



UNITED STATES  
SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20549-0402



02046790

NO ACT  
P.E 6-17-02  
1-14465

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

July 19, 2002

Elizabeth W. Powers  
LeBoeuf, Lamb, Greene & MacRae L.L.P.  
125 West 55<sup>th</sup> Street  
New York, NY 10019-5389

Re: IDACORP, Inc.  
Incoming letter dated June 17, 2002

Art. 1934  
Section \_\_\_\_\_  
Rule 144-8  
Public Availability 7/19/2002

Dear Ms. Powers:

This is in response to your letter dated June 17, 2002 concerning the shareholder proposal submitted by to IDACORP by John J. Crapo. Our response is attached to the enclosed photocopy of your correspondence. By doing this, we avoid having to recite or summarize the facts set forth in the correspondence. Copies of all the correspondence also will be provided to the proponent.

In connection with this matter, your attention is directed to the enclosure, which sets forth a brief discussion of the Division's informal procedures regarding shareholder proposals.

Sincerely,

Martin Dunn  
Deputy Director

Enclosures

cc: John J. Crapo  
P.O. Box 400151  
Cambridge, MA 02140-0002

PROCESSED

P JUL 25 2002  
THOMSON  
FINANCIAL

LEBOEUF, LAMB, GREENE & MACRAE  
L.L.P.

A LIMITED LIABILITY PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING PROFESSIONAL CORPORATIONS

1934 Act  
Rule 14a-8(i)(3)

NEW YORK  
WASHINGTON, D.C.  
ALBANY  
BOSTON  
DENVER  
HARRISBURG  
HARTFORD  
HOUSTON  
JACKSONVILLE  
LOS ANGELES  
NEWARK  
PITTSBURGH  
SALT LAKE CITY  
SAN FRANCISCO

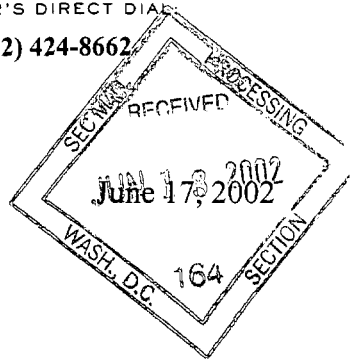
125 WEST 55TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NY 10019-5389

(212) 424-8000

FACSIMILE: (212) 424-8500

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL

(212) 424-8662



LONDON  
(A LONDON-BASED  
MULTINATIONAL PARTNERSHIP)

PARIS

BRUSSELS

JOHANNESBURG  
(PTY) LTD

MOSCOW

RIYADH  
(AFFILIATED OFFICE)

TASHKENT

BISHKEK

ALMATY

BEIJING

**VIA FEDEX**

Office of Chief Counsel  
Division of Corporation Finance  
Securities and Exchange Commission  
450 Fifth Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20549

OFFICE OF CHIEF COUNSEL  
CORPORATION FINANCE

2002 JUN 18 PM 3:39

RECEIVED

Re: IDACORP, Inc. -- Shareholder Proposal

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We are writing on behalf of IDACORP, Inc., an Idaho corporation (the "Company"), with regard to a shareholder proposal (the "Proposal") and a supporting statement (the "Supporting Statement") submitted by Mr. John Jennings Crapo (the "Proponent") in connection with the annual meeting of the Company's shareholders to be held in May 2003. We believe that the Proposal and the Supporting Statement may be properly excluded from the Company's 2003 proxy materials (the "2003 Proxy Materials"), pursuant to Rule 14a-8(i) under the Securities Exchange Act of 1934, as amended (the "Exchange Act"). We respectfully request that the staff (the "Staff") of the Division of Corporation Finance of the Securities and Exchange Commission (the "Commission") confirm that it will not recommend any enforcement action against the Company based on the omission of the Proposal and the Supporting Statement.

Copies of the Proposal and Supporting Statement are enclosed as Exhibit A.

Enclosed for filing pursuant to Rule 14a-8(j) of the Exchange Act are six copies of this letter, the Proposal and the Supporting Statement. We are forwarding a copy of this letter to the Proponent as required.

I. The Proposal and the Supporting Statement

The Proposal and Supporting Statement, dated May 4, 2002, are as follows:

MY SHAREHOLDER PROPOSAL

IDACORP/Idaho Power shareholders were exceedingly offended by the kidnapping of Bostonians, New Yorkers and other September eleventh 2001 and subsequent deaths at New York City, suburban District of Columbia and Pittsburgh, and divers other devastation and costs. 38

During the year 2003 annual meeting of stockholders and proxies we request the following reports be considered at a committee of the whole of shareholders and proxies and the shareholder meeting act on the committee report prior to voting on this proposal: 42

Medical history of British Empire Army Colonel ("Col") Thomas E. Lawrence. 10

Copy my letter from the City of New Bedford (MA) contributory retirement February 25th 2002 and divers other reports totalling fifteen pages. 22

Reccommendations to our honourable Board of Directors shall include but not exclude other action that the State of Idaho obtain writs of mandamus to compell the United States of America government to send statements and bills for punitive damages and other compensation and financial punishment for the September eleventh 2001 incidents and subsequent remedial actions by the United States of America to the head of the Commonwealth of Nations by return receipt requested service please by international mail. 79

If her majesty's governments fails to pay we recommend mandamus writs and other action to compel appointment of the USA President or his designe as Canada's Governor General ("GG") to deploy Canada's resources to pay for the liabilities, pain and suffering of the victims of September eleventh 2001 in the USA in a reasonable time. 56

SUPPORTING STATEMENT

Mr. Daniel Leonard, Esquire, of Taunton, Bristol County (MA) was well known for his magnificent coach which which Congressman John Adams, Esquire who newly returned from Philadelphia said no other lawyer in the province would presume to ride. Mr. Leonard who practiced law at Boston predicted "...some future George equally the friend of mankind with him that now sways the British sceptre may rule Great Britain by an America Parliament. Mr. Leonard sought refuge in Boston in the year 1775 from his Taunton (MA) neighbors. Mr. Peter Crapo of Freetown (MA) was one of the minutemen

who warmly greeted the King's soldiers after the Battle of Lexington and Concord (MA).  
110

Stockholder proponent is a native of New Bedford, Bristol County co-shire municipality. 13

We are very grateful our dams, generators, director, officers, personnel and their loved ones and corporation property were not targeted September eleventh 2001 sparing us the probable consequences for generations to come. 32 All the exhibits, one hundred fifteen in all will be made available at the committee of the whole by our Board of Directors which were appended to the stockholder proposal letter which were delivered to corporate headquarters at Boise by the US Postal Service, Certified Mail #7002 0510 0003 6434 5365 Return Receipt Requested please service the exhibits (printed one side only) were included with proponent's shareholder proposal and supporting statement which complies with the laws, rules and regulations of the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission. 83

\* \* \*

## II. Summary

We believe that the Proposal and the Supporting Statement may be properly omitted from the 2003 Proxy Materials because the Proposal and the Supporting Statement violate Rule 14a-5, which require that information in a proxy statement be clearly presented, and Rule 14a-9, which prohibits materially false or misleading statements in proxy solicitation materials (Rule 14a-8(i)(3)).

The Proponent has submitted proposals for the Company's 2000, 2001 and 2002 Annual Meetings, which were omitted by the Company pursuant to Rule 14a-8(i)(3).

## III. Grounds for Omission of the Proposal and the Supporting Statement

Pursuant to Rule 14a-8(i)(3), a shareholder proposal may be omitted if such proposal violates any of the Commission's proxy rules. We believe that the proposal violates Rule 14a-5 and Rule 14a-9.

Rule 14a-5(a) requires that information in a proxy statement be "clearly presented." The Proposal is vague and indefinite, as discussed more fully below, and therefore not clearly presented, and the Supporting Statement bears little relation to the Proposal. The Staff has permitted the exclusion of such materials from proxy statements in the past. See, e.g., CCBT Bancorp, Inc., available April 20, 1999; Chock Full O'Nuts Corporation, available October 14, 1998; Bradley Real Estate, Inc., available March 17, 1998; New England Electric System, available February 26, 1998; The Advest Group, Inc., available September 23, 1997; Bank of New England Corporation, available February 5, 1990.



We also believe that the Proposal and Supporting Statement violate Rule 14a-9, in that they contain false and misleading statements. The Staff has previously found stockholder proposals to be misleading within the meaning of Rule 14a-8(i)(3), and in numerous no-action letters has permitted the exclusion of such proposals, when they were "vague and indefinite" and "subject to differing determinations by shareholders voting on the proposal and the Company's Board in implementing the proposal...with the result that any action ultimately taken by the Company could be significantly different from the action envisioned by the shareholders voting on the proposal." (Exxon Corporation, available January 29, 1997). The Staff has permitted exclusion when proposals were "inherently so vague and indefinite that neither the shareholders voting on the proposal, nor the Company in implementing the proposal (if adopted), would be able to determine with any reasonable certainty exactly what actions or measures the proposal requires" (e.g., Philadelphia Electric Company, available July 30, 1992) or "so vaguely worded that the shareholders cannot fairly be expected to know what they are voting upon" (e.g., Nynex Corporation, available January 12, 1990).

We believe that the Proposal is vague, indefinite and unclear. The Proposal requests that certain reports be considered by a committee (of shareholders?) and that the shareholders on the committee report prior to voting on the proposal. The reports to be considered are:

- (1) the medical testing of Col. Thomas E. Lawrence of the British Empire Group
- (2) a letter from the City of New Bedford, MA contributory retirement and
- (3) other reports.

Proponent then suggests that the U.S. Government send a bill for damages of September 11th to the Commonwealth of Nations and, if they fail to pay, to Canada. This makes no sense.

The Supporting Statement is similarly vague, indefinite and unclear and additionally contains a false statement. The last sentence of the Supporting Statement states that the Proposal and Supporting Statement comply with the laws, rules and regulations of the SEC, which we do not believe is correct.

In addition, the materials attached to the Proposal appear to bear no relation to what he is discussing and include, among other things, psychology notes, charitable gifts receipts, pictures of carriages, and copies of papers from the Oxford Illustrated History of the British Monarchy.

It would be impossible for the Board and the Company to implement the Proposal because it is impossible to understand what the Proposal is.

The Staff, pursuant to Rule 14a-8(i)(3), has on numerous occasions permitted the omission material submitted by the Proponent not only from the Company's proxy statements (in 2000, 2001 and 2002) but also from those of a number of other companies because these proposals suffered the very same deficiencies found in the Proposal and Supporting Statement -

they were vague, misleading and not clearly presented. See American International Group, Inc., available March 21, 2002, where Mr. Crapo's proposal has some resemblance to that submitted here; IDACORP, Inc., available September 10, 2001, IDACORP, Inc., available January 9, 2001; IDACORP, Inc., available January 24, 2000; see also, e.g., Northeast Utilities Service Company, available April 9, 2001; Tri-Continental Corporation, available March 14, 2000; Northeast Utilities Service Company, available January 19, 2000; and Dow Jones & Company, Inc., available March 9, 2000).

Accordingly, we believe that the Proposal and the Supporting Statement may be omitted in their entirety from the 2003 Proxy Materials pursuant to Rule 14a-8(i)(3).

IV. Conclusion

Based on the foregoing, we request that the Staff concur in our view that the Company may omit the Proposal and the Supporting Statement in their entirety from the 2003 Proxy Materials and that no enforcement action will be recommended to the Commission if the Proposal and the Supporting Statement are excluded.

\* \* \*

The Company expects to file proxy materials with the Commission in March 2003.

If you have any questions regarding this request, or need additional information, please telephone me at (212) 424-8662. Please acknowledge receipt of this letter by stamping the enclosed additional copy of this letter and returning it in the enclosed envelope.

Sincerely yours,



Elizabeth W. Powers

Encl.

cc: Mr. John Jennings Crapo

A



RECYCLED

(MR) JOHN JENNINGS CRAPO, PRO SE, AA, ABE  
NON LWYR, NON AM, NON MS, NON PRACTISING  
LCNSD CERT SCL WRKR

PO BOX 400151

CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL MAY FOURTH (4TH)

ARTICLE # 7002 0510

YEAR 2002

0003 6434 5365

PAGE ONE (1) OF SEVEN

RETURN RCPT REQUEST - (07) PAGES

ED PLEASE

IDACORP INC., IDAHO POWER

COMPANY ATTN PLEASE

MR ROBERT W. STAHMAN, ESQUIRE

OR SUCCESSOR AS CORPORATE

SECRETARY

IDAHO POWER CORPORATION

HEADQUARTERS BUILDING

1221 WEST IDAHO STREET

BOISE IDAHO 83707-0070

DEAR MR STAHMAN

I'M THE OWNER OF OVER THREE-  
HUNDRED FORTY (340) SHARES OF IDA-  
HO POWER / IDACORP SHARES OF STOCK  
THREE HUNDRED THIRTY NINE SAID STOCK  
I'VE OWNED OVER ONE YEAR CONSECUTIVE-  
LY I DO NOT PLAN TO SELL OR OTHER  
WISE DISPOSE OF SAID STOCK UNTIL

MORE:

STCKHLDR CRAPO TO IDA  
MAY 04TH Year 2002

PAGE TWO (02) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES

THE ADJOURNMENT OF SAID STOCKHOLDER MEETING  
OF PROXIES AND SHAREHOLDERS

AT THE NEXT STOCKHOLDER MEETING  
WHICH COMES IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE  
ONE OF MAY SIXTEENTH (16th) Year 2002  
I PLAN TO PRESENT MY SHAREHOLDER PRO-  
POSAL AND SUPPORTING STATEMENT  
WHICH IS CONTAINED IN THIS LETTER  
AND MOVE THE SHAREHOLDER PROPOSAL'S  
ADOPTION

I HAVE FATIGUE, SCHIZOPHRENIA, ARTHRITIS  
AND OTHER SERIOUS PROBLEMS. I AM  
HOMOSEXUAL AND I AM INVOLVED IN A  
VERY LENGTHY SERIES OF LITIGATION  
WITH THE STATE<sup>OF</sup> MASSACHUSETTS OVER  
HOW I WAS TREATED AT MY STATE  
CIVIL SERVICE JOB HERE IN THE  
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
I AM ON FIXED INCOME AND I RETIRED  
PRIOR TO RENT CONTROL'S ABOLITION AND  
I DIDN'T EXPECT THE RENT CONTROL ABOLIT-  
ION TO AFFECT ME AND WHEN I RETIRED  
I WAS UNDER EXCEEDINGLY SERIOUS DURESS  
AND OTHER THREATENING AND COERCIVE ACTION

MORE

STCKHLDR CRAPO TO IDA MAY 04 2002  
PAGE THREE (03) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES

MY SHAREHOLDER PROPOSAL

IDACORP/IDAHO POWER SHAREHOLDERS WERE EXCEEDINGLY OFFENDED BY THE KIDNAPPING OF BOSTONIANS, NEW YORKERS, AND OTHERS SEPTEMBER ELEVENTH 2001 AND SUBSEQUENT DEATHS AT NEW YORK CITY, SUBURBAN DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, AND PITTSBURGH, AND DIVERS OTHER DEVASTATION AND COSTS 38

DURING THE YEAR 2003 ANNUAL MEETING OF STOCKHOLDERS AND PROXIES WE REQUEST THE FOLLOWING REPORTS BE CONSIDERED AT A COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE OF SHAREHOLDERS AND PROXIES AND THE SHAREHOLDER MEETING ACT ON THE COMMITTEE REPORT PRIOR TO VOTING ON THIS PROPOSAL:

MEDICAL HISTORY OF BRITISH EMPIRE ARMY COLONEL ("COL") THOMAS E LAWRENCE. 42 10

COPY MY LETTER FROM THE CITY OF NEW BEDFORD (MA) CONTRIBUTORY RETIREMENT FEBRUARY 25TH 2002 AND DIVERS OTHER REPORTS TOTTALLING FIFTHTEEN PAGES 22

RECOMMENDATIONS TO OUR HONOURABLE BOARD OF DIRECTORS SHALL INCLUDE BUT NOT EXCLUDE OTHER ACTION THAT THE STATE OF IDAHO OBTAIN WRITS OF MANDAMUS TO COMPELL THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA GOVERNMENT TO SEND STATEMENTS AND BILLS FOR PUNATIVE DAMAGES AND OTHER COMPENSATION AND FINANCIAL PUNISHMENT FOR THE SEPTEMBER ELEVENTH MORE:

STCKHLDR (RAPO TO IDA MAY FOURTH 2002  
PAGE FOUR (04) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES  
2001 INCIDENTS AND SUBSEQUENT REMEDIAL  
ACTIONS BY THE UNITED STATES OF  
AMERICA TO THE HEAD OF THE ~~BRITISH~~  
COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS BY RETURN  
RECEIPT REQUESTED SERVICE PLEASE  
BY INTERNATIONAL MAIL 79

IF HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT FAILS  
TO PAY WE RECOMMEND MANDAMUS WRITS AND  
OTHER ACTION TO COMPELL APPOINTMENT OF  
THE USA PRESIDENT OR HIS DESIGNEE AS  
CANADA'S GOVERNOR GENERAL ("GG") TO  
DEPLOY CANADA'S RESOURCES TO PAY FOR  
THE LIABILITIES, PAIN, AND OTHER SUFFERING  
OF THE VICTIMS OF SEPTEMBER ELEVEN-  
TH 2001 IN THE USA IN A REASONABLE  
TIME 56

### SUPPORTING STATEMENT

MR DANIEL LEONARD, ESQUIRE, OF  
TAUNTON, BRISTOL COUNTY (MA) WAS WELL  
KNOWN FOR HIS MAGNIFICENT COACH WHICH  
WHICH CONGRESSMAN JOHN ADAMS, ESQ-  
UIRE WHO NEWLY RETURNED FROM  
PHILADELPHIA SAID NO OTHER LAWYER  
IN THE PROVINCE WOULD PRESUME TO RIDE.  
MR LEONARD WHO PRACTICED LAW AT  
BOSTON PREDICTED "... SOME FUTURE GEORGE  
EQUALLY THE FRIEND OF MANKIND WITH  
HIM THAT NOW SWAYS THE BRITISH

MORE

STOCKHOLDER (CRAPO TO IDA MAY 04 2002  
PAGE FIVE (05) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES

"SCYPTRE MAY RULE GREAT BRITAIN BY AN  
AMERICAN PARLIAMENT. MR LEONARD  
SOUGHT REFUGE IN BOSTON IN THE YEAR  
1775 FROM HIS TAUNTON (MA) NEIGHBORS. MR  
PETER CRAPO OF FREETOWN (MA) WAS ONE  
OF THE MINUTEMEN WHO WARMLY GREETED  
THE KING'S SOLDIERS AFTER THE BATTLE OF  
LEXINGTON AND CONCORD (MA)

STOCKHOLDER PROPONENT IS A NATIVE  
OF NEW BEDFORD, BRISTOL COUNTY CO-SHIRE  
MUNICIPALITY

WE ARE VERY GRATEFULL OUR DAMS,  
GENERATORS, DIRECTOR, OFFICERS, PERSONNEL  
AND THEIR LOVED ONES AND CORPORATION PROP-  
ERTY WERE NOT TARGETTED SEPTEMBER  
ELEVENTH 2001 SPARING US THE PROBABLE  
CONSEQUENCES FOR GENERATIONS TO COME  
32 ALL THE EXHIBITS, ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN  
IN ALL WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE AT THE  
COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE BY OUR BOARD OF  
DIRECTORS WHICH WERE APPENDED TO THE  
STOCKHOLDER PROPOSAL LETTER WHICH WERE  
DELIVERED TO CORPORATE HEADQUARTERS AT  
BOISE BY THE US POSTAL SERVICE, CERTIFIED  
MAIL # 7002 0510 0003 6434 5365 RE-  
TURN RECEIPT REQUESTED PLEASE SERVICE  
THE EXHIBITS (PRINTED ONE SIDE ONLY) WERE  
INCLUDED WITH PROPONENT'S SHAREHOLDER  
PROPOSAL AND SUPPORTING STATEMENT  
WHICH COMPLIES WITH THE LAWS, RULES AND

MORE



STOCKHOLD CRAPO TO IDA MAY 04 2002  
PAGE SIX (06) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES  
REGULATIONS OF THE U.S. SECURITIES AND  
EXCHANGE COMMISSION 83

END OF STOCKHOLDER PROPOSAL  
IN EVENT YOU HAVE QUESTIONS OR  
OTHER COMMENTS I RESPECTFULLY ASK YOU  
ADDRESS THEM TO ME VIA US POSTAL  
SERVICE AT MY POST OFFICE BOX

COPIES OF THIS SHAREHOLDER PROPOSAL  
SUBMISSION WITH COPIES OF EXHIBITS AND  
LETTERS OF TRANSMITTAL I POST VIA  
CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT  
REQUESTED SERVICE PLEASE TO

7002 0510 0003 6434 5495  
HON CITY OF NEW BEDFORD CONTRIBUTORY  
RETIREMENT SYSTEM

7001 1940 0001 1081 2740  
HON COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE BOARD OF RETIREMENT, EXECUTIVE  
DEPARTMENT OF STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS  
STATE GOVERNMENT

7002 0510 0003 6434 5358  
HON DISTRICT COURT DEPARTMENT (CAMBRIDGE  
DIVISION TRIAL COURT COMMONWEALTH OF  
MASSACHUSETTS)

COPIES OF MY LETTERS OF TRANSMISSION  
THIS SHAREHOLDER PROPOSAL SUPPORTING

MORE

STCKHLDR CRAPO TO IDA  
 MAY 04TH Year 2002  
 PAGE SEVEN (07) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES  
 STATEMENT AND THE 115 (ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN EXHIBITS) (PRINTED SOLELY ONE SIDE REVERSE BLANK) EXHIBITS I SEND SAID HONOURABLE COURT, CITY RETIREMENT BOARD, STATE RETIREMENT BOARD OF RETIREMENT VIA CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED PLEASE

Sincerely -

John Jennings Crafo  
 PRO SE, NON LWR, NON PRACTISING  
 LCSW, NON LLB, NON AM, NON MS,  
 NON LPN, NON RN

ENCLOSURES 125 (one hundred twenty five)

83	>	115	56	>	135
32			79		
13	>	123	22	>	32
110			10		
		247	42		80
		<u>485</u>	38		
					247

(MR) JOHN J. CRAPO. PRO SE

PO BOX 400151

CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL MAY FOURTH (04TH)

ARTICLE # 7001

YEAR 2002

1940 0001 1081

PAGE ONE (01) OF

2740. RETURN

TWO (02) PAGE(S)

RECEIPT REQUESTED

PLEASE HON

STATE BOARD OF RETIRE -

MENT THE COMMONWEALTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

BOARD CHAIRPERSON HON

STATE TREASURER

MS SHANNON P. O'BRIEN. ESQUIRE

JUR. D

JOHN W. MCCORMACK STATE BUILDING

ONE ASHBURTON PLACE RM 1219

BOSTON MA 02108-1607

DEAR GENTLEMEN AND LADIES

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND THE  
COPY OF MY LETTER AND EXHIBITS WHICH  
I SEND VIA CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN  
RECEIPT REQUESTED TO IDACORP INC  
IDALTO POWER COMPANY WHICH I CALL TO

YOUR ATTENTION

MORE

MR CRAPO TO HON STAT BO OF RETIRE-  
MENT  
MAY 04<sup>th</sup> YEAR 2002  
P. TWO(02) OF TWO(02) pages

PLEASE INCLUDE THIS Letter and  
MY EXHIBITS INTO MY FILE THERE  
OF THE HON STATE BOARD OF  
RETIREMENT

SINCERELY  
John Jennings Crapo, Pro Se  
John J. CRAPO. AA. ABE

ENCLOSURES one Hundred  
thirty-one (131)

CC WITH ENCLOSURES VIA CERTIFIED  
MAIL Return Rcpt REQUESTED  
TO SECRETARY OF IDACORP. IDAHO POWER  
COMPANY  
TO CITY OF NEW BEDFORD CONTRIBUTORY  
RETIREMENT  
TO HON DISTRICT COURT DEPARTMENT  
CAMBRIDGE DIVISION ATTN CLERK-  
MAGISTRATE

JJC/jjc

JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE, —  
PO BOX 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL      MAY 04TH 2002  
ART# 7002 0510 0003      Page one (01) OF  
6434 5495      TWO (02) PAGES  
RETURN RCPT REQUEST.

ED PLEASE HONORABLE  
NEW BEDFORD CONTRIBUTORY  
RETIREMENT SYSTEM  
700 PLEASANT STREET FL FOUR  
NEW BEDFORD MA 02740

ATTN PLEASE  
CHAIRPERSON HON MR ARTHUR J. CARON,  
JR OR ADMIN ASSISTANT MS  
KAREN S. OLIMET

DEAR GENTLEMEN AND LADIES  
ENCLOSED IS A COPY OF MY  
SHAREOWNER PROPOSAL LETTER AND EXHIBITS  
TO IDACORP/IDAHO POWER CO WHICH I  
CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION

A COPY THIS LETTER I SEND TO  
IDACORP/IDAHO POWER CO. TO HON DISTRICT  
COURT HOLDEN AT CAMBRIDGE (MA) AND  
TO HON STATE BOARD OF RETIREMENT  
VIA CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT  
REQUESTED PLEASE

MORE

JOHN CRAPO. PRO SE TO HON CITY OF NEW  
BEDFORD RETIREMENT SYSTEM MAY 04 2002  
PAGE TWO(02) OF TWO(02) PAGES

I WRITE THE MOST OF EXCEEDINGLY  
INCONVENIENT, TROUBLING, AND THREATENING  
CIRCUMSTANCES, AND I'M IN THE MIDDLE  
OF FRIGHT. I THOUGHT YOU SHOULD KNOW TOO  
THERE WAS NO ENCLOSURE WITH THE  
LETTER YOU SENT ME

A COPY THIS LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL  
OF THIS DATE I SEND VIA CERTIFIED MAIL  
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED TO IDACORP/  
IDAHO POWER CO. TO STATE BOARD OF RETIRE-  
MENT AND TO THE STATE DISTRICT COURT,  
CAMBRIDGE MA

SINCERELY,

John Jennings Crapo, PRO SE, AA, ABE  
NON CEB, NON LWYR, NON AM, NON  
MS, NON LPN, NON RN, NON OTR

ENCLOSURES: 131 CC VIA CERTIFIED MAIL  
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED PLEASE TO  
IDACORP INC/IDAHO POWER CO. MR ROBERT W  
STAHMAN, ESQUIRE CORPORATE SECRETARY  
HON STATE BOARD OF RETIREMENT, STATE  
TREASURER HON MS SHANNON P. O'BRIEN, ESQ  
JUR. D. STATE RETIREMENT BD CHAIRPERSON  
HON STATE DISTRICT COURT, CAMBRIDGE DIVIS-  
ION, MA TRIAL COURT, HON MR ROBERT L  
MOSKOW, CLERK-MAGISTRATE, CAMBRIDGE DIVIS-  
ION, SAID HONORABLE COURT

JJC/jjc 3:24 PM, 7:09 PM MAY 06 2002

MIR JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE, AA, ABE  
PO BOX 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL MAILPIECE #7002 0510 0003 6434 5358  
MAY FOURTH (04TH) YEAR 2002  
PAGE ONE (01) OF TWO (02) PAGES  
RETURN RCPT REQUESTED PLEASE

HON DISTRICT COURT DEPARTMENT  
CAMBRIDGE DIVISION  
ATTN CLERK - MAGISTRATE HON  
MR ROBERT L. MOSCOW  
TRIAL COURT, THE COMMONWEALTH  
OF MASSACHUSETTS  
PO BOX 338  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02141-0338

DEAR MR MOSCOW

ENCLOSED I CALL TO YOUR  
ATTENTION COPY MY SHAREHOLDER  
PROPOSAL LETTER, SUPPORTING STATE-  
MENT OF THIS DATE TO IDACORP/  
IDaho POWER COMPANY WHICH I  
ASK YOU TO INCLUDE WITH MY  
FILE THERE - IN THE HONORABLE  
COURT

MORE

MR JOHN CRAPO TO HON DISTRICT COURT  
MAY FOURTH (04TH) YEAR 2002  
PAGE TWO(02) OF TWO(02) PAGES

A COPY THIS LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL  
I SEND BY CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT  
REQUESTED TO THE HONOURABLE STATE  
BOARD OF RETIREMENT. CITY OF NEW  
BEDFORD CONTRIBUTORY RETIREMENT SYS-  
TEM. AND IDA/IDaho POWER COMPANY  
IT'S BECOMMING INCREASINGLY  
MORE DIFFICULT FOR ME TO DO THIS  
BUT INSPITE THAT I TRY

Sincerely  
John Jennings Crapo  
JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE

ENCLOSURES ONE HUNDRED-THIRTY-ONE(31)  
C.C. WITH ENCLOSURES VIA CERTIFIED  
MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED TO:  
IDACORP INC/IDaho POWER COMPANY  
CORPORATE SECRETARY, MR  
ROBERT W STAHMAN, ESQUIRE  
CITY OF NEW BEDFORD CONTRIBUTORY  
RETIREMENT SYSTEM BOARD CHAIR-  
PERSON MR ARTHUR J. CARON, JUNR  
STATE BOARD OF RETIREMENT  
CHAIRPERSON HON STATE TREASURER  
MS SHANNON P. O'BRIEN, ESQUIRES  
JUR.D

JJC/JJC May Six 2002 5:14 AM  
May Seven 2002 12:51 AM



JOHN J. CRAPO ("JOHN CRAPO") TO IDACORP  
MAY FOURTH (04TH) YEAR 2002 <sup>Page ONE of my</sup> FIVE (05) PP <sup>my</sup> Table  
MY TABLE OF CONTENTS MY EXHIBITS <sup>OF</sup> CON-  
NO. COPY EXHIBIT DISCRPTION TENTS

ONE (01)

PSYCHO HISTORY BY DR

TO  
ELEVEN  
(11)

JOHN E. MACK, M.D., HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY OF UNITED KINGDOM  
OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

↓  
TWELVE (12)

COLONEL THOMAS E. LAWRENCE

HIS EMINENCE ARCHBISHOP  
HUMBERTO MEDEIROS, CARDINAL  
ARCHBISHOP OF THE ROMAN  
CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE OF  
BOSTON MAR 27 2002

THIRTEEN (13)

MARCH 27 2002  
PP 374-375, 376-377

TO

FOURTEEN (14)

GENERAL COURT MANUAL

FIFTEEN

COMMONWALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

(15) TO  
SIXTEEN (16)

JULY 23 1980 THE HONORABLE  
JUSTICE OF THE SUPERIOR  
COURT

(MANY THINGS I CAN'T FIND)  
(I WRITE IN THE MIDST OF EX-  
CEEDING INCONVENIENT,  
TROUBLING AND THREATENING  
CIRCUMSTANCES)

SEVENTEEN  
(17)

VEHICLES

EIGHT-TEEN (18)  
TO NINE-  
TEEN (19)

MR LUDWIG ON THE TRANSPORTA-  
TION OF HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY  
EMPEROR NAPOLEON'S MODE OF  
TRANSPORTATION

MORE: →

J.J. CRAPO ("JOHN CRAPO") TO IDACORP  
MAY 04TH 2002  
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OF FIVE(05) PAGES

TWENTY (20)	OPEN LETTER TO MY FELLOW TENANTS
TWENTY- ONE(21) TO	THE CITY OF NEW BEDFORD (MA) HON NEW BEDFORD MUNICIPAL CONTRIBUTORY RETIREMENT SYST- EM MS KAREN S. QUINET ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT TO THE HON BOARD OF RETIREMENT CHAIRPERSON HON. MR ARTHUR J CARON, JUNIOR
TWENTY- FIVE (25)	JOHN CRAPO TO THE HONORA- BRISTOL COUNTY DEPART <sup>MENT</sup> OF THE SUPERIOR COURT MA TRIAL COURT
TWENTY- SIX(26) TO	...
THIRTY- THREE(33)	...
THIRTY- FOUR(34) TO FORTY- ONE(41)	... BRITISH MONARCHY COMPILED BY MR JOHN CANNON AND MR RALPH GRIFFITHS
EXHIBIT FORTY-TWO (42) TO	MR DANIEL LEONARD, ESQUIRE AND DELEGATE TO THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS MR JOHN ADAMS, ESQ
FORTY- THREE(43)	...
FORTY-FOUR (44) TO	THE WORLD ALMANAC AND BOOK OF FACTS
FORTY-EIGHT (48)	...
FORTY-NINE(49)	GREAT ISSUES IN AMERICAN HISTORY 1584-1778
FIFTY(50) TO	BRITAIN YESTERDAY AND TO- DAY 1830 TO ??? MR WALTER L. ARNSTEIN
SIXTY- FOUR(64)	MORE

JOHN CRAPO TO IDACORP

MAY 04TH YEAR 2002

PAGE THREE (03) OF MY TABLE OF CONTENTS  
OF FIVE (05) PAGES

SIXTY-FIVE (65) BRITAIN YESTERDAY AND  
TO SIXTY-  
NINE (69) TODAY ---

SEVENTY (70) ~~TO~~ BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD February  
24 2002 "PHARMACIST MS WAFAA  
ALHASSAN OF QUINCY (MA)  
ALHASSAN OF QUINCY (MA)  
DOC'S ORDERS: KEEP MEDICAL HIST-  
ORY OF KIN AT FINGERTIPS..."

SEVENTY-  
ONE (71) BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD THE HOW  
BRISTOL COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT  
TO JUSTICE SUPERIOR COURT JUDGE

SEVENTY-  
TWO (72) ERNEST B. MURPHY, ESQUIRE  
CENSURED

SEVENTY-  
THREE (73) BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD February  
24 2002 BY MR ROBERT H  
MNOOKIN HIS EMINENCE  
ARCHBISHOP BERNARD FRANCIS  
CARDINAL LAW, BOSTON (MA)  
ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHDIOCESE  
"FAILED TO DISCIPLINE HIS PRIESTS  
WHO PREYED ON CHILDREN..."

SIXTY-SIX (66) THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA

TO SEVENTY (70) --- MR FRED J. KHOURI

SEVENTY-TWO  
(72) TO SAID BOOK COMPILED BY  
SEVENTY-FOUR  
(74) MR KHOURI

MORE: →

JOHN CRAPO TO IDACORP

MAY 04TH YEAR 2002

PAGE FOUR (04) OF MY TABLE OF  
CONTENTS OF FIVE (05) PAGES

SEVENTY-FIVE (75) TERRITORY AND U.S.A. STATE  
OF NEVADA ---  
SEVENTY-SIX (76) TO THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA  
EIGHTY-~~SIX~~ (86) (88) I'M SEATED  
SEVEN (87) VERY UNCOMFORTABLY  
EIGHTY-EIGHT (88) VERY BRIEFLY (SUMMA-  
RIZE) TO ~~NINETY-~~  
TWO (92)

EIGHTY-NINE (89) TO NINE-  
TY-TWO (92) THE WORLD ALMANAC AND  
BOOK OF FACTS THE  
YEAR 2002

NINETY-THREE (93)

RECEIPTS OF CERTIFIED  
MAILING TO THE  
HONORABLE BRISTOL CNTY  
SUPERIOR COURT AND  
CITY OF New Bedford BO  
OF RETIREMENT I'VE THE  
DRR'S ON THESE IF YOU WISH  
THEM TO SEE COPIES OF  
THEM

NINETY-FOUR (94) TO NINE-  
TY-FIVE (95)

6:07 AM NOW IT IS MAY 05 2002  
STAPLES, INC AND

MORE: →

JOHN CRAPO TO IDACORP  
MAY FOURTH (4TH) 2002

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

PAGE FIVE (05) OF MY TABLE OF CON-  
TENTS OF FIVE (05) PAGES

NINETY-FIVE  
(95) to  
NINETY-EIGHT  
(98)

OXFORD GUIDE TO THE US  
GOVERNMENT by MR-  
JOHN J. PATRICK, MR  
RICHARD M. FOLLS AND BY  
MR DONALD A. RITCHIE

NINETY-NINE  
(99) to ONE-  
HUNDRED-  
ELEVEN (111)

MORE ON THE BOOK BY MR  
WALTER L. ARNSTEIN

ONE HUNDRED-  
TWELVE (112)

I WRITE IN THE DARK  
THEN I REWRITE IN  
THE LIGHT

ONE HUNDRED-  
THIRTEEN (113)

REPORT CARD

to ONE (01)  
HUNDRED (100)  
THIRTEEN (13)  
FOURTEEN (14)

ONE HUNDRED  
FIFTEEN (115)

BOSTON HERALD'S MR  
DAVID R. GUARINO RE:  
STATE TREASURER AND  
RETIREMENT BOARD PRESI-  
DENT HON MRS SHANNON P.  
O'BRIEN, ESQUIRE, JUR.D

# FINI TABLE OF CONTENTS  
6:28 AM May 05 2002 #

EXHIBIT ONE (01) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN  
MAY 04 2002  
OF

(115) EXHIBITS

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE

FEB 197

James Mack, M.D. (Lecturer)

Life of T.E. Lawrence

Psycho History

Steven P. Vans

1963

revision started w/ permission

various approaches, articles (by psychiatrists & analysts)  
of mid figures

neurotic conflict -

elements of infantile sexuality -

processes related to <sup>un-</sup>conscious material & conscious  
material

Take letter or word out of context

study of families & community

community of Oxford, Eng. where he grew up

Biography - means alot in way we approach a clinical work

life in extreme detail - the force that lies with  
the individual's life

wrestle with

① reports of the experience of a radiating heart

② learning about Oxford in 1920's

JJC/jjc



EXHIBIT TWO (2) OF ONE HUNDRED  
MAY 04, 2002 FIFTEEN (15)  
OF J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE EXHIBITS

Military of the Arab - ~~control~~ control control or effect  
of rest in general fighting (no Vietnam, deemed  
much from him)

Alenbee - Lawrence + his Bedouin guerrilla fighters  
shut down 50-75,000 Jewish troops -  
a side - show. Alenbee was the feature  
in this. His was a sub-plot

British officer - and student of history of war, Lane

1919 Arab peace talks - strategic position they were in  
as result of efforts lead by Lawrence.

Paris Peace Conference (1919-1922(3))

Transferred to R.A.F. when leaving, near East (in 1921) -

Burrows, letters to B. papers. Churchill took on Lawrence  
as an advisor. Iraq, Jordan, Trans-Jordan, &

Palatine mandate resulted from all this.

