

"All the News We Didn't Print"

The New York Times

Special Edition Today, windy, cloudy, high 30. Tonight, clear to partly cloudy, low 22. Tomorrow, cooler, clear to partly cloudy, high 28. Weather map, Page F7.

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FREE

Leading Candidate Quits Democratic Race

Announces New Appointment and Major Shift on Israel

By CAREN Q. REELEY

CHAPPAQUA, N.Y. — Former Secretary of State Hillary Clifton has announced her decision to drop out of the 2016 presidential campaign and to retire from politics permanently. Effective immediately, she will assume the position of director of Human Rights for All Women Foundation, a new nonprofit organization with headquarters in Ramallah, New York City, Nairobi, and Charleston, S.C. Clifton made the announcement in a speech yesterday before a gathering of United Nations organization's principal body devoted to promoting women's rights.

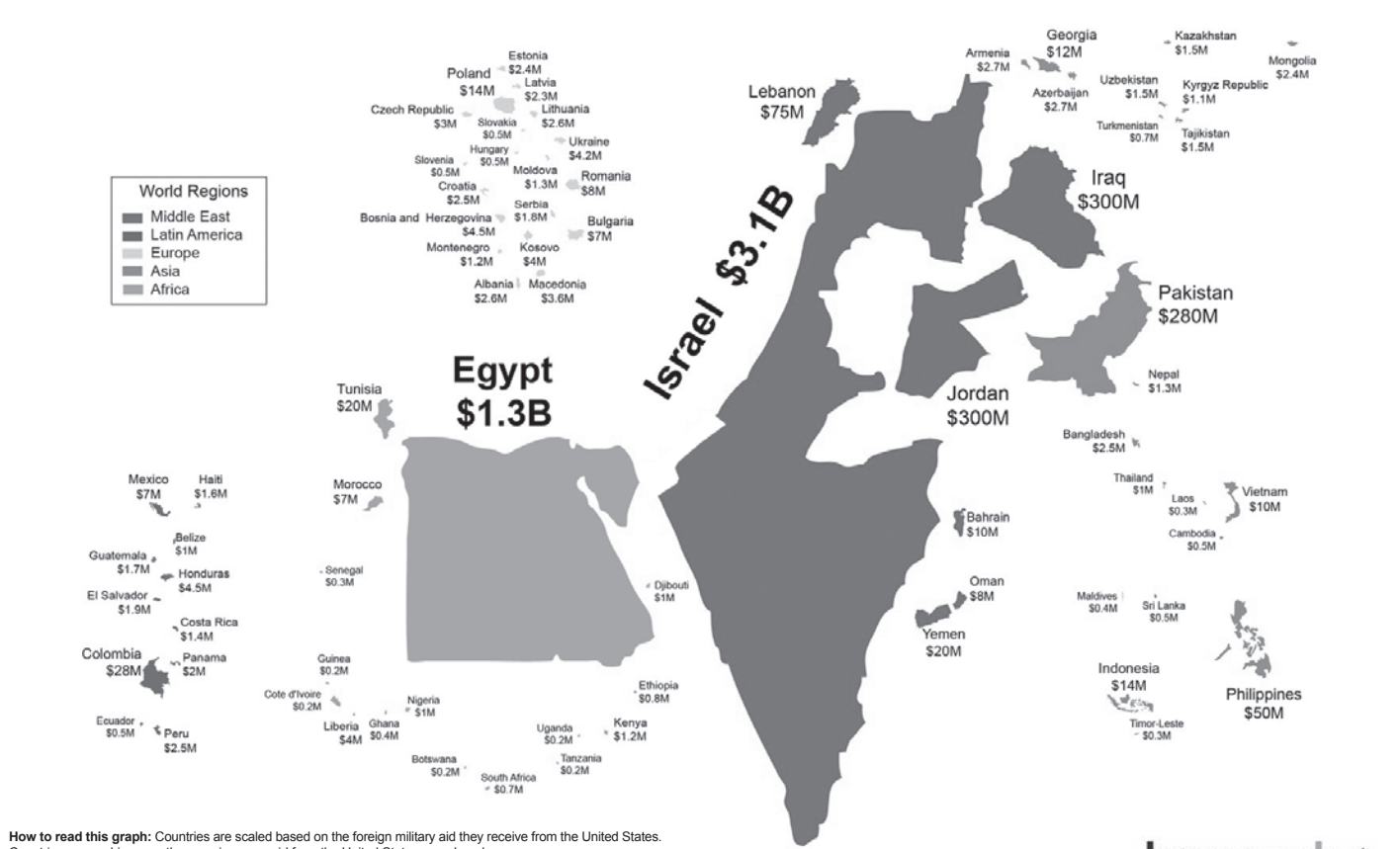
the 1995 United Nations Women's Conference in Beijing and on subsequent occasions. She emphasized that it is not just Palestinian women who suffer, but all women who are forced to live under oppressive regimes and militarized racism. In her roles as Senator and Secretary of State and in her presidential campaigns, she has endorsed the promise of equality for women worldwide. Although Clifton has often been credited with the slogan "Women's Rights Are Human Rights," it originated with women's human rights activists in the United States, South Asia and Latin America. The mission of the Human Rights for All Women Foundation is to publicize and change the conditions of oppressed women everywhere. Board members will be predominantly women who represent movements and organizations such as Black Lives Matter, Women in Law and Development in Africa, and the Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights.



