



Israel Massacres Rafah Refugee Camp; Netanyahu Crosses Biden's "Red Line" Without Consequences

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Glenn Greenwald (GG): Defenders of the Israeli war in Gaza, and they are legion in both parties in the United States love to say things whenever some atrocity occurs that makes them sound like some war weary general or some combat soldier who has seen war in its utmost form. They say things like, Yeah, war is how civilians die, things happen. Now you'll notice they didn't say that on October 7th, when Hamas reacted to decades of what it perceives as repression and violence aimed at its country and its people. People morally objected, including us, by saying that there are actual limits and rules and morality and ethics and legal limitations of the conduct of war. And if those are violated, as happened on October 7th, then it requires condemnation. But the people who said that, who support Israel, Oh, Hamas did all these terrible, impermissible things, these atrocities, now turn around when Israel incinerates dozens of children and they say, Yeah, there's no limits on war, there are no rules at war, war is hell, and everyone knows that. Now, what has distinguished the war, the Israeli war in Gaza, from most of the wars that we've seen, if not all in the 21st century, and even going back decades in the 20th century to World War two, is a whole variety of unique circumstances, beginning with the fact that Gaza does not have open battlefields where two armies can fight. Gaza is one of the most densely packed and populated places on Earth. It has an overwhelmingly civilian population of 2.3 million people, half of whom are women and children. And obviously not all men are militants. Many of them are old or too young to be. Many of them in fighting age are not militants of Hamas. And so you're talking about a huge portion of the population that has nothing to do with terrorism or war or warfare or military fighting of any kind. And yet Israel, by all accounts, has killed tens of thousands of them, including women and children of all kinds. And it has destroyed 70% of residential buildings, obliterated homes, destroyed apartment buildings. It has destroyed the civilian infrastructure and civilian life in Gaza, so that even once this war ends, it will be almost impossible for decades to return to any semblance of a normal life. They have destroyed the water system, the sewer system. Israel has used hunger and starvation and famine as a weapon of war, as it vowed to do when its defence minister proclaimed in the first week that we will not allow any food or water into Gaza, and they made good on that, which is why that population, even the ones who continue to survive, are facing mass famine. We last Friday showed you the testimonial of a British surgeon who just got back from Gaza, and he

described how he saw many patients on the operating table who had treatable and survivable injuries, but who ended up dying because their bodies could not sustain even basic surgeries or fight off even the most common infections because their bodies were so malnourished, they were essentially falling apart on the operating table. And this has been going on for seven months now. And we've had scenes before that were so horrific that even Israel, which never apologises, was forced to do so, such as when two months ago it killed seven aid workers from the World Central Kitchen that feeds war victims around the world. Even though those three cars they were riding in were marked very prominently as aid workers, even though they had coordinated with the Israeli military about the route that they would take. And because it's led by a celebrity chef, because they were all Westerners, because one of them was an American citizen, Israel was forced to apologise for that attack. But that's no different than what's been happening in Gaza constantly, as a complete, indiscriminate disregard of the value of Palestinian lives. And I wish that Israel supporters, and I don't mean all his real supporters, but supporters of this war, people who defend everything Israel does, there are a lot of Israel supporters for whom this is not true, but many for whom it is would just admit that they do not place any value on the lives of Palestinians or Arabs and Muslims. It's so obviously true. I wish people would acknowledge it. Some do, but the vast majority of people are unwilling to acknowledge that, even though it is the necessary conclusion of what it is that they're supporting, including what happened yesterday in Gaza.

According to Reuters, from a report earlier today, quote, *Israeli attack on Rafah tent camp kills 45 people, prompts international outcry*. Quote, "Palestinian families rushed to hospitals to prepare their dead for burial after a strike late on Sunday night set tents and rickety metal shelters ablaze". Remember, this is a refugee camp. 80% or 90% of the Gazan population are internally displaced. They have nowhere to live. Their cities have been destroyed. There's nowhere to go in Gaza, that is safe other than where they told them to go, which was Rafah. And that's where Israel attacked. Quote, "Israel's military, which is trying to eliminate Hamas in Gaza", at least so says the Israeli government, "said it was investigating reports that a strike it carried out against commanders of the Islamic militant group in Rafah had caused the fire. Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu said the strike had not been intended to cause civilian casualties. Survivors said families were preparing to sleep when the strike hit the Tel Al-Sultan neighbourhood where thousands were sheltering after Israeli forces began a ground offensive in the east of Rafah over two weeks ago. Quote, ' We were praying... and we are getting our children's sleep beds ready to sleep. There was nothing unusual, then we heard a very loud noise and fire erupted around us', said Umm Mohammed Al-Attar, a Palestinian mother in a red headscarf. 'All the children started screaming... The sound was terrifying; we felt like the metal was about to collapse on us and shrapnel fell into the rooms'. Video footage obtained by Reuters showed a fire raging in the darkness and people screaming in panic."