Paris Peace Conference

last major European Peace Conference  
where victors could divide up the world as a  
result to wishes of those who were  
victors

EXHIBIT THREE (03) OF ONE HUNDRED  
FIFTY FIVE (115)  
MAY 04, 2002  
EXHIBITS  
OF J.J. CRAPO PRO SE

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

73, Feb 1977

act of assassination -

This goes to give him a medal, I want  
take the medal you promise to follow your commitment  
with Iraq, Jordan... etc. In a grandeur,  
he exceeded his authority

Monastery of 1920's + 1930's - this was a  
punishment he thought by what he did  
caused him to be awarded for promotion to General  
motives for moving into position of home -

met his family - then  
| Born 80's - ~~with~~ a filipino (born in 1910)  
| Bob Born 60's - principal literary executor

Nothing on that subject interests me

lots of papers opened up by handwriting

Eloement - (Rob + Saegre Chapman - displaced Irish Baron  
of 30 miles from Dublin - little given in Elizabethan times  
in 1883 - father eloped w/ governess - bore child in 1885  
1888 - F.E. put Lawrence

Arnold Lawrence Born 1911

3rd born Dublin



EXHIBIT FOUR (04) OF ONE HUNDRED -  
FIFTY FIVE  
MAY 04th Year 2002  
EXHIBITS

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

OF J. J. CRAPO, PROSE

→ 4  
sult

all kinds of falsehoods -

St. Peter's Church - Dublin

all kinds of innocent fabrications

as to when married

there's wasn't (his parents) were legitimately  
married, his parents weren't legitimately  
married - <sup>they were</sup> low church, evangelical  
Anglicans

"emasculated pussy-cat"

① one killed in France

② one who was killed also in 1965 was  
interested in group sports was disliked  
by J.E. Lawrence

J.E. Lawrence was leader of this sibling

wrote Mrs Bernard Shaw - writing paper for them in  
1970's -

1927: "so I may love me by myself

- she (me) given me a fear of

inquisition. I'll never make any

woman a mother, & then (his parents)

shouldn't have been children

EXHIBIT FIVE (05) OF one Hundred FIFTY FIVE  
 (115) EXHIBITS  
 MAY 04th Year 2002  
 OF J. J. CRAPO. PRO SE

75

Feb 1977

His file might be interpreted as an  
 attempt to restore legitimacy through  
 good works - of his family

He saw the Arab sheiks in traditions  
 of Biblical prophets - he'd redeemed  
 the sins of his family

nobility in Ireland - reduced by his  
 mother - he'd bring Arab sheiks  
 back to their nobility

When his boss died in 1915 - he became unable  
 to do something - he'd been in Near  
 East before WWI visiting historical sites  
 Crusades castles, etc

Recall of original Wainwright family & descendant  
 of Mohammed

He was beaten & sexually abused as POW &  
 Jarkis - he was derailed psychologically  
 by this experience - he was left a  
 mess character (1932-1935) dead  
 he was flayed (mentally) - to let  
 his ego - to rid himself of his sexual & physical



EXHIBIT SIX (06) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY FIVE (155) EXHIBITS  
MAY 04 2002  
OF J.-J. CRAPO, Pro Se

about 1966 -  
flaccidator  
2.7 to 3.0

difficulties with aspect of study

Rob J. Graves

Lawrence had a flaccidator problem

Sample  
of  
the  
number

Since - pushy man out a work - Lawrence  
had pitched a relation out of money -

on the screen - witness to equalities

Arnold Lawrence - had to get permission from  
him to help - all this

Libel laws - differences for trying USA & in England

penalizing himself thru out life -  
moral conscience with  
court and prosecution etc

effect of 3-4 years old, then die to form a retro-spect  
relationship in mind - but all was being  
revisited - the law was the real  
motive power

EXHIBIT Seven (07) OF one hundred  
MAY 04 2002 FIFTEEN  
OF (115)  
EXHIBITS  
J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE

Arnold Lawrence - younger brother

John Bruce - innocent  
flagellator - used for  
2700 lbs to Sunday punches

6 - ab. J. 1966 -

difficulties w this aspect of study  
on set

Rob J. Graves

Lawrence had a flagellation problem

Sumner,  
(Coptimus)  
the  
report

12-8  
1966  
1966  
8/16

(a sadistic type person)

Bruce - pushy man, out of work - Lawrence  
had pitched a relative out of money -

another airman - witness to ejaculations

Arnold Lawrence - had to get her man on from  
him to hub. all this -

Libel laws - difference in laws USA & in England

Pushing himself thru out life -  
moral masochism w  
over sexual masochism, etc.

Effort (3-4 yrs. old, then 14) to form a sister-sister  
relationship w him - but she was leaning  
towards him - his bro was the real  
masculine person.

EXHIBIT EIGHT (08) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY FIVE (115)  
 MAY 04th YEAR 2002 OF EXHIBITS  
 J. J. CRAPO. PRO SE

Arnold Lawrence - young brother  
 of the Bowler  
 flageollator  
 23 00 165  
 to [unclear]

abt 1966

difficulties w this aspect of study

on [unclear]

Rob J. Graves -

Lawrence had a flageollator problem

Swamp  
 (James)  
 in  
 [unclear]

12/8  
 12/8  
 12/8  
 12/8  
 12/8

Arnold Lawrence - had to get permission from  
 him to pub - all this -  
 and the airmen - witness to speculations

Arnold Lawrence - had to get permission from  
 him to pub - all this -

Libel laws - differences in the USA & in England

punishing himself thru out life -  
 moral masochism with  
 overt sexual masochism etc

offhand (3-4 yrs older than he) to form a [unclear] day  
 relationship w [unclear] - but she was seeing  
 [unclear] - his [unclear] was the [unclear]  
 [unclear] person



EXHIBIT NINE (09) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
MAY 04th 2002 OF

J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE

at 1966 -

difficulties with aspect of study

Rob Graves -

Laurence had a flaccidation problem

Surgeon (James) my reporter

Grace = punchy man out of work - Laurence had picked a relative out of money -

another airman - witness to ejaculations

Arnold Lawrence - had to get her man from him to hub - all this -

Libel laws - difference in the use of in England

Quintus himself turn out life - moral masochism into overt sexual masochism etc

Leffant (3rd yr older than she) to inform a retro def relationship w him - but she was seeing him - his bro was the real masochist person

2/26/66  
1/6

other  
miscellaneous  
flaccidation  
27th  
to

EXHIBIT TEN (10) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY FIVE  
EXHIBITS  
MAY 04TH YEAR 2002 OF J.J. CRAPO

Amos Lawrence - younger brother  
John Bruce - <sup>himself</sup> <sup>aged 4-7</sup>  
flagellator - <sup>over the</sup> <sup>years</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>San</sup> <sup>Antonio</sup>

4-

at 1966 -

difficulties in this aspect of study  
on set

Rob T. Brown

Lawrence had a flagellation problem

Summary  
of  
the  
subject

12  
8  
1966  
2/96  
1/16

(consolidate type person)  
Bruce - <sup>himself</sup> <sup>aged</sup> <sup>out</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>work</sup> - Lawrence  
had picked a relation out of industry -  
ambiguity - <sup>relation</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>ambiguity</sup>

Amos Lawrence had to get permission from  
him to have all this -

Liberal differences between USA & in England

Punishing himself/turn out like -  
moral masochism etc  
over setup masochism etc

effort (3-4 years, then 10) to form a relation def  
relationship to him - but she was leaning  
towards him - his bro was the best  
masculine person

JJC / jjc





EXHIBIT TWELVE (12) OF  
MAY 04<sup>TH</sup> YEAR 2002 OF  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (15) EXHIBITS

MR John J. CRAPO ✓

metro  
WEDNESDAY, MARCH 27, 2002

07 PRO SE

## Medeiros accuser reaffirms abuse claims at conference

**A former Catholic Memorial student who accused Cardinal Humberto Medeiros of molesting him in 1979 held a press conference yesterday in Rhode Island to reaffirm his accusations.**

Garry Garland, who filed a lawsuit against a Kingston priest, is also charging that Medeiros inappropriately touched him at the cardinal's Brighton residence when Garland was 14. Cardinal Bernard Law has rejected the accusations, calling the claims a "character assassination."

In a lawsuit filed last week, Garland claimed Monsignor Frederick Ryan brought him to his home at the chancery after serving him alcohol at a North End restaurant in the summer of 1979.

He said Medeiros gave him a hug before Ryan led him into his private quarters, where Ryan later abused him. The Boston Herald reported.

But over the weekend Garland changed his story, claiming that Medeiros also grabbed his groin when he hugged him that night.

Ryan has been suspended from active duty by the archdiocese.

Yesterday Garland said he wasn't making the accusations to get money, and he refuted newspaper reports that he was broke.

"Call my financial analyst. Ask why I made \$800,000 last year, \$700,000 the year before. I sold a house for \$400,000 profit, \$600,000 the year before," said Garland, WCVB-TV reported.

(Metro)

JJC/jjc

EXHIBIT THIRTEEN (13) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY FIVE (115) EXHIBITS  
MAY 04 2002  
BY MR (STOCKHOLDER)  
John J. CRAPO, PRO SE

375

Judiciary.

APPOINTED.	LEFT THE BENCH.	DIED.
1937. William Clement Giles, .	1956. Retired.	
1937. Paul Grattan Kirk.		1954.
1939. Allan Gordon Buttrick, .	1951. Retired.	
1939. Felix Forte.		
1940. Joseph Everett Warner.		
1942. John Varnum Spalding, .	1944. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	
1943. Charles Codman Cabot, .	1947. Resigned.	
1944. John Vincent Sullivan.		
1945. Richard M. Walsh, .	1946. Retired.	1952.
1946. Eugene A. Hudson.		
1946. Edward J. Voke.		
1946. Frank J. Murray.		
1946. Daniel D. O'Brien.		
1947. Horace Tracy Cahill.		
1947. Frank Edward Smith.		
1948. Charles Fairhurst.		
1949. Charles A. Rome.		
1949. David G. Nagle.		
1951. John Henry Meagher.		
1952. Wilfred J. Paquet.		
1952. Edward A. Pecca.		
1954. Edmund R. Dewing.		
1954. Rueben L. Lurie.		
1956. Donald M. Macaulay.		
1956. George E. Thompson.		
1956. Francis J. Quirico.		
1956. Charles S. Bolster.		

Judges of the Land Court since its Establishment in 1898 as the Court of Registration.

JUDGES.

APPOINTED.	LEFT THE BENCH.	DIED.
1898. Leonard A. Jones, .	1909. Resigned.	1909
1909. Charles Thornton Davis, .	1936.	1936
1936. Michael A. Sullivan, .	1937.	1957.
1937. John E. Fenton.		

374

Judiciary.

APPOINTED.	LEFT THE BENCH.	DIED.
1917. Franklin Tweed Hammond, .	1940. Resigned.	1946.
1918. Nelson Pierce Brown, .		
1918. Louis Sherburne Cox, .	1937. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	
1919. Edward Lyman Shaw, .	1921. Resigned.	
1920. Fred'k Woodbury Fosdick, .	1943.	1943.
1920. Elias Bullard Bishop, .	1934.	1934.
1920. George Aloysius Flynn, .	1927.	1928.
1921. Henry Tilton Lummus, .	1932. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	
1921. William Adams Burns, .	1949. Resigned.	1951.
1921. Stanley Etroy Qua, .	1934. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	
1922. Alonzo Rogers Weed, .	1936.	1936.
1922. Frederick Joseph Macleod, .	1935.	1935.
1922. Joseph Walsh, .	1946.	1946.
1922. Winfred Holt Whiting, .	1937.	1937.
1923. Edward Thomas Broadhurst, .	1955.	1955.
1923. Fred'c Brendlesome Greenhalge, .	1954. Resigned.	1954.
1924. Charles Henry Donahue, .	1932. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	1952.
1924. David Abraham Lourie, .	1930.	1930.
1925. Franklin Freeman, .	1926.	1926.
1925. Wilford Drury Gray, .	1939.	1939.
1926. David Francis Dillon, .	1948.	1948.
1926. Harold Putnam Williams, .	1947. App'd to Sup. Jud. C't.	
1928. Walter Leo Collins.		
1928. Daniel Theodore O'Connell.		
1929. Thomas Jasper Hammond, .	1946.	1946.
1929. John Mellen Gibbs, .	1937.	1937.
1929. Raoul Henri Beaudreau, .	1956. Resigned.	
1929. Edward Francis Hanity, .	1954.	1954.
1930. Abraham Edward Pinanski, .	1949.	1949.
1931. James Corcoran Donnelly, .	1952.	1952.
1931. John Joseph Burns, .	1934. Resigned.	1951.
1932. Frank Joseph Donahue.		
1932. Lewis Goldberg.		
1933. John Edward Swift.		
1934. Vincent Brogna.		
1934. George Francis Leary.		1954.
1935. Joseph Alphonsus Sheehan, .	1942.	1942.
1935. Thomas Henry Dowd.		
1935. Joshua Arthur Baker, .	1951.	1951.
1937. Joseph Leo Hurley, .	1956.	1956.
1937. Francis Joseph Good.		
1937. Jesse Whitman Morton.		

EXHIBIT FOURTEEN (14) OF 115 EXHIBITS  
 MAY 04TH 2002 by STOCKHLDR  
 John J. CRAPO, Pro Se JJC/jjc

ASSOCIATE JUDGES.

APPOINTED.	DIED.
1898. Charles Thornton Davis, . . . 1936. (App'd Judge, 1909.)	1936.
1909. Louis M. Clark, . . . 1914.	1914.
1914. Joseph J. Corbett, . . . 1937. Resigned.	1949.
1924. Clarence C. Smith, . . . 1943.	1943.
1937. Patrick J. Courtner, . . . 1952. Retired.	
1943. Joseph R. Cotton.	
1952. Edward McPartlin.	

LEFT THE BENCH.

PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE COURTS.

[Corrected to March 3, 1955.]

[All judges in the Commonwealth are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Council, and hold office during good behavior.]

SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT.

[General Laws, Chapter 211.]  
 Raymond Sanger Wilkins of Annisquam, *Chief Justice*.

*Justices.*  
 James Joseph Ronan of Salem.  
 John Varuun Spalding of Newton-Highlands.  
 Harold Putnam Williams of Mills.  
 Frederick L. Quinlan of Rosindale, 1960, *Clerk for the Commonwealth*.  
 Room 1412, Suffolk County Courthouse.  
 Chester A. Dolan, Jr., of Boston, 1958, *Clerk for the County of Suffolk*.  
 Room 1404, Courthouse.  
 Richard A. McLaughlin of Boston, 1959, *First Assistant Clerk for the County of Suffolk*. Room 1404, Courthouse.  
 Daniel D. Donnelly of Boston, *Second Assistant Clerk for the County of Suffolk*. Room 1404, Courthouse.  
 Grant M. Palmer, Jr. of Weston, *Reporter of Decisions*. Room 1401, Courthouse.  
 John A. Daly of Cambridge, *Executive Secretary to the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court*. Room 301, Suffolk County Courthouse.  
 Michael J. King of Boston, *Messenger of the Court*.

SUPERIOR COURT.

[General Laws, Chapter 212.]  
 Paul Cashman Reardon of Quincy, *Chief Justice*.

*Justices.*

Walter Leo Collins of Boston. Daniel Theodore O'Connell of Newton.	Edward John Voke of Chelsea. Frank Jerome Murray of West Roxbury.
Frank Joseph Donahue of Boston. Lewis Goldberg of Brookline.	Daniel Doyle O'Brien of Northampton.
John Edward Swift of Milford. Vincent Brogna of Boston.	Horace Tracy Cahill of Braintree. Frank Edward Smith of Taunton. Charles Fairhurst of Greenfield.
Thomas Henry Dowd of Brookline.	Charles A. Rome of Newton.
Francis Joseph Good of Cambridge.	David G. Nagle of Boston.
Jesse Whitman Morton of Reading.	John Henry Meagher of Worcester.
Paul Grattan Kirk of Newton. Felix Forte of Somerville.	Wilfred J. Paquet of Watertown. Edward A. Pece of Waltham.
Joseph Everett Warner of Taunton.	Edmund R. Dewing of Wellesley. Reuben L. Lurie of Brookline.
John Vincent Sullivan of Middleborough.	Donald M. Macaulay of Longmeadow.
Eugene Albert Hudson of Brookline.	George E. Thompson of Melrose. Francis J. Quirico of Pittsfield.
Thomas Dorgan of Boston, 1958, <i>Clerk for Civil Business for the County of Suffolk</i> . Room 117, Suffolk County Courthouse.	Charles S. Bolster of Cambridge.
William M. Prendible of Boston, 1958, <i>Clerk for Criminal Business for the County of Suffolk</i> . Room 712, Courthouse.	
Edward J. Kelley of Boston, <i>Executive Clerk to the Chief Justice</i> . Room 117, Courthouse, Boston.	
James A. Gleason of Boston, <i>Messenger of the Court</i> . Room 1103, Courthouse, Boston.	

PROBATE COURTS AND COURTS OF INSOLVENCY.

[General Laws, Chapters 215-217.]  
 There is a PROBATE COURT and a COURT OF INSOLVENCY in each county, distinct in their jurisdiction, powers, proceedings and practice, but having the same judge and register. These courts are held by the

EXHIBIT FIFTEEN (15) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (15) EXHIBITS  
MAY 04TH YEAR 2002 BY STEPHEN  
JOHN J. CRAPO. PRO SE. AA. ABE

MAINSTAY  
Newagen, Maine 04552



C. S. Bolster

July 23.  
Dear John.-

Many thanks for  
your good letter and for your  
contribution to the church in  
Dagoboth's memory. I return the  
card here with ad requests.

She and I have had a  
wonderful almost fifty-year  
marriage and I have many  
cherished memories. We were both  
fortunate I guess in bringing  
about a marriage that would  
unite both our lives.

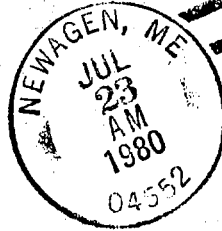
You are a "candidate" for  
my own "celestial kingdom".

I never need see any sense  
in that Mormon doctrine. It's  
the good people do: not how  
many of them they leave.

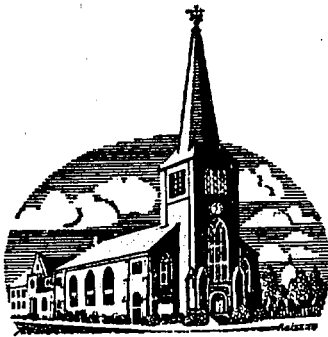
Thanks again for your thought  
of me. Sincerely, C. S. Bolster

EXHIBIT SIXTEEN (16) OF  
MAY 04TH YEAR 2002 OF <sup>one Hundred</sup> FIFTEEN (15)  
STOCKHOLDER EXHIBITS  
JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE

MAINSTAY  
C. S. Bolster  
Newagen, Maine 04552



Mr. John J. Crapo,  
P.O. Box 13  
North Cambridge  
Mass 02140



THE STANDING COMMITTEE  
of  
THE FIRST PARISH IN CAMBRIDGE  
gratefully acknowledges

The gift of \$ 7.50 from

John J. Crapo

Your gift reaffirms the resolve of  
thirteen generations past that the  
work of the First Parish continue.

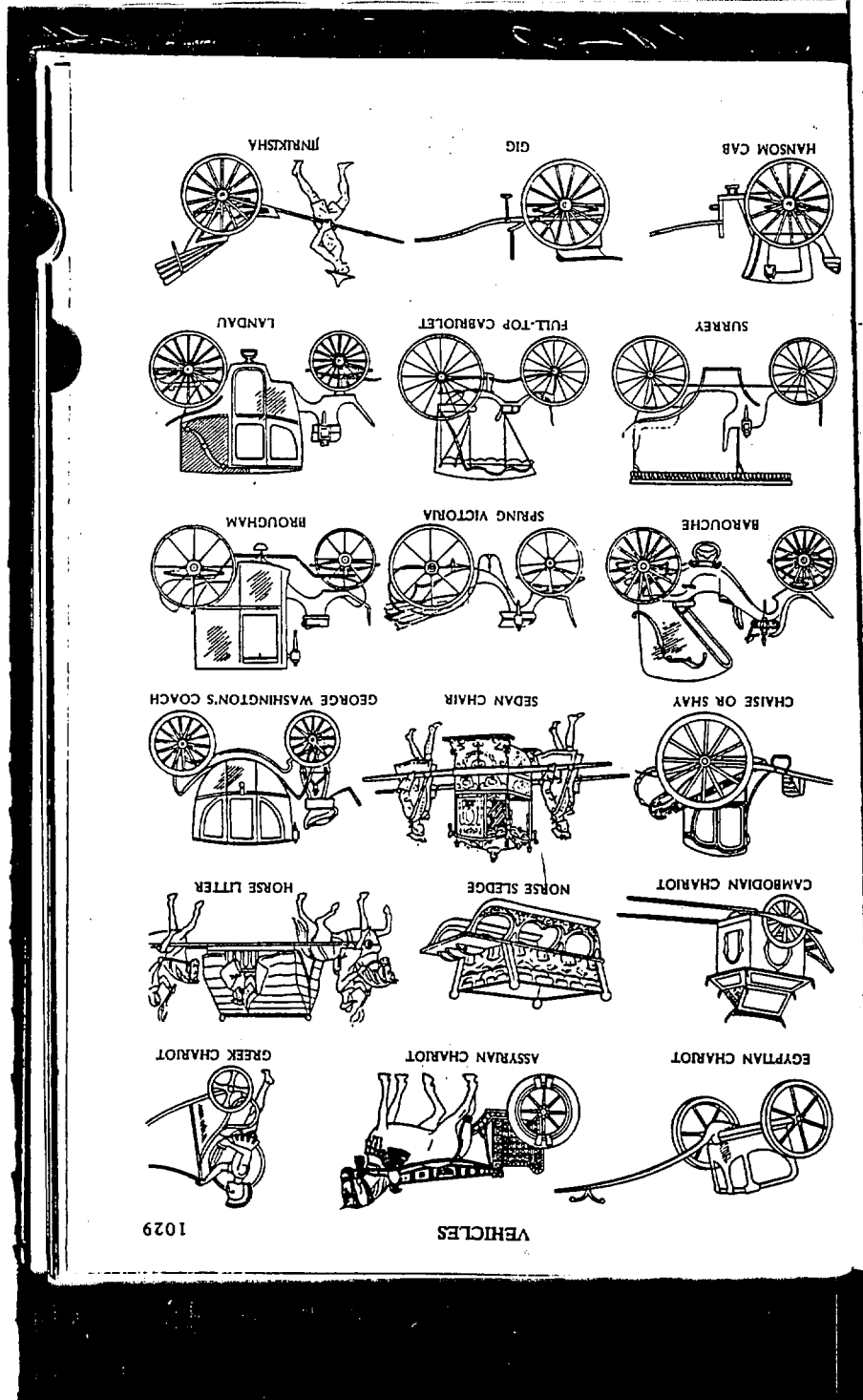
for credit to the Memorial Fund

C. Cecum *[Signature]*  
Treasurer

JJC/jjc

EXHIBIT SEVENTEEN (17) OF ONE HUNDRED  
 FIFTY FIVE (155)  
 MAY FOURTH (04TH) YEAR  
 2002 BY STCKHLDR (MR)

JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE, NONI M.L.S.  
 JJC/JJC



FROM THE COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY VIKING BEST ENCYCLOPEDIA 1953 COPYRIGHT

EXHIBIT EIGHTEEN (18) OF 115 EXHIBITS  
MAY 04TH YEAR 2002 BY STCKHLDR  
JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE, NON AM AM  
PP 335 TO 336 JJC/jjc

"... NAPOLEON'S CARRIAGE IS OUTWARDLY PLAIN  
... HE TRAVELS FASTER THAN ANY MAN EVER  
TRAVELLED BEFORE

"HIS CARRIAGE IS COMFORTABLY BUILT. THE  
EMPEROR CAN SLEEP IN IT... HE CAN GOV-  
ERN FROM IT. FIVE DAYS TAKE HIM FROM  
DRESDEN TO PARIS IN A NUMBER OF LOCK-  
UP DRAWERS WITHIN THE CARRIAGE, HE  
COLLECTS REPORTS, DISPATCHES, MEMORANDA  
... SHOULD A COURIER REACH HIM... AN OF-  
FICIAL MUST TAKE DOWN THE MORE  
PRESSING ORDERS, WHILE THE CARRIAGE  
GOES JOLTING BY ON ITS WAY

"ON THE BOX SEAT, THE MAMELUKE IS  
ENTHRONED IN SOLITARY GRANDEUR. TWO  
POSTILIONS WHIP UP THE SIX (06) HORSES  
~~TWO PHS~~. THE CARRIAGE IS SURROUNDED  
BY A CROWD OF EQLERRIES, PAGES AND  
LIGHT CAVALRYMEN; WHEN THE PROCESSION  
SETS FORWARD, THE ROAD IS ALL TOO  
NARROW TO ACCOMMODATE IT, EDDIES OF  
DUST AND HEAT ENVELOP IT. NIGHT AD AND  
FOG ENCOMPASS IT. THE PEASANTS  
STAND ASIDE TO LET THE TORNADO PASS;  
THEY ARE TOO AGAPE WITH WONDERMENT  
AND FIRMLY BELIEVE THE DEVIL IS HIDING  
INSIDE THE GREAT NAPOLEON

"WHEREVER HE GETS OUT OF HIS CAR-  
RIAGE, A HOT BATH IS READY FOR HIM  
THEN, AT TWO IN THE MORNING HE WILL

MORE →

EXHIBIT NINETEEN (19) OF 115 EXHIBITS  
MAY 04TH YEAR 2002 BY  
STICKHLDR JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE  
"DICTATE TILL FOUR, SNATCH THREE HOURS"  
SLEEP AND START OFF AGAIN AT SEVEN  
... WHETHER HIS HALT BE SHORT OR LONG,  
IN WARTIME THE MAP IS ALWAYS READY  
TO HIS HAND, IN CARRIAGE... THROUGH  
ALL COUNTRIES, FOR THE WHOLE DURATION  
OF HIS LIFE, THE MAP FOLLOWS HIM  
PIERCED WITH COLOURED MAPS PINS, ILLUMINA-  
TED AT NIGHT BY TWENTY OR THIRTY  
CANDLES, THIS IS HIS ALTAR... BE-  
FORE WHICH HE OFFERS UP HIS PRAYERS.  
IT IS THE REAL HOME OF THE MAN  
WHO HAS NO HOME...

P 339

"... AGAIN HE WARNS THE GROOM OF  
THE CHAMBERS TO BE CAREFUL LEST THE  
CARRIAGE SHOULD BE OVERTURNED  
ON THE ROUGH ROAD..."

P 335

"... IN FRONT OF HIM HANGS A LIST OF  
THE DIFFERENT PLACES HE MUST PASS  
THROUGH, INCLUDING WHERE RELAYS  
OF HORSES ARE AWAITING HIM..."

NAPOLEON

BY

MR EMIL LUDWIG

NEW YORK CITY

BONI AND LIVERIGHT

707 PAGES

JJC/jjc



EXHIBIT TWENTY (20) OF 115 EXHIBITS  
MAY 10 4TH YEAR 2002 BY utility STEHLER  
Dear my Fellow Tenants J.J. CRAPO

May 04th Year 2002

Lights out in my place at  
3:13 AM Now 3:30 AM when

lights back-on  
I looked out my Bathroom  
window - noticed no lights else  
where I could see in this  
complex. I did notice dim lights  
from stairwell area at Ten assess-  
12 Street

May 02ND 2002 I informed  
our Superintendent I could see  
workmen (2 women) up utility  
pole my street - early in morning  
of the night. We were in my laundrette.

MA MV# H16-743 (Truck  
# F0256) AND MA 4415. I  
introduced myself - I put my  
tag on the vehicles in question

3:43 AM  
Sirene

Sincerely  
Tenant CRAPO  
rent payer PRO SE  
JJC/jjc

I notice  
copy in  
my STEHLER  
proposal submiss-  
ion

EXHIBIT TWENTY-ONE (A) (21)  
OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
MAY 04th Year 2002

BY STCKHLDR

JOHN ("JACKIE")  
J. CRAPO



*New Bedford Contributory Retirement System*

Arthur J. Caron, Jr., *Chairman*  
Peter C. Schmidt, *Ex-Officio*  
Paul M. Lestage, *Elected*  
Edward J. Wiley, *Elected*  
Dennis C. Brightman, *Appointed*

February 25, 2002

Mr. John J. Crapo  
P.O. Box 400151  
Cambridge, MA 02140-0002

*RE: Certified Mail Packet*

Dear Mr. Crapo:

This letter is in regards to the certified mail packet that was received at our office on February 21, 2002. I feel that there may have been some confusion in your sending us this information. We do not have you listed in our system as having worked for the City Of New Bedford, and paying into the New Bedford Retirement System, nor is it clear why this information was sent to us. It appears that you are applying for Veteran's Benefits, something that the New Bedford Retirement system does not deal with. If you could please contact us at (508) 979-1538, so that we may clarify this matter, it would be greatly appreciated. Also. Please note that our address changed. The new address is listed on this letterhead.

Sincerely,

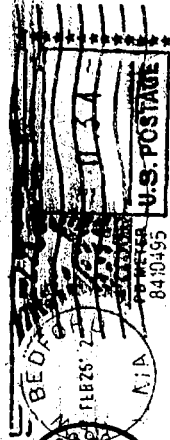
Karen S. Ouimet  
Administrative Assistant

Enclosure

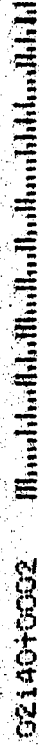
EXHIBIT TWENTY-TWO (22) OF  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS



New Bedford Contributory  
Retirement System  
700 Pleasant Street - 4th Floor  
New Bedford, MA 02740

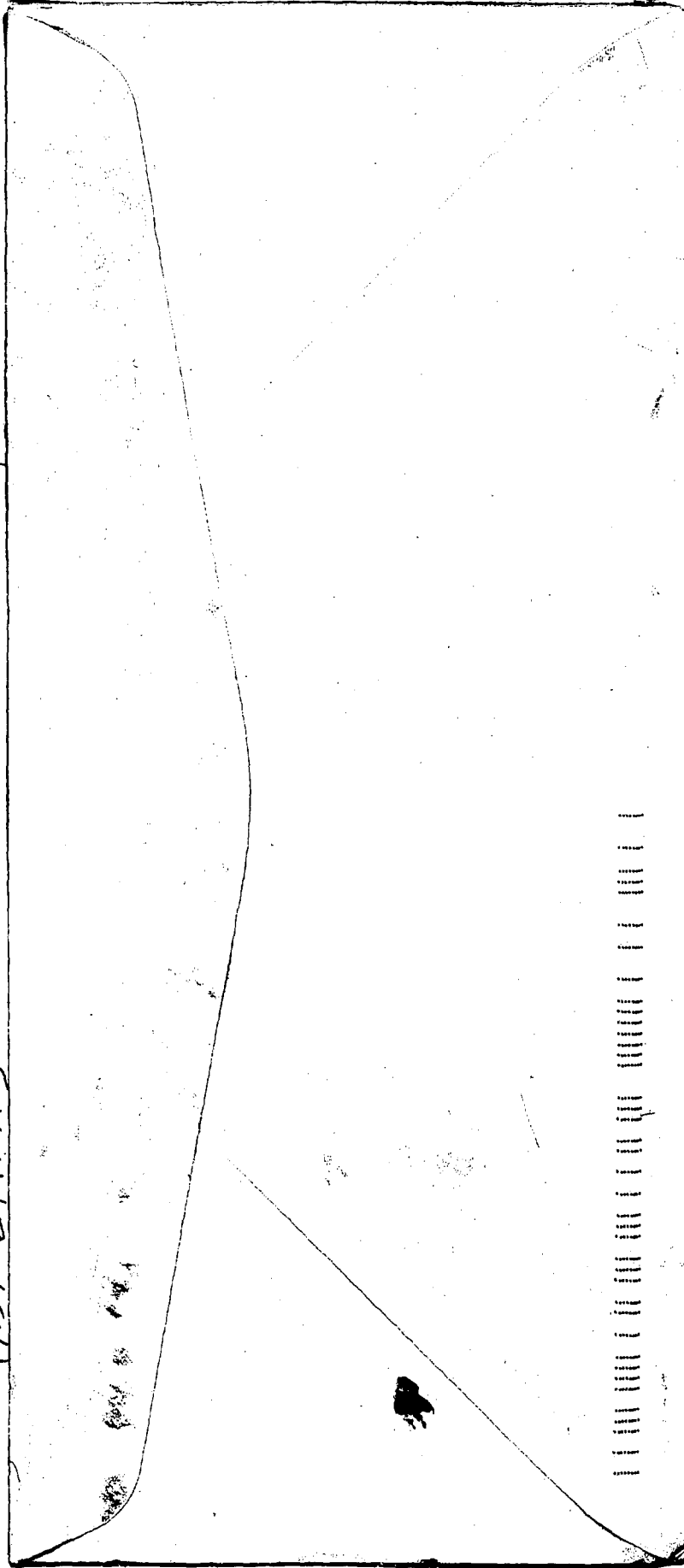


MR. JOHN J. CRAPO  
P.O. BOX 400151  
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02140-0002



MAY 04th Year 2002  
BY STEPHEN CRAPO, PRO SE  
JJC / JJC

EXHIBIT TWENTY-THREE (23) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY-FIVE  
(115) EXHIBITS



MAY 04TH (4th) Year 2002  
BY STC/HCDR John J. CRAPO, PRO SE

JJC / JJC

EXHIBIT TWENTY-FOUR (24) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTY-FIVE (115) EXHIBITS  
BY STEPHEN J. CRAPO, ROSE

JJC/JJC  
May 04th  
Year  
2002

EXHIBIT TWENTY-FIVE (25) OF 115  
OF MAY 04<sup>th</sup> YEAR 2002 (One Hundred FIFTEEN)  
EXHIBITS  
BY Former City of New Bedford  
PUBLIC EMPLOYEE  
John J. CRAPO, PRO SE



*New Bedford Contributory Retirement System*

Arthur J. Caron, Jr., *Chairman*  
Peter C. Schmidt, *Ex-Officio*  
Paul M. Lestage, *Elected*  
Edward J. Wiley, *Elected*  
Dennis C. Brightman, *Appointed*

February 25, 2002

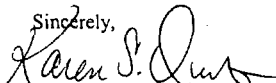
Mr. John J. Crapo  
P.O. Box 400151  
Cambridge, MA 02140-0002

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Sincerely,

  
Karen S. Ouimet  
Administrative Assistant

Enclosure

JJC / JJC

EXHIBIT TWENTY-SIX (26) OF 115 EXHIBITS

MAY 04 2002  
MR JOHN J CRAPO, A.A. ABE —

PRO SE, NON L.L.B., NON JUR D, NON  
M.S. IN S.S., NON AM IN HISTR,  
NON M.S. IN PUB AFFAIRS, NON  
L.P.N., NON R.N., NON PSYCHOLOGIST,  
NON PRACTISING LCNSD (CERT SCL  
WORKR ("LCSW"))

PO BOX 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL  
ARTICLE # 7001  
1940 0001 5087  
5965 RETURN

February Seventeenth  
(17th) Year TWO(02)  
THOUSAND TWO  
Feb 17 2002

RECEIPT REQ-  
UESTED PLEASE  
SUPERIOR COURT  
DEPARTMENT HON  
COMMONWEALTH OF  
MASSACHUSETTS  
HON CLERK-MAGIST-  
RATE FOR BRISTOL  
CNTY HON MA  
TRIAL COURT  
NINE COURT STREET  
TAUNTON MA 02780

ATTENTION PLEASE  
HONOURABLE MR JUSTICE  
JOHN A. TIERNEY, ESQ  
JUSTICE OF THE HON  
SUPERIOR COURT  
PAGE ONE(01) OF  
Seven(07) pages

Nett PAGE PLEASE

My copy two(2)

JOHN COURT CRAPO TO Hon Superior  
Court Bristol CNH Feb Seventeenth  
P. TWO OF Seven (07) Pages 2002

DEAR MR/MRS/MISS JUSTICE TIERNEY

I WRITE IN MIDST OF EXCEEDINGLY  
INCONVENIENT, TROUBLING AND THREAT  
ENGENING CIRCUMSTANCES I LIVE  
IN AN ATTIC - have one (01) ROOM - DO  
NOT have AIRCONDITIONING (NOT PERMIT  
TED) MY SHOWER FAILS TO WORK, MY  
BATHROOM SINK IS PLUGGED UP  
MY TOILET NEEDS TO BE PLUNGED  
IT NEEDS TO PRIMED TO FLUSH IT  
TOO - I'VE VERY SERIOUS ARTHRITIS  
AND I WEAR A CERVICAL COLLAR

MY MONTHLY RENT IS \$1,050  
MY STAT (OF MASSACHUSETTS) RETIRE  
MENT CHECK IS \$821.96 -

I'VE SCHIZOPHRENIA, FATIGUE  
AND I AM A GLAUCOMA PATIENT  
I'M HOMO SEXUAL. I'M DIVORCED

I AM SENDING A COPY THIS MY  
LETTER TO THE CITY OF NEW BEDFORD  
BOARD OF RETIREMENT VIA CERTIFIED  
MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED  
MAILPIECE # 7001 1940 0007 PLEASE

5378 4695 MR WILLIAM W.  
CRAPO, ESQUIRE ON HIS DEATH

TO NEXT PAGE

EXHIBIT TWENTY - Seven (27) of one hundred  
FIFTEEN (15) EXHIBITS

PAGE 10 MAY  
MAY 04 2002



JOHN J CRAPO TO HON SUPERIOR  
COURT BRISTOL (NTY DIV February  
Seventeenth Year 2002 page three (03)  
OF SEVENTEEN (07)  
WAS NINETY-FIVE (95) YEARS OLD <sup>page</sup>

I DO NOT HAVE A LIVING ROOM OR  
OTHER SUCH RECEPTION ROOM. NO ELEVATOR  
I'VE BURSITIS AND I'VE NO RAILING  
AT MY BATHTUB AND THE RAILING  
TO THE ATTIC MOST OF WAY IS ON  
ONE (01) SIDE.