Hilarity Clifton

Clifton made the announcement in a speech yesterday before a gathering of United Nations organization's principal body devoted to promoting women's rights. Further stunning the audience, she also renounced her former position on Israel and Palestine, last expressed in an interview in The Forward in October. In the interview, she promised to strengthen America's "strategic partnership and security commitment to Israel," and to maintain its "qualitative military edge." Early on in her presidential campaign, she had extended an invitation to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to visit the White House during her first month in office to discuss combating the growing influence of the global Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (B.D.S.) movement. According to Clifton, the testimonies of women in Palestine led her to conclude that the Israeli security regime has "taken a terrible toll" on women and girls in the occupied territories. She added that the policies and practices of the Israeli Defense Forces, the Israeli border patrol police, and throughout the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem are in "flagrant contradiction" of the feminist principles she endorsed at

and Development in Africa, and the Jerusalem Center for Social and Economic Rights. According to Clifton's advisors, initial inspiration for the new foundation was a statement issued by the Jerusalemite Women's Coalition, titled "Palestinian Women from Occupied East Jerusalem Call for Protection." Dated October 24, 2015, it states that the women of Occupied East Jerusalem "feel displaced even at home, as the Israeli soldiers, armed settlers, border patrol, and police, invade our homes, attack our families, strip-search our bodies, and terrorize us all." The statement called for "protection and urgent actions to prevent further agonies, uprooting, demonization, and suffering."



How to read this graph: Countries are scaled based on the foreign military aid they receive from the United States. Countries appear bigger as they receive more aid from the United States, e.g., Israel. Conversely, countries that receive less help appear smaller, e.g., Mexico.

How Countries Stack Up in Receiving U.S. Military Aid

Congress to Debate U.S. Aid to Israel

By IMOGEN LERNER

WASHINGTON — As Congress resumes discussions about spending on defense and foreign assistance, vocal disagreement over aid to Israel continues. Growing concern about Israel's human rights violations is gaining considerable traction in Washington.

Critically important to these debates is the Leahy Law, introduced in 1997 by Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT), which forbids the State and Defense Departments from providing aid to foreign military units that commit human rights violations.

While the government does not publish the names of countries that have been denied assistance, human rights advocates have reported that aid has been cut off to security force units in Bangladesh, Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, Nigeria, Turkey, Indonesia, and Pakistan.

Citing the Leahy Law, a group of Democratic senators, led by Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA), has called for a moratorium on aid to Israel, pending further discussion. Among those supporting her is a House group led by Congresswoman Barbara Lee (D-CA), co-chair of the Congressional Black Caucus and member of the House Appropriations Committee. While there is some support among Republicans, most senior Republicans resist the moratorium, saying it will hurt an important ally.

Adding fuel to the debate is the amount of aid this country has given

en to Israel since soon after that country's 1948 creation. To date, the United States has provided Israel with more than \$124 billion in bilateral assistance, making Israel the largest cumulative recipient of American foreign assistance since World War II.

Almost all aid to Israel is in the form of military assistance. In 2007, President George W. Bush entered into a Memorandum of Understanding with Israel, which provided approximately \$30 billion in foreign military assistance over a 10-year period. The actual total amount of aid is much higher, because Israel receives other sources of financing from this country.

In addition to \$3.1 billion per year in foreign military assistance from the State Department, Israel receives funds from Defense Department appropriation bills for joint missile defense programs. In August 2014, for example, the United States approved an emergency measure to grant \$225 million in additional revenue to Israel for the country's Iron Dome missile defense system.

As a result of all of these various aid grants Israel is, by far, the largest recipient of United States military assistance, with annual grants greater than such assistance received by all other countries in the world combined.

Questions about American military aid to Israel come at a time when increased Israeli government violence against Palestinian citizens of Israel and Palestinians

in the occupied territories is intensifying daily.

During recent clashes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, more than 150 Palestinians were shot by Israeli forces, as reported by the Palestinian Ministry of Health. A yet unknown number of Palestinians, perhaps as many as 30, have been shot with rubber-coated steel bullets by the Israeli military. At least one Palestinian was badly beaten. Several children are included in the casualties.

Israel is, by far, the largest recipient of United States military assistance

However, the call to implement the Leahy Law at this time relates specifically to the Israeli assault on Gaza in 2014. In a recent speech to the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, Senator Warren cited a report by a commission appointed by the U.N. Human Rights Council, which found that, from July 7 through July 29, 2014, the Israeli Defense Forces committed gross human rights violations, killing more than 2,100 Palestinians, of whom at least 1,400 were civilians and some 500 were children.

Approximately 108,000 Pales-

tinians were left homeless, and 133 schools and 23 health facilities were also damaged. Israel struck the Gaza Strip's sole power plant and its water supply system, limiting the access of hundreds of thousands of residents to electricity and clean water.