Now, beyond the horror that I think any healthy person feels when hearing about this and seeing it, remember, the entire world knows that this is a US sponsored war. Everything that is happening in Gaza, the video people are seeing of Palestinian children being incinerated and decapitated. You may remember that on October 7th, we heard constantly that 40 babies were murdered, that at least half of them were decapitated. It turned out none of that was true.

That was all false, a lie. Even the Israeli newspaper Haaretz investigated back in November and could document only one baby who had died on October 7th. None was decapitated. None were baked in ovens. Last night there were documented cases of babies actually being decapitated by the Israeli attack, things we've seen many times. Here is a video from that camp. We should note who deserves the credit for this video, who took it, or who first published it. We'll try and get that. But here is part of the scene, and there's all kinds of videos circulating in every major media outlet showing similar things. There you see civilians pulling out very injured or dead people from a raging fire that is consuming refugee tents, while people are screaming. You see mothers carrying out children. You see dead bodies everywhere. You see babies that appear to be dead or people covered in blood. And remember, there's no working hospital essentially anywhere in Gaza anymore. I want to just note here that Palestinians are very educated people. They have some of the best surgeons and physicians anywhere in that region or even the world. Western medical organisations that go to work with Palestinians come back raving about the high level of care that Palestinian hospitals provide, very sophisticated, advanced care. There are colleges and universities all throughout Gaza and the West Bank, almost all of which have been destroyed by Israel in the last seven months in Gaza. And so you're looking at people who have always had a future. There are people who have been blockaded. They can't leave Gaza. Israel bombed their airport, threatened that they would bomb it again if they tried to rebuild it. They cannot leave by sea because the Israelis will kill them if they try and leave by sea and all of their borders, most of which are with Israel, and then one with Egypt, the US supported dictatorship, remain closed. So there are essentially people who – you can follow them on social media, 16 year old Gazans, 17, 18, 20 year olds – talk about the cities they one day hope to visit, but they're trapped inside Gaza. They haven't been able to leave for two decades because of the blockade Israel imposes on them long before October 7th. So this is already a besieged population, a population that has been subject to all kinds of horrors for decades before October 7th. But since October 7th, what has been going on there is unimaginable.

Now, the Israeli newspaper Haaretz, as I mentioned earlier, reported today, quote, *European Diplomats Warn Rafah Strike Will Intensify Pressure on Israel to Accept Cease-fire, of the International Court of Justice*. Last week, the ICJ concluded that the Israeli attack on the refugee camp violated international law and ordered Israel to cease that attack. Obviously, Israel doesn't care about international law. It doesn't care about international institutions, nor does the United States, and just ignored it. But the Europeans, including the ones that have been highly supportive of Israel, that have been financing Israel's war with the United States, that have been providing Israel weapons, are at least claiming they're so horrified that they're going to put pressure on Israel to adhere to the ceasefire if these kinds of scenes continue. Quote, "While the International Court of Justice's order to limit Israeli action in Rafah last week was, quote, 'vague enough for countries to be able to turn a blind eye', European diplomats warned that deadly Israeli attack on Rafah overnight into Monday may change that picture". "Western diplomats warned Monday that European countries may strictly interpret the International Court of Justice's decision on the IDF's operation Rafah, following the deadly incident in which dozens of civilians died as a result of an Israeli attack on the city overnight into Monday. The diplomats, who spoke to Haaretz, who represented countries that

supported Israel at the start of the war against Hamas" – so if you want to claim that Europeans are anti-Semitic and hate Israel, these are all countries that supported Israel at the start of the war against Hamas – "assessed that the Rafah incident will lead to harsh condemnations of Israel, and would also affect the way their countries treat the ICJ's order, which Israel would hope would be interpreted relatively lightly".