MY FATHER'S DEATH RECORD  
I CONCERN MYSELF WITH CORRECT-  
ING, CLARIFYING, OR MODIFYING. I  
FAIL TO GET COOPERATION FROM  
MY FAMILY AND FRIENDS OF MY  
FATHER TO GET THE NEEDED DOCU-  
MENTATION.

I'VE MANY TROUBLES AND  
MUCH OF THESE UNDERTAKINGS ARE  
UNPLEASANT TO ME.

YOU'LL REMEMBER I'VE HAD  
CONVERSATIONS WITH MY FAMILY  
WHO FAIL TO COOPERATE WITH MY  
UNDERTAKING TO GET THE REC-  
ORDS STRAIGHT

FIFTEEN (15) EXHIBITS TWENTY-EIGHT (28) OF ONE HUNDRED  
MAY 24th Year 2002

JOHN J CRAPO, Pro Se, AA, ABE  
to Hon Bristol County Div Superior  
Court of the Commonwealth of MASSA-  
chusetts Feb 17, 2002  
P. FOUR (04) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES

YOU'LL NOTE THAT CONGRESSMAN  
JOHN ADAMS, ESQUIRE WAS APPOINTED  
TO THE SUPERIOR COURT OF JUDICATURE  
IN THE YEAR 1775. THE HONOURABLE  
COURT WAS LATER KNOWN AS THE HON  
SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT WHICH I  
NOTICED AS I WAS VERIFYING YOUR  
ADDRESS IN MY PUBLICATION + YEAR 2000  
A CURRENT BOOK WHICH HAS NAMES  
AND ADDRESSES OF BIOGRAPHIES OF  
VARIOUS JUDGES FAILS TO HAVE YOU  
AS A LISTEE

TODAY I'VE BEEN LISTENING TO  
MY RADIO. MY TV IS BROKEN. I DO  
NOT HAVE VCR I DO NOT HAVE CAB-  
LE TELEVISION. 11:03AM (11AM) I HAD  
OCCASIONS TO HEAR (I'M ONLY ONE  
WHO COULD HEAR IT) PREACHING  
AN ILLUSTRIOUS MINISTER - WHO HAS  
A NEW BEDFORD AREA SOUNDING  
NAME. I HAD A JOB AT HARVARD  
UNIVERSITY > Dean Christopher COLUMBUS  
LANGOELL LAW SCHOOL LIBRARY

to next page please-

one hundred  
Twenty-Nine (29) OK  
FIFTEEN (15) Exhibits  
MAY 04 2002

JJ CRAPO PRO SE . A.A., A.B.E  
TO HON BRISTOL CNTY DIV SUPERIOR  
COURT February Seventeenth 2002  
PAGE FIVE (05) OF Seven (07) Page

FROM WHICH I WAS DISCHARGED. SOME  
ONE AN "EMPLOYEE" SAID HE WAS  
SOLELY PORTUGUESE SPEAKING. I SUG-  
GESTED THE SPEAKER TODAY AS SOME-  
ONE (01) WHO MIGHT HELP WITH THE  
LANGUAGE TROUBLES I HAVE SO MANY  
TROUBLES GETTING THINGS DONE AND  
I THINK WHY EVERY THING IS SO  
HARD FOR ME TO DO-

THE CASE IN THE US DISTRICT  
COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSA-  
CHUSETTS IS CALLED "CRAPO VS  
HARVARD UNIVERSITY" I DO NOT  
ACCESS TO HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
LAW SCHOOL LIBRARY. MR LANGDELL  
HAD SAME JOB I HAD - FROM WHICH  
I WAS DISCHARGED

I HAVE ON MORE PROGRAMMING  
NOW . I DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE  
LANGUAGE BUT MR BUSH'S NAME  
IS MENTIONED ALONG WITH  
to Next Page

one hundred  
EXHIBIT THIRTY (30) OF  
MAY 04th Year 2002  
JJC LIC  
FIFTEEN Exhibits

J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE, A.A., A BE, Pro Se  
TO HON DIST SUPERIOR COURT  
BRISTOL CNTY DIV Feb 17 2002  
PAGE SIX (06) OF SEVEN (07) PAGES  
OTHER FAMILIAR SOUNDING NAMES

ENCLOSED I CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION  
VARIOUS EXHIBITS - FIFTEEN (15) IN ALL  
ALSO I'VE COOPERATED WITH YOU BY  
BY INCLUDING A TABLE OF CONTENTS  
OF THE EXHIBITS

THE STATION OWNER (2 PM) HAS  
BROADCASTED I'll hear "PEACEFULL  
Gentle MUSIC... The same which  
SAID OWNER (I haven't seen the title)  
SAID IS BROADCASTED DURING THE  
Week.

PLEASE INCLUDE THIS MATERIAL  
AND MY EXHIBITS AND COPY MY  
LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL (THIS COPY WITH  
MY OTHER RECORDS YOU HAVE OF  
ME IN THE HONOURABLE TRIAL  
COURT OF THIS COMMONWEALTH)  
TO THE HON CITY OF NEW BEDFORD  
BOARD OF RETIREMENT

→ Next Page

EXHIBIT THIRTY-ONE (31) OF ONE HUNDRED  
MAY 04 AM YEAR 2002  
JJC/jjc  
FIFTEEN (15) EXHIBITS

J.J. CRAPO, PRO SE TO Hon  
SUPERIOR COURT BRISTOL CNTY  
February 17th 2002  
PAGE Seven (07) of Seven (07) Pages

A DIFFERENT ANNOUNCER 2:08 PM  
EXCLAIMED THE STATION "OWNER" IS  
TRYING TO SET A "MORE RELAXED PACE  
FOR OUR SOCIETY..."

SINCERELY

John Jennings Crapo, Pro Se  
John J. Crapo, Non LWR

ENCLOSURES  
CC WITH ENCLOSURES VIA CERTI-  
FIED MAIL TO RETURN RECEIPT  
REQUESTED TO THE CITY OF  
NEW BEDFORD HONOURABLE  
BOARD OF RETIREMENT.

JJC/jjc

now 2:56 PM

EXHIBIT thirty-two (32) OF  
MAY 4th Year 2002  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (15)  
EXHIBITS

JJC/jjc

JOHN J CRAPO TO HON MR  
JUSTICE TIERNEY, ESQUIRE

MY TABLE OF CONTENTS (COPIES)  
DATED February 17th (Sunday) Year 2002  
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FOUR(04)	MS/MR/MRS TIERNEY
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SIX(06)	LARENCE
SEVEN(07)	FLEET ENVELOPE
TO	
EIGHT(08)	<del>BACK SIDE OF REPORTS</del>
NINE(09)	<del>INSERT DOWN</del>
NINE(09)	BACK OF REPORT
TEN (10)	INSERT DOWN
ELEVEN	MBTA FEB 15 2002
(11) TO	STAT TREASURY THEFT
FIFTEEN	AND WEDDING . AND (Duplicate
(15)	DIVERS OTHER NEWS (copies)
	BOSTON HERALD
	FRIDAY FEBRUARY 2002

PAGE ONE(01) OF ONE(01)  
PAGE THIS MY TABLE OF CON-  
TENTS ALL PAGES BLANK ON  
REVERSE SIDE

JJC/jjc

EXHIBIT THIRTY-THREE(33) OF ONE HUNDRED -  
JJC/jjc Exhibits MAY FOURTH(04th) Year 2002  
FIFTEEN

EXHIBIT THIRTY-FOUR (34)  
OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
MAY FOURTH (4th) YEAR 2002

STICKLOR J. J. CRAPO, PRO  
SE, NON MLA, NON PRACTISING  
CCSW, NON RN, NON LPN  
JJC/jjc

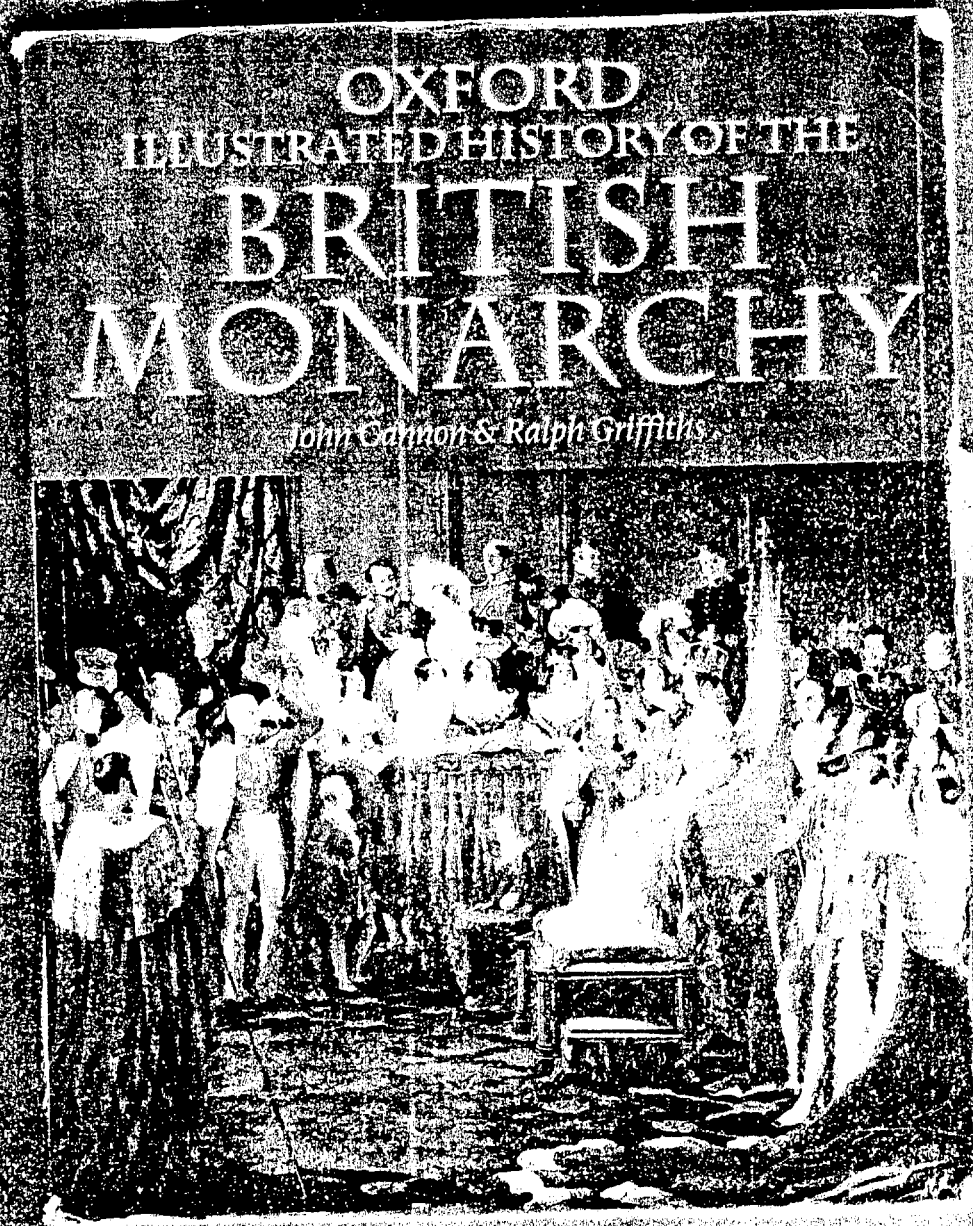




EXHIBIT THIRTY-FIVE (35)  
OF 115 (ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN) EXHIBITS  
MAY FOURTH (4th) Year 2002

BY STEPHEN J.J. CRAPO, PRO  
SE, Now LLB  
JJC / JJC



# OXFORD ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE BRITISH MONARCHY

John Cannon & Ralph Griffiths

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THROUGHOUT  
IN COLOUR AND  
BLACK AND WHITE

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OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS  
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EXHIBIT THIRTY-SIX (36)  
 OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
 STICKLER J. J. CRAPO, PRO SE  
 JJC/JJC MAY 04 TH (FORTH) 2002

566, 575 cover Front  
 + Back 586-  
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Genealogy

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Australia in 1829 and New Zealand in 1839. The end of the Napoleonic Wars saw important additions, largely at the expense of the Dutch. The Cape of Good Hope was retained, Ceylon acquired, and the development of Singapore by private exploitation started in 1819.

At the accession of Victoria, in 1837, Canada was on the brink of rebellion. It had survived invasions from America during the war of 1812, but both Upper and Lower Canada had grown increasingly dissatisfied with the controls to which they were subject. The rebellions in 1837 were militarily of little consequence, but Melbourne's government sent out Lord Durham in 1838 as Governor-General and to report. His recommendations were to unite the two provinces and to grant responsible government, reserving important rights of foreign policy and land settlement to the imperial government. Responsible government was not in fact implemented immediately, but slowly became the practice, particularly under Lord Elgin as Governor-General. The rapid growth of population in Ontario upset the delicate balance between British- and French-speaking Canadians and led, in 1867, to the negotiation of Dominion status, on a federal basis, bringing in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and, later, Prince Edward Island. The role of the Governor-General was then close to that of the monarch in Britain, and the crown provided the formal and legal link between the two countries. In the event of constitutional disputes between the provinces and the federal government, the judicial committee of the British Privy Council was to be the final court of appeal. The original intention of establishing the new government as the kingdom of Canada was abandoned, partly to avoid provocation to the United States, and the term 'Dominion' adopted.

While these developments were taking place, there had been a transformation in the government of India, of even more consequence to the position of the crown. The Seven Years War, though it decided the ultimate colonial command in India, left the East India Company with a large region in Bengal, but comparatively isolated areas elsewhere. The next ninety years saw a steady expansion of British power. Wellesley's Governor-Generalship saw the power of Tipu Sultan in Mysore broken, and company authority extended into the Carnatic, Tanjore, and Oudh. Further extensions under Hastings brought in most of the remaining territories, save for Punjab and Sindh in the north-west. The disaster of the ill-judged intervention in Afghanistan in 1839 and the subsequent annihilation on the retreat from Kabul, was redeemed in 1849 by the annexation of the Punjab also. But the hold of the British over all their Indian territories was threatened by the events of 1857, when for a time the ferocity of the outbreak pushed British troops into isolated pockets struggling desperately to survive. Though the situation was redeemed, Company rule could not continue. In 1858 formal sovereignty over British India was assumed by the crown, with the Governor-General upgraded to the position of Viceroy. The queen watched

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1870s and to his successor as leader of the Tory party, Lord Salisbury. She kept up correspondence with the former after he had resigned in 1880 and in 1894 when she was angry with the Liberals for attacking the House of Lords she enquired from Salisbury, leader of the opposition, whether 'the Unionist party is fit for a dissolution now'. On the death of Gordon at Khartoum in 1885 she caused great embarrassment to Gladstone by sending an open telegram: 'to think that all this might have been prevented and many precious lives saved by earlier action is too frightful.' The fact that she was right did not make it easier for Gladstone to bear.

Nevertheless, there are serious reservations. In a reign of more than sixty years, a constitutional monarch is bound to win some skirmishes. Her dislike of Palmerston in the first half of her reign did very little to halt his political progress, and her deep detestation of Gladstone in the second half did not prevent him becoming prime minister four times and carrying on to the age of eighty-four. Her posture was essentially a defensive one: she could resist and protest and obstruct, but it was hard for her to initiate. Only the Public Worship Bill of 1874—to cleanse popish practices from the Anglican Church—was the result of her direct intervention. Even the veto on the employment of certain ministers could only work provided their colleagues were not unwilling to acquiesce. If the prime minister and cabinet were prepared to fight, she was well aware that, because she could not resign, her position was weak. In 1881 she was indignant that the draft queen's speech proposed to evacuate Afghanistan. Harcourt insisted that the speech was understood to be that of the ministers and only in the formal sense of the sovereign. She consulted Beaconsfield privately, who encouraged her to resist. But she had to give way. In 1895 a similar point emerged when Rosebery wished to include references to Welsh and Scottish disestablishment. Salisbury supported her right to withhold approval. But the queen's speech contained references just the same.

One of the best-known analyses of the Victorian constitution, by Walter Bagehot, offered the proposition that the dignified part of the constitution, the monarchy, disguised the efficient part, including prime minister and cabinet: 'A Republic has insinuated itself beneath the folds of a monarchy.' But Bagehot seriously underestimated the surviving influence of the crown in his own day: 'the Queen must sign her own death warrant if the two Houses unanimously send it up to her' is a *bon mot* rather than a sensible appraisal. One must remember that Bagehot's essays first appeared in 1865 when the queen had not recovered from her bereavement: hence she and the Prince of Wales are introduced, somewhat irreverently, as 'a retired widow and an unemployed youth'. Bagehot was hardly in a position to know how much influence the queen exerted. His famous aphorism, that a constitutional monarch has the right to be consulted, to encourage, and to warn, is a little too pat. The queen did not merely warn: she raged. Ministers would probably have added to Bagehot's list the right to harass

AS I LABELLED THIS "BORN FREE" WAS PLAYING  
ON MY RADIO-TURNED ON SO ONLY STECKHLDR CRAPO  
COULD ENJOY IT 4:30 AM

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TIGER SHOOTING, 1912. George V had paid a very successful visit to India in 1905 when Prince of Wales and, as soon as he became king, decided to repeat it. There was a great coronation Durbar at Delhi, after which he wrote: 'rather tired after wearing the Crown for 3 1/2 hours, it hurt my head, as it is pretty heavy.' But, for the king, the high spot was a fortnight's shooting. 'As probably this will be the last and only time in my life when I shall get big game shooting of this kind, I naturally wish to have as many days in Nepal as possible.' In his fortnight, he shot 21 tigers, 8 rhino, and one bear. This, he remarked, was a record.

another dissolution, together with a private pledge from the king that after the election he would, if necessary, create enough peers to carry the bill. It was presumed that, if Asquith and his colleagues resigned before the election, Balfour would not be willing to form a minority government. Knollys advised the king to give the pledges asked for, lest the monarchy, by refusing the advice of its ministers, be dragged into 'the vortex of our political controversies'. Bigge, the other secretary, tendered the opposite advice: the request was both unreasonable and unconstitutional; there was no case for a contingent guarantee, whatever the ultimate outcome might be. Indeed, Asquith was on record that a blank authority for an indefinite exercise of the royal prerogative was a request which no statesman should ask for nor any sovereign be expected to grant. If the promise was to be genuinely secret, it is not clear what advantage accrued to the Liberals from obtaining it. Nevertheless, Asquith and Lord Crewe, leader of

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### THE PRIVATE SECRETARY

**T**he post of private secretary to the sovereign developed in the nineteenth century. In the early decades of George III's reign, the volume of business was comparatively small and the king wrote his own letters and minutes. But failing eyesight forced him in 1805 to seek assistance and he appointed a soldier, Sir Herbert Taylor, thus establishing a long military tradition. During the Regency, Taylor acted for Queen Charlotte, but was recalled by William IV and played an important intermediary role during the crisis over the Great Reform Act. Melbourne paid tribute to Taylor's influence: 'I don't believe the King could have carried it on without Taylor,' he told Victoria. 'Taylor was a very fair man; upon my honour, I don't see how it could have gone on; the King used to go and talk to Taylor, and Taylor softened matters.' Victoria had no private secretary for the first years of her reign. The services of Baroness Lehzen, her former governess, were eked out by Baron Stockmar, sent over specially by Leopold of the Belgians as constitutional adviser. After their marriage, Prince Albert acted increasingly as secretary, indeed, at times, almost as joint sovereign. General Charles Grey, son of the prime minister, performed the more routine secretarial duties. On Grey's death in 1870 Victoria appointed another soldier, Sir Henry Ponsonby. His letters, published by his son, indicate the pains he took to keep the queen in touch with public opinion. He was deeply concerned at the unpopularity which the queen's seclusion was bringing upon the monarchy: 'if she is neither the head of the executive, nor the fountain of honour, nor the centre of display, the royal dignity will sink to nothing at all.' Ponsonby suffered a stroke in 1895 and was replaced by Arthur Bigge, who had greatly impressed the queen when reporting the cir-

cumstances of the Prince Imperial's death in South Africa in 1879. For fifteen years, Bigge had acted as Ponsonby's assistant.

Edward VII, on succeeding to the throne, continued with his own secretary, Francis Knollys, and Bigge moved on to serve the heir to the throne. For three years from 1910, George V had two secretaries, Bigge and Knollys. It was not an easy arrangement and in the great constitutional crisis of the autumn of 1910, they offered conflicting advice. Knollys retired in 1913, leaving Bigge, ennobled as Lord Stamfordham, in undisputed charge until his death in 1931. His successor, Clive Wigram, had also served as assistant secretary. He was a soldier and a sportsman, and sprinkled his letters with sporting metaphors: 'my first Test match' was his description of the events leading to the National Government. 'It seems to take a good deal to make him understand things,' wrote Reith of the BBC laudably. Edward VIII appointed Alexander Hardinge, who had also served as Wigram's assistant. It fell to him, in the early days of his post, to address a candid warning to the new king that his relations with Mrs Simpson were causing great speculation. Hardinge continued in office under George VI, retiring in 1943 on grounds of health. His successors in office were Sir Alan Lascelles, Sir Michael Adeane, Sir Martin Charteris, and Sir Philip Moore. Secretaries of intelligence and long experience, such as Taylor, Ponsonby, and Bigge, were in a position to wield considerable constitutional influence, particularly in moments of crisis, when the advice of the politicians might be confused or at odds. There is no suggestion, however, that any of them aimed at, or were credited with, power behind the throne.



GEORGE V and Lord Stamfordham, his private secretary, in the grounds of Buckingham Palace, June 1918.

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*George V*

The new king, George V, was a sailor by upbringing and temperament. On rising in the morning and retiring at night, he tapped the barometer. His speech was blunt and his voice loud. He had little taste for society and one of the charms of York Cottage at Sandringham, where he remained until the Queen Dowager died, was that its small size afforded splendid excuse to avoid entertaining. The two great recreations of his life were collecting stamps and shooting. Unlike his father, he was a crack shot and did not need to be fed with easy targets. He was ill at ease on public occasions with a deep dislike of ceremony: the state opening of Parliament in February 1911 he described as 'the most terrible ordeal I have ever gone through', though his speech was of course written by his ministers and the crowds lining the streets gave him a very friendly reception.

Like his predecessor as sailor king, William IV, he had not expected to find himself monarch. He had an elder brother, Albert Victor, known to the family as 'Eddy', and created duke of Clarence in 1890. There seems little doubt that Eddy's difficulties were physical in origin: his tutors reported him to be indolent and unenterprising. He served a spell at sea with his younger brother but in the

PRINCE GEORGE was sent to the naval training ship *Britannia* at Dartmouth in 1877 at the age of twelve. He was small and, as he later remarked, 'got a hiding time and again'. One fight made his nose bleed: 'it was the best blow I ever took, for the doctor forbade my fighting any more.'



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that we are entitled to privileges that our fathers knew our situation would not admit us to enjoy, they have been arguing away our most essential rights. If there be any grievance, it does not consist in our being subject to the authority of parliament, but in our not having an actual representation in it. Were it possible for the colonies to have an equal representation in parliament, and were refused it upon proper application, I confess I should think it a grievance; but at present it seems to be allowed by all parties, to be impracticable, considering the colonies are distant from Great-Britain a thousand transmarine leagues. If that be the case, the right or privilege, that we complain of being deprived of, is not withheld by Britain, but the first principles of government, and the immutable laws of nature, render it impossible for us to enjoy it. . . . Allegiance and protection are reciprocal. It is our highest interest to continue a part of the British empire; and equally our duty to remain subject to the authority of parliament. Our own internal police may generally be regulated by our provincial legislatures, but in national concerns, or where our own assemblies do not answer the ends of government with respect to ourselves, the ordinance or interposition of the great council of the nation is necessary. In this case, the major must rule the minor. After many more centuries shall have rolled away, long after we, who are now bustling upon the stage of life, shall have been received to the bosom of mother earth, and our names are forgotten, the colonies may be so far increased as to have the balance of wealth, numbers and power, in their favour. the good of the empire make it necessary to fix the seat of government here; and some future George, equally the friend of mankind with him that now sways the British sceptre, may cross the Atlantic, and rule Great-Britain, by an American parliament.

DOCUMENT 8

JOHN ADAMS, NOVANGLUS,  
FEBRUARY 6, 1775

*This was part of John Adams' answer to Daniel Leonard's letters "On my return from Congress," Adams recalled, "I found the Massachusetts Gazette teeming with political speculations, and Massachusettsis shining like the moon among the lesser stars." He set to work at once to answer Leonard in his own series of letters, signing himself Novanglus. Adams here provides a forceful statement of the view many Americans had arrived at—that the authority of Parliament did not in any respect cross the ocean, and that the sole bond that united the colonists to Great Britain was a common loyalty to the crown. The remarks here quoted by Adams for the sake of refutation are all those of Daniel Leonard.*

February 6, 1775.

I agree, that "two supreme and independent authorities cannot exist in the same state," any more than two supreme beings in one universe; And, therefore, I contend, that our provincial legislatures are the only supreme authorities in our colonies. Parliament, notwithstanding this, may be allowed an authority supreme and sovereign over the ocean, which may be limited by the banks of the ocean, or the bounds of our charters; our charters give us no authority over the high seas. Parliament has our consent to assume a jurisdiction over them. And here is a line fairly drawn between the rights of Britain and the rights of the colonies, namely, the banks of the ocean, or low-water mark; the line of division between common law, and civil or maritime law. . . .

"If then, we are a part of the British empire, we must be subject to the supreme power of the state, which is vested in the estates in parliament."

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PART VII: *Revolution and Independence*

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these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which the army is kept, in against law.

To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit, but in hopes that their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity. We have for the present only resolved to pursue the state importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement or association. . . . 1st. To enter into a non-British America, and a memorial to the people of Majesty; agreeable to resolutions already entered to his

DOCUMENT 7

DANIEL LEONARD, MASSACHUSETTENSIS,  
JANUARY 9, 1775

*Daniel Leonard, who lived in Taunton, Massachusetts, and practiced law in Boston, was one of the wealthiest and most aristocratic barristers of his day. John Adams marveled at his gold lace and magnificent coach, in which, Adams said, not another lawyer in the entire province could presume to ride. Leonard was thoroughly Tory in his views. In 1774 the crown, outraged at his espousal of the cause of the patriots, drove him from his Taunton home to find refuge in Boston. There, between December 1774 and April 1775, Leonard published a series of weekly "Letters Addressed to the Inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay" in the Massachusetts Gazette, in which, under the pen name of Massachusettsensis, he argued the case for submission to the crown and warned of the dangers of rebellion. These letters constitute one of the ablest statements of the Loyalist case by an American.*

DANIEL LEONARD, *Massachusettsensis*

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January 9, 1775 •

The security of the people from internal rapacity and violence, and from foreign invasion, is the end and design of government. The simple forms of government are monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, that is, where the authority of the state is vested in one, a few, or the many. Each of these species of government has advantages peculiar to itself, and would answer the ends of government where the persons intrusted with the authority of government always guided themselves by unerring wisdom and public virtue; but rulers are not always exempt from the weakness and depravity which make government necessary to society. Thus monarchy is apt to rush headlong into tyranny, and democracy to beget faction and multiplied usurpations, and a government to degenerate into tumult, violence and anarchy. A government formed upon these three principles in due proportion, is the best calculated to answer the ends of government, and to endure. Such a government is the British constitution, consisting of King, Lords and Commons, which at once includes the principal excellencies, and excludes the principal defects of the other kinds of government. It is allowed, both by Englishmen and foreigners to be the most perfect system that the wisdom of ages has produced. The distributions of power are just, and the proportions so exact, as at once to support and controul each other. An Englishman glories in being subject to, and protected by, such a government. The colonies are a part of the British empire. The best writers upon the law of nations, tell us, that when a nation takes possession of a distant country, and settles there, that country though separated from the principal establishment, or mother country, naturally becomes a part of the state, equal with its ancient possessions. Two supreme or independent authorities cannot exist in the same state. It would be what is called *imperium in imperio*, the height of political absurdity. The analogy between the political and human bodies is great. Two independent authorities in a state would be like two distinct principles of volition and action in the human body, dissenting, opposing and destroying each other. If then we are a part of the British

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## Awards — Pulitzer Prizes

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 1968—Amory Heath, *The Hard Hours*  
 1969—Richard Howard, *United States*  
 1970—Richard S. Tedlow, *The Career of Leaders*  
 1971—William S. Maxwell, *The Career of Leaders*  
 1972—Maxine Tabb, *My Country, My Country*  
 1973—Maxine Tabb, *My Country, My Country*  
 1974—Robert Lowell, *The Dolphin*  
 1975—Gay Spang, *Little Sister*  
 1976—Gay Spang, *Little Sister*  
 1977—James Merrill, *Divine Comedies*  
 1978—Howard Werman, *Collected Poems 1976-1978*  
 1979—Howard Werman, *Collected Poems 1976-1978*  
 1980—Donald Justice, *Selected Poems*  
 1981—James Schuyler, *The Morning of the Poem*  
 1982—Steve Poth, *The Morning of the Poem*  
 1983—Steve Poth, *The Morning of the Poem*  
 1984—Marilyn Oliver, *American Primitives*  
 1985—Cathy Wilentz, *Yin*  
 1986—Cathy Wilentz, *Yin*  
 1987—Rita Dove, *Thomas and Beulah*  
 1988—William Meredith, *Partial Accounts: New and Selected Poems*  
 1989—Howard Werman, *New and Selected Poems*  
 1990—Charles Sims, *The World Doesn't End*  
 1991—Mona Van Duyn, *New Changes*  
 1992—Mona Van Duyn, *New Changes*  
 1993—Louise Glück, *The Wild Iris*  
 1994—Louise Glück, *The Wild Iris*  
 1995—Yusef Komunyakuta, *North Vietnamese*  
 1996—Yusef Komunyakuta, *North Vietnamese*  
 1997—Lisel Mueller, *The Dream of the United Fall*  
 1998—Lisel Mueller, *The Dream of the United Fall*  
 1999—Charles Wright, *Black Zodiac*  
 2000—C. K. Williams, *Saplings*  
 2001—Stephen Dunn, *Different Hours*  
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Germany should be cut up; at the very least, it should be deprived of the right to a standing army. A binding anti-German alliance uniting France, Britain, and the United States seemed to be the best guarantee of French security. In contrast, the United States, whose ratio of casualties to population had been only 1/50 as great as France's, had not fought consciously for material gain. Its cities had not been destroyed, nor had its people faced the prospect of starvation by submarine blockade. Consequently, it was willing to assist in the building of a new and better Europe, but not to the extent of signing an entangling alliance. Ultimately, indeed, even the slight limitation upon national sovereignty which membership in the new League of Nations would have entailed proved a stumbling block to the United States Senate.

Britain, whose cost in casualties had been half as great as France's but twenty-five times that of the United States, took a diplomatic stand somewhere between the other two. Britain had some foreign ambitions, and certain former Ottoman and German colonies were eventually added to the British Empire as League of Nations mandates. In regard to Europe itself, however, the British attitude proved more closely akin to the American than to the French. Some of England's chief objectives—the defeat of Germany, the restoration of Belgian independence, the surrender of the German fleet, the abdication of William II—had all been achieved by the time the diplomats met at Paris. Britain, though it had not fought the war to break up the Austrian Empire, could sympathize with the Poles, Czechs, Serbs, and Romanians who had thrown off generations of German, Russian, and Magyar rule. Though Lloyd George did not have such high hopes for the League of Nations as Wilson did, he was quite willing to associate Britain with the new organization. (Lord Robert Cecil, a younger son of Prime Minister Salisbury who became the British representative to the League, was a convinced Wilsonian idealist.) Lloyd George was no more eager than Wilson to sign a binding military alliance with France. He was less fearful of the new German Republic than was France, and he soon came to realize that Germany could not be destroyed as a viable state and still be expected to pay huge reparations or buy British goods. Once Germany had accepted the peace terms, Lloyd George promised in March 1919, Britain would do "everything possible to enable the German people to get on their legs again. We cannot both cripple her and expect her to pay."

The resultant treaty was necessarily a compromise, not sufficiently idealistic to please Wilson and taking insufficient heed of the needs of French security to please Clemenceau. Even Lloyd George, once he returned to London, was criticized. "I think I did as well as might be expected," he replied, "seated as I was between Jesus Christ and Napoleon Bonaparte." The main territorial and disarmament provisions of the Treaty of Versailles with Germany (and the comparable treaties with Austria and Hungary) were not so severe as a generation of critics inside and outside Germany was to contend. The provisions for reparations proved indeed both politically

unenforceable and economically impractical—the coal that Germany had to export to Italy as a reparation payment, for example, deprived Britain of a former export market—and only a small percentage of the \$33 billion reparations bill was ever to be paid.

One factor of instability promoted by the Paris Peace Settlement was the new and untried governments set up in Eastern Europe. Old habits of obedience had been ended, and traditional channels of trade were blocked by new tariff walls. Yet the new boundaries reflected much more adequately than those of 1914 the national preferences of the East European peoples. A second and much greater factor of instability was the fact that, though the Great Powers of 1815 had all participated in and been substantially agreed upon the settlement of Vienna, three of the big powers of 1919 were clearly not satisfied with the Paris Peace Settlement. The Italians, one of the victors, regarded themselves deprived of legitimate gains in the Adriatic. The Russians clearly wished to bring within the boundaries of international communism all the lands the tsars had controlled, and more besides. Finally, the Germans were soon to argue that international equity required the restoration of their fleet, their colonies, and at least some of their lands in Eastern Europe, where a Polish "corridor" now separated East Prussia from the rest of Germany.

For the moment neither Germany nor Russia had the power to change the settlement, and a long era of at least relative peace seemed a reasonable hope in the summer of 1919. A balance of power of sorts had returned to the continent of Europe, and British statesmen could once again afford to turn their attention to other matters. One of these was the British Empire, upon which World War I had had a paradoxical effect. On the one hand, that empire had grown, so that a map of the world painted in 1919 could show more areas than ever "painted red" in the traditional imperial sense. The new acquisitions admittedly were neither colonies nor protectorates but the League of Nations mandates, a status midway between colony and international trusteeship, in that a specific mandatory power had practical control but owed ultimate responsibility to the new international organization. In the Middle East, three of the Arab states which had hitherto been parts of the Ottoman Empire came under British auspices as class A mandates (Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Mesopotamia; henceforth Iraq). With German and Russian influence curtailed at a time when the area was becoming an increasingly significant supplier of oil for the world, the Middle East was now predominantly a British sphere of influence. In Africa, parts of former German Togoland and Kamerun (Camerouns) and all of German East Africa (Tanganyika) became class B mandates, in which the mandatory power was granted "full powers of administration and legislation."

For the older British dominions and for India, the war had provided both an opportunity to demonstrate their loyalty to the mother country and an incentive to develop a new sense of separatism. The government in Lon-

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and loyalty to "a mate" outranked any awareness of the need to increase efficiency in a particular industry.

Such strikes did not merely injure the reputation for reliability of British exporters; they also led to ever more inflationary wage settlements which led in turn to comparable price rises and to demands from other unions to catch up. As inflation made British exports more expensive, the international balance of payments (after three years of surplus) plunged into deficit again in 1972. Although it had long been felt that world trade depended on a fixed long-term relationship between different currencies, the Heath ministry decided that summer to permit the pound to "float" on the international money market. By 1974, this meant a 20 percent devaluation vis-à-vis the major Western European currencies.

Although the floating of the pound temporarily aided British exporters and discouraged currency speculators, it did not solve the problem of inflation. Nor did a series of attempts by Heath to obtain a policy of voluntary price and wage restraints acceptable to both the Confederation of British Industries and the Trades Union Congress. The TUC insisted on price control but was unwilling to accept wage control, and early in November the talks broke down. As a consequence, in November 1972, Heath called for a ninety-day freeze on wages, prices, rents, and dividends. The Counter-Inflation Act that followed early in 1973 set up a Price Commission and a Pay Board and was designed to impose a rigorous limit on all increases. The turnaround in policy was a hard pill for the Conservative party to swallow; stock market prices began to plummet, and trade unions remained publicly uncooperative. Yet during 1973 the amount of industrial unrest did subside, and the rate of inflation did decline.