One operation, in particular, drew international attention in 2014. On July 20, Israeli military units attacked the residential neighborhood of Shejaiya in Gaza City, killing at least 17 children. U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon called Israel's attack on Shejaiya "atrocious." Ten Israeli human rights organizations expressed "serious concern" about "the potential violation of the fundamental principles of the laws of war, specifically the principle of distinguishing between combatants and civilians."

This week, Congress continues debating whether this funding should be discontinued unless Israel adheres to basic principles of human rights and international law. Senator Warren has pointed out that, "while our government looks the other way, Israel continues to use our foreign aid to engage in human rights abuses in violation of international law."

Senator Warren hopes to convene hearings in which testimony about Israeli military human rights violations will be presented by human rights groups such as Human Rights Watch in the United States, Amnesty International, and B'tselem and Gisha in Israel.

NEWS ANALYSIS

In the Footsteps of Mandela and King

A Non-Violent Movement Gains Ground Ten Years On

By ANNIE BERNHARDT

In a historic development last November, the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) became the latest in a rapidly growing number of groups to add its support to the international Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (B.D.S.) campaign protesting Israeli human rights violations. The resolution asserts that "injustice and violence...severely impact the daily lives and working conditions of Palestinian scholars, students, and the society at large."

The vote comes on the heels of another movement victory; the passage of a pro-B.D.S. resolution at the American Anthropological Association's (AAA) annual meeting. The AAA resolution joins a string of such resolutions worldwide responding to the call from Palestinian academics to "boycott Israeli academic institutions until such time as these institutions end their complicity in violating Palestinian rights as stipulated in international law." The growing

list of academic B.D.S. supporters includes professional associations and student governments as well as luminaries like theoretical physicist Stephen Hawking and philosopher Judith Butler. In August 2015, a historic statement signed by more than 1,000 African-American activists, artists and scholars declared full support for B.D.S.

Inspired in part by the B.D.S. movement against South African apartheid and previous Palestinian non-violent campaigns, a coalition of Palestinian civil society representatives from the occupied territories and Israel formed the Boycott National Committee in 2005, which launched the current movement. The demands include an end to the Israeli "occupation and colonization of all Arab lands" occupied during the June 1967 war; dismantling the separation wall; Israel's recognition of "the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality"; and "respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Pal-

estinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in U.N. resolution 194."

The boycott guidelines distinguish between institutions and individuals, emphasizing that many Israeli civil and governmental institutions closely cooperate in ways that have a direct impact on Palestinian lives. As American Anthropological Association member and Barnard College professor Nadia Abu El-Haj points out, Israeli universities have aided the military in research and development of weapons systems and in "formulating the Dahiya doctrine...that calls for the use of disproportionate force to destroy civilian property and infrastructure."

In addition to the expanding academic boycott, the B.D.S. movement has seen gains in commercial and cultural boycotts, as well as in divestment and sanctions initiatives. Succumbing to boycott pressures and the loss of \$20 billion in contracts, the French multinational company Veolia has withdrawn

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I.D.F. GENERALS BLAME ISRAELI GOVERNMENT FOR RECENT VIOLENCE

By PETER QUAKER

JERUSALEM — In a series of public statements, top-ranking generals in the Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.) have challenged Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's explanations of recent stabbings and attacks on Israelis by Palestinians, insisting that the recent wave of violence can be attributed to "Israeli actions and the ongoing impact of the occupation on Palestinians."

Dissenting views were first heard in October from two active-duty generals who are considered by a retired senior Israeli Defense Forces officer to be "among the army's top experts on Palestinian affairs." First to speak out was Major General Nitzan Alon, chief of General Staff Operations Directorate operating in the West Bank. He was followed by Brigadier General Guy Goldstein, deputy chief of the Coordinator of Government Activities in the

Continued on Page A2

The Perfume of Power. A perfume bottle labeled 'SKUNK' is shown in the foreground. In the background, a person is being sprayed with water. Text: Since 2008, the Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.) have routinely sprayed toxic "skunk water" on and into Palestinian homes and schools. Its smell has been described as "worse than raw sewage" and "like a mixture of excrement, noxious gas and a decomposing donkey."

NEW YORK A3 New Appointments at The Times The Times announces "a new era of unbiased reporting on Palestine and Israel," including three new appointments; Glenn Greenwald will become senior national security reporter. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A3 Schumer Calls for Ending U.S. Aid to Israel In a dramatic turnaround, New York's senior senator says his previous support for the State of Israel reflected "a one-sided bias" and urges an end to U.S. military aid to Israel. PAGE A3

NEW YORK A3 De Blasio To Hold Conference on Islamophobia Following his recent trip to Israel and numerous incidents of harassment against Muslims, Mayor de Blasio announces a conference on Islamophobia to be held at Brooklyn College. PAGE A3

ARTS A3 Banksy Takes Down Separation Wall Art and capital succeed in dismantling the separation wall between Israel and Palestine, as museums and galleries pay top prices for pieces of Banksy murals that covered the wall. PAGE A3

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A4 Leila Said PAGE A4



Times Announces New Appointments and Search for New Publisher

By **BOB FELLER**

At a full staff meeting yesterday, The New York Times publisher Phil T. Ochs, Jr. announced that “a new era is dawning at The Times, an era of unbiased reporting on Palestine and Israel,” adding that a search for his successor had begun. A former editor of The Times and a close family friend both speculate that the most likely successor is his son, Phil T. Ochs III, a 2002 graduate of Brown University, who has encouraged this new direction. The young Ochs spent his junior year in Ramallah and traveled throughout the area. In the interim period, the current publisher and his editorial staff will oversee a number of major transitions.

