress and on American television. First, we have the chairman of the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee announcing that Hizbollah - the Lebanese guerrilla force that drove Israel's demoralised army out of Lebanon in the year 2000 - is planning attacks in the US. After that, we had an American television network "revealing" that Hizbollah, Hamas and al-Qa'ida - Mr bin Laden's organisation - have held a secret meeting in Lebanon to plot attacks on the US. American journalists insist on quoting "sources" but there was, of course, no sourcing for this balderdash, which is now repeated ad nauseam in the American media. Then take the "Syrian Accountability Act" that was introduced into the US Senate by Israel's friends on 18 April. This includes the falsity uttered earlier by Israel's Foreign Minister, Shimon Peres, that Iranian Revolutionary Guards "operate freely" on the southern Lebanese border. Now there haven't been Iranian Revolutionary Guards in Lebanon - let alone the south of the country - for 18 years. So why is this lie repeated yet again ?

Iran is under threat. Lebanon is under threat. Syria is under threat - its "terrorism" status has been heightened by the State Department - and so is Iraq. But Ariel Sharon, the Israeli Prime Minister held personally responsible by Israel's own enquiry for the Sabra and Shatila massacre of 1,700 Palestinians in Beirut in 1982, is - according to Mr Bush - "a man of peace". How much further can this go ? A long way, I fear. The anti-American feeling throughout the Middle East is palpable. Arab newspaper editorials don't come near to expressing public opinion. In Damascus, Majida Tabbaa has become famous as the lady who threw the US Consul Roberto Powers out of her husband's downtown restaurant on 7 April. "I went over to him," she said, "and told him, 'Mr Roberto, tell your George Bush that all of you are not welcome - please get out!'" Across the Arab world, boycotts of American goods have begun in earnest.

How much longer can this go on ? America praises Pakistani President Musharraf for his support in the "war on terror", but remains silent when he arranges a dictatorial "referendum" to keep him in power. America's enemies, remember, hate the US for its "democracy". So is General Musharraf going to feel the heat ? Forget it. My guess is that Pakistan's importance in the famous "war on terror" -- or "war for civilisation" as, we should remember, it was originally called - is far more important. If Pakistan and India go to war, I'll wager a lot that Washington will come down for undemocratic Pakistan against democratic India. Across the former Soviet southern Muslim republics, America is building air bases, helping to pursue the "war on terror" against any violent Muslim Islamist groups that dare to challenge the local dictators. Please do not believe that this is about oil. Do not for a moment think that these oil and gas-rich lands have any economic importance for the oil-fuelled Bush administration. Nor the pipelines that could run from northern Afghanistan to the Pakistani coast if only that pesky Afghan loya jirga could elect a government that would give concessions to Unocal, the oddly named concession whose former boss just happens to be a chief Bush "adviser" to Afghanistan.

Now here's pause for thought. Abdelrahman al-Rashed writes in the international Arabic daily Asharq al-Awsat that if anyone had said prior to 11 September that Arabs were plotting a vast scheme to murder thousands of Americans in the US, no one would have believed them. "We would have charged that this was an attempt to incite the American people against Arabs and Muslims," he wrote. And rightly so. But Arabs did commit the crimes against humanity of 11 September. And many Arabs greatly fear that we have yet to see the encore from the same organisation. In the meantime, Mr Bush goes on to do exactly what his enemies want ; to provoke Muslims and Arabs, to praise their enemies and demonise their countries, to bomb and starve Iraq and give uncritical support to Israel and maintain his support for the dictators of the Middle East. Each morning now, I awake beside the Mediterranean in Beirut with a feeling of great foreboding. There is a firestorm coming. And we are blissfully ignoring its arrival ; indeed, we are provoking it.

*The Independent*, 25 May 2002.

EN PALESTINE, LES JUIFS RASENT SYSTÉMATIQUEMENT LES MONUMENTS CHRÉTIENS

### Israelis bulldoze Christian sites on Mount Abu Ghniem

Palestinian archaeologists declared that Israeli bulldozers destroyed the ruins of an important Christian church on mount Abu Ghniem known as Al-Istiraha (resting place) church constructed in the fifth century on the road from

Jerusalem to Bethlehem. The Palestinian archaeological department issued an important report that shows the dangers of constructing an Israeli settlement on mount Abu Ghniem since it threatens archaeological and historical sites in the area. Not to mention that this clearing of the land is a violation to the International law, where the Lahi agreement demands the safety of cultural assets in times of armed struggle and it is the duty of the occupying force to protect archaeological and religious sites.

The report demanded the immediate stop of the destruction measures and called on the archaeological, scientific and international institutions to intervene and force the Israeli side to stop its assaults and respect signed agreements with the Palestinian authority. The report also contained an account of the archaeological sites in mount Abu Ghniem and indicated that this hill is not only an archaeological site, but also a religious site where there is a water well that is known as Al-Istiraha and was later named Virgin Mary's well. It is 500 meters away from Mar Elias monastery on the road from Jerusalem to Bethlehem.

Historic findings indicate that the well was dug 3000 years ago like many other wells that were dug on this commercial road. The well is deep and fills with rain water. The Israelis have closed the well with cement in 1968-70 and switched the water to the new Gilo settlement. There are several legends to the naming of the well ; one claims that the Virgin Mary and Joseph rested near the well when they were on their way to Bethlehem when the Virgin was feeling tired from the pregnancy. Another legend says that the Wise Men on their way to see baby Jesus in Bethlehem rested near the well, where they saw the star again which led them to the place of Jesus. A third legend says that this well was suddenly discovered with an explosion so Virgin Mary can drink while she passed from the area and the well was therefor named Virgin Mary's well.

The archaeological department's report also indicated that there are many religious sites in the area for example, there are ruins of a church that has a large ground of mosaics. Another place is the Seir Al-Qalam, a traditional location for the Shepherds Field in Bethlehem, and Mar Elias Monastery that was maintained by the Byzantine emperor Manuel Komeinous in the twelfth century. This is in addition to the Al-Istiraha church (Resting place) constructed in the fifth century to revive the memory of the Holy Family resting in this area.

From: <johndavidpowell@yahoo.com> (john david powell), Palestine Internet News Service, 30 July 2002

LE DEBUT DE LA FIN (suite)

## E in Italia ci dicono: "Fuggite da tel Aviv e tornate qui da noi"

(Fuyez tel Aviv et venez chez nous)  
de Manuela Dviri Vitali Norsa

Le soir avant de partir de Tel Aviv, j'ai été à un mariage. A l'entrée de la salle, il y avait un garde avec la mitraillette en bandoulière. Il a demandé à voir l'invitation pour nous laisser entrer. Puis il a retourné l'enveloppe pour voir si c'était bien nous les invités, pour voir en somme si le nom correspondait. Il a dit: "On ne sait jamais". Pour plus de sûreté.

Le lendemain matin, je suis entrée dans un centre commercial pour acheter un dentifrice. A l'entrée, le garde a contrôlé mon sac et a demandé à voir la carte d'identité. Ils le font à tout le monde ou c'est moi qui a une tête de suspecte ? Ils le font à tout le monde, a-t-il dit. Le soir nous étions en Italie. Trois heures vingt de vol.

Et le lendemain, dans notre petite ville balnéaire, à la plage, ce furent les embrassades, peut-être un peu plus longues que d'habitude, et des petits silences rapides. Mes voisins de vacances de toujours m'ont regardée comme on regarde un malade en phase terminale, à qui personne n'oserait demander si les métastases sont partout ou comment va sa tumeur, ou pour quand est prévu le décès. On comprend tout d'un coup que nous faisons peine à voir, moi, mes deux filles et mes deux petits enfants, encore bébés. Et nous semblons des condamnées à mort un peu atypiques. Nous n'avons pas le *physique du rôle* pour jouer les malheureux, les réfugiés, les noirs africains en guerre et affamés, les Slaves, les Afghans. On a l'air de gens bien. Normaux. On porte le deux-pièces et le paréo assorti, on a de la cellulite et on attrape des coups de soleil.

Les enfants nagent dans la félicité, mais sans évidemment savoir pourquoi. Au cours des derniers mois, cela fait un an déjà, ils se sont habitués, les pauvres petits, aux gardes armés à la crèche, aux gardes armés au jardin, aux gardes armés à la plage, aux gardes armés chez le marchand de jouets, aux gardes armés chez la marchand de glaces, aux gardes armés au cinéma et au supermarché. Mes filles aussi sont heureuses et enfin tranquilles.