Now, as I indicated at the top of the show, President Biden in March gave an interview to MSNBC. Obviously, it's the most gentle, deferential, polite interview you can possibly imagine, but they did ask him whether he opposes the Israeli attack on the refugee camp in Rafah, as the Netanyahu government had been threatening to do. And when asked, Biden said, Yes, the US government opposes it without at least a concrete plan for evacuating all the civilians; which Israel never provided. And then the interviewer asked: Do you just oppose it or is it a red line? And Biden said: It's a red line. Which presidents aren't supposed to say unless they're willing to back it up if that red line is crossed. There was immense criticism toward Barack Obama when he proclaimed it a "red line" for the Syrian government to use chemical weapons as part of that civil war, where the US was trying working with ISIS and al-Qaida to remove the Assad government. And they claim that the Syrians had used chemical weapons, the UN concluded that, and then Obama did nothing. And the argument was, if you proclaim a red line presidentially and then allow that to be crossed with no consequences, you're destroying the credibility of US power. But here it's not so much about US power, it's just the fact that Biden is such a weak individual. He has no idea what he's saying half the time, but he nonetheless did affirm that this was a redline. And for the last several weeks, obviously Israel did what it promised it would do, which was ignore the red line, knowing there was nothing Biden could or would do. And the US tried to invent an excuse for why it was tolerable: No, this redline wasn't crossed because it's a very limited attack on Rafah. Now, with people being burned to death, children being incinerated, that the whole world is watching the videos of, they can no longer try and pretend that. And so, according to Axios' reporter Barack Ravid, who's actually, as we told you, an Israeli reporter who served in the Israeli Defence Forces reserves up until 2023, up until last year, and he would spend the last seven months doing absolutely nothing but dumping White House messaging about the war onto the pages of Axios and then doing the same, dumping the Netanyahu government's messaging onto the pages of Axios and because subservient message carrying of government is what the corporate media most values, this reporter, Barack Ravid, was just handed the highest award at that gala that the media throws for itself at the White House. And today he's carrying the Biden White House's message and he said, quote, *White House assessing if Israel violated the, quote, 'red line' with the Rafah strike.* Quote, "President Biden threatened earlier this month to suspend the delivery of some US-made offensive weapons if Israel entered population centres in Rafah, the city in southern Gaza viewed as Hamas' last stronghold. US officials later explained that a humanitarian crisis as a result of the mass displacement of civilians from Rafah could constitute a violation of Biden's red line. The IDF announced on Monday that it opened an operational investigation into the airstrike. Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu called the civilian deaths, quote, 'a tragic mistake'."

Now, as we pointed out, the first article that we read, which was from earlier today, was Netanyahu saying, we're investigating this, we have no idea if any civilians were being killed. I know that's being claimed, we believe we only killed Hamas militants. There was a letter to the editor of the Western Mail, letters written back in 2014, another year where Israel was aggressively bombing Gaza, nowhere near what they're doing now, but at the time, it was one of their most fatal, enduring bombing campaigns of Gaza and the letter to the editor of the Wales newspaper wrote the following: SIR – A quick guide to Israel's PR methods: 1. We haven't heard reports of deaths, will check into it; 2. The people were killed, but by a faulty Palestinian rocket/bomb; 3. OK we killed them, but they were terrorists; 4. OK they were civilians, but they were being used as human shields; 5. OK there were no fighters in the area, so it was our mistake. But we kill civilians by accident, they do it on purpose; 6. OK we kill far more civilians than they do, but look at how terrible other countries are! 7. Why are you still talking about Israel? Are you some kind of an anti-semitic?" And then the writer wrote, "Test this against the next interview you hear or watch." It was from Adam Johannes, who, among other things, is the secretary of the Cardiff Stop the War Coalition. That is such a perfect description of what the Israelis do every time something like this takes place and have been doing for a long time. It's exactly what they did when they killed those aid workers. And then finally, Netanyahu had to apologise, in the same thing he did here. But after a cycle of news saying, Oh, we don't believe it happened. Oh, we believe it happened, but it was their fault. Oh, we only killed terrorists. Oh, okay we killed and on and on... Exactly what he described. The White House National Security adviser, Jake Sullivan, who everyone understands is crafting US foreign policy, was asked last week about Biden's proclamation of a red line juxtaposed with the Israelis explicit disregarding of that red line and invasion into Gaza. And here's what he said.