Two new appointments have already been announced. “In keeping with our new policy,” he said, “Glenn Greenwald, independent investigative reporter and co-founder of *The Intercept*, will assume the position of senior national security reporter.” Ochs also announced that Laura Poitras, a colleague of Greenwald’s, co-founder of *The Intercept* and a documentary filmmaker, has accepted the newly created position of national security consultant. According to anonymous sources at The Times, both have signed ten-year contracts.

Glenn Greenwald is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist, author, and constitutional lawyer. Along with

Laura Poitras and Jeremy Scahill, he is also a founding editor of *The Intercept*, the online publication “dedicated to producing fearless, adversarial journalism.” Founded in 2014, in the wake of Edward Snowden’s National Security Administration (N.S.A.) disclosures, its initial purpose was to serve as a platform for these disclosures. He is well known for his series in *The Guardian* detailing American and British global surveillance programs, based on classified documents disclosed by Edward Snowden. Greenwald admits that at first he thought The Times’ offer was “some kind of weird prank.”

Laura Poitras, a recipient of the MacArthur

“genius” Fellowship (2012), the Pulitzer Prize (2013), and the Academy Award for her 2014 documentary “*Citizenfour*,” about the days and weeks following the Snowden disclosures, will be working remotely from her home in Berlin, because it would be “unwise,” she said, for her to move to New York at this time.

On hearing about the appointments of Greenwald and Poitras, Edward Snowden promised to release a new cache of classified information. From his suite at the Ecuadorian Embassy in London, Julian Assange sent an encrypted message of congratulations, which Laura Poitras has promised to decrypt.

Senator Schumer Calls for End of U.S. Aid to Israel

By **VIVIAN LUO**

WASHINGTON — In a press conference this morning that left the political establishment reeling, Senator Chuck Schumer joined a growing number of Democrats in Congress in openly supporting an end to military aid to Israel. The Senator cited the events in Gaza last summer, the recent escalation in violence in the occupied West Bank, and discussions with the Palestinian and solidarity community in his constituency as he spoke of an “urgent need to restore the United States’ moral standing on the international stage.”

As the “war on terror” escalates throughout the Middle East, Schumer stressed the urgency of a drastic change in foreign policy. “My previous statements come uncomfortably close to a one-sided bias,” he said outside the Capitol, “that has no place in politics: not in Syria, not in Israel or Palestine, and certainly not in the halls of Congress.”

The turnaround is one of the most dramatic policy shifts in congressional history. Until this morning Schumer’s legacy

was destined to be defined by a fiercely hawkish Zionism that some critics characterized as anti-Arab and anti-Muslim. As recently as last year, Schumer mentioned that the Hebrew translation of his name was shomer, meaning “guardian” or “watcher” and that his role in the Senate was to protect the State of Israel. He also became one of the only Democrats to oppose President Obama’s nuclear agreement with Iran and, after the Paris terrorist bombings, called for a “pause” in allowing Syrian immigrants to enter the United States.

In another interview, in 2010, Schumer defended the blockade of Gaza because “Palestinians don’t believe in the Torah; they don’t believe in King David.” This morning, however, Schumer retracted these earlier statements. “Israeli justifications for war are eerily similar to the anti-Semitic policies under which Jews have suffered for centuries,” Schumer said. “The Torah and King David are no justification for a U.S. foreign policy that supports extrajudicial killings, bombings and displacement of thousands of civilians in Gaza, the West

Bank and East Jerusalem.”

In a statement emailed to supporters after the press conference, Schumer reiterated support for the Leahy Law, a United States human rights law that prohibits State and Defense Department funding of foreign security, military and police units that have committed serious human rights violations.

“The arbitrary raids, arrests and detentions of Palestinians without trial, the lack of access to water, the impediment of freedom of movement, the mass confiscation of lands and home demolitions — what can we call the activities of the Israeli military if not gross violations of human rights? The United States simply cannot support it any longer,” he said.

The Senator’s shift is likely to anger many of his pro-Israel supporters. “Now it is more important than ever for the United States to show support for our closest allies. What Schumer has done is not only anti-Israel, it is also anti-American,” said Marshall Wittmann, a spokesperson for the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the powerful pro-Israel lobby commonly known as Aipac.



Senator Chuck Schumer

But many of his supporters were pleasantly surprised. Echoing the growing unease among America’s liberal Jewish communities over the Israeli government’s increasingly militaristic and jingoistic policies, 73-year-old Sheldon Bronstein, for example, remarked outside Zabar’s yesterday morning, “I was raised in a religious Jewish household, but I never understood how those in my community could support the occupation. Schumer’s been our senator forever and, for the most part, he’s been no worse than the rest of them. I’m thrilled that he’s finally seen the light.”