Inflation was not solely the product of domestic causes. It was also the consequence of a worldwide rise in the price of raw materials. The most dramatic example of this was the sudden quadrupling of oil prices by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries in November 1973, the by-product of yet another Arab-Israeli war. Although Britain still utilized relatively more coal than did the United States or Western Europe, more than half of its economy was dependent upon oil, and virtually all of that oil was imported from the Middle East. The result was the onset of a worldwide economic recession and an overwhelming new threat to Britain's uneasy balance of payments position. British miners' workers decided to take advantage of the renewed importance of the coal that generated most British electricity by seeking wages far in excess of Heath's anti-inflation guidelines. In November they banned all overtime in the mines; this meant a cutback in production of 40 percent. In order to conserve the diminishing coal supply, Heath put most of British industry on a three-day week as of January 1, 1974. The resulting decline in production proved to be far smaller than anticipated, demonstrating the potential capacity of British industry when both labor and management work at peak efficiency. Numerous last-minute negotiations failed to head off a total miners' strike in early

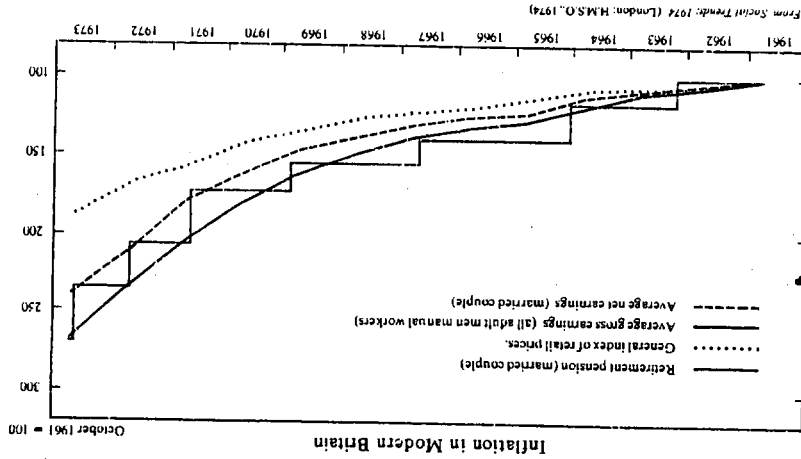


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Early in 1966 Prime Minister Wilson decided to risk a new general election in order to strengthen his government's parliamentary majority. By then the Conservative opposition no longer was headed by Alec Douglas-Home, who had resigned during the previous summer, but by Edward Heath. For the first time the Conservative party had chosen its leader by the formal balloting of its House of Commons members rather than by secret informal consultations within the party's inner circle; Heath had narrowly emerged as the victor over Reginald Maudling. In his social background—the son of a carpenter and a lady's maid—and in his reputation as a hardheaded professional, Heath resembled Wilson more than he resembled his somewhat casual aristocratic predecessor, Douglas-Home. Yet as the election campaign made clear, Wilson and Heath were far from identical. In his television appearances, Wilson looked and sounded like a national leader who truly understood and could cope with the grave problems of the day. Heath emerged as earnest and honest but somewhat dull; he found it difficult to arouse fervid enthusiasm in an audience. The election proved to be a solid Labour triumph. There was a significant swing to Labour in the total popular vote and a still more obvious swing in the number of parliamentary seats: Labour, 363; Conservative, 253; Liberal, 12.

*The Perils of the Pound*

In his more sanguine moments in the spring of 1966, Prime Minister Wilson may well have believed that his government had survived its economic time of troubles and that in a calmer atmosphere it could go about encouraging the process of constructive social change. Instead, the years 1966-1969 continued to be shadowed by the problem of Britain's international balance of payments. Economically speaking, Britain appeared to be "the sick man of Europe"; and the British public became accustomed to newspaper warnings that the pound was once more in peril. The intricacies of international finance are little understood by the average citizen, and so a prime-ministerial call to "save the pound" failed to evoke the same spirit of national unity that Winston Churchill had aroused with his defiant "We shall fight them on the beaches. . . . We shall never surrender."

The average citizen did become more immediately aware of the impact of world finance upon his own daily activities when a six-week seaman's strike in May and June of 1966 precipitated a sharp reduction in exports and a new run on the pound. The government, which had entered office in 1964 on a pledge to end the "Stop-Go" syndrome, now instituted the stiffest and most deflationary "Stop" of the post-World War II period. Again the bank rate was raised and installment-buying regulations were tightened in order to curb the supply of credit. Taxes on alcoholic beverages and gasoline as well as income were raised to soak up consumer purchasing power. A limit of £50 (\$140) a year per person was placed on English

tourist spending abroad. The Prizes and Incomes Act of August 1966 imposed a six-month standstill on all wage, salary, and dividend increases, to be followed by a system of "severe restraint" for another six months. These severe deflationary measures did have some success in curbing inflation and the growth of imports, but only at the expense of drastically curtailing the rate of economic growth envisaged in the National Plan.

Early in 1967, Wilson's government made a new bid to have Britain join the Common Market; the decision won the approval of the Houses of Commons by a vote of 488-62 but was once again blocked by the opposition of President de Gaulle of France. Britain's economic recovery was further impeded by the Six-Day War between Israel and its Arab neighbors in June 1967. The indefinite closing of the Suez Canal added £20 million a month to Britain's import bill, and a three-month embargo on oil shipments by Arab lands, whose leaders falsely accused the British government of having served as Israel's accomplice, complicated matters still further. Continuing economic difficulties led to the decision to place additional curbs upon overseas military expenditures, a major drain on the balance of payments, by a plan to close Britain's last major military bases east of Suez by the mid-1970s. This decision involved Singapore and a number of small Arab states like Kuwait adjoining the Persian Gulf; little thought was given to the possibility that such a step would place Britain's oil imports during the 1970s in even greater peril. The base on the tip of the Arabian peninsula at Aden was given up in 1968. Britain remained firm in regard to its bases west of Suez and resisted Spanish pressure and harassment to force the return of Gibraltar to Spain after 266 years. In September 1967, a referendum of Gibraltar citizens demonstrated that they preferred British to Spanish rule by a margin of 12,138 to 44 and confirmed the government's resolve. Wilson had indifferent success in his efforts to help extricate the United States from the Vietnam quagmire, but Britain helped negotiate the 1967 treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space and the 1969 agreement barring further nuclear proliferation.

The economic difficulties occasioned by the closing of the Suez Canal were compounded by a six-week-long dock strike in Liverpool and London in September and October 1967. A new "flight from the pound" led to the November decision that it would be necessary after all to devalue the pound in terms of the dollar (from \$2.80 to \$2.40) and other currencies. James Callaghan (1912- ), the Chancellor of the Exchequer identified with preventing devaluation, resigned and exchanged positions with Roy Jenkins (1920- ), the Home Secretary. Jenkins soon made it clear that the government would not permit the chief advantage of devaluation—making British exports cheaper abroad—to be dissipated by the rapid growth of prices and wages at home. The Prices and Incomes Board retained the power to delay and restrain inflationary wage increases, and the April 1968 budget again raised income and sales taxes. Drug prescription charges were re-imposed, and the institution of a school-leaving age of sixteen (rather than

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the affair sparked comparable criticism. Labour party leaders denounced the intervention; Aneurin Bevan, for one, condemned the use of "new weapons for squalid and trivial ends." Labour found it difficult to capitalize upon Eden's embarrassment, however, since many of its followers proved clearly sympathetic to the assertion of British power. Conversely, the intervention pleased the diehard imperialists in the Conservative ranks, though at least forty Conservative M.P.s threatened to desert the government unless the troops were withdrawn. Prime Minister Eden, whose vacillation had been at least partly responsible for the fiasco, now became physically ill, resigned his office in January 1957, and retired from active politics by moving to the House of Lords as Earl of Avon.

For the first time since 1923, a monarch was given the duty of choosing a prime minister without an obvious candidate in sight. Richard A. Butler seemed the most likely selection, but, acting presumably upon the advice of Lord Salisbury (the Conservative leader in the House of Lords) and Sir Winston Churchill, Queen Elizabeth nominated Harold Macmillan (1894- ). Macmillan, a book publisher by profession and first elected M.P. in 1924, had won renown as Churchill's housing minister and soon succeeded in restoring confidence both in his party and in his country.

In the early months of 1957, public-opinion polls had revealed a sizable shift toward the Labour party; but as the Suez crisis receded in the public memory and times remained prosperous, Macmillan's stock rose. An admirable Edwardian facade hid a shrewd and at times ruthless politician who increasingly impressed his party followers as a veritable "Supermac." His Labour party counterpart in the 1959 general election was Hugh Gaitskell, the onetime economics instructor who had won out in a three-cornered party election over Morrison and Bevan upon Attlee's retirement from the party leadership in 1955. Gaitskell, though impressive in his intelligence and sincerity and though successful in rewinning the allegiance of Aneurin Bevan (who had once called him a "desiccated calculating machine"), was unsuccessful in completely uniting his party. Nor did he find it easy to counter Macmillan's program of peace and prosperity or the Conservative slogan: "Life is Better Under the Conservatives." In 1959, for the third consecutive time, the Conservative party won a general election; and for the fourth time in a row, it gained seats. It attracted 49.4 percent of the popular vote to Labour's 43.7 percent. In the House of Commons it now possessed a majority of 365 to 258.

*Twilight of Empire: Africa*

Although the Suez crisis had no long-range political effects within Britain, it clearly did have long-range effects in the British Empire. It did not become the King's First Minister in order to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire, Winston Churchill had declared in 1942. And, indeed, he lived up to his word. In neither of his two ministries did any

British dependency gain independence; the devolution of the greater part of the Asian empire had taken place during the Labour ministry. And during Churchill's government of 1951-1955, Britain withstood assaults on its remaining empire by successfully suppressing a Communist revolution in Malaya and the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya.

During the second half of the decade, the situation changed. In 1956 the onetime Anglo-Egyptian Sudan was set up as an independent republic, and a long drawn-out rebellion against French rule began in Algeria. Nasser's survival of the Suez invasion strengthened his own prestige; and once Africa north of the Sahara had gained its independence, could Africa south of the Sahara be far behind? The Macmillan government, despite the reservations of some of its supporters, decided to embark upon a gradual program of independence within the Commonwealth, for almost all of the African dependencies, rather than await the otherwise inevitable rebellions. As recently as the 1930s the British government had felt committed to the preservation of African tribal institutions. It was with some reluctance that the British acquiesced in the wishes of the newly urbanized and politically conscious African elites who saw the future in terms not of tribal chiefs but of popular representation, political parties, and responsible government molded on the British example.

In few of these areas had British influence ever been as pervasive or as longstanding as in India; but in all of the new African countries—whose boundaries were often the accidental by-products of nineteenth-century European diplomacy—British governmental and educational institutions had made some impact. Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) began the process of independence in 1957; Nigeria, Britain's most populous West African dependency, gained freedom in 1960, as did British Somaliland, which became part of the republic of Somalia. Tanganyika, one of Britain's League of Nations mandates, gained its independence in 1961; three years later it formed a union with the erstwhile British protectorate of Zanzibar to become Tanzania. Sierra Leone, which had been founded as a colony for freed black slaves in 1787, became independent in 1961. Uganda and Kenya followed in 1962 and 1963 respectively, and tiny Gambia in 1965. Back in London in 1966 the Colonial Office ceased to be a separate ministry in the government.

For a time, British members of both political parties harbored the hope that in a divided world the Commonwealth could act as a bridge between nations of different races and stages of economic development. In a tour of the Union of South Africa in 1960, Prime Minister Macmillan sought to convince the government of that country that it too should heed "the winds of change" that were sweeping the continent; but South Africa, controlled since 1948 by the (Boer) Nationalist party, adamantly adhered to its policy of "apartheid" (racial separation in theory, white supremacy in practice). In 1961 South Africa declared itself a republic and severed all ties with the Commonwealth. South Africa remained part of the sterling

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Suez and After

In the course of 1956, East-West relations, Britain's role in the Near East, and Anglo-American friendship all received rude shocks. Although Britain had helped to inspire twentieth-century Arab nationalism, the Palestine dilemma of the 1940s had damaged British prestige in the area. Only long negotiations had enabled Britain to save the Anglo-Franco Oil Company from the nationalizing plans of Premier Mossadeq of Iran in the early 1950s. An Egyptian revolution in 1952 replaced the complaisant King Farouk with the militant Colonel Nasser, who in 1954 obtained an agreement from Britain to withdraw the last of its military forces from Egypt in return for his promise to uphold the international convention of 1888 guaranteeing freedom of navigation through the canal.

By June 1956, when the last British troops withdrew from the Canal Zone, both Russian and American missions were already competing against each other in the Nile Valley. In July, however, after Secretary of State Dulles announced that the United States would not after all build a high dam at Aswan for Egypt, Nasser in violation of the spirit if not the letter of the 1954 treaty retaliated by nationalizing the Suez Canal. France and Britain decided not to acquiesce in this apparent *fait accompli*; but their attempts to arouse world opinion against the Egyptian dictator received only indifferent backing from the United States. Partly in concert with Israel, which was fearful of Russian arms shipments to Egypt, secret plans for a military operation were drawn up. On October 29, Israeli forces launched an attack across the Sinai Desert. The next day Eden announced that France and Britain were intervening between Israel and Egypt and would temporarily occupy the Suez Canal.

The Suez intervention was to be criticized alternatively for its immorality and for its mismanagement. Clearly Britain expected American acquiescence, if not support; instead, Secretary of State Dulles teamed up with the Russians in the United Nations to condemn the Anglo-French intervention, and to save Nasser at the very same time that Russian tanks were crushing a Hungarian revolution in the streets of Budapest. When the British and French governments agreed to a cease-fire on November 6, their forces had failed to occupy all of the Canal Zone, and the Egyptians themselves had blocked the waterway. A face-saving formula, worked out largely by Canadian Foreign Minister Lester Pearson, had UN forces replace the Anglo-French invaders.<sup>3</sup>

In the Near East, the intervention marred a widespread British reputation for fair dealing, and its failure lowered British prestige. Back home,

<sup>3</sup> Judicious Independent Conservative, Robert Rhodes James, in *Ambassadors and Realities* (London, 1972). Although his analysis is unduly schematic, Christopher Booker provides a vivid account of the social transformation that Britain underwent between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s in *The Nemphilluca* (London, 1969).  
<sup>4</sup> Hugh Thomas, *The Suez Affair* (London, 1967), recounts the events in detail.



### Britain in the 1960s: The Uncertain Society

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The apparent complacency of the early 1950s was broken in 1956 by the Suez crisis, which seemed to illustrate—perhaps even to exaggerate—Britain's diminished role as a world power, and by the premiere of John Osborne's play, *Look Back in Anger*. Its hero (or antihero), Jimmy Porter, takes for granted the social security provided by the welfare state but remains dissatisfied with his lot. "I suppose," he laments, "people of our generation aren't able to die for good causes any longer. We had all that done for us, in the thirties and the forties, when we were still kids. There aren't any good, brave causes left." These two unrelated events set the scene for the confusing decade and a half that followed: the increase of private affluence combined with economic uncertainty on the national level; the continued evolution (or de-olution) of the British Empire into a Commonwealth of independent nations; and the search by British diplomats for a meaningful role in a nuclear age dominated, until the mid-1960s at least, by the United States and the Soviet Union. The period also brought a mood of self-questioning within Britain by a generation that had forgotten the spirit of national self-discipline evoked by the Second World War. The result was a rebellion against traditional social values, a temporary "worship" of the vitality of youth, and a search for "good, brave causes" to work for, if not to die for, within the framework of a materially successful twentieth-century society.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some of the events discussed in this chapter are taken up in the final chapters of T. O. Lloyd, *Empire to Welfare State* (New York, 1970); Arthur Marwick, *Britain in the Century of Total War* (Boston, 1968); and Pauline Gregg, *The Welfare State* (London, 1968). Anthony Sampson, *Idemissions: A Study in Ambiguity* (London, 1967), analyzes the politics of the later 1950s and early 1960s, while Harold Wilson has provided his own assessment of the first ministry he led, *The Labour Government, 1964-1970* (London, 1971). The politics of the later 1960s are appraised somewhat differently by a

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The British government's handling of the Palestine issue showed the same blindness to the reality of Jewish nationalism which had in earlier years been shown toward Irish nationalism. In 1947 the United Nations voted for a partition plan that would have provided the Jewish population with an independent though territorially almost indefensible state. The Arab states refused to acknowledge the decision, and Britain's expectation was that it would end its Palestine mandate in 1948. Britain's expectation was that without British protection, the Jews would be driven into the sea and that only by withdrawing their army could the British prove how necessary their presence was. An Arab-Jewish war did break out in April 1948, but contrary to British anticipations, the beleaguered Jewish forces not only emerged victorious but upset the original boundaries established by the United Nations and forged a state with a viable and defensible frontier. An independent state of Israel was proclaimed, and Chaim Weizmann, the nationalized British citizen (and chemist) who had helped to secure the Balfour Declaration, became the country's first president.

While Palestine proved in some ways to be the Labour government's "Irish Question," actual Anglo-Irish relations were more harmonious. During the 1920s, the independent Irish Parliament had removed most of the links that still bound Ireland to Britain after the treaty of 1922. The parliamentary oath of loyalty to the British monarch was abolished, so was the post of governor-general and the right on the part of an Irish citizen to avail himself of the British Privy Council as a final court of legal appeal. After 1937 when a new republican constitution was adopted by the Irish Free State, the only remaining link was that British diplomats continued to represent Ireland in those countries to which Ireland sent no envoys of her own. Ireland broke this last tie in 1948, and Britain in the Ireland Act of 1949 acknowledged that the Irish Republic had ceased to be part of "His Majesty's Dominions" but guaranteed to the Northern Irish that their section of the island would remain part of the United Kingdom so long as their autonomous parliament preferred such an arrangement. The Ireland Act also stated that, though the Irish Republic was completely independent, its citizens were not to be regarded as foreigners in England. They retained, and still retain, free access as visitors or immigrants abroad, if resident in the United Kingdom, they have the right to vote in British elections. Moreover, the economies of Britain and the Irish Republic remain tightly intertwined.

The Cold War

The force of nationalism was one of the great determining forces of the post-World War II world. The other was the Cold War between Russia and the Western allies. In one sense, the Cold War was implicit in the very manner in which World War II had come about. Although the fact was little recognized at the time, World War II had ceased, from 1940 on, to be a war that the Western democracies could win in any absolute sense. By

which declined to keep any association with the Commonwealth. Though prompted by domestic economic difficulties as well as by long-standing political principles, and though marred by violence between Hindus and Muslims, Britain's peaceful transfer of power in India remains an extraordinary example of enlightened statesmanship.<sup>6</sup>

This statesmanship was far less evident in the Near East, specifically in Palestine, where the British had been dominant since their occupation of Jerusalem in 1918 and their assumption of a League of Nations mandate in 1919. The Balfour Declaration of 1917 had pledged the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. At the same moment when the British government was seeking to win the support of Jews throughout the world by this move, it was also encouraging an Arab nationalist revival against the Ottoman Empire; thus the immediate dictates of World War I diplomacy trapped successive British governments upon the horns of a dilemma largely of their own making. Although the 1920s brought much economic progress to Palestine, clashes between the growing number of Jewish immigrants and the resident Arabs became ever more frequent during the interwar years. A British plan of partition was rejected by the Arabs in 1936, and in a 1939 White Paper the British government announced its intention of creating a single independent state predominantly Arab in population. Jewish immigration was limited to 1,500 per month until 1944, when it was to be halted altogether. The policy appeared needlessly heartless to those relatively few Jews who succeeded in escaping from Nazi persecution.

Tensions in Palestine itself eased somewhat during the Second World War; but with the end of hostilities, Zionist aspirations for an independent Jewish state revived. It seemed imperative to provide a homeland for those Jewish refugees who had escaped the Nazi gas chambers, but the British government remained reluctant to alienate Arab opinion by again permitting unrestricted Jewish immigration. The desire to maintain oil concessions in the Near East, fear for the safety of the Suez Canal, pro-Arab sentiment on the part of some officials, and a genuine sense of being a neutral party above the battle all influenced the formation of British policy. The occupation of Palestine involved 100,000 British troops and cost the British Exchequer more than £100 million between 1945 and 1947. Ernest Bevin, Labour's Foreign Secretary, felt sure at first that he could resolve the dilemma, but both he and many of his countrymen were increasingly frustrated as Jewish terrorist groups attacked isolated groups of British military personnel and on one occasion blew up the largest hotel in Jerusalem. The deaths of British soldiers led to a number of anti-Semitic outbursts within Britain and a resentment on the part of Bevin against a widespread pro-Zionist attitude in the United States.

6 V. P. Menon, *The Transfer of Power in India* (London, 1952); Michael Edwards, *The Last Years of British India* (London, 1963); B. N. Pandey, *The Break-Up of British India* (London, 1968).

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C. H. Pearson, that the European peoples, and especially the Anglo-Saxons, were innately superior to men of all other colors. That sense of superiority gave rise to much that was arrogant, cruel, and unwarranted, and was the same for the white man the undying hatred of men not "blessed" with the same color of skin. Yet, as Rudyard Kipling suggested in "The White Man's Burden" (1899), the conviction that such superiority involved an obligation as well as an advantage was the motive that sent thousands of Englishmen to toil and suffer in remote parts of the earth:

Take up the White Man's burden—  
Set forth the best ye breed—  
Go bind your sons to exile  
To serve your captives' need;  
To wait in heavy harness,  
On fluttered folk and wild—  
Your new-caught, sullen peoples,  
Half-devil and half-child.

Although in the 1970s old-style imperialism or colonialism may be condemned in toto, the late-nineteenth-century imperialistic spirit cannot be understood unless it is realized that it included a considerable element of "Peace Corps" idealism.

Still another component of late-nineteenth-century imperialism was its popularity with the newly enfranchised masses; and at least one historian has maintained that the electorate that emerged from the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1884 was less inclined to take a penny-pinching attitude toward colonies than the industrious middle-class voter of the previous generation. The high tide of imperialism coincided with the rise of the popular press, and the daily papers often made imperialism a romantic subject. It was after all, a newspaper that sponsored Stanley's hunt for Livingstone. The empire-building urge was inspired also by the works of H. Rider Haggard (*King Solomon's Mines*, for example), Kipling's tales of India, and the rainy novels addressed by C. A. Henry to the youthful English reader. Henry's hero was almost invariably a typical product of England's public schools: a good specimen of the class by which Britain has been built up, her colonies formed, and her battlefields won—a class in point of energy, fearlessness, the spirit of adventure, and a readiness to face and overcome all difficulties, unmatched in the world.

Writings such as these helped to mold the popular attitude toward the glories of empire played out against a gaudy backdrop of tropical forests, and great sluggish rivers, and empty plains, and sand, and terrible mountain passes.<sup>2</sup>

Clearly a great many late Victorian Englishmen took a vicarious satisfaction

<sup>2</sup> D. G. Creighton, "The Victorian and the Empire," in Schoyler and Amsheh, eds., *The Making of English History* (New York, 1959).

Africa" was judged by the major powers in terms of whether it aided or injured their relative strategic and political position in Europe. Such diplomatic considerations played at least as significant a role in bringing on the "new imperialism" as did specific economic interests.

Once the scramble for Africa had started in the early 1880s, the surprising thing is that, though it caused occasional war scares, it did not lead to a general war between the Great Powers. The map of the "dark continent" was painted a hodgepodge of bright imperial colors within little more than a decade; yet the powers generally abided by the ground rules for African aggrandizement laid down at the Conference of Berlin in 1884-85.

Although the thoughts of statesmen may have been primarily upon the European balance of power, a host of other motives inspired individual imperialists. Not the least of these was that of "civilizing" the native races. The Anglican Church Missionary Society had been active in Africa since the beginning of the century, and most Nonconformist denominations had established their missions as well. It was missionaries like Livingstone who had long been urging the white man's duty to bring civilization and Christianity to Africa. They discovered to their horror in the 1850s that, while British example and the British naval patrol had virtually ended the slave trade in West Africa, this iniquitous practice still flourished in East Africa. There the sultan of Zanzibar protected the Arab vendors of human flesh who dominated the East African coastal trade. It was as a result of British pressure that the sultan reluctantly restricted the East African slave trade, which ended altogether in 1876. But slavery remained, and it was not until shocked public opinion and missionary zeal pressured the British government into establishing a protectorate over Zanzibar in 1895 that the institution of slavery was finally abolished there.

Although H. M. Stanley once estimated that if Christianity were able to teach the natives of the Congo no more than to cover their nakedness with a single Sunday-go-to-meeting dress apiece, this alone would create a market for 300,000,000 yards of Manchester cotton cloth, missionary pressure alone was rarely sufficient to bring direct government intervention. When the state did intervene, however, the missionaries were a significant humanitarian group reminding the British government that native peoples deserved protection, that they should not be exploited through forced labor, that they should be considered as equal before the law, and that whenever possible their customary forms of landholding and tribal government (though not religion) should be preserved.

The missionaries often shared in the assumption, fortified by the pseudo-scientific findings of Social Darwinists like Benjamin Kidd and

<sup>2</sup> No power was to declare a new protectorate without giving due notice to the others or without making some pretense of occupying the area. Disputes were to be settled by arbitration.

BY STOCKHOLDR  
JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO. SE  
JJC/JJC

EXHIBIT FIFTY-EIGHT (58) OF ONE  
 FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
 MAY 04th Year 2002

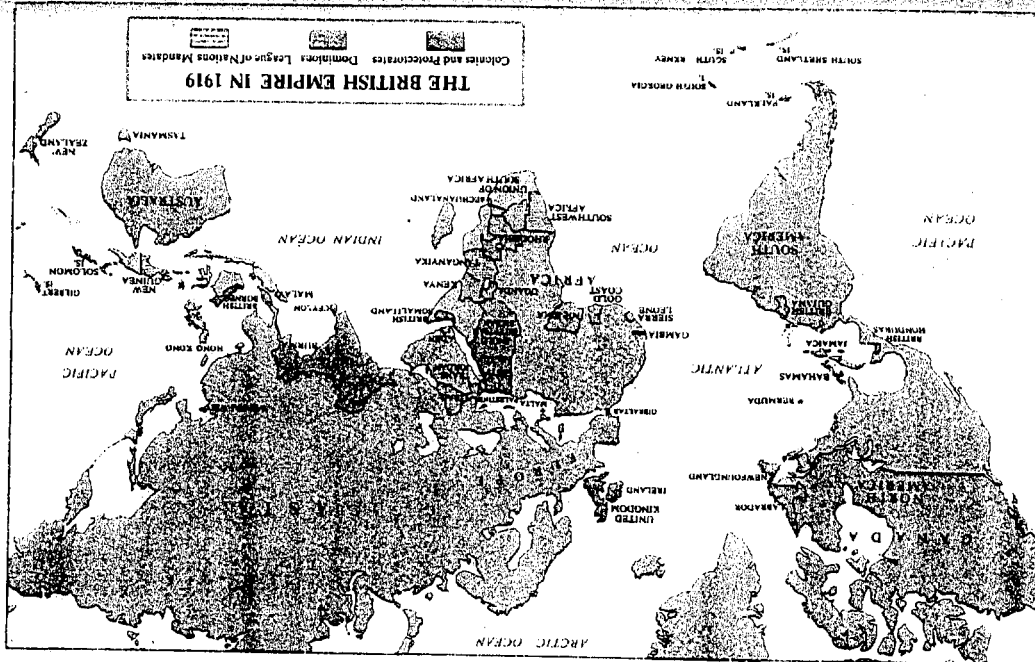
the multiple membership in the League was often cited by opponents of the League as a reason for steering clear of the venture. In fact, the initiative for separate representation had come from Canada; it was less a tribute to Lloyd George's Machiavellian cunning than a reflection of political embarrassment. Dominion status henceforth was to connote a high degree of foreign-policy autonomy as well as domestic independence. In this sense the First World War was a giant step toward the gradual transformation of the British Empire into what some men in 1918 were beginning to call the British Commonwealth of Nations.<sup>2</sup>

**A Solution for Ireland**

As so often before in British history, the most troublesome of imperial problems provoked by war was the one next door in Ireland. While Redmond and his fellow Irish Nationalists had sought to rally their countrymen to the British cause as the only way of winning Home Rule without splitting their island, the revolutionary members of Sinn Fein preferred to take advantage of the war by accepting German aid, as some of their predecessors had once sought Spanish or French help. By the spring of 1916 little German support had been forthcoming and a majority of Sinn Fein leaders were in jail. A minority, however, succeeded in April 1916 in launching the Easter Rebellion in Dublin. A republic was declared, but within a week the insurgents had been defeated. The mass of Irishmen might have remained acquiescent had not the British government decided to execute fifteen of the ringleaders. Another leader, Eamon de Valera (1882-1975), escaped by reason of American citizenship, and he henceforth led the movement for complete independence. In the aftermath of the Easter Rebellion Lloyd George secured from Redmond and Carson an agreement on a compromise plan whereby Home Rule would have been immediately implemented (with Ulster excluded for the time being). Unionist opposition within the coalition cabinet killed this last opportunity to resolve the question peacefully. Irish hostility forced the British government to give up its plan to impose conscription upon that portion of the British Isles. By 1918 the "Time of Troubles," which was to inspire a great part of the best twentieth-century Irish literature, had begun, and much of southern Ireland had become in effect an occupied country.

The general election of 1918 sealed the doom of Redmond's constitutionalist policy. The Sinn Feiners elected were pledged to sit in a parliament in Dublin but never in Westminster, and in January 1919 those not in jail or in hiding renewed their declaration of independence and attempted to set up their own parliament in Dublin. The result was civil war between the British "black and tans" (soldiers whose uniforms combined the

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Mansergh, *The Commonwealth Experience* (London, 1969) is a reliable guide to the twentieth-century evolution of empire into commonwealth.



BY IDACORP  
 STEHLOR JOHN J. CRAPO  
 PRO SE JJC/JJC

dominions still have claimed in 1914 the technical right to involve the dominions in war, but it could hardly not have compelled their military aid. Yet tiny New Zealand sent 112,000 troops to fight overseas, almost a percentage of its total population as was recruited for the armed forces of the British Isles themselves; and even larger contingents (representing somewhat smaller percentages of the total population) were sent by Australia, Canada, and South Africa. Almost the entire professional army of Europe or the Middle East, and over a million Indians fought overseas before the war was over. The motives ranged from traditional loyalty to emigrant sons and outrage at German militarism to a desire (in India at least) to be rewarded with a greater degree of self-government.

War weariness at times sapped the spirit of imperial unity overseas, just as it encouraged political discord at home. Some South African Boers wished to take advantage of the conflict to regain their republican status;



THE BIG PEACE AT PARIS, 1919  
British Prime Minister David Lloyd George is seen here with Italian Prime Minister Orlando, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. U.S. National Archives.

Boer leaders, like Botha and Smuts, working in cooperation with South African dominions of English origin, kept South Africa in the war. New Zealand and Canada adopted military conscription, in emulation of the mother country, and in the latter country the issue opened the latent Anglo-French rivalry. In such a case, Canadians took comfort in the fact that the British Empire and the French Third Republic were, for once, allies, but they still opposed conscription in only one respect: the French Third Republic was anti-clerical rather than loyalist. Australia, whose labor party was much influenced by emigrant Irishmen, narrowly voted down conscription in two national referendums. All other ways Australia cooperated loyally with the imperial war effort, and all the dominions as well as India found cause to take pride in the military exploits of their fighting men.

In India, the war impelled the British government to spell out its future intentions. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, did so in 1917 when he called for "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration; and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The serene spirit characterized the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, which in turn led to the Government of India Act of 1919. "Transferred" powers were henceforth to be exercised by ministries responsible to the elected provincial legislatures, and only "reserved" powers remained directly in the hands of British officials. Nationalist leaders were disappointed by the limited nature of the reforms and launched a civil-disobedience campaign against new legislation acts that accompanied them. In Amritsar, General Reginald Dyer ordered his native troops to fire upon an unauthorized assembly. The resulting "Amritsar Massacre" killed 379 people and wounded 1,200 others. Some Englishmen applauded the action as having averted a second Indian mutiny, but Asquith termed it "one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history." Dyer was ultimately dismissed from the service, and members of the Indian National Congress found new fuel to enflame the sometimes fitful nationalistic zeal of their countrymen.

For a time in 1917 and 1918 an Imperial War Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers and representatives from India convened regularly in London. They generally met with Lloyd George's five-man war cabinet as an enlarged Imperial War Cabinet. Such wartime planning promised to revive Joseph Chamberlain's hope of a federal supergovernment for the British Empire, but the entry of the United States into the war and increasing interest in the prospective League of Nations tended to sidetrack such speculation.

The dominions and India demanded, and eventually received, the right to separate membership at the Paris Peace Conference; and Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India were granted separate representation in the League of Nations. Many Americans saw this decision as an example of British duplicity in that it increased British representation;

EXHIBIT FIFTY-NINE (59) OF 115 (6)  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN EXHIBITS  
MAY FOURTH (04th) Year 2002 by SE  
STICHLOR John J. CRAPO, PRO

JJC/11C

JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE  
PO Box 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

VIA Certified Mail  
Return Receipt requested  
please

May 07<sup>th</sup>  
Year 2002  
9:58 PM

#7002 0510 0003 6434 5365  
IDACORP INC IDAHO Power Co  
Corp Secy Mr STAHMAN

#7002 0510 0003 6434 5495  
City of New Bedford contributory  
Retirement System

Hon BD chairperson Mr Arthur J CARON JR

#7001 1940 0001 1081 2740  
Hon STAT BD OF RETIREMENT  
BD President State Treasurer

Hon MS SHANNON P O'BRIEN, ESQ

JUR O

#7002 0510 0003 6434 5358

Hon District Court Cambridge Div  
CLERK-MAGISTRATE Hon

Mr ~~Robert~~ Robert L. MOSCOW

Dear Ladies & Gentlemen

my Amendment

I'm uncertain how much I can  
do with this. I need to use a toilet  
AND then wash & dry afterwards.

I'll do what I can - and hope  
to make last subway home  
the weather is very humid

J.J. CRAPO Pro Se  
May Seventh (07th) 2002  
Page two (02)

I use my portable cark. I've a  
box on it - also a bag.  
At Subway INBOUND a serious problem  
stairway open - but NO escalator!

I'VE A SOFT SWIVEL CHAIR  
ON WHICH TO SIT

Sincerely

John J. Crapo, Pro Se  
NON LWR

ENCLOSURES: SIX (06)

P.S. SOMEONE OFFICIOUS WAS SITTING  
IN place where I like to sit  
- not a customer - has left - I'll  
move to that seat. Hope not to  
have more troubles

JJC/ljc

I've moved over 10:11 PM

EXHIBIT ONE(01) OF SIX(06)

May Seventh  
-year 2002

Xinko, INC  
one million rd  
Cambridge MA 02138

Dear Mr McDONOUGH

The documents of Mrs  
Cornelia G. Patten - namely  
Seven(07) pp - last will and  
testament & power of  
attorney were at my work  
station. I call them to your  
attention

Sincerely

John J. Crapo, Pro Se

Enclosures: Seven(07)

JJC/jjc

EXHIBIT TWO (02) OF SIX (06)

May, Seventy  
- year 2002

Kirkos, INC  
one nifflin pl  
Cambridge MA 02138

Dear Mr McDonough

The documents of Mrs  
Cornelia G. Patten - namely  
Seven(07) pp - last will and  
testament & power of  
attorney were at my work  
station. I call them to your  
attention

Sincerely

John J. Crapo, Pro Se

ENCLOSURES: Seven(07) (Four) 4

JJC/jjc

McDonald's Corporation  
Thank you for eating at McDonald's  
**John J. Crapo, Pro Se**  
THANK YOU  
South Station McD TEL# 6172611551  
34 KS#02 S#1 May.07'02(Tue)20:28

Order #234 TO GO

1 EV7-CC	3.70
1 42/COKE	1.59
1 SUP/SIZE	0.40
SUB TOTAL	5.69
TAKE OUT TAX	0.28
	-----
	5.97
CASH TENDERED	20.00
CHANGE	14.03

LG

Kirkos (617) 497-0125  
ONE NIFFLIN PLACE  
CAMBRIDGE, MA 02138  
**John J. Crapo, Pro Se**

DISC	PRICE	AMOUNT
20	ES BBN S/S WHITE STD	1.60
0.08	0.00	0.08
SUB	1.60 TX	0.08 TOT 1.68
		CASH 1.70
		CHG 0.02

Mr Sider  
John gave copy will  
father pp/w/wh

DN 332 TR 1217479 RG 5 05/07/02 18:57  
Visit us @ <http://www.kirkos.com>

were not here

RE 4



EXHIBIT Three (03) OF Six (06)

MAY 07 2002

Mr Crafo pro se

DURABLE POWER OF ATTORNEY

KNOW ALL PEOPLE BY THESE PRESENTS:

That I, Cornelia G. Patten, of Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, do hereby constitute and appoint my daughter, Susan L. Patten, of Amesbury, MA, to be my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my name and stead from time to time:

To demand, sue for or upon and receive all certificates of stock, bonds, securities, debts, claims, rents, interest, dividends (in whatever form and of whatever nature), monies and choses in action belonging to me, or to which I am now or may hereafter become entitled, or which are or may become due, owing or payable to me from any person or persons whomsoever (natural or corporate), and in my name to give effectual receipts and discharges for the same;

Upon receipt of any check, note, bill of exchange or other negotiable instrument or security for money payable to me, for me and on my behalf to collect the same and to receive the proceeds thereof, and for that purpose to endorse any such instrument;

To deposit in my name, or in the name of my said attorney, any or all monies or funds received by my said attorney, as such attorney, with any bank or banking institution, and from time to time to draw and sign checks upon or otherwise to withdraw any monies or funds from any or all accounts standing in my name or in the name of my said attorney in any bank or banking institution, and to disburse or apply any such monies or funds belonging to me for or to any of the purposes in this instrument stated;

To sell or buy for cash or on credit or to exchange for other property any certificates of stock, bonds, or other securities, any other personal property, tangible or intangible, or any real property, at public or private sale or transaction, all upon such terms and conditions, including warranties of title, as said attorney shall think fit, and to receive, transfer, convey, assign or release the same by good and sufficient instrument or instruments in writing to (or as directed by) the purchaser or purchasers thereof, no such purchaser to be responsible for the application of the purchase money or other thing of value paid or transferred to my said attorney; to give or receive money for equality of exchange; and from time to time in my name or in the name of my said attorney to invest any money or other assets belonging to me in all types of securities and other property of whatsoever nature and howsoever denominated, and from time to time and as often as my said attorney shall think fit to change investments.