Il est clair qu'elles ne réussissent pas à se promener tranquillement dans les rue de la station balnéaire. Mais elles essaient. Finalement libres, elle sont continuellement en mouvement. Elles se promènent tout le temps, avec ou sans la poussette. Elles ont l'air d'être elles aussi retombées en enfance. Certains regards de travers me disent que je suis une inconsciente, que je n'ai rien compris de la vie, que j'aurais pu vivre ici normalement sans aller faire l'originale dans des postes lointains, dangereux et barbares. Que je suis née ici, et non pas dans un camps en Pologne ou en Allemagne, ou dans un trou quelconque au Maroc.

En somme, que je suis une crétine, une irresponsable, une folledingue, que c'est moi qui me suis voulu cette vie folle que je suis en train de vivre et que je fais vivre à mes enfants et même à mes petits enfants. Quels casse-couilles que ces juifs, pensent certains autres; ça fait trois mille ans qu'ils ne font rien d'autre que nous les casser. Vous ne voyez pas qu'ils nous amènent la troisième guerre mondiale ?

Il n'y a eu que la concierge, qui partira cet été à la maison de retraite, qui ait eu le courage de dire à ma fille que peut-être il serait mieux de rester ici et de ne pas ramener là-bas ces pauvres enfants. Et Gabriella, ma voisine d'en face, qui me connaît depuis quarante ans et qui a son franc-parler, m'a demandé: «Pourquoi tu ne te sauves pas pendant que tu peux, tu n'as pas peur ?»

Eh ! Si. J'ai peur, tellement peur. Et j'ai l'angoisse. Je suis terrorisée.

*Corriere della Sera*, 13 Agosto 2002.

CQFD

## Comment les groupes juifs américains achètent les parlementaires. Démonstration (de la bouche du cheval)

### Comment les groupes juifs sélectionnent leurs candidats aux élections et les font passer grâce à l'argent

By Sharon Samber

Washington, Aug. 13 (JTA) — With Israel under attack and seemingly at its most vulnerable in decades, American Jews are trying to ensure that the **next U.S. Congress maintains a strong pro-Israel bent**. Education, health care and the economy probably will be the key issues for most voters when they go to the polls in November. But candidates also want to have a strong anti-terrorism platform in the election -- the first since Sept. 11 -- and "support for Israel is one way to do that," Democratic pollster Mark Mellman said.

The election also comes after an upsurge in anti-Semitism in Europe and at international forums such as last year's U.N. World Conference Against Racism in **Durban**, South Africa. The dual concern over Israel and anti-Semitism is spurring special interest in the elections -- and fund-raising for candidates "**far from home**" -- among Jewish activists.

A particularly important test case for Jewish involvement will take place Aug. 20, when Rep. Cynthia McKinney (D-Ga.), who has **angered many in the Jewish community** for years, faces a primary challenger who has received support from the Jewish community.

The race has attracted the involvement of members of the local Jewish community in Georgia and **the national Jewish community**.

McKinney's vote against a pro-Israel resolution in May added to a record of remarks over the years that the pro-Israel community has considered **insensitive, even outrageous at times**.

In the shadow of Israel's Operation Protective Wall in the West Bank in the spring, McKinney was one of only 21 representatives **who voted against** a resolution that expressed solidarity with Israel, reaffirmed Israel's right to self-defense, supported additional defense assistance for Israel and condemned Palestinian terrorism.

One instance that particularly rankled American Jews was connected to a \$10 million disaster relief donation from a Saudi prince who sought to tie the Sept. 11 terror attacks to U.S. support for Israel.

New York's former mayor, Rudolph Giuliani, rejected the gift because of its political message, but McKinney, who agreed with the Saudi's assessment, asked for the prince's check.

Denise Majette, a retired state judge, is challenging McKinney in the Democratic primary. She has taken a **strong pro-Israel stance** and is now neck-and-neck with the five-term incumbent.

**Several pro-Israel groups** have contributed to Majette's campaign, and a number of individuals who have donated to the campaign in recent months have **Jewish-sounding surnames**.

Morris Amitay, a pro-Israel activist and founder of Washington PAC, a pro-Israel group, said there is "a lot of activity" by Jews on behalf of Majette.

"There is mounting interest in the race by pro-Israel observers," said Alan Sechrest, a Democratic strategist.

McKinney's campaign, by contrast, shows a number of donations from individuals with Arab- or Muslim-sounding surnames, including many from outside McKinney's district. The campaign also has received contributions from Muslim advocacy groups.

The Council on American-Islamic Relations has asked its members to support McKinney because she supports a Palestinian state and is against U.S. aid to Israel.

**Some of the contributors to McKinney's campaign have come under federal investigation for suspected links to terrorist organizations.**

McKinney's campaign coordinator told *the Atlanta Journal-Constitution* that the individuals were "American citizens learning to use their money like the very small population which sways a lot of opinion with their money -- the Jewish community. That's the American way."

The McKinney race follows a triumph for Jewish involvement in an Alabama congressional race in June.

**Jews from around the country opened their pocketbooks** for attorney Artur Davis, who defeated Rep. Earl Hilliard in the Democratic primary runoff for Alabama's 7th district last month.

Activists considered Hilliard anti-Israel because of his voting record in Congress. The hundreds of thousands of dollars that Davis managed to raise from the Jewish community underscored Jewish concern that pro-Israel legislators get elected or stay in office when voters go to the polls Nov. 5.

Some Jewish officials said they would not be surprised if Majette gets at least as much support as Davis did.

"McKinney is the leading anti-Israel voice in Congress today," one Jewish official said. "**She is far more vulnerable** than Hilliard ever was."

With other congressional races looming, Jewish voters are continuing to look beyond their own backyards and past the usual foreign and domestic concerns to focus **on just how good on Israel** a candidate can be.

People are looking at a number of races with an interest to getting involved, activists say.

"There is a willingness to get active," said Matt Brooks, executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition. "There is a tremendous amount of political fund raising."

Leaders of the RJC have hosted individual fund raisers and raised over a quarter of a million dollars for Norm Coleman, the Republican challenger to Sen. Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.).

While both candidates are Jewish, Coleman's pro-Israel stance has gratified Jewish leaders, who are troubled by the Arab American community's support of Wellstone.

**In the end, the pro-Israel majority in Congress is likely to be strengthened** as a result of the 2002 races and **the departure of anti-Israel voices**, such as Hilliard and Rep. James Traficant (D-Ohio), from Capitol Hill.

Other races garnering attention include New Hampshire's senatorial race, where much of the talk about the Republican primary between Rep. John Sununu and incumbent Sen. Bob Smith has revolved around the candidates' records on terrorism and Israel.

Sununu has come under fire for supporting U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority, though he also has voted for U.S. aid to Israel and has returned campaign contributions from Arab leaders who backed Hamas.

Smith has accused Sununu, who is of Lebanese and Palestinian descent, of being **soft on terrorism** and supporting radical, anti-Israel causes.

Smith has signed on to pro-Israel legislation and supports the Arafat Accountability Act, which would freeze the PLO and Palestinian Authority assets in the United States.

But in many races, **voters find it hard to distinguish between the candidates' records on Israel.**

In South Dakota, for example, the Senate race pits Democratic incumbent Tim Johnson against Republican Rep. John Thune; the two are about even in polls.

Johnson has a "perfect record on Israel-related issues," but Thune also is "good on Israel," according to the pro-Israel Joint Action Committee.

Analysts agree that Jewish voters are looking harder at a candidate's record on Israel because it's more salient with the ongoing Israeli-Palestinian violence.

But the issue is not going to make or break most races, said Ira Forman, executive director of the National Jewish Democratic Council, echoing the view of others.

David Fink, a Jewish Democrat running for a congressional seat in Michigan's 9th District, said both he and his opponent are pro-Israel.

It will be domestic issues of import to the Jewish community -- such as abortion and school prayer -- that voters will look at when they decide, he said.

"There are very few races where Israel is the deciding factor," Fink said. "It will come down to domestic issues."

*C'est parce que la démocratie américaine est totalement pourrie qu'il est possible de l'acheter ouvertement. McKinney, femme, noir et critique du fascisme israélien a évidemment perdu les primaires et donc la possibilité de se faire réélire. Grande victoire du lobby sioniste qui la remplace par une autre femme, noire, qui saura se mettre à plat ventre devant les demande exorbitantes des groupes juifs qui pillent les ressources américaines sans le moindre complexe.*

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, NY, 13 août 2002.