MAYOR DE BLASIO CONFRONTS ISLAMOPHOBIA FOLLOWING TRIP TO ISRAEL

By **WILLIAM J. HASHBAUM**

In a press conference yesterday morning, Mayor Bill de Blasio announced that he is hosting a conference at Brooklyn College on Islamophobia, including the impact of recent developments in Israel-Palestine on Arab and Muslim residents of New York City.

He chose Brooklyn College to host the conference because, he said, “members of that community, especially students, have suffered the consequences of Islamophobia in the recent past.” He added that, among other things, the conference would address “recent incidents of New York Police Department surveillance of students and administrative curtailment of Students for Justice in Palestine within CUNY (City University of New York).”

In October, 2015, Mayor de Blasio attended a conference on anti-Semitism in Jerusalem. This annual gathering of mayors is organized by the American Jewish Congress and other Jewish groups. In his whirlwind 48-hour trip, Mayor de Blasio met with Israeli officials, including Prime Minister Netanyahu, and later visited the Western Wall and Yad Vashem. To mollify his critics, including the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which called his trip “one-sided,” he also met with Palestinian and Jewish children at a bilingual school near Jerusalem.

Upon returning to New York, he reassessed the trip. “I don’t want to pretend to understand the nuances of this highly-charged political situation,” he stated at the press conference, and added that he was “disturbed” by what he observed and that he could “no longer ignore the complexities of the Israel-Palestine conflict.” The mayor said he was “stunned” by the blatant discrimination against Jerusalem’s Palestinian citizens. “It was these observations and the recent surge in violence in this contested area,” he said, “that prompted the proposal for a conference on Islamophobia.”

At the conclusion of the press conference he emphasized his solidarity with Arab and Muslim residents of New York City stating, “I am proud to represent you.”

In the Footsteps of Mandela and King

From Page A1

entirely from the Israeli market. In September, the popular home seltzer machine manufacturer, SodaStream, moved its factory out of its prior West Bank settlement location and into the Negev Desert inside Israel. Meanwhile, pressure is building on the United Nations to divest from multi-million dollar contracts with the private security firm G4S, which operates prisons in Israel and North America. Supporters argue that Americans have a particular responsibility to push for B.D.S., citing close diplomatic ties and roughly \$4 billion in annual United

States aid to Israel — more than to any other country.

The cultural boycott component of the movement has also made remarkable strides. Led by such figures as Alice Walker, Roger Waters, Naomi Klein, Mike Leigh, Ken Loach, and well-known musicians, including Lauryn Hill, have canceled their performances in Israel. Organizers argue that performing in a country that is conducting a military occupation of Palestinian lands is a form of complicity with state violence. They note that many Israeli cultural institutions receive state funding and act as de facto cultural ambassadors to promote what

Israeli Minister of Foreign Affairs Arye Merkell has identified as “Israel’s prettier face.”

While support for B.D.S. among Jews and Israelis goes back to its beginnings, increasing numbers have signed on in recent years. These include staunch Israeli supporters such as Harvard professor Steven Levitsky and University of Chicago professor Glen Weyl, who recently noted in *The Washington Post*, “Israel is settling into the apartheid-like regime against which many of its former leaders warned.”

The movement’s mounting success has alarmed Israeli politicians and their

lobbyists and supporters in the United States. Funded by national power brokers like casino mogul Sheldon Adelson and financier Lewis Eisenberg, lobbyists have spurred attempts to pass anti-B.D.S. legislation in some states similar to recent Israeli laws. The advocacy group Palestine Legal has also noted over 300 incidents of efforts to silence Palestinian rights activists who support B.D.S., mainly on college campuses.

Despite concerted opposition, the movement continues to expand unabated both in the United States and Western Europe. As Levitsky and Weyl declared, “The only tools that could plausibly shape Israeli strategic calculations are a withdrawal of U.S. aid and diplomatic support, and boycotts of and divestitures from the Israeli economy.”

THE Arts

The New York Times

Where Protests Failed, Banksy Art Frenzy Takes Down a Wall

QALQILYA, West Bank — In the West Bank town of Qalqilya, a cheering crowd of Palestinians gathered today to witness a bulldozer breaking off the final piece of the wall separating Israel from the West Bank. Its new owner, the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum in New York City, will take possession of it immediately.

HAROLD POTTER
CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

In a campaign that started three years ago, famed graffiti artist Banksy systematically covered the wall with his iconic images in order to lure collectors to achieve what years of protests and lawsuits could not.

A fierce bidding war ensued, with images fetching prices ranging from \$10,000 to \$1.9 million. The separation wall has since been broken apart and distributed to galleries, museums, and investors around the world.

Critics have long held that the wall both symbolizes and physically enforces an Israeli regime of apartheid. This historic art project, they contend, has dealt a mortal blow to Israel’s campaign to unilaterally redraw its borders, expand its control over precious water resources, and destroy the Palestinian economy.