To pay, out of any money or other assets belonging to me any or all debts or other obligations due, owing or payable or to become due, owing or payable from or by me;

To begin, prosecute, enforce, or defend, answer or oppose any actions or other proceedings, whether at law or in equity, arising out of any of the matters in this instrument stated or otherwise

Must have  
own atty?

EXHIBIT FOUR(04) OF SIX(06)  
MAY 07 2002  
MR CRAPO PROSE

in connection with any property belonging to me, and to compromise, adjust and settle upon such terms as my said attorney shall think fit any and all claims either in favor of or against me;

To prepare, sign, make oath to, and file all tax returns required by the laws of the United States, or of any state thereof, or of any municipality therein, or of any subdivision of any thereof to be filed by me, and to prosecute, defend, adjust, settle and compromise all claims of the United States or any such state, municipality or subdivision against me for any and all income or other taxes erroneously assessed or collected and in that behalf in my name and stead to execute, make oath to and file any and all claims for abatement, credit or refund or tax returns in connection therewith, to institute suits, attend all conferences and hearings before the representatives of the Treasury Department of the United States or the representatives of the tax department of any such state, municipality or subdivision;

To represent me before any office of the Internal Revenue Service or the Massachusetts Department of Revenue in income or gift tax matters with respect to any years;

To vote at the meetings of any corporation, trust or association, to assent to any reorganization and otherwise to act as my proxy or representative, in respect of any bonds, stocks or other securities now held or which may hereafter be acquired by me, with full power of substitution and for that purpose to sign and execute in my name any proxy or other instrument;

?  
To have and exercise access to any safe deposit box or boxes standing in my name and to remove and generally to deal with the contents thereof;

?  
To manage any and all real estate of which I may be possessed or in which I may have any interest wheresoever the same may be situated; to execute, acknowledge and deliver any leases of all or any part thereof, with such covenants, conditions and provisions as my said attorney may deem advisable, and to accept the surrender of any lease; to make repairs and improvements on any buildings thereon; to insure the same against loss or damage by fire, loss of rents, liability for accidents, and against such other contingencies as my attorney may deem best, for such amounts, and in such companies, as said attorney may deem advisable;

?  
To borrow money upon such terms as said attorney may deem proper (with or without the pledge or hypothecation of any assets of mine as security for the payment thereof) and to execute and deliver as collateral thereto proper mortgages or pledges with powers of sale and other usual covenants and provisions and to give all bonds necessary to provide for a deficiency in the case of any foreclosure of any mortgage or pledge;

OK?  
In general, with respect to all property belonging to me, to do, in my name and on my behalf, any and all acts and things which I could do if personally present and acting, including, without hereby limiting the foregoing generality, the making of contracts and agreements, whether in writing or otherwise, and the execution and delivery of any and all instruments in writing however denominated;

EXHIBIT Five (05) OF Six (06)  
May Seventh (07th) 2002

With respect to any and all powers hereinbefore in this instrument given, to appoint and employ any agents, deputies or substitutes that my said attorney may think proper, and in writing to delegate to any such agent, deputy or substitute any or all of such powers, for such period as shall be stated in such writing, and from time to time to dismiss or discharge any such agents, deputies or substitutes and appoint or employ others in their stead;

With respect to any and all powers hereinbefore in this instrument given, to exercise the same at any time or from time to time, whether specifically so stated or not, no such power to be exhausted by a single exercise thereof;

And I hereby declare that in case of my death this power of attorney shall, as to all matters and things which may after my death be done by my said attorney or any agent, deputy or substitute hereunder, by virtue or under color or in pursuance hereof, be as binding upon my executors, administrators and assigns as the same would have been upon me if living, unless my said attorney, or such agent, or deputy or substitute, as the case may be, had previous to the doing of such matter or thing, received reliable intelligence of my death so as effectually to apprise my said attorney that said attorney's power hereunder had terminated;

And I hereby undertake to ratify and approve everything which my said attorney, or any agent, deputy or substitute appointed under this power, shall do or purport to do in virtue of these presents, hereby giving and granting unto said attorney, to each such agent, deputy or substitute, as full power and authority in the premises as I would have if personally present and acting. I further request that my said attorney be held harmless for all acts and omissions done pursuant to this Power.

This DURABLE Power of Attorney shall not be affected by my subsequent disability or incapacity.

Pursuant to Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 201B, Section 3(b) I hereby nominate the said Susan L. Patten to be my conservator or guardian if protective proceedings for my person or estate or both are hereafter commenced.

If Susan L. Patten, is for any reason unable to continue to serve hereunder, then I appoint

my daughter, Lesley Patten of Halifax, NS, to serve as attorney hereunder upon acceptance of said succession in writing attached to the original execution copy of this instrument. If Lesley cannot serve, then daughter Panda Haus.

Note: I will reprint this page.

EXHIBIT SIX (06) OF SIX (06)  
EXHIBITS  
MAY SEVENTH (07) 2002

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, the said Cornelia G. Patten have hereunto set my hand and seal this \_\_\_\_\_ day of \_\_\_\_\_, 2002.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Witness

\_\_\_\_\_  
Cornelia G. Patten

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS)

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX )

Then personally appeared the above-named Cornelia G. Patten and acknowledged the foregoing instrument to be her free act and deed, before me.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

John J. CRAPO, Pro Se  
PO Box 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

MAY 07th Year

Via Certified Mail  
Return Receipt  
Requested please

2002

AMENDMENT to  
my IDACORP IDA to  
POWER CO Shareholder  
proposal  
letter

Dear IDACORP / IDANO POWER CO  
STATE Retirement BD  
New Bedford City Retirement System  
Hon District Court  
CAMBRIDGE DIVISION MA  
TRIAL COURT

I call enclosed copy my  
memo to MS ANNE KELLY  
WHICH I call to your attention

Sincerely,

John J. Crapo Pro Se  
John J. CRAPO.

John J. CRAPO, Pro Se AA ABE  
NON LWYR, NON AM, NON MS  
MY mailing address  
PO Box 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

May 07th  
Year 2002

TO MS ANN KELLY  
C10 APT TWO  
TEN AGASSIZ ST  
CAMBRIDGE MA  
~~02140-0~~  
02140-?

Dear Ms Kelly

I thought I should  
call to your attention  
Exhibits three (03), Four (04)  
Five (05), Six (06) - which I  
enclose here - IN

CC with enclosures to  
via certified mail  
return receipt requested

Hon District Court of Cambridge  
Hon STAT BO OF Retirement  
Hon City of New Bedford Retirement  
System  
IDACORP INC, IDAHO POWER CO  
CORP. SECRETARY

JOHN J CRADO PRO SE, AA, ABE  
PO BOX 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

MAY SEVENTH  
2002

COPY OF PP ON & TWO (02)

BOSTON HERALD MAY 07 2002

ENCLOSED WHICH I CALL TO YOUR ATTENTION

TO IDACORP INC / IDAHO POWER

TO LIKE A NEW BEDFORD RETIREMENT  
SYSTEM

TO HON STATE BO OF RETIREMENT

TO: HON STATE DISTRICT COURT  
CAMBRIDGE DIVISION

VIA CERTIFIED MAIL

RETURN RCMT REQUESTED PLEASE

JJC

10:43 PM



John Crapo to IDACORP Exhibit one (1) of two

**WEATHER**  
**PARTLY SUNNY SKIES.**  
 Another mild day breezy.  
 High of 73.  
 Page 16

**LOCAL**  
**GRUESOME MURDER:**  
 Authorities say a Quincy man allegedly stabbed a woman twice in the stomach and began cutting her up with a hacksaw while she was still alive.  
 Page 24

**LIFESTYLE**  


**THE MOMMY TRACK:**  
 Transition from working mom to stay-at-home parent can be a challenge.  
 Page 43

**NATIONAL**  
**DOMESTIC TERROR:**  
 FBI official says a pipe bomb found in a Colorado mailbox appears linked to 6 others found in three Midwestern states.  
 Page 7

**CELEBRITY**  


**PROFILES IN COURAGE:**  
 Fed K. Caroline laud award recipients at the JFK Library.  
 Page 26

**BUSINESS**  
**SWISS DRUG GIANT**  
 Novartis is heading to the Bay State, unveiling plans for a \$250M investment in a new research center in Cambridge.  
 Page 31

**SPORTS**  
**SOX SWEEP DEVIL RAYS:**  
 Red Sox behind lefty Darren Oliver, take their fourth straight from lowly Tampa Bay.  
 Page 87

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 Classified.....51-65  
 Complete Index.....2

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# Connolly jury will hear from mobsters, feds

By J.M. LAWRENCE  
 A rogues' gallery of Boston mob associates, former FBI brass and a federal judge will take the witness stand in the trial of former FBI agent John J. Connolly Jr. when the

bombshell case opens tomorrow. "I believe in the integrity of the jury system," Connolly, 61, said yesterday as he left the courthouse. "I only ask people to understand the very difficult and dangerous job I had to do." The panel of seven men and five women

selected yesterday will spend at least four to six weeks weighing the government's charges that Connolly betrayed his oath and joined forces with his criminal informants.  
 Turn to Page 4

# BOSTON Herald

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 2002 • 50 CENTS

## O'Reilly factory



Red-hot cable TV talk show host will hit Hub radio.

Page 45

# Under oath

## Concerned judge orders Law deposed tomorrow

By TOM MASHBERG  
 Saying she is not convinced that Bernard Cardinal Law is "master of his own destiny," a Suffolk Superior Court judge yesterday ordered him to appear in her courtroom tomorrow at 9 a.m. for a

sworn deposition in the Archdiocese of Boston sex-abuse scandal. Judge Constance M. Sweeney, clearly displeased by the church's decision Friday to renege on the John J. Geoghan abuse settlement, brushed aside calls for more time from Law's counsel and issued

an emergency order from the bench. "There is no reasonable excuse to delay the cardinal's deposition any longer," she said. "The court has significant concerns whether the cardinal will

Turn to Page 2



## Shanley visited child-sex haven in Thailand

By CHRISTOPHER COX and ROBIN WASHINGTON  
 The Rev. Paul Shanley traveled to Thailand in March and to evade much as a month in a vacation spot infamous for its child-sex trade, likely meeting up with fellow priest and longtime companion John J. White, according to Thai immigration documents obtained by the Herald.  
 Shanley, 71, who was arrested at his San Diego home May 2 and waived extradition to the Bay State last week, arrived by plane last night and was held

Turn to Page 3

BACK IN BAY STATE: Accused child rapist the Rev. Paul Shanley is escorted into Newton police headquarters last night.

John Crapo to IDACORP Ex Ht Bit two/02/0K two

**THE HERALD'S VOICES**



**Monica COLLINS**

TV execs are in limbo this sweeps period, the first in the history of Hub broadcast stations that there is no access to audience statistics. Page 45



**Michael GEE**

The Celtics took the day off yesterday. The Pistons practiced. Come Game 2, we'll see which coach had the better idea. Page 76

**QUOTE OF THE DAY**

**'I'm not going to die soon. I'm going to live to be 87.'**

DUTCH POLITICIAN PIM FOR TUYN, IN A RADIO INTERVIEW PRIOR TO HIS ASSASSINATION YESTERDAY. PAGE 7

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| School Services<br>617-619-6555                 | Business News<br>617-619-6458    |
| Library<br>617-619-6680                         | Photo<br>617-619-6468            |
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jobfind.com 781-433-7800



LAW FIGHT: Judge Constance Sweeney, right, has ordered Bernard Cardinal Law, left, to be deposed today in the Catholic Church's pedophile priest scandal. Law faces questioning about former Hub priest John Geoghan, a convicted child abuser.

# Judge schedules Law deposition

From Page 1

be available for a deposition unless it is taken soon."

Referring to canon law, which grants Pope John Paul II the right to summon his cardinals to Rome at any time, she added, "The decision as to whether he is available or not does not belong exclusively to him — it belongs to the pope."

**MAVERICKS START NEW CHARITY FUND.** PAGE 22

Neither Law nor his counsel, the Rogers Law Firm, would comment on the decision — yet another stunning twist in a crisis that has shaken the church to its core.

them as early as 1984," he said. "I want to know about the 1984 conversation when he was told Geoghan had molested seven children, and why he did nothing about it."

"I want the 'who, what, where, when, how and why,'" he said.

Geoghan accuser Mark Keane, 33, of New Hampshire, who attended the hearing, said: "I'm very happy. Law knows a lot more than he's letting on. I have no trust in the man. He's a complete liar. I hope he can tell the truth in a courtroom. I want to be there."

In an extraordinary measure, Sweeney ordered the deposition be conducted in her closed courtroom so she could be present to resolve "what I anticipate to be numerous objections and constitutional challenges" to Garabedian's questions by church attorneys.

Sweeney also said she thought Garabedian had a strong argument that the accord scuttled by the church Friday might be binding under Bay State law. As the judge who has overseen Garabedian's suit, which names as defendants Law and about a dozen of his current and former subordinates, but not the archdiocese itself, she indicated that she believed the parties had come to a binding agreement.

She further indicated her belief that Law, as head of the civil entity that is the Archdiocese of Boston, a Corporation Sole, was aware of the \$20 million-to-\$30 million deal, and had verbally signed off on it.

approved by the finance panel, Sweeney, who had spent the week-end researching canonical matters, made clear that canon law was a sword that cuts both ways when it came to Law's deposition.

"It is a given that if the pope tells him to go over there," she said of the Vatican, "he goes."

Sweeney declined to impound Law's passport or order that a \$10 million bond be provided as surety for his appearance tomorrow. But she asked Rogers to submit information today as to whether Law, as a "prince of the church," enjoys dual U.S.-Vatican citizenship, and whether he could be named an ambassador by the pope and thus receive diplomatic immunity.

Experts on the Roman Catholic Church and its canonical doctrines say Sweeney has strong cause to believe that Law could be summoned to the Vatican or otherwise ordered not to testify or cooperate with the deposition by the pope even if Law promises to do so.

"If the pope orders him to Rome, he's got to go or give up his red hat," said John M. Mollish, an expert on pontifical matters and a dean at the University of Maryland.

"American courts must be cognizant that there is a silent party involved in all of these cases, and that is the Vatican," he said.

But David W. Smith, the chancellor of the archdiocese, told the Herald: "The cardinal is going to submit to legal depositions and he is going to submit to a lot of them."

Mitchell Garabedian, lawyer for 86 plaintiffs in the Geoghan case, said he was "very gratified" by Sweeney's ruling. He said he will interrogate the cardinal about his role in letting Geoghan remain a priest with access to children from 1984 until 1996 despite clear evidence Geoghan was a serial rapist.

"I want to ask the cardinal why he did not notify parishioners of Geoghan's severe pedophilia tendencies despite knowing all about

them as early as 1984," he said. "I want to know about the 1984 conversation when he was told Geoghan had molested seven children, and why he did nothing about it."

"I want the 'who, what, where, when, how and why,'" he said.

Geoghan accuser Mark Keane, 33, of New Hampshire, who attended the hearing, said: "I'm very happy. Law knows a lot more than he's letting on. I have no trust in the man. He's a complete liar. I hope he can tell the truth in a courtroom. I want to be there."

In an extraordinary measure, Sweeney ordered the deposition be conducted in her closed courtroom so she could be present to resolve "what I anticipate to be numerous objections and constitutional challenges" to Garabedian's questions by church attorneys.

She said one victim representing all 86 plaintiffs would be allowed to sit in, as well as lawyers representing two other parties to the case, but the session would be closed to the news media. She agreed to allow the deposition to be videotaped and transcribed, but ordered the video and audio to remain impounded.

Attorneys for the Herald and other media outlets say they will challenge the impoundment, and ask that reporters be present or allowed to monitor the proceedings via closed-circuit television.

She further indicated her belief that Law, as head of the civil entity that is the Archdiocese of Boston, a Corporation Sole, was aware of the \$20 million-to-\$30 million deal, and had verbally signed off on it.

"It was my understanding this agreement was in place, and all barriers were resolved," she said, adding the archdiocese "pulled out with no notice" to the plaintiffs.

She asked both sides to file motions as to whether the deal should be enforced, but said she would let Garabedian proceed with his pre-trial investigation of Law even as the contract issue was litigated.

Referring to the deal, which the church dumped based on a 9-3 "no" vote by its Archdiocesan Finance Council, she said: "To say the rug had been pulled out from under them is an understatement."

After Wilson D. Rogers Jr. lead counsel for Law, stated canon law required that the Geoghan deal be

approved by the finance panel, Sweeney, who had spent the week-end researching canonical matters, made clear that canon law was a sword that cuts both ways when it came to Law's deposition.

"It is a given that if the pope tells him to go over there," she said of the Vatican, "he goes."

Sweeney declined to impound Law's passport or order that a \$10 million bond be provided as surety for his appearance tomorrow. But she asked Rogers to submit information today as to whether Law, as a "prince of the church," enjoys dual U.S.-Vatican citizenship, and whether he could be named an ambassador by the pope and thus receive diplomatic immunity.

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"American courts must be cognizant that there is a silent party involved in all of these cases, and that is the Vatican," he said.

Jack Sullivan contributed to this report.

BOSTON HERALD TUESDAY, MAY 7, 2002

**BOSTON Herald**

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PO Box 400151  
CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

May 07th  
Year 2002

TO MS ANN KELLY  
C10 APT TWO  
TEN AGASSIZ ST  
CAMBRIDGE MA  
~~02140-0~~  
02140-?

Dear Ms Kelly

I thought I should  
call to your attention  
Exhibits three (03), Four (04)  
Five (05), Six (06) - which I  
enclose here - IN

CC with enclosures to  
via certified mail  
return receipt requested

Hon District Court of Cambridge  
Hon STAT BO OF Retirement  
Hon City of New Bedford Retirement  
System  
IDACORP INC, IDAHO POWER CO  
CORP. SECRETARY

JJC/ljc

EXHIBIT Three (03) OF Six (06)  
MAY 07 2002  
Mr Crafo Pro Se

DURABLE POWER OF ATTORNEY

KNOW ALL PEOPLE BY THESE PRESENTS:

That I, Cornelia G. Patten, of Boston, Suffolk County, Massachusetts, do hereby constitute and appoint my daughter, Susan L. Patten, of Amesbury, MA, to be my true and lawful attorney, for me and in my name and stead from time to time:

To demand, sue for or upon and receive all certificates of stock, bonds, securities, debts, claims, rents, interest, dividends (in whatever form and of whatever nature), monies and choses in action belonging to me, or to which I am now or may hereafter become entitled, or which are or may become due, owing or payable to me from any person or persons whomsoever (natural or corporate), and in my name to give effectual receipts and discharges for the same;

Upon receipt of any check, note, bill of exchange or other negotiable instrument or security for money payable to me, for me and on my behalf to collect the same and to receive the proceeds thereof, and for that purpose to endorse any such instrument;

To deposit in my name, or in the name of my said attorney, any or all monies or funds received by my said attorney, as such attorney, with any bank or banking institution, and from time to time to draw and sign checks upon or otherwise to withdraw any monies or funds from any or all accounts standing in my name or in the name of my said attorney in any bank or banking institution, and to disburse or apply any such monies or funds belonging to me for or to any of the purposes in this instrument stated;

To sell or buy for cash or on credit or to exchange for other property any certificates of stock, bonds, or other securities, any other personal property, tangible or intangible, or any real property, at public or private sale or transaction, all upon such terms and conditions, including warranties of title, as said attorney shall think fit, and to receive, transfer, convey, assign or release the same by good and sufficient instrument or instruments in writing to (or as directed by) the purchaser or purchasers thereof, no such purchaser to be responsible for the application of the purchase money or other thing of value paid or transferred to my said attorney; to give or receive money for equality of exchange; and from time to time in my name or in the name of my said attorney to invest any money or other assets belonging to me in all types of securities and other property of whatsoever nature and howsoever denominated, and from time to time and as often as my said attorney shall think fit to change investments.

To pay, out of any money or other assets belonging to me any or all debts or other obligations due, owing or payable or to become due, owing or payable from or by me;

To begin, prosecute, enforce, or defend, answer or oppose any actions or other proceedings, whether at law or in equity, arising out of any of the matters in this instrument stated or otherwise

Must have  
own atty?

EXHIBIT FOUR(04) OF SIX(06)  
MAY 07 2002  
MR CRAPO PROSE

in connection with any property belonging to me, and to compromise, adjust and settle upon such terms as my said attorney shall think fit any and all claims either in favor of or against me;

To prepare, sign, make oath to, and file all tax returns required by the laws of the United States, or of any state thereof, or of any municipality therein, or of any subdivision of any thereof to be filed by me, and to prosecute, defend, adjust, settle and compromise all claims of the United States or any such state, municipality or subdivision against me for any and all income or other taxes erroneously assessed or collected and in that behalf in my name and stead to execute, make oath to and file any and all claims for abatement, credit or refund or tax returns in connection therewith, to institute suits, attend all conferences and hearings before the representatives of the Treasury Department of the United States or the representatives of the tax department of any such state, municipality or subdivision;

To represent me before any office of the Internal Revenue Service or the Massachusetts Department of Revenue in income or gift tax matters with respect to any years;

To vote at the meetings of any corporation, trust or association, to assent to any reorganization and otherwise to act as my proxy or representative, in respect of any bonds, stocks or other securities now held or which may hereafter be acquired by me, with full power of substitution and for that purpose to sign and execute in my name any proxy or other instrument;

?  
To have and exercise access to any safe deposit box or boxes standing in my name and to remove and generally to deal with the contents thereof;

?  
To manage any and all real estate of which I may be possessed or in which I may have any interest wheresoever the same may be situated; to execute, acknowledge and deliver any leases of all or any part thereof, with such covenants, conditions and provisions as my said attorney may deem advisable, and to accept the surrender of any lease; to make repairs and improvements on any buildings thereon; to insure the same against loss or damage by fire, loss of rents, liability for accidents, and against such other contingencies as my attorney may deem best, for such amounts, and in such companies, as said attorney may deem advisable;

?  
To borrow money upon such terms as said attorney may deem proper (with or without the pledge or hypothecation of any assets of mine as security for the payment thereof) and to execute and deliver as collateral thereto proper mortgages or pledges with powers of sale and other usual covenants and provisions and to give all bonds necessary to provide for a deficiency in the case of any foreclosure of any mortgage or pledge;

OJA?  
In general, with respect to all property belonging to me, to do, in my name and on my behalf, any and all acts and things which I could do if personally present and acting, including, without hereby limiting the foregoing generality, the making of contracts and agreements, whether in writing or otherwise, and the execution and delivery of any and all instruments in writing however denominated;

EXHIBIT FIVE (05) OF SIX (06)  
MAY SEVENTH (07TH) 2002

With respect to any and all powers hereinbefore in this instrument given, to appoint and employ any agents, deputies or substitutes that my said attorney may think proper, and in writing to delegate to any such agent, deputy or substitute any or all of such powers, for such period as shall be stated in such writing, and from time to time to dismiss or discharge any such agents, deputies or substitutes and appoint or employ others in their stead;

With respect to any and all powers hereinbefore in this instrument given, to exercise the same at any time or from time to time, whether specifically so stated or not, no such power to be exhausted by a single exercise thereof;

And I hereby declare that in case of my death this power of attorney shall, as to all matters and things which may after my death be done by my said attorney or any agent, deputy or substitute hereunder, by virtue or under color or in pursuance hereof, be as binding upon my executors, administrators and assigns as the same would have been upon me if living, unless my said attorney, or such agent, or deputy or substitute, as the case may be, had previous to the doing of such matter or thing, received reliable intelligence of my death so as effectually to apprise my said attorney that said attorney's power hereunder had terminated;

And I hereby undertake to ratify and approve everything which my said attorney, or any agent, deputy or substitute appointed under this power, shall do or purport to do in virtue of these presents, hereby giving and granting unto said attorney, to each such agent, deputy or substitute, as full power and authority in the premises as I would have if personally present and acting. I further request that my said attorney be held harmless for all acts and omissions done pursuant to this Power.

This DURABLE Power of Attorney shall not be affected by my subsequent disability or incapacity.

Pursuant to Massachusetts General Laws, Chapter 201B, Section 3(b) I hereby nominate the said Susan L. Patten to be my conservator or guardian if protective proceedings for my person or estate or both are hereafter commenced.

If Susan L. Patten, is for any reason unable to continue to serve hereunder, then I appoint my daughter, Lesley Patten of Halifax, NS, to serve as attorney hereunder upon acceptance of said succession in writing attached to the original execution copy of this instrument. IF Lesley cannot serve, then daughter Pamela Haws.

Note: I will reprint this page.

EXHIBIT SIX (06) OF SIX (06)  
EXHIBITS  
MAY SEVEN (07) 2002

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, the said Cornelia G. Patten have hereunto set my hand and  
seal this day of , 2002.

Witness \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Cornelia G. Patten

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS)

COUNTY OF MIDDLESEX )

Then personally appeared the above-named Cornelia G. Patten and acknowledged the  
foregoing instrument to be her free act and deed, before me.

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:





**Annual Meeting of Shareholders**  
 Thursday, May 16, 2002  
 10:00 a.m. Local Time  
 Idaho Power Corporate Headquarters  
 1221 West Idaho Street  
 Boise, Idaho 83707

**Instructions for Voting Your Proxy**

We are now offering shareholders three alternative ways of voting this proxy:

- **By Telephone** (using a touch-tone telephone) • **Through the Internet** (using a browser) • **By Mail** (traditional method)

Your telephone or Internet vote authorizes the named proxies to vote your shares in the same manner as if you had returned your proxy card. We encourage you to use these cost effective and convenient ways of voting, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week.

**TELEPHONE VOTING** Available until 5:00 p.m. Eastern time on May 15, 2002

- This method of voting is available for residents of the U.S. and Canada
- On a touch-tone telephone, call **TOLL FREE 1-800-858-0073**, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week
- You will be asked to enter **ONLY** the **CONTROL NUMBER** shown below
- Have your proxy card ready, then follow the prerecorded instructions
- Your vote will be confirmed and cast as you directed

**INTERNET VOTING** Available until 5:00 p.m. Eastern time on May 15, 2002

- Visit the Internet voting Website at <http://proxy.georgeson.com>
- Enter the **COMPANY NUMBER AND CONTROL NUMBER** shown below and follow the instructions on your screen
- You will incur only your usual internet charges

**VOTING BY MAIL**

- Simply mark, sign and date your proxy card and return it in the postage-paid envelope
- If you are voting by telephone or the Internet, please do not mail your proxy card

The Company has been advised by counsel that the procedures for Internet and Telephonic voting are consistent with the requirements of applicable laws.

COMPANY NUMBER

CONTROL NUMBER

**24606**

**136750000333**

TO VOTE BY MAIL, PLEASE DETACH PROXY CARD HERE

Please mark votes as in this example. **03000057631** **339.834000**

**THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS RECOMMENDS A VOTE "FOR" PROPOSALS 1 AND 2**

1. ELECTION OF DIRECTORS: Nominees:  
 01 Roger L. Breezley 02 John B. Carley  
 03 Jack K. Lemley 04 Evelyn Loveless
- FOR all nominees listed (except as indicated to the contrary)  WITHHOLD authority to vote for all nominees
2. To ratify the selection of Deloitte & Touche LLP as independent auditor for the fiscal year ending December 31, 2002. FOR  AGAINST  ABSTAIN
- INSTRUCTIONS: To withhold authority to vote for any individual nominee(s), write the name(s) of each nominee(s) in the space provided below.

**THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS RECOMMENDS A VOTE "AGAINST" PROPOSALS 3 AND 4**

3. To act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to establish a written policy on the rights of indigenous peoples. FOR  AGAINST  ABSTAIN
4. To act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to provide a report reviewing the relicensing process for the Hells Canyon Complex. FOR  AGAINST  ABSTAIN

|||.....|||  
 JOHN JENNINGS CRAPO  
 PO BOX 400151  
 CAMBRIDGE MA 02140-0002

014  
 175

DATE: MAY FOURTH  
2002  
  
 Signature of Joint Owner  
 Not Applicable ("NA")  
 Signature of Joint Owner





April 8, 2002

Dear Shareholders of IDACORP:

It is our pleasure to invite you to attend the upcoming 2002 joint annual meeting of Shareholders of IDACORP, Inc. and Idaho Power Company to be held on May 16, 2002, at 10:00 A.M., local time, at the Idaho Power Corporate Headquarters, 1221 West Idaho Street, Boise, Idaho. Your Board of Directors and management look forward to personally greeting those shareholders able to attend.

Information about the business of the meeting and the nominees for election as members of the Board of Directors is set forth in the Notice of Meeting and the Joint Proxy Statement on the following pages. This year IDACORP, Inc. is asking you to elect four Directors, to ratify the appointment of an Independent auditor for the fiscal year ending December 31, 2002, to act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to establish a written policy on the rights of indigenous peoples and to act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to provide a report reviewing the relicensing process for the Hells Canyon Complex.

YOUR VOTE IS IMPORTANT. YOU CAN BE SURE YOUR SHARES ARE REPRESENTED AT THE MEETING BY PROMPTLY RETURNING YOUR COMPLETED PROXY IN THE ENCLOSED ENVELOPE. You may revoke your proxy prior to or at the meeting and may vote in person if you wish.

Jon H. Miller  
Chairman of the Board

Jan B. Packwood  
IDACORP President and Chief Executive Officer  
Idaho Power Chief Executive Officer

TO VOTE BY MAIL, PLEASE DETACH PROXY CARD HERE

**IDACORP, Inc.**  
**PROXY FOR THE ANNUAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS ON MAY 16, 2002**  
**THIS PROXY IS SOLICITED ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

**P  
R  
O  
X  
Y**

Properly executed proxies will be voted as marked and, if not marked, proxies received will be voted "For" proposal (1), to elect four Directors, "For" proposal (2), to ratify the appointment of an independent auditor for the fiscal year ending December 31, 2002, "Against" proposal (3), to act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to establish a written policy on the rights of indigenous peoples and "Against" proposal (4), to act upon a shareholder proposal requesting IDACORP to provide a report reviewing the relicensing process for the Hells Canyon Complex.

**THE HOW (MR) JON H. MILLER, IN HIS CAPACITY AS  
IDACORP IN BOARD CHAIRMAN**

The undersigned hereby appoints Jan B. Packwood and Robert W. Stahman, and each of them, proxies with full power of substitution to vote for the undersigned at the Joint Annual Meeting of Shareholders of IDACORP, Inc. and Idaho Power Company and at any adjournment thereof, on the matters set forth in the Proxy Statement and such other matters as may come before the meeting, and hereby directs that this proxy be voted in accordance with the instructions herein. **IN HIS CAPACITY AS  
CORP CORPORATE SECRETARY**

Please date, sign and promptly mail in the self-addressed return envelope, which requires no postage if mailed in the United States. Please so indicate following your signature if you are signing in a representative capacity. If shares are held jointly, both owners should sign.

**SEE REVERSE SIDE**



April 8, 2002

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Jon H. Miller  
Chairman of the Board

Jan B. Packwood  
IDACORP President and Chief Executive Officer  
Idaho Power Chief Executive Officer

TO VOTE BY MAIL, PLEASE DETACH PROXY CARD HERE

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**PROXY FOR THE ANNUAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS ON MAY 16, 2002**  
**THIS PROXY IS SOLICITED ON BEHALF OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS**

**P  
R  
O  
X  
Y**

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*THE HON (MR) JON H. MILLER, IN HIS CAPACITY OF IDACORP IN BOARD CHAIRMAN*  
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Please date, sign and promptly mail in the self-addressed return envelope, which requires no postage if mailed in the United States. Please so indicate following your signature if you are signing in a representative capacity. If shares are held jointly, both owners should sign.

SEE REVERSE SIDE

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# EXHIBIT FORTY-FOUR (44) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS

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Awards — Pulitzer Prizes

- 1987—Anne Sexton, *Live or Die*
- 1988—Anthony Hecht, *The Hard Hours*
- 1989—George Oppen, *Of Being Numerous*
- 1990—William S. Burroughs, *The Gift*
- 1991—James Wright, *Collected Poems*
- 1992—Robert Lowell, *The Day After Tomorrow*
- 1993—John Berryman, *The Dream of John Donne*
- 1994—Robert Lowell, *The Day After Tomorrow*
- 1995—John Berryman, *The Dream of John Donne*
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- 1998—Robert Lowell, *The Day After Tomorrow*
- 1999—John Berryman, *The Dream of John Donne*
- 2000—Robert Lowell, *The Day After Tomorrow*
- 2001—John Berryman, *The Dream of John Donne*
- 1987—Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960*
- 1988—Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August*
- 1989—Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strangers in America*
- 1990—Edwin Way Teale, *Wandering Through Winter*
- 1991—Caleb Carr, *The Poem of Solovay*
- 1992—Walter D. Mignolo, *The Problem of Solovay in Western Culture*
- 1993—Walter D. Mignolo, *The Problem of Solovay in Western Culture*
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- 1988—Barbara W. Tuchman, *The Guns of August*
- 1989—Howard Mumford Jones, *O Strangers in America*
- 1990—Edwin Way Teale, *Wandering Through Winter*
- 1991—Caleb Carr, *The Poem of Solovay*
- 1992—Walter D. Mignolo, *The Problem of Solovay in Western Culture*
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- 2000—Walter D. Mignolo, *The Problem of Solovay in Western Culture*
- 2001—Walter D. Mignolo, *The Problem of Solovay in Western Culture*

Awards — Pulitzer Prizes

- 1987—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
- 1988—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
- 1989—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
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- 2001—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
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- 1999—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
- 2000—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*
- 2001—Gordon S. Wood, *The Revolution and the American Mind*

BY IDA STECKHLOR J.J.  
PRO SE

CRAPO.  
JSC/JJC

EXHIBIT SIXTY-ONE (61) OF MAY FOURTH (04th) YEAR 2002 BY STECKLOR John J. CRAPO, PRO SE ✓

Formed	Party	Prime Minister	Chancellor of the Exchequer	Home Secretary	Foreign Secretary	Other Ministers
Feb. 1874	Conservative	Benjamin Disraeli	Sir Stafford Northcote	R. A. Cross	Earl of Derby (Son) (formerly Lord Stanley) Marquis of Salisbury (1878)	Earl of Carnarvon (Colonial Secy.)
Apr. 1890	Liberal	W. E. Gladstone	W. E. Gladstone H. C. E. Childers (1892)	Sir William Harcourt	Earl of Cranville	Joseph Chamberlain (Board of Trade)
June 1885	Conservative	Marquis of Salisbury	Sir Michael Hicks-Beach	Sir R. A. Cross	Marquis of Salisbury	Lord Randolph Churchill (India)
Feb. 1880	Liberal	W. E. Gladstone	Sir William Harcourt	H. C. E. Childers	Earl of Idlesleigh	John Morley (Chief Secy. for Ireland)
Aug. 1886	Conservative	Marquis of Salisbury	Lord Randolph Churchill G. J. Cochen (1887)	Henry Matthews	Earl of Idlesleigh (formerly Sir Stafford Northcote) Marquis of Salisbury (1887)	A. J. Balfour (Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1887)
Aug. 1890	Liberal	W. E. Gladstone	Sir William Harcourt	H. H. Asquith	Earl of Rosebery	
Mar. 1894	Liberal	Earl of Rosebery	Sir William Harcourt	H. H. Asquith	Earl of Kimberley	
June 1893	Unionist (Conservative)	Marquis of Salisbury	Sir Michael Hicks-Beach	Sir Matthew Ridley C. T. Ritchie (1900)	Marquis of Lansdowne (1900)	Joseph Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary) A. J. Balfour (First Lord of the Treasury)
July 1902	Unionist (Conservative)	A. J. Balfour	C. T. Ritchie Austin Chamberlain (1903)	A. Aken-Douglas	Marquis of Lansdowne	Joseph Chamberlain (Colonial Secretary)
Dec. 1905	Liberal	Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman	H. H. Asquith	Herbert Gladstone	Sir Edward Grey	David Lloyd George (Board of Trade) John Morley (India) R. B. Haldane (War)

JJC / JJC  
OF 115 EXHIBIT

Formed	Party	Prime Minister	Chancellor of the Exchequer	Home Secretary	Foreign Secretary	Other Ministers
Apr. 1906	Liberal	H. H. Asquith	David Lloyd George	Herbert Gladstone Winston S. Churchill (1910) Reginald McKenna (1911)	Sir Edward Grey	Monley & Haldane (as above) Winston S. Churchill (Board of Trade, 1908; Admiralty, 1911) Earl Kitchener (War, 1914)
May 1915	Coalition	H. H. Asquith	Reginald McKenna	Sir John Simon	Sir Edward Grey (now Lord Grey)	David Lloyd George (Mentions)
Dec. 1916	Coalition	David Lloyd George	Andrew Bonar Law Austin Chamberlain (1918) Sir R. Horne (1921)	Sir G. Cave Edward Shortt (1919)	A. J. Balfour Lord Curzon (1919)	Arthur Henderson Winston S. Churchill (Munitions, 1917; War & Air, 1918; Colonies, 1921) Stanley Baldwin (Board of Trade, 1921)

War Cabinet, 1916-1919		
David Lloyd George	Neville Chamberlain (to 1917)	Jan Christian Smuts (1917-1919)
Lord Curzon	Arthur Henderson (to 1917)	George Barnes (1917-1919)
Andrew Bonar Law	Lord Milner (to 1918)	Austen Chamberlain (1918-1919)
		Sir Eric Geddes (1919)

Oct. 1922	Conservative	Andrew Bonar Law	Stanley Baldwin	W. C. Bridgeman	Lord Curzon
May 1923	Conservative	Stanley Baldwin	Neville Chamberlain	W. C. Bridgeman	Lord Curzon



EXHIBIT SIXTY-TWO (62)  
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MAY 04th (FOURth) 2002 ✓

clear the following year, when Emperor William II of Germany challenged the French right to establish a protectorate over Morocco by making a flamboyant visit to the port of Tangier. He succeeded in forcing the resignation of Delcassé as foreign minister and compelled the French to let the future of Morocco be determined by an international conference at Algiers, Spain. The Germans hoped that their diplomatic initiative would once again drive a wedge between Britain and France, but in this expectation they were disappointed, for Britain gave France strong diplomatic support, and the new entente was materially strengthened.