Journalist: Senior administration officials said yesterday that Israel has addressed many of the US concerns regarding its operation in Rafah. 900,000 plus civilians that fled to Rafah in recent weeks. Has Israel addressed all of the administration's concerns? Does the US support what is happening in Rafah right now?

Jake Sullivan: We had detailed discussions on Rafah during my visit to Israel. These are built on weeks now, as I've discussed with you from this podium of discussions on a professional basis about Rafah and about how Israel can achieve the defeat of Hamas everywhere in Gaza, including in Rafah, while minimising civilian harm. I explained to the Prime Minister and other senior Israeli officials the president's clear position. I reiterated that position. I was briefed by Israeli officials and by Israeli professionals on refinements that Israel made to its plans to achieve its military objectives while taking account of civilian harm.

GG: Oh, don't worry. Israel has implemented refinements that they shared with Jake Sullivan, assuring him: Don't worry, we have very reliable and earnest plans in place as to how we're going to invade and bomb Rafah without killing a huge number of civilians. And then Jake Sullivan crawls back to Washington and he assures the press, Oh, don't worry, they're not going to deviate from our red line. Our red line was about killing civilians, but they assured

us in secret meetings and showed me plans for how they're going to do this without unnecessary loss of civilian life. That's what he said five days ago. Let's hear the rest.

Jake Sullivan: What we have seen so far in terms of Israel's military operations in that area has been more targeted and limited, has not involved major military operations into the heart of dense urban areas. We now have to see what unfolds from here. We will watch that. We will consider that and we will see, whether, what Israel has briefed us and what they have laid out continues or something else happens. And one of you asked me the last time I was standing at this podium: How are you going to judge this? And I said that there's no mathematical formula. What we're going to be looking at is whether there is a lot of death and destruction from this operation, or if it is more precise and proportional. And we will see that unfold and we will obviously remain closely engaged with the Israeli government as we go. That's how we see the situation.

GG: I just want you to note how pathetic they are, how weak and irrelevant they are, how empty they are. They have been proclaiming for months they will not tolerate an Israeli invasion into Rafah without guarantees that they will protect civilians. And even though civilians have been dying over the last two weeks, they've been saying, Oh, it's not very many civilians. They're being very careful, they're being very targeted. We don't have an exact number of how many civilians have to die for us to proclaim that they violated our red line, but if we start seeing major civilian deaths and massive attacks on civilians, then we'll assess the situation. They know they can't make commitments because they know there's no way politically, in terms of their donors, in terms of their voting base, in terms of the media, that they can do anything against the Israeli government, even if they wanted. They announced a very trivial suspension of a handful of weapons for a short period of time, which didn't impede the Israeli war effort at all. The Israelis already had a huge stock of those exact weapons that the United States had sent them. Just as a way of saying, you know, given that we're paying for the war, that the whole world associates us with this war, we would like you not to do horrific things to civilians that enrage the entire world, not only against you, but against us. And the Israelis proceeded immediately to go and do exactly that with this attack right in the heart of the refugee camp. In fact, in the sector that they identified as one of the safe places that they encouraged people to go. And everyone knows that what Jake Sullivan just said is completely meaningless. There's going to be no consequences for the Israelis at all. It makes the Biden administration, the United States government, look like the joke that they are. It's always been the case that the bizarre relationship is that we pay for Israel's military, we pay for their wars, we arm them, we do everything to sacrifice and jeopardise our own standing in the world to protect the Israeli government and yet we don't direct anything in that part of the relationship. The masters of that relationship are Israel. And Benjamin Netanyahu has been saying for decades, including on tape, we don't care about the Americans. We know how to speak directly to their public, we will always keep the public on our side; using that media, using our power and influence in that country. And that's exactly where the dynamic is.