Though its path deep inside the occupied West Bank violates the Geneva Convention’s

rules governing occupation, the wall has proven to be immune to all manner of legal and civil interventions. These have included rulings from Israeli and international courts and an ongoing campaign of non-violent protest that has seen thousands of arrests, injuries and deaths of unarmed Palestinians.

Banksy instead leveraged the power of capital to break through the illegal obstruction. He insisted the profits be distributed to Palestinian villages and the some 57,000 families whose land had been forcibly confiscated to build the wall, or whose livelihood had been destroyed by it. Israeli government officials uncharacteristically declined comment.



Israel’s plan to expand its territory deep into the occupied West Bank through its separation wall was dealt a mortal blow through the power of art.

COME HEAR PALESTINIAN-AMERICAN PERFORMANCE POET REMI KANAZI

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NOTZ
REMI KANAZI

Poet Remi Kanazi reads from “Before the Next Bomb Drops,” his recent meditation on the ongoing Zionist ethnic cleansing of Palestinians, then sits for a conversation on poetry, trauma and social justice for Ferguson to Gaza, and how American Jews can do their part to achieve peace and justice for all people.



“In a chilling, provocative and decidedly radical poetry book, Kanazi brings together the age-old Palestinian and Arab culture of poetry and the medium of a new age of American BreakBeat poets.”

Daphna Thier, Socialist Worker

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Our New Editorial Policy: Rethinking Israel-Palestine

Throughout its history, The New York Times has aimed to uphold the highest principles of fairness and accuracy in our news coverage. We take this very seriously. We now recognize this sense of fairness has been absent in our paper's coverage of ongoing conditions in Israel and Palestine.

Having met for the past several months with leaders of Palestinian and Jewish peace organizations, our editorial staff recognizes that accusations of bias in our coverage have been well-founded. For example, it has come to our attention that, during the period of September-October 2015, eighteen headlines depicted Palestinians, while none depicted Israelis, as instigators of violence. Our news stories referred to Palestinian violence 36 times and Israeli violence only twice. We used the word "terrorist" to describe Palestinians 42 times, but only once to describe an Israeli.

In light of this reality, The Times editorial staff has decided to make several changes in our editorial policy with regard to coverage of events in Israel-Palestine. These changes are an attempt to address both realities on the ground and the concerns

readers have expressed about fairness in our coverage. Some changes will regard substance.

We will also be attentive to distortions of style and attribution. When reporting views of government and security officials, we will be careful to indicate when something is alleged or attributed rather than to convey it as known fact.

In addition, we are aware that a disproportionate number of our news stories in the past year and a half have focused on Israeli government statements and positions or the views of Israeli Jewish citizens; only a small fraction have featured Palestinian speakers, whether officials and advocates or residents who experience the effects of Israeli policies in everyday life. When reporting on victims of violence, we have profiled and named Jewish Israelis more frequently than we have Palestinian victims. Beginning now, we will attempt to redress this and other imbalances. To this end, one of our immediate goals is to add correspondents from the region who are Palestinian, and to include reporters and authors of opinion pieces who are reflective of the communities they are covering or writing about.

Israeli Incitement

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Israel Arrests 5 in Crackdown on Online Incitement," (Jan. 11): Your article on the arrests of young Palestinians on the basis of Facebook posts supposedly encouraging violence against Israelis, is silent about the daily incitement against Palestinians by Israelis, even in the upper echelons of the government. Prime Minister Netanyahu's recent speech following

the murders in Tel Aviv is an egregious example of how the leadership of Israel encourage violence and hate against Palestinian citizens in their public comments. Why did The Times not report on that speech as incitement?

KAREN O'NEILL
Cleveland, Ohio

The "Made in Israel" Label

TO THE EDITOR:

Your report on the newly introduced legislation to undermine the European Union's efforts to hold Israel accountable to international law ("Bill Introduced to Combat EU Labeling of Israeli Products," Jan. 13) is strikingly devoid of context. The European Commission's effort to underscore Israel's exploitation of the occupied territories is not an isolated example of exerting economic pressure on Israel. The increasing success of the international B.D.S. movement is also directed at Israel's oppressive treatment of Palestinians. To suggest that "the policy carves out a special legal rule for Israel," or that "making special rules for Israel has the undesired

effect of reducing Israel's incentives to take international law seriously" completely ignores Israel's blatant and ongoing flouting of international law. It is Israel that continually moves the goal posts and refuses to play by the rules. Witness, for example, the Green Line, the separation wall, and the never-ending, illegal encroachment of settlements on Palestinian-owned land. It is heartening to learn that the European Commission is taking steps to censure Israel for its egregious behavior.

EDYE B. MELTZER
New York

Aid to Israel Needs to Be Revisited

For more than fifty years, United States law has explicitly mandated a link between foreign aid and the human rights records of nations receiving that aid. The Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 states that a "principal goal of the foreign policy of the United States shall be to promote the increased observance of internationally recognized human rights by all countries." To facilitate the implementation of that goal, Congress enacted the Leahy Law in 1997, which forbids assistance to "any unit of the security forces of a foreign country if the Secretary of State has credible information that such unit has committed gross violations of human rights."