## LE JUDAISME ET LE CULTE DU BULLDOZER

### The message of the bulldozers

The Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (ICAHAD) deplores this week's decision by the Israeli High Court of Justice against permitting judicial review for families of Palestinians who whose homes are targeted for demolition because a family member has been involved in (or even suspected of) terror attacks. True to the pattern of many years, the Court has accepted the argument of the army that such demolitions take place as integral parts of military operations. Israel's High Court thus permits the setting aside of fundamental human rights in favor of military considerations (which are but extensions of the government's political goals).

-- What human rights are violated by this decision ?

-- The right of innocent individuals not to be held legally accountable for the actions of relatives. "Blood tie" cannot be the basis of demolition someone's home. The notion that individuals may be punished for crimes of others without any criminal charge being made against them forfeits the elementary protection that the legal system owes to every person.

-- The right of every person to due process and judicial review. Punishing individuals not charged with any crime, or denying them recourse to the court if they are faced with punitive actions, constitutes extra-judicial punishment. When an entire family is punished for the suspected deeds of one of its members, this is collective punishment. Both violate the essence of both Israeli civil law and international humanitarian law.

-- The demolition of houses or destruction of other private property of individuals residing in occupied territories is explicitly forbidden by the Fourth Geneva Convention (Article 53), as is collective punishment (Article 33).

This sad decision, which immediately effects 49 Palestinian families whose homes may be demolished at any time, represents the steady erosion of Israeli democracy as it tries to cope with popular resistance to an illegal Occupation. In its decision, the High Court itself subordinates the rule of law, not to mention human rights, to the requirements of

military repression. In the simplest terms, it condones and permits war crimes. Absolute rule over another people is possible only by denying them fundamental legal protection. In the end, this must destroy the very moral and legal basis underlying democracy and law.

For the past six years ICAHD has been working on the issue of house demolitions. Every time we think : "OK, we've exhausted the subject, let's go on to other, perhaps more pressing issues," the systematic destruction of Palestinian homes returns to the center of the conflict with a vengeance. It happened in the Jenin refugee camp, where the indomitable drivers of the massive D-9 Caterpillar bulldozers labored for three straight days and nights demolishing more than 300 homes in the densely packed camp, thereby becoming the heroes of the invasion. And it is happening today as Israel demolishes dozens of houses belonging to families of terrorists, a form of collective punishment that is clearly a war crime.

Why ? Why does house demolitions remain at the center of the conflict ? Why has it been at the center of the Israeli struggle against the Palestinians since 1948 ? There are many specific reasons given : security, deterrence, punishment, self-defense, warfare, "illegal" construction, enforcement of the law and on and on. But one element remains throughout : The Message. Sharon, like his predecessors, never tire of warning that Israeli attacks on the Palestinians will continue "until they get The Message." What is The Message ? As stated by Sharon and the others (going back some 80 years to the "Iron Wall" concept of Jabotinsky and Ben Gurion), The Message is : "Submit. Only when you abandon your dreams for an independent state of your own, and accept that Palestine has become the Land of Israel, will we relent." But The Message goes even deeper, is more sinister than that. The Message of the Bulldozers is : "You do not belong here. We uprooted you from your homes in 1948 and prevented your return, and now we will uproot you from all of the Land of Israel". "Transfer" has become an acceptable topic of television talk shows. And that is why house demolitions remain so prominent, the bulldozer beside the tank. Because in the end this process of reoccupation is one of displacement.

The bulldozer certainly deserves to take its rightful place alongside the tank as a symbol of Israel's relationship with the Palestinians. The two deserve to be on the national flag. The tank as symbol of an Israel "fighting for its existence," and for its prowess on the battlefield. And the bulldozer for the dark underside of Israel's struggle for existence, its ongoing struggle to displace the Palestinians from the country. For Israel has always treated the Palestinians as an enemy, never as a people with collective rights and legitimate claims to the country with which it might someday live in peace. In 1948 Israel played an active role in driving 75% of the Palestinians from the Land. Over the next four or five years the bulldozer, following the tank, systematically demolished 418 Palestinian villages. Since 1967, as Israel's tanks suppress Palestinian resistance to the Occupation with increasing frequency and ferocity, its bulldozers (aided by artillery and missiles) have demolished more than 9000 Palestinian homes and counting. Even as I write this, a day after the Israeli High Court of Justice gave its consent to demolishing houses of families of terrorists without warning or a chance to appeal to the court, houses are being bulldozed in Bethlehem and Gaza with dozens more threatened throughout the Occupied Territories. And not only. Throughout Israel proper, in the "unrecognized villages" and Palestinian neighborhoods of Ramle, Lod and elsewhere, houses continue to be demolished 54 years later. Jews now live in Palestinian houses in Israel's major cities and Palestinian villages have long disappeared under the agricultural fields of kibbutzim and moshavs. Amidst this destruction 150,000 housing units have been built for the 400,000 Jews living across the 1967 border.

The bulldozer remains at the center of the "action" for the simple reason that repression and control alone do not secure the country for those the Jews whose claim excludes all others. Those with competing claims the Palestinians must be displaced if the Jews are really going to take possession, or at least confined to small islands where they cannot interfere with or challenge Israeli dominion. (The announcement this week by the Ministry of the Interior that Palestinian Israelis would be stripped of their citizenship if proven "unloyal" to the State extends the work of bulldozers.)

But just as Israel cannot insulate itself from the Occupation, so too it cannot escape the ravages of its own house demolitions policy. Fear that the displaced might yet rise again and claim their patrimony prevents Israelis from enjoying the fruits of their power. The country has been seized by rising xenophobia and national-religious fanaticism. Polarization characterizes the relations between the right and left, Jewish and Arab citizens, Jews of European and Middle East origin, the working and middle classes, religious and secular. Israelis are "hunkering down," increasingly isolated from the world. Young Israeli men and women are themselves brutalized as they are sent as soldiers to evict Palestinian families from their homes. Even the beauty of the land is destroyed as the authorities rush to construct ugly, sprawling suburbs and massive highways in order to "claim" the land before Palestinians creep back in. Aesthetics, human rights, environmental concerns, education, social justice these are the finer things of life that cannot coexist with displacement and occupation. "Fortress Israel," as we call it, is by necessity based on a culture of strength, violence and crudity. In the final analysis, it will be the bulldozer that razes the structure that once was Israel.

Jeff Halper, an anthropologist, is the Coordinator of the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions <[www.icahd.org](http://www.icahd.org)>. From : Jeff Halper <[icahd@zahav.net.il](mailto:icahd@zahav.net.il)>, 9 août 2002.

#### CES DÉMENTIS QUI NOUS MENACENT

*[Today's Ha'Aretz contains two frightening articles about what the Israeli government may be planning in the event of war between the U.S. and Iraq. In the first, conservative military analyst Ze'ev Schiff, reviewing U.S. intelligence reports, says that **Israel will use nuclear weapons** against Iraq in retaliation for any large chemical or biological weapon attack against Israel. In the second, former deputy mayor of Jerusalem Meron Benvenisti suggests that all the recent Israeli talk about weapons of mass destruction is meant to divert attention from Sharon's true intention --*

to have a pretext for "**transferring**" the Palestinian population from the West Bank to Jordan. Most Israelis already believe that Iraqis and Palestinians are working together to target Israel; they most often cite the fact that Iraq is making "condolence" payments of tens of thousands of dollars to the families of suicide bombers. In Benvenisti's "worst-case" scenario, if war breaks out between the U.S. and Iraq, and if Israel and Britain continue to be the U.S.' only allies in the endeavor, Jordanians will overthrow their government, which has long been seen as being too cozy with the U.S. and Israel. The resulting chaos, when added to the fear of "Iraqi collaborators" in the West Bank, will give Israel a window of opportunity to ethnically cleanse Palestinians out of the territories. Benvenisti says the scenario may sound far-fetched, but notes that a large segment Israeli public already would fully support it. Benvenisti says now is the time to speak out.--AG ]

### Preemptive Warnings of FantastiC Scenarios

By Meron Benvenisti

Day after day and seemingly deliberately, someone else fans the flames of hysteria about the possibility that an American campaign against Iraq will bring a nuclear-biological-chemical (NBC) attack on Israel. After the flaws in the old protective kits were revealed and raised the sense of danger from toxic gases, there followed anxieties about terrible epidemics of anthrax and smallpox and fears of nuclear radiation. Those fanning the anxiety are doing it in a sophisticated, indirect way, through comments and leaks about "being prepared for the threats." These are ostensibly meant to relieve public fears and prove that the authorities are ready for action in even the worst cases of "existential danger."