By the time the Algiers conference met in 1906, Balfour's Conservative government had fallen and Lansdowne's post as foreign secretary had been taken over by the Liberal Sir Edward Grey (1862-1933), who was to hold it for the next ten fateful years. Grey also looked upon the entente with France more as the settlement of past differences than as the prelude to a firm alliance, and he repeatedly explained to the French that no British government could undertake a binding commitment to France. Parliament would not accept such an agreement. Impressed by the Morocco crisis of 1905-1906, Grey did, however, come to look upon Germany as the greatest potential European troublemaker; and he foresaw the possibility that Britain might find it necessary someday to ally herself with France in a war against Germany. If such a war should ever come about, Grey believed that Britain should have the option either to aid France or to stand aside. Should the decision be to help France, such aid would only be meaningful if French and British generals had held secret conversations to discuss methods of military cooperation. Such confidential discussions began in 1906. They were intended as no more than the means of several possible ends, but they created in some English minds the impression that Britain was in effect allied with France, and they undoubtedly encouraged the French to believe that in a showdown with Germany, Britain would side with its Channel neighbor.

Once Britain was diplomatically associated with France, it was only a matter of time before expediency dictated a settlement of international differences with France's continental ally, Russia. The rivalry between Britain and Russia in the Middle East, on the Indian frontier, and in the Far East had been even more unremitting than the comparable conflicts with France; but prolonged negotiations led to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907. The convention eased Britain's fears for the safety of the Indian frontier by recognizing its right to determine the foreign policy of Afghanistan and resolved another conflict by dividing Persia into a large Russian sphere of influence in the north, a smaller British sphere of influence in the south, and a neutral zone in between. Though some diplomats henceforth spoke of a Triple Entente of Britain, France, and Russia to counterbalance the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, Grey himself disliked the phrase. The convention with Russia seemed to him to be at most a settlement of past differences, not a promise of future cooperation. And, indeed, the sense of common culture and shared political aspirations

The ultimate justification for such a pro-American policy was the belief that the fundamental interests of the two countries were broadly the same and that their relations should not be marred by minor irritants. No formal alliance resulted, but at least one United States senator spoke of an entente cordiale between the two countries as early as 1898. Early in the new century the British naval squadron was withdrawn from the Caribbean Sea, leaving it essentially an American lake, and by the time World War I broke out in 1914, the two countries could look back upon a generation of friendly relations.

The Triple Entente

In the search for friends in a diplomatically uncertain world, it was apparent that eventually Great Britain would have to choose between Germany and France. Though to many Englishmen France remained the historic national enemy and to many Frenchmen Britain remained "perfidious Albion," diplomats in both countries were prepared to reexamine old assumptions. For a man such as French Foreign Minister Delcassé, fear of Germany in Europe took precedence over fear of Britain in Africa; and in 1900 he commenced a deliberate policy of reconciliation. In his English counterpart, Lord Lansdowne, he found a receptive spirit who arranged in 1903 for a state visit to France by King Edward VII. This was a task the monarch found most congenial for, unlike his mother, he had always been a Francophile. The royal visitor's initial reception in Paris was cold. "The French don't like us," remarked a worried aide. "Why should they?" replied the king, bowing and smiling unperturbedly from his carriage. He made numerous public appearances, and everywhere made graceful and tactful speeches in French about his friendship and admiration for his hosts. By the end of his visit a notable change of attitude had come about, and Parisian crowds were shouting "Vive notre roi!"<sup>3</sup>

King Edward's visit paved the way for the Anglo-French Entente of 1904. In return for acknowledging Britain's paramount role in Egypt, France received a similar British recognition of its position in Morocco, a state that like China and the Ottoman Empire seemed to be on the verge of disintegration. After long negotiation, other disputes, ranging the world from Madagascar to Siam and from the islands of the South Pacific to the Newfoundland fisheries, were resolved in similarly amicable fashion. Although Delcassé's ultimate hope was that the entente would align Britain with France diplomatically, this was not Lansdowne's expectation. He viewed the treaty as a settling of old differences—comparable to the Heligoland Treaty with Germany (1890) and the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1900) with the United States—and not as a step toward an Anglo-French alliance. That the entente could lead, however, in the direction of alliance was made

<sup>3</sup> Sir Philip Magnus, *King Edward VII* (London, 1964).

BY IDA STEHCOR JJCLJIC  
John J. CRAPO, PRO SE

salient Western-style pressure group in order to gain recognition. One such effort was a change in the rules for the Indian Civil Service examinations in 1877 which made Indian candidates even less likely to be successful. Another was the largely successful protest by Englishmen in India against a bill in 1883 that would have made it possible for Europeans to be tried before Indian judges.

Not all Indian nationalists were Western-oriented, for in the late nineteenth century there was a widespread revival of Hindu religion thought. Once more (said the Swami Vivekananda in 1897) the world must be conquered by India. This is the great ideal before us. Let them come and flood the land with their armies, never mind. Up, India, and conquer the world with your spirituality! Spirituality must conquer the West. Where are the men ready to go out to every country of the world with the messages of the great sages of India?

Whether Indian spirituality conquered the world or not, the apostles of this Hindu renaissance gave Indian nationalism a heightened fervor and emotional strength. It had another effect as well: it increasingly caused Indian Moslems to desert the National Congress. The followers of Mohammed feared that, if India attained autonomy under outspoken Hindu auspices, they might become a maligned minority; the result was the establishment by 1906 of a separate Moslem League as a rival to the Indian National Congress. Thus were laid the foundations of the division that in 1947 led to the partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan.

Although the late nineteenth century saw the beginnings of Indian nationalism and of representative government on the local level, India remained in the minds of most Englishmen the most precious jewel of the British Empire, one constantly growing in size and lustre. The autonomous Indian princely states were no longer subject to annexation, but adjacent areas still were. The northwest frontier was secured by the Afghan War of 1879, and Baluchistan was annexed. Farther east, the greater part of Burma was added to the coastal areas already under British rule and was henceforth governed as part of British India.

The high tide of late Victorian imperialism can be discussed in terms of impersonal forces, yet it must always be recalled that the initiative in both economic and political expansion was taken by individual men who were on the scene, men like Sir George Goldie (1846-1925) in West Africa, Sir Harry Johnston (1858-1927) in East Africa, and preeminently by Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902) in South Africa. No person managed more successfully than Rhodes to combine the down-to-earth practicality and the starry-eyed idealism which constituted the late-nineteenth-century imperialistic spirit. He was the younger son of an Anglican clergyman and came to South Africa from England in 1870 for reasons of health. Apparently, Diamonds were satisfactory, for he thrived both physically and economically. Diamonds were first discovered in South Africa in 1870; Rhodes proved to be a shrewd businessman who, by buying up the claims of discouraged miners whose

industries, one of the two largest jute industries, the third largest railway network, and a sizable coalmining industry. Foreign trade figures went up accordingly.

Year	Exports (in millions of pounds)	Imports (in millions of pounds)
1834	8	4.5
1870	53	33.5
1810	137	86.0

Commercial and agricultural expansion was accompanied by a comparable growth of population, which rose from 100 million in 1700 to 150 million in 1850 to 283 million in 1901. Despite a runaway population and the fact that occasional famines took millions of lives, India probably did experience a period of genuine economic improvement in the nineteenth century. Agricultural output per man-hour and per acre were both up, and—keeping in mind the fact that millions of Indians remained at a point barely above subsistence level—there may have been a small increase in the average standard of living as well.

The Indian Civil Service continued to be highly efficient and merited its reputation for incorruptibility. Public protestations notwithstanding the upper branches of that service remained almost totally closed to native Indians; and, although an act of 1861 provided the bare beginnings of advisory legislative councils for provincial governors, the theme of British rule continued to be one of benevolent despotism. In the early 1880s Lord Ripon, the British viceroy nominated by Gladstone, initiated a program of local elective bodies, not so much to improve the administration as to provide a measure of political and popular education. In 1892, Indian representation in the provincial councils was expanded.

By 1892 some Indians had come to conclude, however, that they had far too small a role in the government of their own nation. The word *nation* is instructive because India, though a civilization and at various times "an empire," became a nation only as a result of British rule. The Indian nationalism exemplified after 1885 by the annual meetings of the Indian National Congress was essentially a product of the British raj. It was the British who brought political unification and a common language for the increasing number of educated Indians. Indian nationalism necessarily was fostered by cheap postage rates, printing presses, and the railway that facilitated national assemblies. The nationalist leaders were members of a small but growing class of lawyers, businessmen, and teachers, many of whom found inspiration in the writings of John Locke and Thomas Jefferson and in the lives of Mazzini of Italy, Kossuth of Hungary, and Parnell of Ireland. Most early Indian nationalists, though irritated by the arrogance and sense of racial superiority manifested by the British in India, were adherents of liberal parliamentary methods; and only slowly, in the face of specific insults, did they come to realize that they would have to unite in a

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OF 115 EXHIBITS

MAY Fourth (04th) Year 2002

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EXHIBIT SIXTY-FOUR (64)  
OF 115 EXHIBITS  
OF MAY FOURTH (04th) YEAR

organization and the party leadership in Parliament were not always smooth, especially since the general attitude of the National Liberal Federation was more radical than that of the more Whiggish party leadership. Similarly, in the wake of the Conservative defeat of 1880, a youthful Tory, Lord Randolph Churchill (1849-1895) succeeded in the "capture" of the National Union of Conservative Associations as a vehicle for uniting the various Conservative constituency organizations, thus giving the party rank and file a sense of participation they had formerly lacked.

Although Churchill claimed to have taken over the mantle of "Tory Democracy" from Disraeli, it was not to the workingman that the Conservatives of the 1880s appealed most strongly. "The Conservative party have done more for the working classes in five years than the Liberals have done in fifty," declared Alexander MacDonal, the working-class M.P., in 1875; but it is noteworthy that he remained a Liberal. The new converts to Conservatism were generally the suburban householders and the inhabitants of the more prosperous city districts. They were white-collar workers—clerks, teachers, and shopkeepers—whose income might not be higher than that of the factory worker but whose status aspirations were.<sup>4</sup> For the alteration of the theoretical basis of representation from community to individual coincided with a change in the old communities. In the old-style borough, the community leaders had lived side by side with the people they influenced, and, as in the country districts, regarded the interests of employer and employee as essentially one. In the sprawling industrial city, on the other hand, there was a growing pattern of residential segregation by class and income. The more prosperous tended to become faithful Conservative supporters, while the less prosperous became for the time being rather less regular Liberal supporters.

During the same decade, the increase in the rural electorate as well as legislation favoring the tenant farmer caused a profound change in the country areas. The shares had been traditionally in the hands of Tory squires who exercised great influence over their tenants. The influence had much declined by 1885; and in the general election of that year, in which many industrial cities first provided a Conservative majority, many rural boroughs for the first time voted Liberal.

The reforms of the second Gladstone ministry, real as they were, tended to be overshadowed in the public press by a series of domestic and foreign frustrations. An especially plaguesome problem for Gladstone was the case of Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1901), notorious atheist and advocate of birth control, who was not permitted by the House of Commons to take the required parliamentary oath and who was thereby prevented from taking the seat for which the electors of the borough of Northampton had chosen him in 1880. His case aroused a flood of emotional oratory and testified to the

<sup>4</sup> James Cornford, "The Transformation of Conservatism," *Victorian Studies*, September 1966.

continued significance in the Britain of the 1880s of organized religion and the Victorian canons of respectability. Gladstone found it distasteful to defend the constitutional rights of a man whose atheistic convictions he found abhorrent; but when it proved impossible to deter the matter to the courts, he supported, in one of his most eloquent speeches, the Affirmation Bill of 1883. The bill would have granted Bradlaugh, and all other M.P.s, the right to affirm, rather than to swear, their loyalty to the crown; but public opinion was too hostile at the time to permit the bill to pass. Bradlaugh, whose Northampton constituents repeatedly elected him, was finally admitted to the House of Commons in 1886, and he secured the passage of a permanent affirmation bill in 1888. Thus Parliament, which had been opened to Roman Catholics in the 1820s and to professing Jews in the 1850s, was thrown open to avowed atheists in the 1880s.<sup>5</sup>

Although issues of foreign policy had helped Gladstone win the election of 1880, the same issues were equally responsible for the decline of his popularity by 1885. In Afghanistan, it is true, the situation was satisfactorily resolved. British troops were evacuated, but in return for a subsidy and a guarantee against foreign aggression, the reigning emir permitted Britain to control Afghanistan's foreign relations. Things went less well in South Africa. There Gladstone had promised to end the annexation of the Transvaal if elected. When disagreement in the new Liberal government delayed a settlement, the Boers went on the offensive and defeated a small British contingent at Majuba Hill in February 1881. Gladstone had to choose between fighting for an annexation in which he did not believe and making peace, thereby conceding to force of arms what he scurringly had refused to concede to reason. He decided to make peace, despite the fact that his decision was interpreted as an affront to British honor and a justification of Boer arrogance.

It was at the other end of Africa, however, where Gladstone had his greatest trouble. Egypt, in which Disraeli's purchase of the Suez Canal shares had involved Britain, proved to be the location of the ministry's greatest military victory and its most stinging defeat. The khedive's extravagance had led in 1878 to an Anglo-French condominium with supervisory powers over Egyptian finances. This led to an outburst of Egyptian nationalism under one Colonel Arabi, who resented not only the British and the French but also the Turkish advisers who dominated the khedive's court (Egypt was still nominally a part of the Ottoman Empire). Negotiations for a joint Anglo-French intervention collapsed, and when in 1882 Colonel Arabi's forces staged a coup d'état which resulted in the death of fifty Europeans in Alexandria, the British government intervened alone. Its navy shelled Alexandria; and in a model military maneuver, it collected and landed a 16,000-troop army that, after a long night march, completely de-

<sup>5</sup> Walter L. Arnstein, *The Bradlaugh Case* (Oxford, 1965).

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tionary Soviet government released early in 1918 the texts of secret treaties which the tsarist government had signed in the course of the war. The treaties assumed that upon an Allied victory both the Ottoman and Habsburg empires would in all likelihood break up and that it was desirable to plan for the disposition of the territories involved. The treaties, despite the interpretations subsequently placed upon them, were not the cause but the consequence of World War I; and some of their provisions were less signs of Allied greed than of mutual Allied distrust. The promise that Russia might at long last occupy Constantinople was agreed to by Britain in order to reassure the tsarist government that the Gallipoli invasion, if successful, would not entail the permanent British takeover of Turkey. The promise of part of Austrian Tyrol to Italy was intended as an incentive to gain Italian support for the Allied side. The ultimate breakup of the Habsburg and Ottoman empires had less to do with secret treaties, however, than with the longstanding nationalistic ambitions of Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Romanians, and Arabs and with the fact that both these empires chose the losing side in the war.

The Fourteen Points demonstrated the curious ambiguity that marked the United States's entry into the war. Wilson had long urged "peace without victory"; and the Fourteen Points of January 1918 implied that, even though the United States was now militarily associated with the anti-German side, Americans still saw themselves above the battle, fighting not for reasons of self-interest but in order "to make the world safe for democracy." Some historians have long argued that American entry into the war was a matter of self-interest—Wilson had himself said: "England is fighting our fight"—but American war aims were not ordinarily expressed in this fashion. Englishmen in general and Lloyd George in particular could sympathize with many of the Fourteen Points, such as the doctrine of national self-determination as a basis for changing the boundary lines of Europe and the establishment of a League of Nations, a proposal advocated for a number of years by influential Englishmen. But the British government was far less certain than Wilson seemed to be that the war had been the result of secret diplomacy, and it could not accept Wilson's insistence upon "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, alike in peace and war." To accept this provision, Lloyd George pointed out, would mean that Britain would deprive itself of the right to enforce a naval blockade, one of its major war weapons against Germany. Equally unacceptable to much Western European opinion was the implication that Belgium and France deserved no compensation or reparations for the immense material and human damage done by the German invaders.

The German government answered the Fourteen Points with an all-out drive for total victory. In the east, Germany imposed the Treaty of Bucharest upon Romania and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon Russia. The purpose was to convert the Balkans and much of prewar European Russia into German satellite states. Then in March of 1918, with its eastern front secure,

Germany launched its last great offensive of the war. A rapid advance was made in the Somme area, where the depleted British forces retreated in the face of superior German numbers; German guns with a seventy-mile range began to shell Paris. The threat of a breakthrough between the British and French forces impelled the Western Allies at last to entrust the strategic direction of the war in the west to one man, General Ferdinand Foch. A more drastic conscription act in Britain made every man between eighteen and fifty-five liable to military service, and 355,000 British reserves which had been kept at home because of Lloyd George's fears of General Haig's intentions were now sent to the continent. In April, American troops first took active part in the fighting and during the next three months over 600,000 additional American troops crossed the Atlantic.

In May and June the Germans succeeded in making small advances, but by July the tide had turned. The Allied side had now achieved technological superiority, and in August General Haig's forces, successfully using tanks, began a general offensive in the Somme region. The German forces slowly retreated along the whole Western Front, and by early September the German army chiefs informed their government that peace had to be made at once. The Kaiser's government, which had scorned the Fourteen Points in January, now accepted them in October as a basis for peace negotiations. The British cabinet issued a reminder that "the pronouncements of President Wilson were a statement of attitude made before the Brest-Litovsk Treaty [and] the enforcement of the peace of Bucharest on Roumania.... They cannot, therefore, be understood as a full recitation of the conditions of peace."

In the meantime, the Austrians had suffered a major defeat on the Italian front, and an Allied advance from Salonika in Greece had pushed Bulgaria out of the war. A long drawn-out British campaign against the Ottoman Empire in the Near East, in the course of which British Colonel T. E. Lawrence had roused the Arab tribes against their Turkish suzerains, was climaxed in October 1918 by the capture of Damascus. On October 31 Turkey left the war. In Germany itself, four years of unremitting war effort had likewise taken their toll. The reconstruction of the government in October 1918 only fanned the fires of domestic discontent. In early November, a naval mutiny began to spread inland; Emperor William II was forced to abdicate; and early on November 11 it was announced that representatives of the German government had agreed to terms that amounted to a virtual unconditional surrender.

Six million Britons had served in the armed forces. Of these 750,000 lost their lives (88 percent were killed in action), and 1,700,000 were wounded. For the moment, all that the living could think of was that the ordeal was over at last. As the bells announced the Armistice, London's streets became "a sea of laughing, joking people" dancing and singing in the streets and on buses. The horrors of the past and the fears for the future evaporated for the moment in "a triumphant pandemonium."

EXHIBIT SIXTY-FIVE (65) OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS OF MAY FOURTH/04th 2002 ✓

BY STEPHEN

John J CRAPO  
PRO SE JJC/jjc

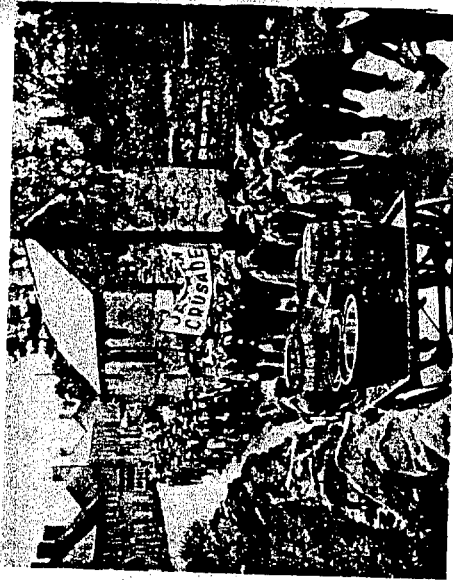
Mosley's British Union of Fascists. In emulation of Mussolini and Hitler they paraded in blackshirt uniforms, held theatrical floodlighted meetings, and in unison saluted their leader: "Hail Mosley!" The Fascists saw themselves as representatives of "youth" and "vigour" and spoke constantly of "Action" and "Getting Things Done." Mosley mercilessly taunted his former Labour allies who had resigned their governmental power in the face of the collapse of capitalism they had so long predicted: "What would you think," asked Mosley, "of a Salvation Army which took to its heels on the Day of Judgment?" Although the Union of Fascists had 20,000 members by 1934, their parliamentary organization, their overt anti-Semitism, and their bullying and violent tactics alienated most British opinion. "Mosley won't come to any good," predicted Stanley Baldwin in 1934, "and we need not bother about him." The government did bother about him to the extent of passing a Public Order Act in 1936 which outlawed the wearing of political uniforms, but otherwise Baldwin's prediction was borne out by events.

There were numerous other fringe groups active in the 1930s, each with its own particular panacea for the nation's ills. The Distributionists saw industrialization as the enemy and echoed the early nineteenth-century Luddites in their advocacy of peasant proprietorship and the wearing of handwoven clothes. The Social Credit party saw the bankers as the enemy, wore green shirts, and sought to raise consumer purchasing power by distributing what they called "the national dividend." Though such movements betray a widespread disillusionment with politics as usual in the 1930s, they all proved in the long run to be lost causes.

A desire to be socially conscious and an affinity for the Left was found among a generation of new poets and novelists such as W. H. Auden, Stephen Spender, and Christopher Isherwood. George Orwell explored the theme of poverty in the large city in such novels as *Keep the Aspidochelone* (1936). Yet other traditions persisted as well during the interwar era: the Freudian self-analysis of D. H. Lawrence (1885-1930); the experimenting in verbal techniques of James Joyce (1882-1941); and the explorations of a private world carried on by Virginia Woolf (1882-1941), one of the members of the renowned Bloomsbury group of London-centered writers, artists, and philosophers. Such Edwardian literary giants as Shaw, Wells, and Galsworthy remained active well into the 1930s or beyond.

Regarded as "neither art nor smart" by the intellectuals but far more influential than the serious novel among the working classes, the cinema came gradually to replace the music hall as the chief source of popular entertainment. Far more acceptable to intellectuals was the BBC, the British Broadcasting Corporation, begun in 1922 and established in its present form in 1927. The BBC was a monopoly established under the auspices of the state but not subject to its day-to-day control. It received its income not from advertisers but from license fees paid to the Post Office. There were three million licenseholders by 1929, nine million by 1938. In the words of Sir John Reith, who directed the Corporation from its founding until 1939, its

The False Dawn and the Great Depression



A "HUNGER MARCH" ON THE ROAD TO LONDON, 1936. Shipyard closing had put more than two-thirds of the men of Jarrow out of work. Radio Times Hulton Picture Library.

and its record of political repression was ignored in favor of the economic efficiency promised by Stalin's five-year plans. The United States, in contrast, had been scorned by the British Left ever since the Sacco-Vanzetti case of the 1920s; and even Roosevelt's New Deal was often dismissed as a "Fascist economy." From 1936 on, the Left Book Club—borrowing an American idea—faithfully supplied its 50,000 members with propaganda. In innumerable novels the hero, after a painful struggle of conscience between his materialistic and idealistic selves, joined the Communist party on the last page. ("Robert turned from the window. The sound of the unemployed Welsh miners' singing came faintly from below. 'All right, I'm coming with you,' he said simply."<sup>3</sup>) The Communist party never attracted more than a few thousand card-carrying members; it elected only a single member of Parliament during the decade; and it never succeeded in winning the Labour party to the cause of a United Front against fascism. But its ideological influence was certainly significant.

An alternate cure for the ills of society was offered by Sir Oswald Michael Wharfedale, "A Few Lost Causes," in Raymond, ed., *The Baldwin Age*.

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EXHIBIT SIXTY-NINE (69) OF  
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Formed	Party	Prime Minister	Chancellor of the Exchequer	Home Secretary	Foreign Secretary	Other Ministers
Jan. 1924	Labour	Ramsay MacDonald	Philip Snowden	Arthur Henderson	Ramsay MacDonald	Lord (R. B.) Haldane (Lord Chancellor) Sidney Webb (Board of Trade) Neville Chamberlain (Health)
Nov. 1924	Conservative	Stanley Baldwin	Winston S. Churchill	Sir William Joynson-Hicks	Austen Chamberlain	Neville Chamberlain (Health)
June 1929	Labour	Ramsay MacDonald	Philip Snowden	J. R. Clynes	Arthur Henderson	
Aug. 1931	National (mostly Conservative)	Ramsay MacDonald	Philip Snowden Neville Chamberlain (1931)	Sir Herbert Samuel Sir John Gilmour (1932)	Lord Reading Sir John Simon (1931)	Stanley Baldwin (Lord President of the Council)
June 1935	National (mostly Conservative)	Stanley Baldwin	Neville Chamberlain	Sir John Simon	Sir Samuel Hoare Anthony Eden (1935)	Ramsay MacDonald (Lord President of the Council; to 1937)
May 1937	National (mostly Conservative)	Neville Chamberlain	Sir John Simon	Sir Samuel Hoare Sir John Anderson (1939)	Anthony Eden Lord Halifax (1938)	Winston S. Churchill (Admiralty, 1939)
May 1940	Coalition	Winston S. Churchill	Sir Kingsley Wood Sir John Anderson (1943)	Sir John Anderson Herbert Morrison (1940)	Lord Halifax Anthony Eden	Clement Attlee (Deputy P.M., 1942) Ernest Bevin (Labour)
<b>War Cabinet, 1940-1945</b> Winston S. Churchill Neville Chamberlain (to 1940) Clement Attlee Lord Halifax Anthony Greenwood (to 1942) Lord Beaverbrook (to 1942) Sir John Anderson Sir Kingsley Wood (to 1942) Ernest Bevin Anthony Eden Oliver Lyttelton (1941-1945) Sir Stafford Cripps (1942) Robert Casey (1943-1945) Herbert Morrison (1943-1945) Lord Woolton (1943-1945)						
May 1945	Conservative	Winston S. Churchill	Sir John Anderson	Sir Donald Somervell	Anthony Eden	

Formed	Party	Prime Minister	Chancellor of the Exchequer	Home Secretary	Foreign Secretary	Other Ministers
July 1945	Labour	Clement R. Attlee	Hugh Dalton Sir Stafford Cripps (1947) Hugh Gaitskell (1950)	Chuter Ede	Ernest Bevin Herbert Morrison (1951)	Sir Stafford Cripps (Bd. of Trade to 1947) Aneurin Bevan (Health) Herbert Morrison (Leader of Commons)
Oct. 1951	Conservative	Winston S. Churchill	Richard A. Butler	Sir David Maxwell Fyfe	Anthony Eden (also Deputy P.M.)	
Apr. 1955	Conservative	Sir Anthony Eden	Richard A. Butler Harold Macmillan (1955)	Gwilym Lloyd George	Selwyn Lloyd	Richard A. Butler (Leader of Commons) Marquis of Salisbury (Lord Pres. of Council)
Jan. 1957	Conservative	Harold Macmillan	Peter Thorneycroft D. Heathcote-Amory (1958) Selwyn Lloyd (1960) Reginald Maudling (1962)	Richard A. Butler Henry Brooke (1962)	Selwyn Lloyd Lord Home (1960)	Duncan Sandys (Defense) Richard A. Butler (Deputy P.M., 1962)
Oct. 1963	Conservative	Sir Alec Douglas-Home (formerly Lord Home)	Reginald Maudling	Henry Brooke	Richard A. Butler	Edward Heath (Board of Trade)
Oct. 1964	Labour	Harold Wilson	James Callaghan Roy Jenkins (1967)	Sir Frank Soskice Roy Jenkins (1965) James Callaghan (1967)	Sir Patrick Gordon-Walker Michael Stewart (1965) George Brown (1966) Michael Stewart (1968)	George Brown (Economic Affairs; to 1966) Barbara Castle (Transportation; Employment & Productivity, 1968)
June 1970	Conservative	Edward Heath	Iain Macleod Anthony Barber (1970)	Reginald Maudling Robert Carr (1972)	Sir Alec Douglas-Home	Margaret Thatcher (Education & Science)
Mar. 1974	Labour	Harold Wilson	Denis Healey	Roy Jenkins	James Callaghan	Anthony Wedgwood Benn (Industry)
Apr. 1976	Labour	James Callaghan	Denis Healey	Roy Jenkins Merlin Rees (1976)	Anthony Crosland David Owen (1977)	Anthony Wedgwood Benn (Energy) Michael Foot (Leader of Commons)

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FEBRUARY 24, 2002 BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD

FAMILY

# Doc's orders: Know thyself

## Keep medical history of kin at fingertips

By AZELI WARDROP CAVANA

Imagine your 2-year-old man-covers her way into your medicine cabinet and before you know it she's gulped down a couple mouthfuls of adult cough syrup. In your haste to get her emergency medical attention, will you remember the allergic reactions she's had to medications in the past? Will it cross your mind to tell the attending physician about that nasty fall she took a couple months ago?

Experience dictates it's not likely you will, according to professionals in the medical field who have dealt often with peckish patients.

"It's hard to recall that kind of medical history information when you're in a frantic state of mind," said Wafaa Albassan, pharmacy manager of Wal-Mart in Quincy.

"Your thoughts are focused on the emergency at hand."

In such cases, it's best to let a medical history file do the talking for you, experts say.

Doctors and pharmacists agree that keeping track of family health information makes sometimes vital information easily accessible for both routine doctors' visits and emergencies.

Although organizing a thorough medical history file for all the members of a family takes little effort and time, it remains one of the most commonly neglected housekeeping chores.

"Not enough families keep good records," said Dr. Karen Joyce Miller, a general internist and the chief medical officer at the Boston



LET THE RECORD STATE: Wafaa Albassan, pharmacy manager of Wal-Mart in Quincy, says too few people keep good, accessible records of their family medical history, sometimes complicating emergency situations.

"A lot of times parents don't even get a copy of the report," Miller said.

"Sometimes it's sent right to the pediatrician if the parent doesn't specifically request that a copy be sent to them for their personal records."

Similar information regarding prescribed medications, visits to specialists, operations, and hearing and vision test results should be kept for all adults in the family and can be very helpful during medical emergencies, said Albassan.

Other information, useful for more routine visits to the doctor, can tip physicians to begin early screening of adults or children for health problems that run in the family.

For example, a doctor desires and illnesses suffered by extended family members (parents, siblings, first cousins) should be kept on file.

"If people suddenly die in your family before age 40 with cardiac problems, it's very useful to keep track of that," said Miller.

Neurological disorders, epilepsy, learning disorders and similar family health patterns should also be included.

"People don't like to talk about those things," Miller said.

"But it's important to talk to your parents, aunts, uncles and cousins and find out what diseases or disorders may run in your family," said Miller.

It's a lesson most often learned later in life, according to Albassan, who said the majority of customers who arrive at her pharmacy with a family health history file in hand are older people with chronic medical problems.

"It's mostly the new generations, the younger people who want to start keeping these records for the first time," she said.

"It might have been a very valuable resource for a substance

improvement projects, getting started is often the most difficult part of starting a medical history file — especially for larger families with a lot of catching up to do.

But once a family's file is up to date, keeping track of family health patterns is merely an easy task to maintain, Miller said.

For families with small children, a large notebook will do, Miller said, but for those keeping track of

significant health problems also should be recommended along with any visits the child makes to specialists, including the specialist's name and a copy of their reports.

A running list of prescribed medications the child has taken with specific emphasis on allergic reactions, the younger people who want to start keeping these records for the first time, she said.

"I might have been a very valuable resource for a substance

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# Judge faces more woes

## Murphy 'barred from employing women'

By DAVE WEDGE

Embattled Judge Ernest B. Murphy, who has come under fire for a string of light sentences and letting accused rapists walk out court, is banned from having women work for him because a former female law clerk complained that he harassed her, sources confirmed. "He hasn't had any female law clerks in recent months," a judicial source said of Murphy. The source added that a former clerk verbally complained to Murphy's higher-ups that the second-year judge harassed her but the woman never filed a formal complaint. As a result of the incident, Murphy only has male law clerks working for him, sources said. Sources have also told the Herald that a probe into the judge's controversial actions both on and off the bench is under way. Murphy, who is on vacation for two weeks from his New Bedford Superior Court post, couldn't be reached

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## 22 Source: Clerk said Murphy harassed her

From Page 1

for comment. His attorney, J. Owen Todd, said the judge never harassed anyone and denied that Murphy is banned from having female underlings.

"The judge categorically denies he ever harassed any law clerk — male or female — or that there's a prohibition against him having law clerks of any gender," Todd said.

Chief Justice Suzanne DelVecchio, who oversees the state's superior court judges, refused comment on the allegations.

One courthouse source said Murphy has a well-known reputation of "having problems with women."

"Some of the women have made sour comments about him, including some who never speak up about anything," the source said. The judge, a career civil attorney, is assigned to criminal cases in New Bedford Superior Court where he currently has a male clerk working for him.

Murphy, 59, has been blasted by victims, prosecutors and police for doling out probation to violent offenders and allowing four accused rapists to walk out of court. In many

instances, Murphy eliminated high bails set by lower court judges so that alleged violent criminals could go free while awaiting trial. He also has been slammed for coddling criminals and making insensitive comments about victims, including telling prosecutors that a 14-year-old rape victim should "get over it."

That victim spoke out against Murphy this week because the judge gave eight years' probation to her attacker, 19-year-old Dean McSweeney, when prosecutors were pushing for a lengthy state prison term. McSweeney was found guilty of twice raping the girl, robbing a convenience store clerk at knife-point and making threats to kill witnesses. McSweeney lives a block from the victim and the girl says she has nightmares and fears for her life.

Since being appointed to the bench in 2000 by former Gov. Paul Cellucci, Murphy has ranked prosecutors in three counties for a pattern of leniency toward thugs and rapists, most recently in Bristol County where District Attorney Paul F. Walsh Jr. has called for him to be removed from criminal cases. In addition to the McSweeney case, Murphy released an accused rapist from Fall River on personal recogni-

zance, even though the man was on the lam for 18 months before he was tracked down in Louisiana.

In Plymouth County, he was criticized for giving probation to a child pornographer, a career criminal from Brockton and a child rapist, and for allowing two killer drunken drivers to spend the holidays with their families before going to jail. Several legislators want the judge assigned to civil cases pending a probe while acting Gov. Jane Swift has said Murphy "obviously needs to adjust his attitude seriously."

DelVecchio has balked at reassigning the judge but said she is urging him to take advantage of "rookie judge school" — a weeklong training course he is slated to attend next month — as well as other judicial training courses.

Murphy, a Boston College Law graduate who worked for 30 years at some of Boston's top civil law firms, is a recovering substance abuser who helped found the Lawyers Concerned for Lawyers support group. Critics charge that his past has led him to be overly sensitive to defendants.

Several friends and defense lawyers have come to his defense, including state Rep. James Fagan (D-



STAFF FILE PHOTO BY MARK GARFINKEL

**MORE TROUBLE: Judge Ernest Murphy now faces harassment accusations.**

Taunton) who called Murphy a "reasonable" judge who "listens to both sides and acts appropriately rather than just rubber-stamp what prosecutors want."

Defense attorney Joseph Krowski Jr., who had several clients before Murphy in Brockton Superior Court last year, called the judge "courageous" for his controversial decisions. "People may disagree with him, but he does what he thinks is right," Krowski said. "You need judges like him in the system. It provides balance."

Murphy has been criticized for going below state sentencing guidelines — in some instances giving probation when the crimes call for long prison terms. But Krowski said the judge "makes well-reasoned decisions" that offset the "Draconian" sentences handed down daily by judges statewide.

"For every Judge Murphy, there are 100 judges who are the opposite," he said. "He understands people are presumed innocent, are constitutionally entitled to bail and he realizes that the jail cell isn't the only solution. (Critics) highlight him because he goes against the grain."