Now, one of the things that always happens in these wars, and I don't just mean with Israel, I mean with wars in general, is that when the wars are proposed, when the words are about to start, it's usually in a climate of emotional intensity. So back in February of 2022, when the Russian invasion of Ukraine was depicted as a new Nazi invasion, that Putin was going to roll through all of Europe, that he was slaughtering and murdering civilians, even though the number of civilians killed in Ukraine is dwarfed by the number killed by Israel and Gaza. Remember, Israel launched more bombs and ordnance in Gaza in the first two weeks, than the United States had use in many entire years in occupying Afghanistan. But emotions were so high because the media manipulated those emotions that everybody was afraid to stand up and say, the United States should not get involved in this war. That's when it's hardest to do. That's when it's most difficult. And I remember when I was doing it at the start of the war, I said, I know that emotions are very high now, but in a few months they're going to wear off and none of the promises being made about this war are going to actually come to fruition. This war is going to be a failure. It's going to take the lives of a huge number of Ukrainians destroyed the country. We'll have enriched our arms industry and corrupt Kiev sleaze bags and operatives. And other than that, it won't have achieved anything. There's no way to stop Russia or beat Russia. And this is going to destroy Ukraine, which we will then pay for its rebuilding, for JP Morgan and BlackRock to profit from. And so many people, most people in Washington were petrified of uttering a peep against Biden's financing of the war in Ukraine. There were some people on the right who did, but very few in the mainstream wing or the establishment wing of the Democratic or Republican Parties. And then, as that policy has failed, more and more people have stood up to try and distance themselves from it. Try and find politicians in Washington who will admit that they supported and voted for the war in Iraq. They have almost evaporated, including many of them who were there at the time and voted for it, who never talk about it. As these wars go on, people don't want them on their conscience, they don't want them on the legacy. They try and distance themselves. And I knew that would happen in this war. And it's exactly happening. There were so many Democrats, including supposedly people on the left wing of the Democratic Party, who stood up after October 7th for weeks and even months, including Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren, and cheered the Israelis, defended the Israeli bombing campaign on Gaza. Bernie Sanders was praised by AIPAC for rejecting a ceasefire for months, saying a ceasefire only helps Hamas. And now that it's politically easy and politically irrelevant and they're seeing these atrocities committed, now Bernie Sanders wants to stand up and parade around as some vocal and strident opponent of Israeli aggression. Elizabeth Warren has been one of Washington's most steadfast supporters of Israel.

And I know if you're a conservative, if you're on the right, you consume a lot of right wing media, you don't believe that. You think the Democratic Party is anti-Israel, anti-Semitic, pro Hamas that is what Fox News feeds people. It's a complete lie. Joe Biden is probably the single most steadfast supporter of Israel in Washington over many decades. But Elizabeth Warren is, too. Here's what she postured as today while she watched videos of Gazan children being incinerated. Quote, "The Israeli bombing of a refugee camp inside a designated safe zone is horrific. Israel has a duty to protect innocent civilians and Palestinians seeking shelter in Rafah have nowhere safe to go. Netanyahu's assault on Rafah must stop. We need an

immediate cease fire." Completely empty, meaningless statement that had only one goal in mind that was to make Elizabeth Warren look good. And just to underscore the point here from the Huffington Post in 2014, which again, was the last time Israel really bombed Gaza. I mean, they killed a lot of Gazans in 2018. They always kill Gazans; every year. They killed Gazans throughout 2023, when supposedly everything was so hunky dory until Hamas attacked on October 7th. But 2014 was one of the big bombing campaigns that went on for a long time. And there you see the headline from Huffington Post, quote, *Elizabeth Warren Defends Israeli Shelling of Gaza Schools, Hospitals*. Quote, "The Israeli military has the right to attack Palestinian hospitals and schools in self-defence if Hamas has put rocket launchers next to them, Senator Elizabeth Warren, Democrat of Massachusetts, said last week at a local town hall, according to the Cape Cod Times. Warren, in defending her vote to send funds to Israel in the middle of its war with Hamas, said she thinks civilian casualties are, quote, 'the last thing Israel wants!'. Oh, yeah, Israel hates so much when they kill Arabs, it kills them inside. It's the last thing they want. Quote, "But when Hamas puts its rocket launchers next to hospitals, next to schools, they're using their civilian population to protect their military assets. And I believe Israel has a right at that point to defend itself". And she's been voting to send money and finance Israel for as long as she's been in Washington. Now this whole thing about using civilians as human shields, there are no open battlefields in Gaza. Hamas and militants who fight against Israel are the population. They are integrated into the population, just like you couldn't fight the Taliban in open battlefields because the Taliban is part of those communities. It's their country. But you could in Afghanistan have had open battlefields. You could have had those in Iraq as well. No one's going to face the United States military, the highest funded, most powerful military to exist, or Israel, which is financed and backed by that military on an open battlefield. And even if they wanted to, there would be no way to do that in Gaza because of how densely packed it is. So the Israelis just kill without any consideration for how many civilians they're killing. And people like Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren have been supporting that and voting for it for many years.

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