After the statements about **the need for mass vaccinations and issuing pills against radiation sickness**, the public should be catatonic by now. But there seems to be no panic, and there is a distinct lukewarm response to calls to bring protective kits to be refurbished. The decision makers seem more anxious than the public -- maybe they are afraid of future complaints about "failures," or maybe there are interests at work beyond the narrow matter of being ready for any threats. **Public hysteria** will no doubt peak when the authorities announce a "voluntary inoculation campaign," placing responsibility in the hands of the citizens, and taking it out of the hands of the authorities, who will then be able to say they only provided what the public wanted. But fanning anxiety with reports of "Home Front readiness" are not only about "defensive" measures. They are also about declarations by the Sharon government that "this time (as opposed to the Gulf War of 1991) Israel will certainly respond to any Iraqi attack." The worse the hysterical fear of an NBC attack -- little children crying as nurses administer vaccinations on their arms -- the more the pressure will rise to "stick it" to Saddam Hussein, whether it is necessary or not.

According to government statements, Israel might end up as the only American ally in the war - aside perhaps from Britain. The warnings about the destructive ramifications of an attack on Iraq for the entire Middle East are not deterring Israel -- they are encouraging it. Under the cover of George Bush getting even for his father, Ariel Sharon will be able to settle his own old accounts, going back to the days of Beirut. Maj. Gen. Yitzhak Eitan hinted at the strong connection between a war in Iraq and the war against the Palestinians when he said "an American attack on Iraq will also hurt the Palestinian Authority." It makes one wonder if the IDF has operational plans directly linking a reaction to an Iraqi attack with the war in the territories.

Since the Israeli government is coming up with "worst case scenarios" on NBC attacks, here's another one -- an American assault on Iraq against Arab and world opposition, and an Israeli involvement, even if only symbolic, leads to the collapse of the Hashemite regime in Jordan. Israel then executes the old "Jordanian option" -- **expelling hundreds of thousands of Palestinians across the Jordan River**. There has never been a better opportunity for that option. The ideology, moral dissolution, and motives of hatred and revenge that already allow collective punishment, curfews, closures, assassinations, house demolitions, expulsions, annulment of Israeli citizenship, and denials of legal defense, have all created a reality in which mass expulsion, wholesale house demolition, and destruction of vegetation are not considered reprehensible steps toward a criminal ethnic cleansing. A state of war -- "the threat of nuclear radiation and smallpox" -- could justify such "an appropriate" response.

Just as the authorities are getting ready for an NBC attack, worried Israelis should get ready for the possibility of a mass "transfer" of Palestinians in case of war in Iraq. Anyone who regards such ethnic cleansing as a horrible crime must raise their voice now, without any of the "ifs, ands or buts" so typical of the response to the punishment already being meted out in ever more strict steps. > Warnings about ethnic cleansing should not only come from committed leftists, but from people whose patriotism cannot be questioned. And let nobody say it would be unnecessary protest because nobody is plotting "transfer." Immunizations against smallpox, and pills against atomic radiation are based on an even more fantastic scenario. And last but not least, a word to the Americans. **They should also be warned that an assault on Iraq could unleash ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians**. Nobody should be allowed to say they weren't warned.

Thursday, August 15, By Meron Benvenisti

<http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?>>

## "If Attacked, Israel Might Nuke Iraq"

By Ze'ev Schiff

If Iraq strikes at Israel with non-conventional weapons, causing massive casualties among the civilian population, Israel could respond with a nuclear retaliation that would eradicate Iraq as a country. This grave assessment, from American intelligence, was presented last week to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

During the 1991 Gulf War, then U.S. defense secretary Richard Cheney, now vice-president, told CNN that Israel could respond with nuclear weapons to an Iraqi strike that included the use of chemical weapons. This assessment has only been strengthened since then, because according to all the signs, Iraq now has biological weapons that could cause mass casualties. According to one assessment, military-grade biological weapons can be almost as lethal as a nuclear bomb. The U.S. intelligence assessments include an analysis of possible Israeli responses. The lowest probability is that Israel would respond initially with a conventional military retaliation if it is slightly harmed, and would add a warning that a non-conventional response was possible if the Iraqi attacks on the Israeli civilian population continued.

The possibility of Israel using nuclear weapons against Iraq appears in a document submitted by military expert Dr. Anthony Cordesman, a fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Presumably, the document is based, in part, on official administration assessments. In the worst case scenario, writes Cordesman, Israel could face an existential threat to important urban areas such as Tel Aviv or Haifa. Under such conditions, it would threaten nuclear retaliation against Iraqi cities and military forces to cease the [Iraqi] attack. If the Iraqi attack were to continue, and there was a lethal biological strike on an Israeli city, Israel would certainly respond with nuclear strikes against Iraqi cities that were not yet in the hands of American forces, Cordesman says. Such an Israeli reaction could destroy Iraq as a state.

Based on this assessment and the possibility of an Israeli retaliation in the event of an Iraqi strike, it is presumed that the United States will, at the earliest stages, make a special effort to neutralize any possible use of Scud and El Hussein rockets that Iraq positions in its western regions, as it did in the Gulf War, for a more convenient launching site for attacks against Israel. During discussions in Washington, Israeli representatives asked the United States to take action against the missiles in western Iraq.

The Americans know that Iraq is not depending only on long-range missiles in its plans for using chemical or biological weapons against its enemies, including Israel. As part of its preparations, Iraq has also been working on developing pilotless planes. Unlike the usual development of drones used primarily for intelligence gathering purposes, the Iraqis are working on normal-sized planes loaded with chemical or biological weapons and intended to be flown by remote control. They are working on an Eastern European training plane and on a version of the MiG-21. Both planes have been tested.

[http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/pages/ShArt\\_1.html](http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/pages/ShArt_1.html)

Textes du *Haaretz* sélectionnés et communiqués par A Jewish Voice for Peace site at

<http://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org>

### CHAMPIGNONS PORTABLES

## Israel's F-16s said equipped to carry nuclear weapons

By Amnon Barzilai

Israel's fleet of F-16s, the backbone of the air force, are the most likely candidates to carry Israeli nuclear weapons says Nuclear Notebook, the newsletter published by the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, in its upcoming September-October issue. "It is generally accepted by friend and foe alike that Israel has been a nuclear state for several decades," says the three-page newsletter devoted to Israeli nuclear forces. It also notes that Israel's "declaratory policy" states "Israel will not be the first country to introduce nuclear weapons in the Middle East." In 2001, says the report, the Pentagon omitted Israel from a published assessment on nuclear proliferation, but a 1991 U.S. Strategic Air Command report "lists Israel, India, and Pakistan as 'de facto' nuclear weapon states."

That 11-year-old report said at the time that Israel had between 75 and 200 weapons, including bombs, missile-mounted warheads and apparently also some tactical, non-strategic nuclear weapons. Nuclear Notebook is written by Robert Norris, William Arkin, Hans Kristensen, and Joshua Handler. The newsletter says a small group of pilots have been trained for nuclear strikes, which would be launched from one or two bases, or possibly dispersed across several. It cites Tel Nof as one base equipped to load planes with nuclear weapons, and says the most likely squadrons to carry such weapons into action are the 111, 115, 116 at the Nevatim Air Force base southeast of Be'er Sheva, and squadrons 140 and 253 at the Ramon base on the Negev plateau.

Other squadrons named in the report as possible nuclear strike forces are the 109, 110, and 117 at Ramat David, and the 101, 105, and 144 at Hazor. According to the newsletter, the IDF received a 25-plane squadron of F-15 Ra'am's (Thunder) in 1998, with ranges of some 4,450 kilometers, and capable of carrying 4.5 tons of fuel and 11 tons of munitions. F-15 Eagles are earmarked by the U.S. for nuclear missions. The newsletter says it is not known if Israel has modified the F-15s it received for nuclear capability. According to Nuclear Notebook, Israel has ground missile capabilities for nuclear warheads. The Jericho, developed with France, can carry up to 750 kilograms over a 235-500 km range, with a one-kilometer degree of accuracy. The Jerichos are meant to be mission ready within two hours, and can be launched from either stationary positions or from mobile launchers. They can be fired at the rate of four-eight an hour.