BOSTON SUNDAY HERALD FEBRUARY 24, 2002

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Pol's & Politics, Page 25

Forum  
John J. CRAPO, PRO SE

# Law's leadership lacking

## Cardinal failed to look into key questions

Like a chief of police faced with a claim that a cop on the beat has taken a bribe, or a CEO who learns that a manager is accused of price-fixing, or a school superintendent who is told that a principal is said to have sexually harassed a teacher, Boston's Bernard Cardinal Law faced a common leadership challenge: How should the head of an

**Robert H. MNOOKIN**

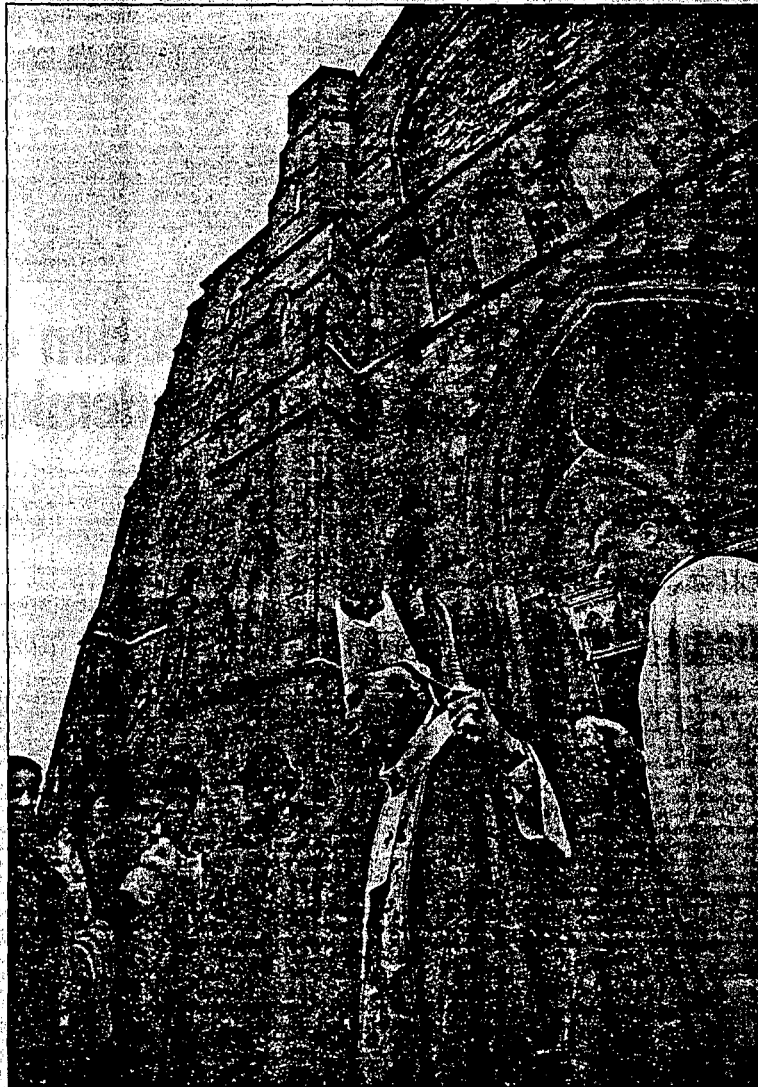
organization respond to the charge that a subordinate has acted in a way that was deviant, unlawful and offends the stated moral values of the enterprise?

The conventional wisdom is that Law, when faced with allegations that priests within the Archdiocese of Boston were accused of having had sexual contact with young boys, was too protective of the priests who were accused and too careless about the risks posed to their parishioners. While this certainly is a plausible criticism, addressing the leadership challenge from a broader organizational perspective is illuminating. How do Law's actions stack up, and what should he have done?

First, carefully investigate the facts of the particular case to assess the likelihood that the allegations in the individual case are true. Some allegations are false, and it would be wrong to simply presume the guilt of the accused. Moreover, to the extent possible, the organization should respect the privacy interests of those involved, when making its own investigation. I see nothing for which to criticize Law in this regard.

Second, if criminal misconduct seems likely, determine whether the organization has a legal, prudential or moral duty to report the matter to responsible law enforcement officials, or whether instead it is sufficient to treat the case simply as a matter for internal discipline. Lawyers for the church no doubt advised Law that he had no legal duty to turn over the names of the offending priests to law enforcement officials. Unlike teachers or doctors, clerics are not subject to the law's requirement to report child abuse. The cardinal thereafter decided to treat these as matters of internal church discipline.

With the benefit of hindsight, Law might have served his church and the public better by contemporaneously reporting those individual priests where the internal investigation suggested abuse had



SHAKEN SHEPHERD: Pedophile priests have posed a leadership challenge for Bernard Cardinal Law, center. STAFF FILE PHOTO BY GEORGE MARTELL

occurred. But without knowing all the considerations Law took into account — including concerns about broadening the church's exposure to civil liability and the adverse effect of publicity — I would not be prepared to join the widespread public condemnation of his

inaction on this score, had he taken appropriate internal actions. Third, in choosing a remedy, look beyond the individual cases and consider the broader organizational context in deciding what changes, if any, are necessary to prevent future offenses. By treating

these as individual cases, each involving a particular priest, and focusing on the broader organizational challenges that were posed, Law failed as a leader. Putting to one side the foolish decisions simply to transfer some of the accused priests from one parish to another

there is no indication that the church leadership ever addressed a number of fundamental — if awkward — questions.

When improper behavior in another is discovered, there is a human tendency to exaggerate the importance of the offender's individual characteristics or "dispositional" attributes and to minimize the importance of the situation or social and cultural context. Social psychologists have characterized this propensity as a "fundamental attribution error." A long line of research suggests that the social context is often a more important determinant than individual predisposition. Investigating individuals is not enough. A leader also must face the uncomfortable possibility that broader organizational features are part of the problem as well and must be addressed.

A major clue to the appropriate remedies requires assessing whether the scope of the problem was special to Boston and the church. In the Archdiocese of Boston about 80 priests have been accused of having sexual contact with minor boys and there were hundreds of incidents. Some church officials have suggested that the rate of pathology among priests is no higher than that of the male population as a whole. But this may not be so. Is the prevalence as widespread in other parts of the country as in Boston? In other institutions where authority figures have access to young boys?

If, as many suspect, the problem is more widespread in the church, a responsible leader must explore at an organizational level why this could be so. Uncomfortable questions must be asked: Could it be that more men with a desire for sex with young boys are being drawn to the priesthood? If so, are better screening procedures possible?

Even more demanding is the question of whether a subculture exists within the organization that accepted and supported the deviant behavior. It is well known that in police departments, for example, corruption or police brutality toward a minority group is not necessarily a problem of a few "bad apples" in the barrel but is instead sometimes a problem at an organizational level — some of the barrels may be defective.

I am not claiming that in the Archdiocese of Boston there is in fact a subterranean subculture that accepted and supported pedophilia, but I am suggesting that a leader must face up to that possibility, and ask whether these are features of the culture of the organization that must be rooted out.

Robert H. Mnookin is the Williamston professor of law at Harvard.



**The  
Arab  
Israeli  
Dilemma**

**Fred J. Khouri**

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The Arab-Israeli  
Dilemma

FRED J. KHOURI  
Villanova University



SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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To the memory of my parents  
and my sister Isabel

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Fred J. Khouri, professor of political science at Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania, has devoted many years of study to Middle Eastern problems. During extensive travels in the Middle East between 1958 and 1964, American-born Professor Khouri visited many refugee camps and trouble spots along the Arab-Israeli demarcation lines and participated in frank discussions with Arab, Israeli, and UN officials. Professor Khouri was a visiting professor at the American University of Beirut, Lebanon, from 1961 to 1964. He visited Israel and seven Arab states in 1969. His articles have appeared in *The Middle East Journal*, *The Middle East Forum*, *The Review of Politics*, *New Outlook*, and *Transactions*. He is a native of New Jersey, and holds B.A., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees from Columbia University.

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## Foreword

Although for many years the Arab-Israeli question has been one of the most complex and explosive issues facing the UN and the world and although widespread misunderstandings and controversies over the facts involved have seriously hindered efforts to resolve the question, relatively few experts on the Middle East have attempted to investigate thoroughly this emotion-ridden and controversial subject and to write dispassionately about it. It is also unfortunate that even these experts usually dealt with only limited aspects of the problem, leaving unfulfilled the pressing need for a comprehensive and scholarly study of the over-all Arab-Israeli problem from its earliest beginnings in history to the present day. Moreover, only rarely have specialists on the contemporary Middle East made adequate use of the vast amount of UN records and documents which constitute the most valuable and extensive primary source material available anywhere on Arab-Israeli relations and whose careful scrutiny is absolutely essential to any accurate and profound understanding of the basic Arab-Israeli differences which continue to resist reconciliation and to threaten the peace of the world.

As a political scientist specializing in Middle Eastern affairs, I have spent many years studying the principal primary and secondary source material, including all the pertinent UN publications, and doing on-the-spot research throughout the Middle East in order to fill many of the serious gaps in knowledge which have existed and to record, document, and analyze as comprehensively and objectively as possible within a single volume the more significant phases of and the divergent points of view on the Arab-Israeli problem from its origin to the early part of 1968. In an attempt to add to the depth of this study, I have made extensive use of the invaluable information and insight gained over a period of years from teaching and traveling in the Middle East, visiting sensitive border areas, and from frank, off-the-record discussions with many high government officials (such as King Hussein of Jordan and Crown Prince Feisal of Saudi Arabia, and various presidents, prime ministers, and foreign ministers in nearly all states in the area), as well as with many lower officials, scholars, religious and political leaders in Israel and the Arab states, refugees, and others with diverse experience in the area. Of particular value were my talks with top UN officials and staff members of the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, the UN Emergency Force, the UN Truce Supervision Organization, and the four Arab-Israeli Mixed Armistice Commissions.

Throughout the book staunch support is given to the UN and the

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principles of its Charter because, ever since I first began to study international relations at Columbia University and joined the League of Nations Association shortly before World War II, I have been keenly aware of man's desperate need for more effective world law and world organization. I remain firmly convinced that only through the repudiation of brute force as an instrument for resolving disputes between nations and through increasing the authority and effectiveness of the UN can man have any real hope of ever achieving true and lasting peace and avoiding catastrophic wars in the future, whether in the Middle East or elsewhere in the world.

Since Arab-Israeli relations, like all international relations, are not determined by impersonal states but by human beings who alone are able to act and react, I have frequently given great emphasis to the attitudes and feelings of the Arabs and the Israelis and to those policies and developments which contributed significantly to the intensification of Arab-Israeli mistrust, fear, and hostility. In short, by presenting the Arab-Israeli dilemma in many of its dimensions, I have tried to bring to light the pertinent facts and the fundamental principles involved and to evaluate fully, candidly, and objectively the views, policies, and actions of the contending parties as well as the roles played by the major powers in the hope of promoting among the peoples in the West—who will continue to affect the Arab-Israeli conflict either directly or through the UN—and among the Arabs and Israelis themselves that deeper and clearer understanding so essential to its ultimate and peaceful solution.

To make it easier for the non-specialist reader, simple English spellings of Arab and Hebrew names of persons and places were generally used and no special effort was made to employ diacritical marks or to apply an exact system of transliteration.

There are so many to whom I am deeply indebted for assistance along the long path which this book has taken from research to publication that it is impossible to name them. I am very grateful to those UN and government officials who helped facilitate my research and/or contributed to the discussions in the area and the numerous specialists and non-specialists here and abroad who read parts or all of the manuscript and made many suggestions for its improvement. I also wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Syracuse University Press for all their understanding and assistance in preparing my manuscript for publication. I am especially grateful to my sister Margaret, who provided patient and invaluable help throughout all the years required for writing the book.

FRED J. KHOURI

Villanova, Pennsylvania  
March 11, 1968

May 04th Year 2002

Critical acclaim for

## THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA

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"An excellent book, well documented and very balanced in approach. It will undoubtedly establish itself as a standard work of reference, and should be required reading for all courses on the Middle East.

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Turkish ruthlessness in dealing with Arab nationalists soon drove even the moderate Arabs into the anti-Turkish camp. Once the Ottoman Empire joined the Central powers in the war, Britain quickly saw the advantages of an Arab revolt. Not only would it weaken Turkey militarily by depriving her of Arab manpower, but Arab forces could be used to augment the Allied armies in the Near East. Arab backing could also help prevent the Sultan's proclamation of a *jihad* (holy war) by all Muslims against the Allies, and prevent it from having any dangerous repercussions in the Arab world and in India. Furthermore, Britain now felt the need of creating an independent Arab state or federation to serve in place of the Ottoman Empire as a bulwark for her lifeline to India.

While the main intellectual centers of Arab nationalism were located in the principal cities of the Levant, the most effective military leadership arose in the Hejaz section of the Arab Peninsula. Firm Ottoman control over the Levant had effectively throttled the nationalist movement there, but Turkish control in Arabia was generally so weak that a nationalist revolt could develop with little interference. Despite the fact that Sharif Hussein of the Hejaz trusted the British implicitly, other more skeptical Arabs, particularly in Syria and Mesopotamia, were wary of them. These Arabs felt that they should not join the Allies until Britain made satisfactory promises to the Arabs. Syrian nationalists agreed to accept Hussein as their spokesman in any negotiations with Britain, provided he espoused their political platform, commonly known as the Damascus Protocol, as the essential condition for an alliance. Hussein accepted the terms of the Protocol, and they were incorporated in his negotiations with the British.

The Arab demands and British concessions were contained in an exchange of ten letters<sup>4</sup> between the Sharif and Sir Henry McMahon, British high commissioner of Egypt. Hussein's first note on July 14, 1915, presented the main Arab demands. He requested British recognition of Arab independence in an area bounded on the north by a line from Mersin-Adana to the Persian frontier, on the east by Persia and the Persian Gulf, on the south by the Indian Ocean, and on the west by the Red and Mediterranean seas. Only Aden was excluded. In his letters of October 24 and December 13, 1915, Sir Henry agreed "to recognize and uphold the independence of the Arabs in all the regions lying within the frontiers proposed by the Sharif of Mecca" with certain exceptions, none of which appeared, at least to the Arabs, to include the Palestine area. The British excluded the "districts of Mersin and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo," all of which "lie well to the

shall be reconstituted as the National Home of the Jewish people." The final text, however, referred merely to "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people." This was further qualified by the statement that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civic and religious rights of the existing non-Jewish communities or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Weizmann blamed the opposition of Edwin Montagu, an anti-Zionist Jew in the British cabinet, for the substantial weakening of the final declaration. Britain obtained the hesitant support of the United States for the declaration before she formally committed herself. Later, France and Italy vaguely proclaimed their backing of the Zionist program without specifically mentioning the Balfour Declaration itself.<sup>3</sup>

Although the Balfour Declaration was not a legally binding document, did not give the Zionists all they wanted, and was not as specific as they would have liked, it nevertheless strengthened their cause immeasurably. Actually, the Zionists, at least in their more formal demands, had been careful to avoid specifically requesting a Jewish state—despite the fact that a state was indeed their ultimate goal. Zionist leaders were willing to take one step at a time and achieve their objective piecemeal; they were even willing to make tactical retreats when necessary. These policies and tactics paid off in 1917, and they were to pay off later as well.

#### ARAB NATIONALIST MOVEMENT AND BRITISH WARTIME PROMISES

In the nineteenth century, French and American missionary and educational activities in the Levant provided the stimulus of new ideas and encouraged the study of Arab history and language. This awakened the interest and pride of the Arab in his heritage, thus giving birth to Arab nationalism. At first, this nationalism was basically cultural and affected only a handful of Syrian and Lebanese intellectuals. With time, however, it became more politically oriented and involved an increasing number of people, both Christians and Muslims, as it spread to other Arab areas. During the despotic rule of the Ottoman Sultan Abdul Hamid, Arab nationalism had to work underground. Although the Young Turk revolt in 1908 aroused hopes among the Arab nationalists for greater autonomy, they quickly found that the Young Turks were as opposed to Arab aspirations as had been the sultan overthrown by the Young Turks.

At the outbreak of World War I, Arab nationalists thought they had a choice of two courses: to cast their lot with the Turks in the hope of achieving autonomy and some self-government as an ultimate reward, or to support the Allies in the hope of acquiring complete independence.

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Again, the facts were deliberately distorted to placate Hussein. Although the declaration stated merely that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights" of the Palestine Arabs, Hogarth told Hussein that the "Jewish settlements in Palestine would only be allowed insofar as would be consistent with the political and economic freedom of the Arab population." Hogarth's term "political and economic freedom" was much stronger and more favorable to the Arabs than "civil and religious rights," the words used in the declaration itself. Hogarth also assured Hussein that Britain was "determined that the Arab race shall be given full opportunity of once again forming a nation in the world." Hussein not only accepted Hogarth's explanation, but he revealed his freedom from religious prejudice by expressing a willingness to welcome Jews who wished to settle in Palestine or in any other Arab territory as long as these areas remained under Arab control. On March 23, 1918, an article in his official publication *Al-Qibla*, Mecca called upon the Palestine Arabs to welcome the Jews as brethren and to cooperate with them for the common welfare. Moreover, in March, 1918, a Zionist commission headed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann went to Cairo and Palestine to try to allay Arab fears. Weizmann denied the allegation that Zionism sought political power. Although this statement misrepresented the true goal of most of the leading Zionists, for a while it did lessen Arab concern.<sup>6</sup>

As late as June, 1918, active recruiting was carried out in Palestine for the Sharifian army, "the recruits being given to understand," as the British government was to admit in 1930, "that they were fighting in a national cause to liberate their country from the Turks." On June 16, 1918, in response to a formal inquiry by seven Arab spokesmen from various parts of the Ottoman Empire, then residing in Cairo, the British government again formally and publicly assured the Arabs that it would abide by its earlier pledges. Concerning the Arab territories (including Palestine) that had already been liberated by Allied arms, the British policy would be "that the future government of those territories should be based upon the principles of the consent of the governed." The declaration made to the seven Arabs contained neither territorial reservations nor any other limitations based on the Sykes-Picot Agreement or the Balfour Declaration. The British made no effort to refute the conclusion drawn by the seven Arab spokesmen that Britain was "not free to dispose of Palestine without regard for the wishes and interests of the inhabitants of Palestine."<sup>7</sup>

In October, 1918, Arab doubts about British intentions began to rise again, and Arab unrest grew. On November 8, an official communiqué containing the text of a statement of policy representing the

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north of Palestine."<sup>6</sup> Britain's position was that she had to give more careful consideration to Arab requests for the districts of Aleppo and Beirut because of the interests there of her ally, France. Britain also referred to the need for special administrative arrangements for the Baghdad and Basra vilayets. Britain went on to promise not "to conclude any peace whatsoever of which the freedom of the Arab peoples . . . does not form an essential condition." Hussein accepted the exclusion of the districts of Mersin-Adana and agreed to a temporary British occupation of the vilayets of Baghdad and Basra. He rejected the other modifications, but agreed not to press these matters until the end of the war in order not to impair the war effort. He had such faith in British integrity that he felt sure that Britain would not betray the Arabs when the war was over.

On the strength of McMahon's assurances, the Arab revolt began on June 5, 1916. While the Arabs did not play a large role in the overall war picture, their revolt was of great military value because it diverted a considerable number of Turkish reinforcements and supplies to the Hejaz, protected the right flank of the British armies as they advanced through Palestine, removed any danger of the establishment of a German submarine base on the Red Sea, and prevented the proclamation of a *jihad* by the Sultan from having any serious consequences in Allied-controlled areas. As the effects of the revolt spread northward through the Levant in the summer of 1918, the whole countryside began to rise against the Turks, thus aiding the advancing Allied forces.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, on May 16, 1916, the French and British governments signed the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement which divided many Arab-inhabited territories into French- and British-administered areas as well as zones of influence and provided for the internationalization of Palestine. This agreement clearly conflicted with the McMahon promises to Hussein. But Hussein did not learn of the treaty until a year and a half later when Russia's revolutionary government published this and other secret war agreements in December, 1917. Early in 1918, Sir Reginald Wingate, the newly appointed high commissioner of Egypt, sent Hussein two telegrams which reaffirmed Britain's former pledges to the Arabs, held that the Sykes-Picot Agreement was not a formal treaty, and concluded that in any case Russia's exit from the war "had long ago created an altogether different situation." The telegrams, which deliberately misrepresented the facts, were apparently designed to reassure Hussein, and they achieved their purpose in that he continued to trust Britain.<sup>7</sup>

Hussein's confidence in the British survived even the publication of the Balfour Declaration on November 2, 1917. This time Britain sent Commander David George Hogarth to explain the declaration to Hus-

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AS I label I hear programming  
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FROM A WELLKNOWN  
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PHOTOGRAPHED IN THE  
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IN IT WHOSE NAME I CAN'T FIND  
RECEIVED A HIGHLY ACCLAIMED AWARD  
FOR HIS THEATRICAL WORK



aims of the British and French governments in the liberated Arab areas was given to the press and posted on village bulletin boards throughout the Levant, including the Palestine area. The communiqué stated:

The goal envisaged by France and Great Britain in prosecuting in the East the war . . . is the complete and final liberation of the peoples who have for so long been oppressed by the Turks, and the setting up of national governments and administrations that shall derive their authority from the free exercise of the initiative and choice of the indigenous populations.

The two countries would assist in setting up "indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia." This statement did much to quiet Arab unrest, especially since France was also a party to it and since the Arabs considered Palestine to be an integral part of Syria. The Sykes-Picot Agreement and even the Balfour Declaration now seemed to be less dangerous to the Arab cause. Wilson's Fourteen Points, widely publicized in the Middle East, gave additional emphasis to the principle of the right of national self-determination. This further strengthened the hopes of the Arabs that they would be able to achieve their nationalist goals in Palestine as elsewhere.<sup>10</sup>

On the basis of these statements and promises made to the Arabs, as even a British royal commission admitted in 1930, "the real impression left upon the Arabs generally was that the British were going to set up an independent Arab state which would include Palestine."<sup>11</sup> Britain's failure to publish until 1939 the full correspondence with the Arabs during World War I helped to conceal the strongest evidence providing some support for Arab claims; this seriously handicapped the presentation of the Arab case in England and before the world for many critical years. The Arabs themselves shared the responsibility for the suppression of these important documents by their failure to publish them in English and other major languages in order to explain and justify their own cause more effectively in the international propaganda campaign that was to develop over Palestine.

#### PARIS PEACE CONFERENCE AND ITS AFTERMATH

The Zionist delegation at the 1919 Paris Peace Conference included prominent and capable persons from various countries. Well versed in Western diplomacy and psychology, they received a friendly, sympathetic reception from the delegates of the Allied states. This was to give them a major advantage over the Arab delegation.

At the time of the conference, Zionist claims to Palestine rested on the British wartime promise to the Jews as contained in the Balfour

Declaration, as well as on the various historic, religious, and humanitarian "rights" mentioned earlier. Zionists further contended that a Jewish Palestine could give new hope and inspiration to Jews everywhere and that Jewish capital and practical abilities could help develop the backward Palestine area for the benefit of the Arabs, too.

The Zionist delegates asked the conference, in effect, to (1) include the Balfour Declaration in the peace treaty; (2) disregard, since the Jews then represented only 10 per cent of the population of Palestine, the principle of the right of self-determination, at least until the Jews became a majority there; (3) oppose making Palestine into either an Arab state or an internationalized one, but to set it up as a British mandate; (4) provide for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and "close settlement" by Jews on the land there; and (5) provide for the establishment of a Jewish Council for Palestine, representing the Jews in Palestine and elsewhere, with legal status and considerable powers. The Zionists continued to use the term Jewish "national home" rather than "state."

The Zionists did not obtain all their demands at the Paris Conference, but they put themselves in a strong position for achieving greater success when the Palestine Mandate was established.

The Arab case could be summarized as follows. The Arabs had a more valid claim to Palestine than did the Jews. A continuous occupation of Palestine from the seventh to the twentieth century provided a stronger historic right than one based only on a much shorter occupation that ended some two thousand years ago. The world would be thrown into chaos, legally and politically, if every group were permitted to lay claim to an area that its ancestors had possessed at one time in history. If claims based on religion had any real validity, the Christians and the Muslims could also assert their rights to Palestine. It was contended that even on religious grounds, the land of Palestine was not promised to the Jews exclusively; the Old Testament promise of a return was fulfilled by the return of the Jews from Babylon when the Second Temple was built; and in any case, the return was to come by divine guidance and intervention, not by human, political action. Furthermore, one group could not be legally or morally bound by the religious beliefs of or by the promises made to another group. As for humanitarian considerations, the Christian world was attempting to right an unhappy situation created by Christian intolerance—at Arab expense alone. The Arabs did not oppose the Jews as a religious entity, and they did not object to the immigration of Jews into Palestine as long as they came without political motives. Besides, it was neither just nor democratic to allow a minority to overrule the wishes and interests of the large majority. Since the Bal-

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four Declaration was merely a promise made by a British official to a private British subject, it had no legally binding validity under international law. In contrast, the British pledges to the Arabs had been made through formal agreements between sovereign states.

T. E. Lawrence, British leader of the Arab revolt, helped the Arab delegation which was led by Amir Feisal, son of Sharif Hussein, but the delegation was at a serious disadvantage because it lacked men of world stature with experience in Western affairs, diplomacy, and psychology. As a result, the Arab case was not presented effectively at the Peace Conference. Amir Feisal urged backing for Arab unity and independence as promised by the British; the Arabs would temporarily accept "the effective superposition of a great trustee" so long as provision was made for a "representative local administration." In late 1918 and early 1919 Feisal was actually more concerned about French than Zionist aspirations in the Near East. He even hoped that Zionist support could be used against France, but by this time Feisal had lost touch with Arab nationalist feeling, especially in Palestine. These factors helped induce him to sign an agreement with Weizmann on January 3, 1919, welcoming Jewish immigration to Palestine. However, he specifically made this agreement dependent upon the fulfillment of the wartime pledges of the British regarding Arab independence. When Britain did not fulfill her promises, the Arabs contended that this agreement had no further validity. On March 3, 1919, Feisal wrote a letter to Felix Frankfurter referring to the Arabs and Jews as cousins and stating that there was room for both in "Syria." At the same time, Feisal made it clear that the Arabs would not accept a Jewish state as such but only a possible Jewish province in a larger Arab state.<sup>12</sup>

The Paris Peace Conference, in writing Articles 20 and 22 of the League of Nations Covenant, further encouraged Arab hopes regarding Palestine. Article 22, paragraph 4 stated that certain communities taken from the Ottoman Empire had

reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

To the Arabs, the mandate system was to be an attempt at a partial fulfillment of Allied, and especially Wilsonian, promises that an Allied victory would foster the principles of independence, self-determination, and democracy based upon the will of the people. To the Arabs, all these principles supported the cause of the majority—namely, them-

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selves—in Palestine. Article 20, moreover, stating that the League members agreed "that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings *inter se* which are inconsistent with the terms thereof," appeared to the Arabs to render null and void both the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the Balfour Declaration, since these were inconsistent with the League Covenant. In August, 1919, even Lord Balfour admitted the existence of such an inconsistency when he conceded that

the contradiction between the letter of the Covenant and the policy of the Allies is even more flagrant in the case of the "independent nation" of Palestine than in that of the "independent nation" of Syria. For in Palestine we do not propose even to go through the form of consulting the wishes of the present inhabitants of the country.<sup>13</sup>

With the approval of the Supreme Council at the Paris Peace Conference, President Wilson sent Dr. Henry C. King, president of Oberlin College, and Charles Crane, a businessman, to the Middle East for a report on the situation there. The King-Crane Commission found that an overwhelming number of Palestine Arabs wanted Palestine to remain part of Syria with Feisal as the head of state. If a mandate were established, the Arabs insisted that it include Palestine as well as Syria and that it be temporary, with either the United States or Britain as the mandatory power. The commission also warned against "the extreme Zionist programme for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine a Jewish state." Although the commission felt that some of the aspirations and plans of the Zionists were praiseworthy, it concluded that the Zionist proposals as a whole would be unfair to the Arab majority and would require the use of military force to be implemented. The commission recommended that Palestine be kept as part of Syria and that only a limited part of the Zionist program be carried out.<sup>14</sup> The King-Crane report was not only to be ignored by the Peace Conference, but it was not even made public until 1922. Since this document gave more support to the Arab case than to the Zionist one, the conference's failure to consider the report or to publish it before the Palestine Mandate was set up by the League of Nations had the practical effect of aiding the Zionist cause and depriving the Arabs of favorable documentary evidence.

CONCLUSION

The British government seriously underestimated both the extent and the implications of the rise of Arab nationalism in and over Palestine and the determination of the Zionists to realize their goal of a Jewish

state. In addition, it ignored the warnings made as early as 1918 by a number of official observers and experts that Britain's conflicting promises and policies would ultimately lead to strife between Arabs and Jews and to endless troubles for Britain in Palestine. Some suggested that one way of resolving Britain's conflicting promises to the Arabs and Jews would be to establish one large Arab federation with a Jewish national home being set up in the Palestine part of this federation. Since the Jews then in Palestine represented only about 10 per cent of the total population, and since there was little assurance that the Jews could ever become an actual majority in Palestine, this proposed solution, if effectively pressed by Britain, might very well have been acceptable to many Zionists, as well as to many Arabs. This early period—before major problems and vested interests had had a chance to take root and when the Zionists were still calling for only a national home, not a sovereign state, and Arab opposition to Jewish immigration was just beginning to develop—was the most opportune time for Britain to have sought some fair and practical way of reconciling her conflicting commitments. By failing to take advantage of this singular moment in history to devise a consistent, farsighted program for Palestine, the British helped to create future dilemmas.<sup>16</sup>

Over the years, most Zionist leaders ignored the admonitions of various specialists on the Middle East, including those who were Zionist and pro-Zionist. As early as 1913, the director of the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization warned,

We have before us the task, which in no wise can be evaded, of creating peaceful and friendly relations between the Jews and the Arabs. In this respect we have to catch up a great deal that we have neglected, and to rectify errors that we have committed. It is, of course, quite useless to content ourselves with merely assuring the Arabs we are coming into the country as their friends. We must prove this by our deeds.<sup>16</sup>

Later, various Zionist sympathizers such as Mark Sykes and Colonel R. Meinertzhagen, also urged the Zionists to realize that the success of their cause depended upon an "understanding with the Arabs, whose national aspirations must . . . be reconciled and linked with their own," that the Jews must show patience and moderation in dealing with the Arabs if Arab hostility were to be broken down, and that Arab opposition "may possibly be averted if the Jews through a policy of peaceful penetration, without the blaring of trumpets and without special privileges such as Dr. Weizmann and other official Zionists desire, attain by their own merits a position of supremacy in the land."<sup>17</sup> This friendly counsel

notwithstanding, many Zionists, including well-educated and politically mature Western Jews, continued to display a serious lack of understanding of the existence and intensity of Arab national pride. Rather than seeking to foster the Arab friendship and cooperation so essential to the peaceful achievement of Zionist goals from the very beginning, shortsighted Zionist tactics and lack of consideration for Arab feelings and interests whipped up Arab fears and opposition.

As for the Arabs, because they had lived for centuries in the backward Ottoman Empire, most of them found themselves, at the end of World War I, lacking in political experience and ill-prepared to compete with the political acumen of the Zionists. Even their leaders were insufficiently aware of the dynamics and subtleties of international diplomacy and ignorant of how to present their case effectively. In fact, they were unable to realize that their conflict with Zionist political aspirations would be greatly determined by events and developments far removed from Palestine. As a result, they failed to make adequately serious and determined efforts in the field of international propaganda to defend the Palestine Arab cause. Furthermore, they neither correctly evaluated the determination and ability of the Zionists to achieve their own goals nor developed a policy which would have realistically dealt with the growing schism between Arabs and Jews in Palestine.

In short, the conflicting pledges and indecision of the British, the impatience of the Zionists to achieve their goals in complete disregard for the feelings and interests of the Palestine Arabs, and the political immaturity of the Arabs themselves at this critical stage in the history of Palestine helped to launch the chain of events which produced the Arab-Israeli dilemma confronting the world today.

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PALESTINE MANDATE

insures "that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced"; (5) the right of each community to maintain its own schools; and (6) the use of Hebrew, as well as Arabic and English, as official languages.<sup>1</sup> Both Britain and the League of Nations apparently believed that building a Jewish "national home" (a term still left vague and undefined) and protecting Arab rights and position were not incompatible objectives. They were convinced that the whole population of Palestine would so benefit from the material prosperity which Jewish immigration and money were expected to bring to the country that the Arabs would ultimately accept the new situation. It soon became apparent, however, that Britain and the League had failed to anticipate the determination of the Zionists and both the rapid growth and the effects of Arab nationalism. In addition, they failed to realize that for the Palestine Arabs, national goals were far more important than any potential economic advantages.

While the Zionists were delighted with the mandatory agreement, the Arabs were embittered because they considered its provisions unjust, undemocratic, and contrary to all promises which had been made to them. They denied the mandate's legal validity on the grounds that, contrary to the terms of the League Covenant, Palestine was not "provisionally recognized" as independent and the wishes of the inhabitants were not the "principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory" power as required by the Covenant. The Arabs were especially aroused because, whereas numerous articles of the mandatory agreement referred to the Jewish community by name, the Arabs, 90 per cent of the population, were referred to merely as "the other sections" of the population.

Apparently aiming at a unitary state, in 1920 the first high commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, set up an advisory council, including ten British officials, four Muslim and three Christian Arabs, and three Jews. It was an interim body designed to suggest legislation, but it was dissolved in February, 1923. A proposed twenty-three-member legislative council was never formed because the Arab leaders, opposed to any action which might imply recognition of the mandate's validity, and unhappy about the fact that the Arabs would have only ten seats on the council, withheld their participation. The advisory council was reestablished, but nationalistic pressures forced its Arab members to withdraw from it. Not until 1935-36 was a legislative council proposed again, but without success. Since no locally acceptable constitutional system could be agreed upon, neither the Arabs nor the Jews participated directly in governing Palestine, which continued to be ruled by Britain through a high commissioner.<sup>2</sup>

CHAPTER II

The Palestine Mandate, 1922-1948

Although by the end of World War I a few seeds of the future Arab-Israeli conflict had already been sown, far more serious ones were to take root during the mandate period itself. During the years immediately after World War I, when the split between the Arabs and the Jews over Palestine was still in its embryonic stage, the possibility remained that determined, farsighted efforts could still build a bridge between the two communities. But neither the British nor the Arabs and Zionists were willing to make the required efforts and concessions. As the years went by, Arab and Zionist attitudes and actions became increasingly antagonistic and irreconcilable, while British policies frequently did more to aggravate the deteriorating situation than to ameliorate it.

The Palestine Mandate, as Britain received it in 1920, included Transjordan, but Transjordan, despite strong Zionist objections, was made into a separate mandate in 1922. At that point Palestine came into being as a distinct political unit.

Initially the Balfour Declaration was only a vaguely worded promise made in a letter to Lord Rothschild. However, when the Palestine Mandate Agreement between Britain and the League of Nations was signed with the Balfour Declaration incorporated into it, the Zionists acquired their first internationally binding pledge of support; consequently, their political claims to Palestine were greatly strengthened. In fact the mandatory agreement was framed largely in the interest of the Jews. For example, it provided for (1) the incorporation of the whole of the Balfour Declaration; (2) the recognition of the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine"; (3) the establishment of a Jewish agency to be "recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish population in Palestine"; (4) the facilitation of Jewish immigration and the "close settlement by Jews on the land," provided that the mandatory

## DEVELOPMENTS WITHIN THE JEWISH AND ARAB COMMUNITIES

Despite the mandate's failure to provide specifically for an independent Jewish state, the Zionists regarded this as its main purpose. Zionist leaders wanted to retain the mandate until large-scale immigration could put Jews in the majority. Only then would the Zionists press for an independent Palestine. That is the reason why unrestricted immigration was so vital to the Zionists and, at the same time, so objectionable to the Arabs; it also explains why the immigration issue became the most basic source of friction between the Arabs and the Jews.

At the end of World War I, there were only about 55,000 Jews in Palestine, and though Jewish immigration was steadily promoted by Zionist organizations, there were some years prior to 1933 in which the moderate annual quota established by the mandate was far from filled. Nazi persecution after 1933, however, brought an upswing in the number of Jews (mostly from Central and Eastern Europe) entering Palestine both legally and illegally. By 1939 the Jewish community had reached 450,000—about 30 per cent of the total.

Between 1919 and 1936, \$400 million was invested by Jews in Palestine. As a result new industries were set up and Arab land was purchased by the Jewish National Fund. The total amount of Jewish-owned land increased from 594,000 dunums (1 dunum = ¼ acre) in 1922 to 1,533,000 dunums in 1939.<sup>3</sup> Some of this acreage had been what Britain considered state-owned land (on the basis of Ottoman land registries) which the fund "rented" for nominal sums under ninety-nine-year leases. Other land was bought from absentee owners living in Syria and Lebanon who had been isolated from their properties by the British and French mandate boundaries. Arab tenants and workers were evicted from all this acreage. The land bought by the Jewish National Fund became the inalienable property of the Jewish people. It could not be resold to Arabs, nor could any Arab be employed on it.

During the mandate the Jews in Palestine enjoyed many formidable advantages over the Arabs. For example, the mandate provided for a Jewish Agency empowered to serve as the official spokesman of world Jewry in connection with Jewish immigration, agricultural, educational, and other interests in Palestine. The Palestine Jews developed their own communal organization, composed of an elected assembly and general council and an administrative apparatus, which soon assumed expanding quasi-governmental functions. The experience gained from this considerable degree of self-government was to be very valuable to the Jews when the time came to set up their own government. Since most of the Jewish immigrants entering Palestine during these years came from

relatively advanced countries in Europe, they were better educated and possessed greater political and economic maturity than did their Arab neighbors. Moreover, without centuries-old traditions to hinder them or vested interests and class divisions to combat—as was the case with the Palestine Arabs—the Palestine Jews could make quick progress in developing an up-to-date economic, social, and political system. In addition, more and more Jewish communities over the world pooled their many talents and extensive resources and applied their great influence—which often reached into all levels of Western public opinion, into the highest places in some Western governments, and into the League of Nations itself—to aid the Zionist cause in Palestine.

Just at the time when most Jews in various countries were uniting to support the Zionist cause in Palestine, the Arab world found itself split into many political units—mandates, protectorates, and "independent" states. In the Middle East, France acquired Syria and Lebanon as mandates. Britain became the mandatory power for Iraq, Transjordan, and Palestine, retained colonies and protectorates along the southern and eastern edges of the Arabian peninsula, and maintained her "special relations" with Egypt. Only the Hejaz and the Nejd (later Saudi Arabia) and Yemen were allowed to become independent states as a result of World War I.