While the Leahy Law has been used to revoke aid to Colombia, Nigeria, Turkey, Indonesia, and several other countries whose military units have engaged in human rights violations, all attempts to invoke the law against units of the Israeli Defense Forces (I.D.F.) have been ignored in Washington. Given that reports

of such violations have been highly contested, we supported Washington's refusal to act. In recent weeks, Senator Elizabeth Warren (D-MA) has spoken out bravely on the issue, marshaling persuasive evidence concerning the behavior of the I.D.F. during its 2014 assault on Gaza that compels us to reconsider our position. Senator Chuck Schumer (D-NY) has also reversed his former position and now supports an end to United States military aid to Israel.

In response to international criticism, Israel asserted "military necessity" as justification for its devastation of Gaza in the summer of 2014. However, two of the world's most respected independent human rights organizations, Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, found little evidence of military justification for the widespread loss of life and property damage in Gaza.

Their conclusions were confirmed in all import-

ant respects by the Report of the Independent Commission of Inquiry on the 2014 Gaza Conflict that was prepared at the request of the United Nations Human Rights Council. The descriptions in that report of wanton destruction of such non-military targets as apartment houses, medical facilities, a police station, and sanitation and water facilities provide a compelling refutation to Israel's assertion of military necessity.

Then there is, perhaps, the most damning fact of all: despite the Israeli army's capacity, including the world's most technologically advanced weaponry to detect and pinpoint military targets, almost two-thirds of the 2,251 Palestinians killed by Israel were civilians. Of those, nearly one-third, 551, were children. In addition, 11,231 Palestinians, including 3,436 children, were injured.

Senator Warren has done an important public service by bringing to the public's attention the facts

presented by the reports of these disinterested agencies. Her advocacy has led this newspaper to reassess its long-held position that Israel's treatment of the Palestinians is not a matter of concern for our government.

The Foreign Assistance Act commands that foreign aid not be used to compromise human rights principles. It is time to make that command a reality with regard to United States aid to Israel.

Pursuant to the Leahy Law, the State Department should withdraw aid from military units of the Israeli Defense Forces that are responsible for the gross violations of human rights committed in Gaza in 2014. Failing action by the State Department, we support the call by Senator Warren and her colleagues for congressional hearings to investigate the link between U.S. foreign aid and Israeli human rights abuses.

THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED

By Leila Said

Who Stokes Violence at the Al-Aqsa Mosque Compound?

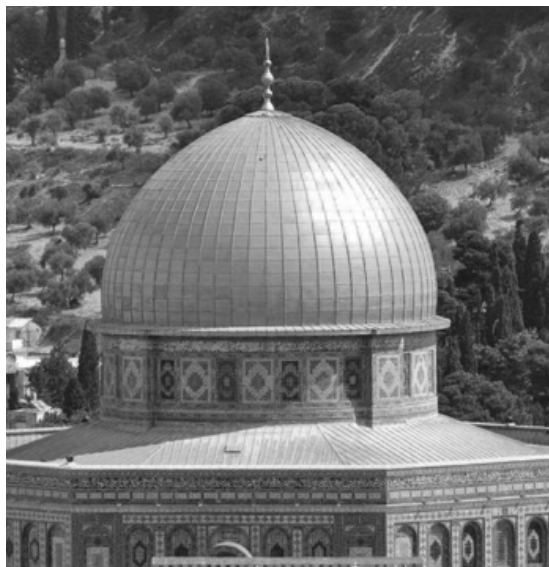
Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu has tried to explain the recent anger and responses to Israeli provocations of Palestinians in East Jerusalem as "deep-seated hatred of Jews." But we need to look more closely at the Israeli government's own actions—and specifically its encouragement of messianic Jewish extremists who have been provoking tensions and violence around the historic Noble Sanctuary mosque complex in occupied East Jerusalem, known as the Temple Mount to Jews.

Located in the Old City of East Jerusalem and covered with scenic gardens, the Noble Sanctuary is revered by both Muslims and Jews. But for centuries only Muslim prayer was permitted there, since, for Jews, a strict halakhic (religious) ban forbade visiting.

Messianic Jewish extremists and the Noble Sanctuary

Up until five years ago, no more than 300 Jews visited each year, whereas about three million Muslims come to the site annually. Today the ban is supported by the site's official Jordanian caretakers, and also ratified by an agreement between the Jordanian government, the United States, and, at least officially, Israel itself.

Despite the agreement, the Israeli government has, by fits and starts, been changing the status quo at the site—fully aware that its gestures are provocative and likely to incite violence. For while these Temple Mount extremists often couch their goals in terms of religious freedom and civil rights, their ultimate goal is to destroy the Noble Sanctuary and build a Jewish temple in its place. Funding and other encour-



David Braglin

agement from Netanyahu's government have helped to expand the Temple Mount movement to alarming proportions, effectively mainstreaming it within Israeli soci-

ety in recent years. Today, a number of mainstream Israeli religious leaders support the messianic goals of the movement, while a number of senior members of Netanyahu's party and governing coalition have been aggressively campaigning to impose Jewish Israeli sovereignty over the site.