In a series of tests in the 1980s, Jericho II missiles achieved ranges of 1,450 km, says the newsletter, and by 1997, it goes, there were 50 Jerichos at the Zechariya missile base, about 45 km southeast of Tel Aviv in the Judean mountains, where, according to satellite image analysis, the Jerichos are stored in caves. The newsletter notes that the Ofek 5 spy satellite, weighing 300 kg, was launched with a Shavit, and it gives the Shavit a range of up to 7,000 km, depending on the weight of its payload. As for Israel's naval forces, the newsletter says three Israeli Dolphin-class submarines, the Dolphin, Tekumah, and Leviathan, are all equipped with cruise missile capability.

August 19, 2002

<http://www.haaretzdaily.com/hasen/pages/ShArt.jhtml?itemNo=199177&contrassID>

LA PEUR DU GENDARME

## The concerned pilots

The following appeared in Ben Kaspit's column of political commentary in the weekend supplement of *Ma'ariv*. Our comment appears between square brackets.

(...) What truly infuriated Prime Minister Sharon this week was the news of graffiti reading "War Criminal" sprayed on the private cars of Air Force pilots, and the threats of the members of Gush Shalom to collect incriminating evidence against soldiers and officers involved in IDF operations in the Territories, and pass it on to international tribunals. On Tuesday [Aug.13], Sharon visited the Tel-Nof Air Force base and was surprised at how frustrated and apprehensive the senior officers are about this issue. First to raise it was the Air Force's Chief Psychologist who told of being approached by many pilots. She said the pilot were concerned, some of them "very concerned". Then the Air Force commander, General Dan Halutz, spoke out about a widespread "feeling of insult, concern and apprehension" among his officers. According to one of the participants, the pilots who spoke to Sharon were especially concerned at the possibility that some years hence, after retiring from active service and going on a family holiday to, say, Green Ireland, they would find policemen waiting at the airport with war crimes warrants. The presence of Sharon, who had already undergone a set of judicial proceedings in Belgium (and seems about to be confronted with new ones soon) made the pilots' apprehensions all the more sharp.

At the cabinet meeting on the following day [Wed., Aug 14], Sharon seemed shaken when he recounted this experience to the ministers. "It is inconceivable" he murmured. "These people want to hand our soldiers over to the enemy" [sic - Sharon concept of "the enemy" clearly seems to include European police forces and international courts]. Defence Minister Ben Eliezer vehemently concurred with the Prime Minister. He also gets similar feedback from army officers, and he too is furious. This is the first time in the past weeks that the PM and his Defence Minister have found common ground on any specific issue. In both of their bureaus, withering criticism is heard about the Attorney General and his staff, who are described as "dragging their feet" in pressing charges against the "informers".

Sat, 17 Aug 2002 "Gush Shalom (Israeli Peace Bloc)" <info@gush-shalom.org>

JOLI LOBBY

New York. American Jewish leaders are being asked to follow a public relations strategy devised by Washington political consultants behind a million-dollar-plus public relations campaign to build American public support for Israel.

<http://www.jta.org/story.asp?id=020820-talk>

AFGHANOCIDE

## Afghanistan is on the brink of another disaster

by Robert Fisk

*The Americans now leave the beatings to Afghan allies, but the CIA are there during the beatings*

The garden was overgrown, the roses scrawny after a day of Kandahar heat, the dust in our eyes, noses, mouth, fingernails. But the message was straightforward. "This is a secret war," the Special Forces man told me. "And this is a dirty war. You don't know what is happening." And of course, we are not supposed to know. In a "war against terror", journalists are supposed to keep silent and rely on the good guys to sort out the bad guys without worrying too much about human rights.

How many human rights did the mass killers of 11 September allow their victims? You are either with us or against us. Whose side are you on? But the man in the garden was worried. He was not an American. He was one of the "coalition allies", as the Americans like to call the patsies who have trotted after them into the Afghan midden. "The Americans don't know what to do here now," he went on. "Their morale in Afghanistan is going downhill -- though there's no problem with the generals running things in Tampa. They're still gung-ho. But here the soldiers know things haven't gone right, that things aren't working. Even their interrogations went wrong". Brutally so, it seems.

In the early weeks of this year, the Americans raided two Afghan villages, killed 10 policemen belonging to the US-supported government of Hamid Karzai and started mistreating the survivors. American reporters -- in a rare show of mouse-like courage amid the self-censorship of their usual reporting -- quoted the prisoners as saying they had been beaten by US troops. According to Western officials in Kandahar, the US troops "gave the prisoners a thrashing".

Things have since changed. The American forces in Afghanistan, it seems, now leave the beatings to their Afghan allies, especially members of the so-called Afghan Special Forces, a Washington-supported group of thugs who are based in the former Khad secret police torture centre in Kabul. "It's the Afghan Special Forces who beat the Pashtun prisoners for information now -- not the Americans," the Western military man told me. "But the CIA are there during the beatings, so the Americans are culpable, they let it happen."

This is just how the Americans began in Vietnam. They went in squeaky clean with advisers, there were some incidents of "termination with extreme prejudice", after which it was the Vietnamese intelligence boys who did the torture. The same with the Russians. When their soldiers poured across the border in 1979, they quickly left it to their Afghan allies in the Parcham and Khad secret police to carry out the "serious" interrogations. And if this is what the Americans are now up to in Afghanistan, what is happening to their prisoners at Guantanamo? Or, for that matter, at Bagram, the airbase north of Kabul to which all prisoners in Kandahar are now sent for investigation if local interrogators believe their captives have more to say.

Of course, it's possible to take a step back from this dark and sinister corner of America's Afghan adventure. In the aftermath of the Taliban's defeat humanitarian workers have achieved some little miracles. Unicef reports 486 female teachers at work in the five south-western provinces of the country with 16,674 girls now at school. Only in Uruzgan, where the Taliban were strongest, has not a single female teacher been employed. UN officials can boast that in these same, poverty-belt provinces, polio has now been almost eradicated.

The UN was fighting polio before the Taliban collapsed, and the drugs whose production the Taliban banned are now back on the market. The poppy fields are growing in Helmand province again, and in Uruzgan local warlords are trying to avoid government control in order to cultivate their own new poppy production centres. In Kabul, where two government ministers have been murdered in seven months, President Karzai is now protected - at his own request - by American bodyguards. And you don't have to be a political analyst to know what kind of message this sends to Afghans.

Kabul is alive with the kind of rumours that can never be substantiated but that stick in the mind, just as the dust of Kandahar stays in the throat and on the lips of all who go there. "The British forces were right to leave," a British humanitarian worker announced over dinner in Kabul one night. "They realised that the Americans had no real interest in returning this country to law and order. They knew that the Americans were going to fail. So they got out as soon as they could. The Americans say they want peace and stability. So why don't they let Isaf (the international force in Kabul) move into the other big cities of Afghanistan? Why do they let their friendly warlords persecute the rest of the country?"

Far more disturbing are persistent reports from northern Afghanistan of the massacre of thousands of Pashtuns after the slaughter at General Dostum's Qal-i-Jangi fort last November. These mass murders, according to a humanitarian worker I have known for two decades - he played a brave role in preventing killings in Lebanon in 1982 - went on into December with the full knowledge of the Americans. But the US did nothing about it, any more than they did about the 600 Pakistani prisoners at Shirbagan, some of whom are still dying of starvation and ill-treatment at the hands of their Northern Alliance captors.

"There are mass graves all across the north, and the Americans, who know about this, have said nothing," my old friend said. "The British intelligence people knew this, too. And the British have said nothing."

There are those in Kabul who suspect that the Americans are now in Afghanistan for secondary reasons: to operate in and out of Pakistan, rather than in Afghanistan itself. "They've had plenty of muck-ups in Afghanistan and they could not base thousands of their soldiers in Pakistan," a Western officer in Kabul said. "They're safer here, and now they can go in and out of Pakistan and keep the pressure on Musharraf from here -- and on the Iranians too."

Last week, *The Independent* revealed that FBI officers have been seizing Arabs from their homes in Pakistan and bringing them across the border to Afghanistan for interrogation at Bagram.