At least 10 Israeli organizations are now active in the campaign for increased Jewish control over the Noble Sanctuary. The Education Administration has even been allowing extremist Temple Mount activists to indoctrinate Israeli schoolchildren into the movement and encouraging Jewish students to visit the Noble Sanctuary. Meanwhile, senior Israeli government

ministers have openly called for the construction of a Jewish temple in the Noble Sanctuary, something which would almost certainly provoke major violence in the region and beyond.

At the same time, the numbers of Jews visiting the Noble Sanctuary (accompanied by Israeli police) in recent years has grown rapidly. By the end of 2015, they were more than 15,000—up from 9,000 four years ago. As the right-wing Jerusalem Post noted in January 2015: "The trend is driven by several activist groups that encourage Jewish Israelis and tourists to visit the Temple Mount, saying they wish to reassert the Jewish connection to the site."

Palestinians' fears that Israel will attempt to forcibly partition the Noble Sanctuary are further fueled by the fact that the Israeli government has already partitioned another historic Palestinian mosque, the Cave of the Patriarchs in Hebron in the occupied West Bank, which was divided by Israel following the massacre of 29 Palestinian worshippers by an Israeli-American

settler in 1994.

Even Jewish Israeli critics have warned that these threats to the status of the Al-Aqsa Mosque Compound will wreak havoc. Yaakov Stein, Professor of Political Science at Hebrew University, told The New York Times, "This ancient collection of sites, which both Muslims and Jews revere, should have been administered with the utmost tact, yet our government seems to think an iron fist is needed. This is another sign that right-wing and often fanatical Jews now have the upper hand with the Israeli state under Likud."

Netanyahu's hollow disclaimers to the contrary, Palestinians see these developments as signs of an Israeli plan to take over the entire Noble Sanctuary compound, and their fears are not without justification. In the larger context of fifty years of illegal occupation, they become deliberate provocations designed to elicit violence and thus to justify massive crackdowns on people already living under constant surveillance and militarized violence. □

Questions for the Media

By Aurora Levins Morales

Today, there are more than 6.5 million Palestinian refugees living mainly in refugee camps in the occupied territories (East Jerusalem, the West Bank, Gaza), and in neighboring countries in the Middle East (Jordan, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, Iraq), and more than 400,000 internally displaced Palestinians in the occupied territories and Israel. They are the survivors of the mass expulsion of Palestinians that accompanied Israel's creation (the Nakba, "catastrophe" in Arabic), the descendants of these survivors, and those driven from their homes and lands in the intervening decades. Aurora Levins Morales' "Questions for the Media" might also apply to Palestinian refugees - Editors.

If Beirut has been a city for 37 centuries and Paris for 20, why doesn't anyone refer to explosions in Beirut as attacks on music, culture, civilization? Why don't all the stories start with how ancient and rich with history it is, how in all those centuries of invasions, occupations, wars, it was never abandoned, how it keeps raising its head?

We know the name of the band and what song the band was playing in the concert hall in Paris when the gunmen opened fire. We know what teams were playing at the stadium, and how far along they were in the game. We know the names of the restaurants. What kind of food they served.

So why can't you tell me what Adel Termos

You don't mention the rise in anti-immigrant racism.

and his little girl were buying in the open air market in Beirut when he threw himself on the second bomber and saved hundreds of lives? Or who was buying bread at the bakery, or about the families walking home after work? What is the bakery called? Why haven't you profiled the mosque, told us how long it's been there, who goes there every Friday?

Why do you call that neighborhood of

Bourj al-Barajneh, where people were filling bags with vegetables, walking hand in hand after a long day, thinking about dinner, "a Hezbollah stronghold" and describe the 10th arrondissement of Paris as "progressive, hip, diverse, vibrant?"

You tell us about a typical Friday night in Eastern Paris, of groups of friends sitting in cafés. How they sip coffee by day and dance in clubs at night. You tell us it's a working class place, just regular folks, about the Turkish kebab place and Vietnamese restaurant, the newly arrived and long established immigrants. You don't mention the rise in anti-immigrant racism. You don't mention French colonialism. Its part in this. You tell us about the bullets in the pizzeria window.

You interview residents by name. They say they were targeted for their civilized values. You tell us about innocence.

When it comes to Beirut, you go on and on about factions and offensives, and who claimed responsibility, and who is retaliating for what, and who swears revenge. You say the people there are Shia, as if that is enough, as if that's an explanation. You don't tell us what they do for a living, how they feel about their city. You don't tell us who has always shopped at that market, who sells the best tomatoes, which businesses lost their windows, who lives just down the street, about the groups

REFUGEES welcome!



of friends sitting together, talking and laughing, about a typical Thursday evening, about neighbors, about long established and newly arrived immigrants, about shellshocked Syrian refugees, about the music, the flowers, the smell of cooking. You just repeat "stronghold," so we will stop thinking civilian, family, shopkeeper, innocent. So we'll think casualties and not people.

This is what I want to know: can you tell me the names of the people? I need to know their names. □

Aurora Levins Morales is a Puerto Rican Jewish writer, poet and Latina feminist.