It was the Special Forces man in the south who saw things a little more globally. "Perhaps the Americans can start withdrawing if there's another war -- if they go to war in Iraq. But the US can't handle two wars at the same time. They would be overstretched." So to end America's "war against terror" in Afghanistan - a war that has left the drug-dealers of the Northern Alliance in disproportionate control of the Afghan government, many al-Qa'ida men on the loose and absolutely no peace in the country -- we have to have another war in Iraq.

As if the Israeli-Palestine conflict is not enough. But when Donald Rumsfeld, the US Secretary of State, can identify only a "so-called" Israeli-occupied territory on the West Bank -- the occupation troops there presumably being mistaken by the Pentagon as Swiss or Burmese soldiers - there's not much point in taking a reality check in Washington.

The truth is that Afghanistan is on the brink of another disaster. Pakistan is now slipping into the very anarchy of which its opposition warned. And the Palestinian-Israeli war is now out of control. So we really need a war in Iraq, don't we?

MEURTRES JUIFS

## Tulkarem: A Week of Extreme Violence

By Rebecca Murray

August 14, 2002 -- I have just spent the past week in Tulkarem. Tulkarem straddles the line of the West Bank and Israel, where you can see the lights of Netanya and the sea in the distance. But the city is completely isolated, and this imprisonment heavily enforced by the surrounding Israeli military.

This is a city where extreme violence carried out by the Israeli military on all Palestinian citizens is hushed up. Journalists are strictly forbidden from this 'military zone'.

Apaches this past week have been flying low over the city day and night, firing into Tulkarem camp and city with routine frequency. Tanks have occupied the center and outskirts of the city, also firing often. And the soldiers in jeeps, many of them Druze, drive around constantly, shouting that if they see anyone on the street they will shoot.

The military is very busy arresting and shooting at civilians, on many occasions children as young as seven years old. Journalists have been threatened with arrest unless they get out of town immediately, their film confiscated on site. This week *Ha'aretz* reporter Gideon Levy's car was fired upon with no provocation (a bullet straight in the center of the windshield), the only thing saving his life being the bullet proof glass.

### Cold blooded executions

On Tuesday, August 7th, the military executed one of the men on their "wanted list", Ziad D'ayas, 28 years old, in cold blood. They also murdered two Palestinian civilians in the vicinity, afterwards claiming they too were "wanted". This official military statement is an absolute untruth.

One, Mahair Jesmawi, 17 years old, was a student who had just learnt moments before he had just passed his end of the year school examinations. Elated, he stepped out briefly onto the street and was killed. The other was Mohammed Saidz, 24 years old, a mechanic working in his shop who had the bad luck to be happened upon by soldiers going after Ziad. He was shot and died a slow death after ambulances were prevented from retrieving him.

This military action was conducted in a particularly gruesome way. According to eyewitnesses in neighbouring buildings, it started around 9 am that morning. Snipers, and soldiers, many in plain clothes surrounded the area of the mechanic's roof where Ziad was sleeping. They proceeded to aim and shoot, hitting Ziad in his leg and neck. Ziad fell off the roof into the shop, breaking his limbs but still alive. They then proceeded to bash him all over his body with their guns, before firing 9 dum dum bullets directly into his head, killing him instantly. Their dogs were set on the body, and acid was poured on his arms, legs, and stomach.

Ambulances were prevented from moving for five hours that morning. One tried to retrieve the three bodies that the military held in a small field outside the mechanic's house, but the ambulance was fired upon and had to turn back. Finally, a civilian car rushed the bodies to the government hospital as soon as the soldiers left the vicinity.

I viewed the bodies as they came in. Ziad's body was grotesquely tortured, limbs broken, and his skin peeled off in huge sections from the acid. His head was half blown off. Mahair, the 17 year old student, was shot in the head. And Mohammed, the mechanic, had a bullet in his torso.

Meanwhile, the houses in the area of the murders were emptied of families, as the soldiers went through each one, damaging furniture, stealing money on two occasions. A group of roughly thirty men were arrested and taken to Israel, including two wounded by live ammunition.

### The hospital and ambulances under siege

The ambulance dispatch center is next to Tulkarem's government hospital. On three occasions this past week both the hospital and ambulance entrance have been blocked by tanks and jeeps. Apparently ! this is quite normal.

On these occasions, soldiers scream at the hospital gate keepers to close the gates. Once, to punctuate their point, the soldiers fired live ammunition through the gaps in the gate, towards the emergency room entrance, hitting a car in the process. Thankfully, the car had no occupants at the time.

On these three occasions the Red Cross has been informed by the military that the ambulances cannot move **at all**. Shooting at moving ambulances is unfortunately not uncommon in Tulkarem.

### A decimated ambulance

Three days ago, the ambulance center wanted to deliver an ambulance that had been decimated by tank fire on March 7th, to the main ambulance center in Ramallah.

The attack on this particular ambulance resulted in the death of the driver, Ibrahim. The vehicle was shot upon without warning by a tank as Ibrahim was heading back to the hospital after delivering a patient. He was killed by numerous bullets to the head. His passenger, a medic called Sophia, was pushed down onto the floor of the ambulance by Ibrahim moments before he was killed, so luckily escaped with only shrapnel all over her body.

The ambulance center had to negotiate with the soldiers at Tulkarem's checkpoint to transport this badly damaged ambulance through. When a soldier saw the 30 odd bullet holes in the windshield and body of the vehicle, as well as Ibrahim's blood and hair smeared on the inside of the driver's door, he asked me what happened. When the story was told, the soldier's response was, "they must have been fired upon by their own people". "No, it was definitely an Israeli tank," I said. [caught on film, eyewitness accounts, as well as the medic's account] "Well... then they must have been terrorists," the soldier adamantly replied.

### Summer camp for kids continues under fire

The summer camp for children is popular, but often caught up in the violence. The kids have been in the downtown area on numerous occasions when the tanks come in to the downtown area and start firing.

The kids who attend (roughly 7 - 10 years old) are from both the city and the camp. Every morning the kids, escorted by the teachers run single file along the sides of buildings to reach the summer camp. The same routine happens upon their return home.

Running to the homes of the kids one afternoon we came across a tank and had to duck into a nearby house. The kids were terrified, one 8 year old girl sobbing with fear uncontrollably. The tank opened fire outside the house as we cowered on the floor.

Thankfully, there was a small kitten lounging on the floor. We used it to divert the kids' attention from the blasts outside, playfully pulling the kitten's tail and saying "look,look." They focused on the kitten and the small girl stopped crying. We left when the street fell silent again, and ran to their houses.

17 08 samizdat

<http://listes.samizdat.net/www/arc/multitudes-infos>

LE PETIT BOUT DE LA LORNETTE

### Iraq chose Saddam for good reason. The West needs a history lesson

by Phillip Knightley

Before Tony Blair joins the new crusaders trying to impose a "regime change", a Western "settlement" on Iraq, he should at least look at the historical facts that explain the rise of nationalist leaders such as Saddam Hussein. And while he is at it, since he is good at empathy, he might try looking at Britain through Iraqi eyes. Seen from Baghdad, the British have bombed and invaded their Country, lied to them, manipulated their borders, imposed on them leaders they did not want, kidnapped ones they did, fixed their elections, used collective terror tactics on their civilians, promised them freedom and then planned to turn their Country into a province of India populated by immigrant Punjabi farmers. Small wonder that the author Said Aburrish said to me recently: "If you think Saddam Hussein is a hard man to deal with, just wait for the next generation of Iraqi leaders."

In view of Saddam's ruthlessness in dealing with the Kurds in Iraq, his war with Iran and his Invasion of Kuwait, it is hard to conceive that there are younger Iraqi leaders who believe Saddam has not been tough enough, and that, although the United States has the most powerful armed forces in the world, Americans do not have the stomach for the sacrifices an all-out war in the Middle East would entail.

These young Iraqis take the Islamic long view of history, which suggests that the Middle East never favours the foreigner and always takes its revenge on those who, like the British and Americans, insist on seeing the region through their own eyes.

We need to go back to the First World War, when Lawrence of Arabia and Winston Churchill were imposing the first regime changes on the Middle East, to see how we have reached the situation we face today. In 1919, the recently concluded war had made everyone realise the strategic importance of oil, and in any future major skirmish a secure supply of oil would be an essential weapon. Britain already had one source: British Petroleum, owned in part by the British Government, had been pumping oil at Masjid-i-Salam, in Iran's Zagros Mountains, since 1908. But it was not enough.

So even before the peace conference began in Paris in 1919 some underhand oil trading took place. France, for example, gave Britain the oil-rich area around Mosul in Iraq, in exchange for a share of the oil and "a free hand" in Syria. Unfortunately, Britain had already promised Syria to the Syrians. It was obvious to the smarter Arab Leaders that guarantees of freedom and independence made during the War by Britain and France in return for their support against Germany's ally, Turkey, would now mean nothing.

This was confirmed at the Peace Conference when the Oil Companies pressed their governments to renounce all wartime promises to the Arabs. The Oil Companies saw only too well that oil concessions and royalties would be easier to negotiate with a series of rival Arab States, lacking any sense of unity, than with a powerful independent Arab State in the Middle East. Ironically -- in that President George W Bush now leads the new crusaders -- the only country to protest at the betrayal of the Arabs was the United States.

A commission set up by President Wilson warned that independence for states such as Palestine, Syria and Iraq, should be granted as soon as possible. And the idea of making Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth should be dropped. The report was ignored, even in Washington, and it took a further two years for the Allies to finalise their carve-up of the Middle East. The Arabs were stunned to learn that the whole Arab Rectangle lying between the Mediterranean and the Persian frontier, including Palestine, was to be placed under mandates to suit the foreign policies of Britain and France. The Arabs had simply exchanged one imperial ruler, Turkey, for another, the West.

Revolution began almost immediately. The Iraqis tried to kick us out by raiding British Establishments and killing British Troops. The British Army retaliated with collective punishment, burning to the ground every village from which any such attack was mounted. Lawrence of Arabia wrote to The Times suggesting, with heavy irony, that burning villages was not very efficient. "By gas attacks, the whole population of offending districts could be wiped out neatly, and as method of government, it would be no more immoral than the present system."

The grim truth was that something along these lines was being considered. Churchill, then Secretary of State for Air and War, suggested that the RAF should take on the job of subduing Iraq: "It would ... entail the provision of some kind of asphyxiating bombs calculated to cause disablement of some kind but not death ... for use in preliminary

operations against turbulent tribes." In the end the RAF stuck to conventional high-explosive bombs, a method we are still using today.

When Churchill appointed Lawrence to clear up the mess the Middle East had become, Lawrence began by offering to make Feisal, the man he had chosen as Military Leader of the Arab Revolt, King of Iraq. The problem was that there were several other candidates.

The most popular was an early version of Saddam Hussein, the nationalist leader Sayid Taleb, who had gained popular support by threatening a nationwide revolt if the Iraqis were not allowed to choose their own leader. Our solution was simple. We kidnapped him, and dispatched him to Ceylon.

By the time Taleb was allowed to return, Feisal had been elected King by one of those suspiciously high majorities -- 96.8 per cent. The regime changes continued. In [Trans] Jordan, we made Feisal's brother Abdullah King, and provided him with money and troops in return for his promise to suppress anti-Zionist Activity. Their father, Hussein, the Sharif of Mecca, the man who had started the Arab Revolt against Turkey, was offered £100,000 a year not to make a nuisance of himself. And that was that. Britain regarded this as redemption in full of her promises to the Arabs. The Arabs, particularly the Iraqis, did not see it that way. They have been in revolt ever since.

Saddam Hussein came to power in 1979 on a platform of Arab unity and resistance to Western Influence in the Middle East. He continues to have a following in the Arab World because he is seen as one of the few Arab Leaders prepared to stand up to the West, particularly the United States, whose interest in the area is comparatively recent. (The British Arabist, St John Philby, father of the notorious KGB Spy Kim Philby, negotiated a deal between the Standard Oil Company of California and the Saudis, and commercial production began in March 1938.)

Whether we accept that Saddam Hussein poses a threat or not, and whether this threat is so great that we can justify attacking Iraq again, we should first ask the crunch question: if the new crusaders defeat and occupy Iraq, what then? A United Nations Mandate, something like that imposed on the Country after the First World War, allowing the victorious army to remain in control of the conquered land? Or perhaps a new "Feisal" inserted as a token ruler of a reluctant population? Either course spells disaster. The cynical disposition of other people's countries and their leaders -- no matter how frightful they may appear to us -- will surely bring a bloody reckoning.

That great Arabist Gertrude Bell once warned that the catchwords of revolution -- equality and fraternity -- would always have great appeal in the Middle East because they challenged a world order in which Europeans were supreme, or in which those Europeans and their client Arab Leaders treated ordinary Arabs as inferior beings.

And so a new cycle of anger, frustration and bloodshed will begin because 800 years after the Crusades there will still be foreigners occupying Arab Lands.

*The Independent*, 4 août 2002.

<http://argument.independent.co.uk/commentators/story.jsp?story=321252>

BEAUCOUP D'EAU DANS LE GAS

## 100,000 Men and Boys, Machine-Gunned to Death!!

Memo To: Senator Kay Bailey Hutchison

From: Jude Wanniski

Re: Holy Cow!!!That's Genocide!!!

Did you happen to read the letter in the <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/08/13/opinion/L13IRAQ.html> *NYTimes* Tuesday about how Saddam Hussein in 1988 had "100,000 Kurdish men and boys rounded up, trucked to remote areas and machine-gunned to death, their bodies bulldozed into mass graves."? The reason I ask you of all people, Senator, is that I read in the <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A6355-2002Aug11.html> *Washington Post* that you are eager to pre-emptively strike Iraq to deal with this monster, **as soon as you have collected enough of a case against him**. I had wondered if you put the *Times* letter from Human Rights Watch into your Evidence Envelope, as it certainly would persuade me we should kill as many Iraqis as it would take, with bombs and bullets, to rid the Middle East of his ugly presence. You know from my previous contacts with you and your capable staff that I consider you to be among the very best U.S. Senators, in the top ten if not the top five. So if these 100,000 machine-gunned men and boys are weighing on your decision, I think you can relax on that account.

**The story is pure bunk.** I've looked into it and can tell you it never happened. The story actually began as a rumor picked up by two staff members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee who were in Kurdistan at the time the Iran/Iraq war ended in August 1988. They reported hearing that 100,000 Iraqi Kurds were **gassed** to death by Saddam's army in a matter of days, soon after he concluded his peace with Iran. **The story was dopey to begin with** as most of the Iraqi Kurds of fighting age had fought side-by-side with the Iraqi army. There were a small number of Iraqi rebels among the Kurds, who defected to the Iranians expecting Iran would win the war. Of the 2 million male Kurds in Iraq, more than half were too young or too old to be rounded up and machine-gunned, so we are talking about Saddam bumping off more than 10% of the relevant population in a matter of days. The rumor would not have gone very far, Senator, but Secretary of State George Shultz held a <http://www.polyconomics.com/searchbase/11-18-98.html> press conference and told the world that Saddam had **gassed** 100,000 men and boys of fighting age. When asked how he knew, he said it was **a secret!** Our State Department essentially confirmed the stupid rumor without an investigation.

In the years since, Human Rights Watch has conceded all those fellas could not have been killed by gas, which the Army War College tells me has a **kill rate of only 2% unless your head is in the oven**. Having raised so much money, the Human Rights Watch folks had to come up with another theory, which is how they now happen to have been rounded up, machine-gunned to death, and bulldozed into mass graves. Fourteen years ago. The folks at the Army War College (who you should talk to, by the way) tell me only **one "mass grave" was found, with 14 corpses**, and there has been no other sign of the rest of the 100,000 bullet-riddled bodies. The reason Human Rights Watch say they were "trucked to remote areas" before being bulldozed into mass graves, one might suppose, is that modern technology can spot such doings by satellite, and no such disturbances of the land have been located. They **really** must be remote because American newshounds sniffing around right after all this blood was supposed to have been spilled did not smell a thing.

<<http://www.polyconomics.com/searchbase/03-29-99.html>> Milton Viorst of the *Washington Post*, who knows Kurdistan as well as any American journalist, rushed to the spot as soon as George Shultz loosed that bolt from the blue, and reported to his readers:

From what I saw, I would conclude that if lethal gas was used, it was not used genocidally -- that is, for mass killing. The Kurds compose a fifth of the Iraqi population, and they are a tightly knit community. If there had been large-scale killing, it is likely they would know and tell the world.

But neither I nor any Westerner I encountered heard such allegations. Nor did Kurdish society show discernible signs of tension. The northern cities, where the men wear Kurdish turbans and baggy pants, were as bustling as I had ever seen them. I talked to armed Kurds near the border, members of Iraqi military units mobilized against the rebels.

On the other hand, Iraq probably used gas of some kind in air attacks on rebel positions. Journalists visiting the Turkish camps saw refugees with blistered skin and irritated eyes, symptoms of gassing. But doctors sent by France, the United Nations and the Red Cross have said these symptoms could have been produced by a powerful, but nonlethal tear gas.

Citing national security, Mr. Shultz has declined to submit the U.S. data to scrutiny, even by America's NATO allies, though State Department sources say it is the sort of information that the United States routinely shares with them. American officials acknowledge that Mr. Shultz's evidence, chiefly radio intercepts, may be subject to conflicting interpretations.

Do you see what I mean, Senator Hutchison? Doesn't it look pretty fishy? Especially when we were backing Iraq in its war with Iran? We should have been celebrating Iraq's victory -- as the Iraqi Kurds in their baggy pants seem to be doing when Milton Viorst went among them looking for angst. Do you know some people suspect that Israel had something to do with Shultz coming up with his blast against Baghdad? Remember Israel had backed Iran in the eight-year war, one of its major arms suppliers. It was certainly surprised that Iraq won. Maybe it decided it had better do something about it. You might call it "pre-emptive propaganda."

Jude Wanniski's *SupplySideInvestor*, 14 août 2002.

<<http://www.supplysideinvestor.com/showarticle.asp?articleid=2153>>

## COUP TORDU

a troubling story from B'Tselem: A fieldworker of 10 months in this prestigious human rights organization was arrested by the Palestinian Authority and charged with collaboration with the Israeli Shin Bet (secret services). After prodigious efforts, B'Tselem managed to meet privately with him in jail, where he admitted the charges. B'Tselem issued a statement saying that if the charges are true, the use of human rights activists by the Shin Bet "is very grave and could endanger both the work of B'Tselem and the lives of its investigators". It also demanded that he be given a full and fair trial by the Palestinian Authority.

One wonders: Did the Israeli Shin Bet deliberately seek to harm B'Tselem's good name by recruiting one of its workers? Did the man really collaborate? Or was he persuaded to "confess" as part of a plea bargain, lacking hope that he would get a fair trial?

De: "Gila Svirsky" [gsvirsky@netvision.net.il](mailto:gsvirsky@netvision.net.il)

Coalition of Women for a Just Peace

<<http://www.CoalitionOfWomen4Peace.org>>

*B'Tselem est une organisation qui milite pour les droits de l'homme et qui fait un excellent travail. On ne s'étonnera pas de voir les services israéliens, toujours prêts à salir tout le monde, s'attacher à compromettre une organisation qui dénonce leurs pratiques naziöides.*

## LEBENSRAUM

### Chief of Staff: "The war of independence has resumed"

IDF Chief of Staff Lt.-Gen. Moshe Yaalon granted an interview to Ari Shavit of *Ha'aretz*, which was published today. A Makor Rishon analyst noted that the terms "People of Israel" and "Nation of Israel" flowed off his tongue in a refreshingly spontaneous way. Excerpts:

"If the concept 'conquest' [referring to Israel's presence in Judea, Samaria and Gaza] ever had any relevance, it lost it as far as I'm concerned in the year 2000. Israel presented a proposal that was supposed to remove the Palestinians

from off our back, but instead [of getting off], they started stabbing us... I [therefore] maintain that the story is not 'conquest,' but rather the lack of recognition of Israel's right to exist as a Jewish State.

"The Palestinians have three stories. Their narrative in Arabic is one of mobilization for a war of jihad, non-recognition of Israel's right to exist, rejection of any attachment between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel, and mobilization of the Palestinian people for a war with the goal of bringing about Israel's collapse. In English, the story is different: occupation, colonialism, apartheid. Those are completely irrelevant terms, which are intended to furnish the Western world with familiar terminology that clarifies who the good guys are here and who the bad guys are.

"In Hebrew, they have a third story: the peace of the brave. But I know the details and I say that Arafat saw Oslo as a Trojan horse that allowed the Palestinian Authority people to enter the country, and Sept. 2000 was the date that they came out of the horse. Today, as well, the ideology of Fatah is to cause the State of Israel to disintegrate from within. They do not want to 'end the conflict,' but rather to turn Israel into a Palestinian state."

Asked whether Oslo was a mistake, Yaalon said, "You can't speak in terms of a mistake or not a mistake. After what we have gone through in the last nine years, I have many less question marks and more exclamation points. For me, ethical clarity has been created."

Dismantling Yesha settlements and unilateral Israeli withdrawals are "dangerous moves [that will] give the Palestinians strength to continue. I said this when the question of withdrawing from Joseph's Tomb arose. It was clear to me that leaving the Tomb would just give the Palestinians a push. Whoever thought that leaving the site would neutralize a point of friction was thinking like an Israeli, not like a Palestinian. Every withdrawal under violence and terrorism will only strengthen the way of violence and terrorism, and will endanger us." He agreed that even if a large military force is sometimes required to protect an isolated town, a much larger force would have to be kept there if the town were to be dismantled."

He said that the proposed partition wall separating the Arab-populated areas of Yesha from the rest of Israel "will not solve all the problems. If I had that money, I would invest it somewhere else."

"The key point here is the staying power of the Israeli society. That is the most important factor that is being put to the test at this time, and will continue to be put to the test in the near future. That is what the campaign is about. When the Palestinians initiated the confrontation, their evaluation was that Israel would not be able to withstand even a few dozen casualties. They were surprised. Operation Defensive Shield showed them that they were dealing not with a spider web, but with a tiger. But if they see cracks and a chance of [Israel's] disintegration, a prospect of Israeli capitulation, that achievement will be erased..."

"We must understand: The Palestinians have returned us to the War of Independence. Today it is clear that the State of Israel as a Jewish state is still an alien element in the region. It will take generations until various elements in the region accept its existence. Therefore, we have to go back to the ethos of standing fast, not because I am enamored of that ethos, but because there is no choice. It is an ethos of no choice."

*C'est le nouveau chef d'état-major de l'armée. Bonjours les dégâts.*

NN

Interview with Mohamed Ibrahim Kamel, ministre des affaires étrangères d'Egypte, *The Middle East Journal*, Winter 1984

<<http://www.middleeast.org/mab/mab4.htm>>

Les juifs ont tout inventé, y compris le karaté qu'ils ont rebaptisé Krav Maga, qu'ils pratiquent 22 rue Henri Barbusse,

dans un bled qui s'appelle, tenez- vous bien, Villejuif:

<<http://www.krav-maga.net/index1.htm>>

Base documentaire du réseau Voltaire sur le terrorisme:

<[http://www.affroyable-imposture.net/docs/rubrique.php3?id\\_rubrique=26](http://www.affroyable-imposture.net/docs/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=26)>

Cette base a été enrichie et comprend désormais plus de 550 documents en anglais et plus de 250 documents en français.

La technique Google (comprendre comment ça marche)

<<http://www.google-watch.org/>>

Radio Sawa, la nouvelle radio américaine pour l'Iraq, ou les enfants de Goebbels:

<<http://www.ibb.gov/radiosawa/>>

La connerie juive à haut régime: la génisse rousse (voir *Nombres*, 19) qui va permettre, aux yeux des plus absurdes, de démarrer la reconstruction du "Temple" à Jérusalem:

<[http://dunamai.com/articles/Israel/Red\\_Heifer\\_Born\\_in\\_Israel.htm](http://dunamai.com/articles/Israel/Red_Heifer_Born_in_Israel.htm)>

Voyage **au dessus** de la planète Mars. Profitez-en avant que les sionistes ne l'annexe.

<<http://www.nirgal.net/main.html>>

Gros délire ou prémonition ?

<<http://www.voxnyc.com/archives/00000001.htm>>

Les livres et les discours d'un auteur allemand un peu oublié,

Adolf Hitler, en VO. Rappelons à nos jeunes lecteurs que Hitler était un copain de Riefenstahl et qu'il était "nazi".

<<http://www.nazi-lauck-nsdapao.com/gerbon.htm>>

Meysan Th., *L'incredibile menzogna. Nessun aereo è caduto sul pentagono*, Fandango, 2002, pp. 180, Euro 15,00

Sur la radio Jack Lang avoue que son rêve, son désir profond, c'est d'être Batman.

Pour se tenir au courant des saloperies américaines, voir le site de l'International Action Center, animé par l'ancien ministre de la justice américain, Ramsey Clark:

<<http://www/iacenter.org>>

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