The Arabs who found themselves in Palestine continued to suffer the consequences of having lived in the backward Ottoman Empire for centuries. Unlike the Jews, they did not have a constant stream of educated and politically and technologically advanced fellow-Arabs immigrating into Palestine with large amounts of capital. Thus, being as far in arrears as most Arabs found themselves in 1919, it would have taken them a long time to overcome all their deficiencies, even under the most auspicious of circumstances—but circumstances during the mandatory period proved far from ideal for the Arabs.

The British grant of considerable autonomy to the various religious groups, along the lines of the old Turkish millet system, worked against the development of a closely knit, organized Arab community. Separate Muslim, Christian, and Druze communities administered their own cultural, educational, religious, and certain judicial affairs. While nearly all Arabs agreed on opposition to Zionism, political differences arose between the communities over other issues. In 1921–22 the mandate set up and provided funds for a supreme Muslim council with the British-sponsored al-Haj Muhammad Amin al-Husseini, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, as its lifetime head. Nevertheless, disagreements cropped up even among Arab Muslims. A relatively bitter struggle developed between the Husseini faction and the more moderate faction led by Raghib

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Nashashibi, mayor of Jerusalem, who opposed the Husseini policy of noncooperation with the mandate authorities. However, during periods of crisis, as when in 1936-37 an Arab general strike took place and an Arab revolt broke out, the various groups managed to work together, but genuine Arab unity rarely lasted for any length of time. Because the Arab community failed to organize itself politically as effectively as the Jewish, it was unable to obtain adequate political experience, particularly on the national level, and this was to have harmful consequences for them in the critical period after World War II. Moreover, after the Arab revolt broke out, Britain arrested most of the members of the Arab Higher Committee and forced the Grand Mufti and others to flee the country, leaving the Arab community deprived of many of its most popular leaders.

By 1936 the Arab population had increased by 67 per cent over the previous two decades to about a million—primarily as the result of a high birth rate. A small group of Muslims constituted the wealthy land-owning families, with a growing number joining the embryonic middle class made up mostly of the 95,000 Christians (Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, Syrian Catholic, and Protestant) who lived chiefly in the towns. Though the mandatory authority did introduce modern government services, it provided little money for public education. Attendance by girls as well as boys at privately supported Christian and Muslim schools (with Christian schools registering some Muslims also) rose steadily over the years, but there were never enough schools to accept all applicants. The 1931 census revealed literacy rates of 57.7 per cent for Christians, and 14.5 per cent for Muslims, with the rates rising everywhere—but again, not fast enough, particularly in contrast to the higher Jewish literacy rate.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike members of the Jewish community, the Arabs achieved little unity and produced few effective leaders. Whereas the Zionist leaders remained relatively flexible in their strategy and policies in the hope of making piecemeal progress toward their ultimate goal, the Arab leaders lacked the political experience and foresight to realize the long-range value of making occasional and essential tactical retreats. While the Zionists were cultivating the Western press, public, and government officials and organizing local Zionist groups throughout the world so they could more readily marshal world-wide support for their cause, the Arabs did not become fully aware of the importance of such activities until 1936. By this time they had lost so much ground to the Zionists on the international scene that they were never able to catch up.

The only significant headway made by the Palestine Arabs was among their fellow Arabs in adjacent areas. Arab nationalism, already

on the rise throughout the Middle East, found in the Zionist threat a rallying point for Arab nationalists everywhere. In 1936, the independent Arab governments began to lend growing support to the Palestine Arab cause. This was to have some practical value, particularly since Britain was anxious to retain the friendship of the Arab states. In fact, in 1939, Britain gave formal recognition to the right of these Arab countries to intercede on behalf of the Palestine Arabs.

#### BRITISH VACILLATION BEFORE WORLD WAR II

Britain had not only trapped herself with conflicting promises to Arabs and Jews, but despite repeated warnings, she added immeasurably to her future woes by continuous indecision and vacillation in her Palestine policy. For instance, by seeming to grant the requests of each side, Britain encouraged Arabs and Zionists to increase their discordant demands and to seek ways of extracting further concessions. In result, the Arabs frequently refused to cooperate with the Palestine administration and even at times resorted to violence. The Zionists, in turn, applied direct pressure on British officials through influential Jews and others holding high positions in and outside the British government. Once started, these pressures and counter-pressures tended to foster more British indecision and more futile statements aimed at placating both sides simultaneously. Britain tended to wait until the situation in Palestine had become relatively serious before she took any action, and she then found it more difficult than ever to deal effectively with the resulting problems. As Arab efforts moved into the international arena, where the Zionists had been actively working all along, the Palestine question grew even more complicated as it became relevant to larger world issues.

Arab opposition to the Balfour Declaration and to Zionist political activities in Palestine resulted in outbreaks of violence in 1920 and 1922 and the dispatch of an Arab delegation to London in early 1922 to advise the British government about the depth of Arab resentment over Zionist political ambitions. On July 1, 1922, even before the Palestine Mandate had actually come into formal existence, Arab pressures led the British government to issue a new statement of policy, known as the Churchill Memorandum, after the Colonial Secretary. Although this statement assured the Jews that Britain did not intend to depart from the Balfour Declaration, most of it was directed toward calming Arab apprehensions. The statement denied that "the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine" was contemplated and defined the promise of a Jewish national home as

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PALESTINE WAR

and their airfields were far from the combat areas. Egypt alone had a navy of any dimensions, and even this was a tiny one. The Palestine Arabs themselves proved to be of limited military value once the Palestine War broke out. Lacking competent military and political leadership and adequate military equipment, overwhelmed by Jewish successes, and fearful of a repetition of the April Deir Yaseen massacre at the hands of the Jewish extremists, the Palestine Arabs—especially those who became refugees—were at times more of a military liability than an asset.<sup>3</sup>

Although initially the Arabs were better armed than the Israelis, Arab stocks of military equipment, especially ammunition, had never been adequate for war. In the past, Britain had refrained from providing the Egyptian, Iraqi, and Transjordanian forces with substantial amounts of spare parts and ammunition for the British-made military weapons they held, to prevent their possible use against herself and to keep those governments that much more dependent upon British good will. Starting in February, 1948, Britain ceased accepting any more new orders for Arab munitions, and shortly after the Palestine War began, she joined other UN members in an arms embargo aimed at the Arab states and Israel. Lacking an adequate stock of ammunition for their largely British-style weapons, the main Arab armies were ill prepared for any protracted war. Besides, much of the available military equipment was obsolete, and some of it proved defective. In the absence of adequate roads between the various Arab armies and the different war fronts, it became difficult to assure sufficient military liaison between them and to shift troops from one front to another as needed. The Arab supply lines were frequently long, and the Arabs' maintenance and supply services were inefficient.<sup>4</sup>

The Jewish Agency had ordered a partial mobilization of Jewish manpower as early as November, 1947, and a complete mobilization on May 2, 1948. On May 15, the Haganah, made up of 60,000 to 70,000 trained members, became the backbone of the Israeli army. Some 20,000 to 25,000 had served in various Western military forces during World War II and had thus gained invaluable experience in modern warfare. Extensive women's auxiliary services had been organized to save as many able-bodied men as possible for combat. The extremist Irgun and Stern Gang maintained several thousand armed fighters of their own who operated independently of the Haganah until all Israeli forces were fully integrated in late June. Different authorities have estimated the total number of persons in the Israeli armed services on May 15 as from 35,000 to 80,000.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, Israel added greatly to her manpower in two ways: (1) some 30,000 new immigrants, selected carefully with the war effort in mind, entered Israel between May 15 and August 9, 1948;

THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA

Palestine. Egypt insisted that the Arab armies which entered Palestine should remain there only long enough to liberate the country and then turn it over to the Palestine Arabs to run as they wished. But King Abdullah of Transjordan (son of Sharif Hussein) did not intend to make a merely temporary entry into Palestine; he wished to achieve his longstanding dream of ruling a "Greater Syria," composed of Transjordan, Syria, Palestine, and at least part of Lebanon.

Jewish leaders in Palestine sought to exploit these inter-Arab differences in order to avoid having to face all the Arab armies at the same time. Believing that they had a better chance of making a deal with King Abdullah than with any other Arab leader, the Jewish authorities sent a secret mission headed by Mrs. Golda Myerson (later to become Golda Meir) to see him shortly before the mandate came to an end in an effort to keep at least Jordan's highly regarded Arab Legion out of the impending battle. Even though King Abdullah apparently preferred a political to a military solution for Palestine as long as he could make significant territorial gains there, popular pressures throughout the whole Arab world against any agreements with the Jews were too strong for him to ignore; so the secret peace mission failed.<sup>2</sup>

INITIAL ARAB AND JEWISH FORCES

On May 15, 1948, the five Arab states most directly involved in the Palestine crisis maintained a total of some 70,000 to 80,000 troops of varying qualities. Partly because there was a need to keep some soldiers within their own borders to maintain internal peace and order and partly because the Arab governments had gravely underestimated Jewish strength and determination while grossly overestimating their own military capabilities, the Arab states dispatched only about 20,000 to 25,000 troops to help the "Arab Liberation Army," and the armed Palestine Arabs. These included approximately 8,000 to 10,000 Egyptians, 2,000 to 4,000 Iraqis, 4,000 to 5,000 Jordanians, 3,000 to 4,000 Syrians, 1,000 to 2,000 Lebanese, and token units from Saudi Arabia and Yemen. Except for Transjordan's Arab Legion, most of the Arab troops were poorly trained and led, inexperienced in modern warfare, and fighting far from home. The Arab armies lacked the technicians and specialists so greatly needed in modern warfare. Furthermore, because of jealousies and rivalries, the Arab leaders could not agree either on an effective unified military command or on an over-all military policy. Each separate army fought on its own front without seriously coordinating military strategy or even exchanging vital military information with the others. While only Egypt, Iraq, and Syria possessed significant air power, they assigned too few of their planes to the battle,

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groups were able to exploit his misery for "political and other ends." In fact, the refugee situation had become so grave that it constituted "a serious threat to the peace and stability" of the area. The UN was warned that it had no choice but to continue providing money for a relief and works program if it hoped to prevent conditions from deteriorating still further. The UN was advised that because of the lack of resources, a few major projects were possible within the four Arab host states. As a consequence, only part of the refugee population could ever hope to be resettled within the host countries even if all the potential development projects were actually completed.<sup>19</sup>

In December, 1950, the General Assembly readily passed two resolutions dealing with the refugee question. The first resolution [393(V)], based upon the recommendations of UNRWA, authorized the spending of \$20,000,000 for relief and set up a \$30,000,000 "re-integration fund" to be utilized for works projects "without prejudice to the provisions of paragraph 11 of General Assembly resolution 194(III)." The second resolution [394(V)] asked the Arabs and Israelis to engage without delay in either direct or indirect discussions under the auspices of the Conciliation Commission or independently in an endeavor to resolve all questions in dispute. It also directed the commission to establish a Refugee Office which would work out arrangements for the implementation of paragraph 11 of Resolution 194(III) and would continue consultations with the Arabs and Israelis regarding measures to be taken for the protection of the refugees' property and other interests.

Despite the passage of the second resolution, by the early part of 1951 the Conciliation Commission reached the conclusion that there was little hope of making any headway in resolving any major Arab-Israeli problem in the immediate future. It therefore decided for the time being, to suspend all efforts aimed at conciliation and to concentrate, instead, on those few matters of limited scope which held out a possibility of success. Thus, the commission worked to attain agreement on the release of the refugees' blocked bank accounts in Israel and began to examine the technical and legal phases of the compensation issue. This was done in belief that "every positive result obtained in specific aspects of the refugee problem [would] bring it nearer to the fulfillment of" its main task of ultimately bringing about a final settlement of the refugee and other disputes.<sup>20</sup>

In August, 1951, the United States persuaded the Conciliation Commission to make one more attempt to find a solution to the refugee question. The commission, in turn, persuaded Israel and the Arab states to send special representatives to meet with it in Paris in September.

resolution reaffirmed paragraph 11 of Resolution 194(III), established a UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees (UNRWA), and authorized it to spend up to \$54,900,000 on a relief and works program during an eighteen-month period. While accusing Israel of using the refugees as a "political pawn" for achieving "political advantages and territorial gains" and criticizing the UN for failing to enforce earlier resolutions, the Arabs nevertheless supported Resolution 302(IV) because it would provide relief and economic assistance to the refugees without prejudicing their right to repatriation. Israel, while voting for the resolution and conceding the need to provide temporary relief and to promote works projects, continued to blame the Arabs for the refugee situation and to insist that she would not allow the return of the refugees. At this time, Poland led the Soviet bloc and several other states in backing some of Israel's views on the repatriation issue. On the other hand, Pakistan, Britain, France, and many other countries upheld the right of the refugees to return to their homes and urged Israel to abide by the UN decision on this subject.<sup>17</sup>

UN officials soon discovered that the Arab governments were still hesitant about cooperating with efforts to organize a large-scale development program, but this attitude changed after a meeting of the Arab League Council in June, 1950. The council issued a statement which advised its members to accept major projects as long as the UN could assure them that the rights of the refugees to repatriation and compensation would not be jeopardized by such a step. By late July, 1950, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria began consultations with UNRWA on works projects. By the end of the summer the Conciliation Commission was able to report that it had

received the impression that these [Arab] governments are inclining more and more to the view that the problem cannot be fully solved by the return of the refugees to their homes; and that consequently the settlement—either temporary or permanent—of a considerable number of refugees in the Arab countries must also be contemplated in order to achieve a complete and final solution of the problem.<sup>18</sup>

UNRWA and the Conciliation Commission also found that the Palestine refugees "invariably displayed an extremely emotional and deep-seated desire to return to their homes." The average refugee was "tired of his present condition," was "resentful of his plight," and blamed his troubles on the UN and the Western powers. In spite of the fact that the Arab is a "confirmed individualist," and is not readily willing to follow those advocating a change in his traditional way of life, subversive

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ARAB REFUGEES

of special training, they would be "virtually unemployable in the kind of market that accompanies an era of technological progress" and would "constitute more of a drag than an asset to the economy" of the country that accepted them.<sup>29</sup>

The attitude of the refugees produced yet another obstacle. UNRWA reports repeatedly emphasized that the refugees' desire to return to their homes had not only "not diminished," but that it had actually become "strengthened and encouraged by the General Assembly's resolutions on repatriation." Although most refugees wished to become self-supporting—as indicated by an increased interest in vocational training and individual self-support programs—a "large majority" of them considered that participation in works projects was "tantamount to renunciation of the rights" to repatriation or compensation. The degree of the refugees' resistance usually depended upon the nature, location, and size of the projects. The larger the project and the further away it was from "Palestine," the greater was the opposition to it and the fear of accepting it. So the refugees accepted small-scale projects and grants to set up local business enterprises in areas close to Israel while they strongly objected to any schemes which might have been proposed for northern Syria and Iraq even though these regions contained far greater resources and economic potentialities. At times, some of the refugees hesitated seeking employment or self-support loans, fearing that, if their jobs or business enterprises did not last, they might be unable to regain their ration cards when they needed them again. For many years, the refugees expressed their hostility towards the UN (which they held primarily responsible for their wretched plight) through attacks on UNRWA's property and personnel and through occasional failure to cooperate with UNRWA's activities. Such emotional reactions proved harmful to the interests of the refugees for they merely weakened the ability of UNRWA to help them.

Various unfavorable political developments in the Middle East during the middle 1950's added further complications to the already difficult refugee situation. For example, serious border clashes, raids, and counterraid and a mounting arms race in 1955 and 1956 brought about a dangerous deterioration in Arab-Israeli feelings and relations which in turn, made both sides less willing than ever to yield in any way on the refugee issue.<sup>30</sup>

Israel's adamant stand was also strengthened by certain internal and external developments during this period. In the July, 1955, Knesset elections, such activist groups as the Herut Party made substantial gains at the expense of the moderate parties. The election results reflected the growth of strong nationalist and anti-Arab feelings among the Israeli

THE ARAB-ISRAELI DILEMMA

(with more than one-tenth of the refugees) were poor in natural resources and already overpopulated. Only Syria (with another tenth of the refugees) was reasonably well endowed with land and water resources, but she had a rapidly growing population of which many had little or no land for their own needs. Moreover, the Arab world lacked natural resources, except for oil, and contained only about the same amount of arable land as may be found in the state of Iowa. Aside from the proposed Sinai and Yarmouk-Jordan River projects, UNRWA reported that there appeared "to be no practical possibilities for major rehabilitation projects in the areas in which the largest numbers of refugees" were living. Even if these two large-scale projects were carried out, they would ultimately take care of a "maximum of 200,000 refugees"—or not very many more than the anticipated increase in the refugee population during the period required to complete the projects. Since most of the refugees would have to cross national boundaries or demarcation lines before they could find sufficient land and jobs to enable them to become self-supporting, UNRWA urged the UN to initiate an economic development program for the Middle East as a whole. UNRWA warned, however, that the Arab governments would hesitate to hand over to the refugees, rather than to their own underprivileged citizens, the best parcels of land as they became available through costly and time-consuming development projects. Any early, extensive refugee resettlement would obviously require large numbers of these poverty-stricken native inhabitants to forego any significant improvement in their own economic well-being for many years because their own basic needs and those of the refugees could not be satisfied at the same time.<sup>28</sup>

Refugee reintegration was also being hindered by the fact that most of the refugees lacked any specialized skills or education. In 1948-49, about 20 per cent of all the adult refugees had some particular skills or professions useful in the host countries. These fortunate individuals had no difficulty in becoming self-supporting. The other 80 per cent, either farmers or untrained workers, were unable to find employment because they were living in areas already saturated with farmers and laborers. Over the years UNRWA was able to provide a vocational or university education for only a relatively small number of refugees, who were then able to find jobs in many parts of the Arab world because of its great need for specialists of all kinds. UNRWA warned that merely supplying economic aid to further the development of the Arab states would not be enough, for "the same technological process that brings higher total employment also brings a decrease in the relative need" for the unskilled worker. Thus, even if the refugees were allowed to cross international boundaries, unless they were first provided with some kind

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later, the situation in the Lake Tiberias area deteriorated again in 1966.<sup>66</sup>

JORDAN RIVER CONTROVERSY

By the early 1960's the rapidly growing Arab-Israeli competition for the limited water supplies in the Jordan River system had added yet another source of friction. Three major streams—the Hasbani, the Banyas, and the Dan—converge north of Lake Huleh to form the headwaters of the Jordan River. The Hasbani originates in Lebanon, the Banyas in Syria, and the Dan along the Syrian-Israeli border. Starting near Jisr Banat Yacoub, located below Lake Huleh in the Syrian-Israeli Demilitarized Zone, the Jordan River drops nearly 900 feet before it empties into Lake Tiberias. South of the lake the river descends through the Jordan Valley until it reaches the Dead Sea some 1,300 feet below sea level. The Yarmouk River, main tributary of the lower Jordan, flows westward along the Jordanian-Syrian frontier for a considerable distance before touching Israeli territory and joining the Jordan River four miles below Lake Tiberias. While all of the riparian states are in need of water, the Jordan River is especially vital to Jordan and Israel.

In the late 1930's and early 1940's, the Zionists, anxious to settle as many Jews as possible in Palestine, had water studies made by Walter C. Lowdermilk, James B. Hayes, and a private Zionist company. Lowdermilk and Hayes optimistically concluded that if the area's waters were properly utilized, Palestine could absorb up to four million more Jewish refugees. On the basis of these studies and conclusions, the Zionists advocated a unified, regional development program for the Jordan and Litani Rivers, even though the latter was wholly within Lebanese territory.

By the early part of 1950, Israel, using the Lowdermilk and Hayes proposals as a basis, devised an All-Israel Seven-Year Plan. This provided for the diversion of Jordan River water at Jisr Banat Yacoub to a proposed power plant at Tabagha. Most of this water was to be channeled westward to the Battauf Reservoir and then southward to the Negev. On September 3, 1953, Israel started digging a diversion canal at Jisr Banat Yacoub. When Israel sought to work on Arab-owned land in the area despite Arab opposition, shooting incidents occurred. The UNTSO Chief of Staff, backed by the UN and the United States, forced Israel to halt all work on Arab-owned properties. Since difficulties continued to arise with both Syria and the UN over canal digging operations within the demilitarized zone, in 1956 Israel decided to divert the water from Lake Tiberias, instead of from the river itself in the disputed demilitarized zone.

harm done to Israel's international position by past reprisals, believed that Israel would have more to gain by turning to the UN first. UNTSO's report on this incident did not try to assign any specific responsibility. However, it did report finding "tracks leading from the direction of the Jordan River to the ambush position . . . and the tracks returning in the direction of the Jordan River."<sup>66</sup>

Partly because they had hoped to weaken the influence of the advocates of force in Israel and because they had feared that if the Security Council did not give the Israelis some satisfaction in this case, Israel might still order a military reprisal against Syria and might refuse to resort to the UN again in the event of future incidents, the United States and Britain took the lead in condemning those responsible for the crime and in holding Syria at fault. On August 29, eight states voted for the Anglo-American resolution (S/5407) which implied that Syria was guilty, but the Soviet Union, once again supporting the Arabs, vetoed it. Despite the veto, Israeli officials, encouraged by the Western governments, decided to consider the large vote for the resolution as representing a "moral and political victory" for Israel, and this precluded the need for any retaliatory assault. Nevertheless, incidents continued to occur.<sup>66</sup>

Difficulties also persisted over Lake Tiberias. Israel insisted upon denying the use of the lake to the Syrian and demilitarized zone Arabs until they had obtained special permits from her. Israel also occasionally alleged that the Syrians had been harassing Israeli fishing and patrol boats. On March 8 and 15, 1962, heavy fire was exchanged between Israeli patrol boats and Syrian military positions near the northeastern shore of the lake. UN officials were unable to determine which side had started the shooting. Nevertheless, Israel, blaming Syria, launched a large-scale "retaliatory" assault against Syrian military posts and villages in the area on the night of March 16-17. In the fighting that ensued, both sides suffered casualties. While criticizing Syria for illegally maintaining and using such heavy military weapons in that particular sector, the UNTSO Chief of Staff accused Israel of continuing to send her patrol boats provocatively close to the shore even when it was not necessary to do so for security reasons. He claimed that Israel's action was unjustified and contrary to the armistice agreement. On April 9, the Security Council overwhelmingly passed Resolution S/5111 which strongly condemned Israel. Even Israel's best friends on the Security Council voted for the resolution and warned that her policy was doing more to aggravate than to alleviate the situation. In fact, the Chief of Staff reported that Israel's attack had left such an unfortunate "aftermath of tension" that it had actually fostered subsequent incidents. As will be discussed

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disputed area, and asked the two governments to cooperate with the MAC in every way. The Soviet Union continued to back the Arab point of view. The resolution received eight votes on December 21, but it was vetoed by the Soviet Union on the ground that it placed "victim and aggressor" on the same footing.<sup>71</sup>

Frequent incidents—usually involving shots fired by Syrians at Israeli tractors while working on land claimed by the Arabs to be theirs and occasional exchanges of fire across the demarcation lines—Continued to occur. In March and May, 1965, Israel took advantage of incidents along the northern segment of the frontier to direct artillery and tank fire against buildings, bulldozers, and other equipment used by Syria in constructing access roads which came within 100 yards of Israeli territory in some places and which led to the site of a proposed canal designed to divert water to the Yarmouk River in Jordan, thus bypassing Israeli territory. Israel's heavy guns caused such severe damage that Syria's diversion efforts were greatly impeded. On July 14, 1966, Israeli planes strafed tractors and earth-moving machinery used in constructing a water diversion canal eight miles inside of Syria.<sup>72</sup>

REVIVAL OF ARAB COMMANDO AND ISRAELI RETALIATORY RAIDS

From the end of the Sinai War until the beginning of 1965, the most serious clashes took place between Israel and Syria; Israel used armed reprisals only against Syria. In early 1965, however, the situation along the Israeli-Jordanian demarcation lines suddenly became critical as a result of the activities of a new, militant organization known as *al-Fatah*. Composed of a small number of Palestinians familiar with Israeli territory, this group was created in December, 1964, with Syrian help. One of its primary goals was to keep alive the emotional attachments of the younger refugees to Palestine as the national homeland. *Al-Fatah* began a series of raids aimed especially at dynamiting water pipelines, pumps, and wells in order to disrupt Israeli water projects. Although *al-Fatah* had its home base in Syria, it found it easier and safer to cross the longer Israeli border with Jordan than the shorter and more strongly defended Syrian-Israeli frontier. Most Arab governments did not support this new organization for they felt it was too extremist and was trying to drag the Arab world into an untimely war with Israel.<sup>73</sup>

After infiltrators had blown up a grain silo and a house on the night of February 27-28, Prime Minister Levi Eshkol, pressed hard by those who accused him of being too vacillating and soft in his Arab policy, cautioned Jordan that she would be held responsible for any further raids from her territory. Since the commando attacks persisted, Israel again decided to deal with her border problems by resorting to her mili-

successful completion of the Arab plans to divert the Jordan's headwaters. By the summer of 1964, the first stage of Israel's project had been completed, and water, although more saline than desired, began to flow to the Negev area.

At a second summit conference held in September, 1964, the Arab leaders agreed to press ahead on their diversion plans, which now clearly envisaged the damming of the Banyas and Hasbani Rivers in order to divert their flow through an eighty-mile canal to a proposed Makheiba Dam on the Yarmouk River in Jordan. These waters, when added to those already in the Yarmouk, were to help Jordan develop even more electric power and irrigated land. After some delay, Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan commenced work on their respective diversion schemes.

While the Arab and Israeli water undertakings did not bring about a major military confrontation, the increasingly bitter water dispute helped to intensify Arab-Israeli tensions and to encourage attacks by each side on the diversion projects of its opponent. Actually, the next serious border clash took place in November, 1964, near the point where the Israeli, Syrian, and Lebanese frontiers converge and in an area containing major springs that feed the Dan River in Israel. It started on November 3 with an exchange of fire between Syrian and Israeli forces when Israeli workers sought to reconstruct a "track" and to build a drainage ditch on territory claimed by Syria as well as Israel. In spite of UNTSO's attempts to prevent further Israeli activities until a survey could be completed to ascertain the exact location of the border in this sector, on November 13, Israel sent a military patrol into the disputed area. Syrian soldiers reacted to this move by firing upon the patrol. Soon the two sides were using heavy weapons against both military and strategic military targets. Finally, Israel ordered her air force to bomb and strafe Syrian roads, villages, and military positions in order, according to Israel, to show Syria that she would not be permitted to shell Israeli border settlements "with impunity."<sup>70</sup>

After investigating the situation, the UNTSO Chief of Staff reported that there was doubt as to whether the controversial track penetrated into Syria in some places. He therefore recommended that a survey be made by an impartial team of experts. He asked Syria to stop firing warning shots and to take her complaints to the MAC instead. He also urged Israel to suspend all activities in the disputed sector until a survey had been completed and to attend MAC meetings. The United States took the lead in criticizing the parties for resorting to force and in supporting the Chief of Staff's conclusions and suggestions. Britain joined the United States in submitting a draft resolution (S/6113) which "deplored" the renewal of military activities, requested a survey of the

STICKLOR John J. CRAP  
JJC/jic

"the use of force . . . between any states" in the area and to supply only those arms to Israel and the Arab countries which would be needed for "legitimate self-defense." This probably discouraged major military aggression for the time being but failed to bring an Arab-Israeli peace agreement.

At a Paris Conference in September, 1951, the Conciliation Commission presented its own peace plan. This not only differed considerably from the provisions of existing General Assembly resolutions dealing with the refugees, but it also provided for territorial adjustments, creation of a Jordan River water authority, making Haifa a free port, and arrangements for the economic development of the entire area. The Arabs insisted that any territorial agreement had to be based upon the provisions contained in the UN partition resolution. They once again contended that they would be willing to negotiate a peace settlement with Israel either through the Conciliation Commission or through mixed commissions consisting of representatives of both parties—but only on the basis of existing UN resolutions. They also objected to any shift from strict enforcement of the UN resolutions and charged that Israel's open immigration policies would have to be altered for they posed a threat to Arab security.<sup>9</sup>

Israel claimed that the exodus of Jews from Iraq and other Arab countries had resulted in an exchange of populations which freed Israel from accepting the return of Arab refugees and that "major considerations of security and of political and economic stability made the return of any refugees impossible." Agreeing in principle to the payment of compensation, she felt that her ability to pay was affected by the Arab threat to her security and the Arab boycott and blockade. Israel maintained that the May, 1948, Arab invasion made the original partition resolution "obsolete." Believing she had a better chance of pressing for direct negotiations if the commission did not exist, Israel asked the General Assembly to replace the commission with a UN Good Offices Committee to assist the parties to get together to resolve their own differences.<sup>10</sup>

The Paris Conference was doomed to failure from the beginning. During this period Arab-Israeli relations were exacerbated by disputes over Israeli use of the Suez Canal and drainage of the Lake Huleh area, British-Arab relations were becoming strained, and anti-Western feeling was on the rise. Consequently, many Arabs now objected to further cooperation with the Western-dominated commission. In fact, by forcing a public airing of Arab-Israeli differences, the Paris Conference actually helped to aggravate the situation.

On January 25, 1952, the General Assembly passed Resolution 512(VI), urging the commission to "continue its efforts to secure the implementation" of earlier resolutions "on Palestine." The commission, despite its new mandate, refrained from embarking on another attempt to deal with the over-all problem on the grounds that the attitudes of the parties had "not changed" and the disputants had not requested it to play an active role.<sup>11</sup>

During 1952 and into 1953 there were reports of Egyptian peace feelers through the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, of Ralph Bunche acting as an Egyptian-Israeli intermediary, and of Western diplomats in the Middle East being "more hopeful" regarding the prospects for an Israeli-Arab peace than they had "been at any time since" the Palestine War. Egyptian newspapers and government officials dared publicly to advocate negotiations with Israel. The Israeli and Lebanese chiefs of staff met on the frontier to deal with border problems. The formal head of Egypt's new military regime, General Muhammad Neguib, assuming power in July, 1952, was considered a moderate on the Palestine issue, and his young officers were expected to concentrate on internal reforms. But the disputants remained unready to make essential mutual concessions, and in 1953 Arab-Israeli tensions rose as the relative quiet along Arab-Israeli demarcation lines came to an end.<sup>12</sup>

The Arabs asked the General Assembly's Seventh Session to implement existing UN resolutions by pressuring Israel to abide by their provisions. To the dismay of the Arabs, however, eight states (Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Ecuador, the Netherlands, Norway, Panama, and Uruguay) submitted to the *Ad Hoc* Political Committee draft resolution A/AC.61/L.23, which urged the governments concerned to enter, at an early date, into "direct negotiations." Although to obtain wider support the sponsors later revised their proposal to include a request that the contending sides bear "in mind both the resolutions and the principal objectives of the UN on the Palestine question," including the religious interests of third parties, they also made clear that their main intention was to emphasize the use of direct negotiations by the disputants without any prior conditions—even those contained in UN resolutions.

The Arabs bitterly accused the eight sponsors of deliberately repudiating existing resolutions and asking the UN to "wash its hands of the Palestine dispute." They complained that the UN was "standing by" and enforcing its decisions on Korea, but not those on Palestine. The Arabs, never really content with the composition of the Conciliation Commission (France, Turkey, and the United States), charged it with being predominantly pro-Israel and insisted that more "truly" neutral countries

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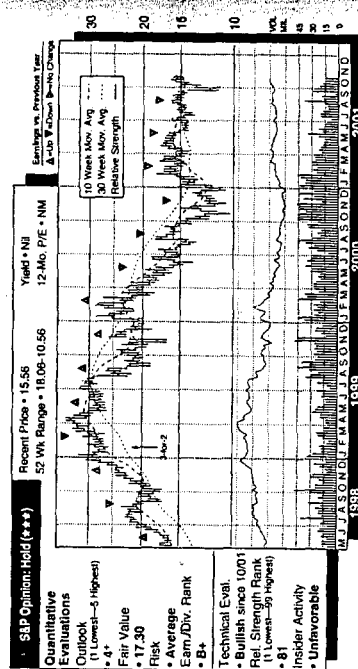
B-1 MR JOHN J CRAPO.  
 PRO SE  
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**STANDARD & POORS**  
STOCK REPORTS

**Staples, Inc.**

Nasdaq Symbol **SPLS**  
In **S&P 500**

**27-OCT-01** Industry: Retail (Specialty)  
Summary: This leading operator of office products superstores operates more than 1,300 units in the U.S. and internationally.



**Key Stock Statistics**

S&P EPS Est. 2002	0.63	Tang. Bk. Value/Share	7.38
P/E on S&P Est. 2002	24.7	Beta	1.08
S&P EPS Est. 2000	0.74	Shares/Share	6.41
Div. Yield (%)	1.8	Shares/Share	6.41
Div. Payout Ratio (%)	26.7	Shares/Share	6.41
Div. Yield (%)	1.8	Shares/Share	6.41
Div. Payout Ratio (%)	26.7	Shares/Share	6.41

**Fiscal Year Ending Jan. 31**

Revenue (Million \$)	2002	2001	2000	1999	1998
Operating Profit	2,667	2,556	2,072	1,517	1,155
Net Income	2,314	2,201	1,840	1,476	1,062
EPS	0.36	0.35	0.29	0.22	0.16
Dividend	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06	0.06
Div. Yield (%)	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.8

**Overview - 30-AUG-01**  
We expect total revenues to rise about 6% to 8% in the second half of the year. The addition of new stores in North America, the U.S. and comparable-store sales growth of about 2.0%. The company recently reduced the number of stores it expects to open in the U.S. by 10, to 100. A new format is being rolled out, and extensive new merchandising efforts are being implemented. The company's business, profitability should improve, reflecting the leveraging of a larger payroll and fixed store operating expenses over a larger sales base, improved product acquisition costs, and smaller increases in pre-opening expenses. We believe the company's operating margins and profitability for the first time as Staples.com achieved year-to-year. We project FY 02 EPS of \$0.65, up from FY 01's \$0.58 (excluding changes).

**Valuation - 30-AUG-01**  
We continue to recommend that investors hold SPLS shares. The stock has risen over 20% since December 2000, reflecting a more optimistic outlook for SPLS, as other office products retailers close stores. However, our research suggests that the company's operating environment has sales in the company's core small business customer. Same-store sales were slightly lower, and EPS declined 10% year to year. We believe the challenging environment is likely to continue for the remainder of FY 02. For the longer term, we believe the company's operating margins, as its business and home office markets, and by an easing of the competitive landscape as OfficeMax and Office Depot close underperforming stores. We believe EPS can grow 20% annually for the next several years. A \$700 buyback program should lend further support to the share price.

**Dividend Data**  
No cash dividends have been paid.

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**STANDARD & POORS**  
STOCK REPORTS

**Staples, Inc.**

27-OCT-01

**Business Summary - 30-AUG-01**  
Staples is a leading office supplies distributor. As of February 3, 2001, it operated 1,307 high-line offices and 1,439 low-line offices in the U.S. and also in the U.K. (71), Germany (54), the Netherlands (28) and Portugal (8). The company also has catalog, e-commerce, and contract stationer operations. In FY 01 (Jan.), total sales by each major product line were as follows: office supplies and services, 38.6%; business-to-business, 23.9%; and office furniture, 7.8%. The company targets four main end-user markets for its business: consumers and home offices; small businesses and organizations with up to 100 workers; medium-sized businesses and large businesses with 500 or more office workers. Stores operate under the names Staples-The Office Superstore and Staples Express. The prototype superstore has approximately 24,000 sq. ft. of sales area, carries more than 8,000 stock items, and is generally located in downtown business areas. Items are priced at discounts ranging from 30% to 70% below manufacturer suggested list prices.

SPLS delivery operations are comprised of the catalog and in-store operations.

**Per Share Data (\$)**

Year Ended Jan. 31	2001	2000	1999	1998	1997	1996	1995	1994	1993	1992
Tangible Bk. Val.	3.29	2.98	2.17	1.86	1.49	0.96	0.53	0.26	0.13	0.55
Cash Flow	0.63	1.01	1.03	0.52	0.45	0.32	0.22	0.17	0.13	0.09
Earnings	0.15	0.67	0.41	0.34	0.28	0.20	0.13	0.09	0.07	0.04
Dividends	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM
Payout Ratio	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM	NM
Cap. Exp.	20.00	19.99	19.98	19.97	19.96	19.95	19.94	19.93	19.92	19.91
Prices - High	28.75	35.93	30.79	13.38	10.05	8.82	4.188	2.58	2.62	2.69
Prices - Low	18.5	19.5	10.75	7.39	5.35	4.41	2.59	2.39	2.55	0.84
P/E Ratio - High	NM	54	75	39	36	20	20	22.3	22	33
P/E Ratio - Low	NM	25	26	22	20	20	20	22.3	22	33

**Income Statement Analysis (Million \$)**

Revenue	10,774	8,837	7,123	5,181	3,983	3,028	2,020	1,122	883	517
Operating Profit	1919	2,078	1,514	953	620	436	287	171	110	67
Net Income	231	1,74	93	83.4	56.0	43.6	28.7	19.9	15.5	9.1
EPS	0.36	0.35	0.29	0.22	0.16	0.12	0.08	0.05	0.04	0.03
Div. Payout Ratio	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1	17.1
Cap. Exp.	20.00	19.99	19.98	19.97	19.96	19.95	19.94	19.93	19.92	19.91

**Balance Sheet & Other Fin. Data (Million \$)**

Cash	264	110	358	355	106	111	71.0	112	111	52.4
Accounts Receivable	2,092	2,192	2,064	1,666	1,151	926	640	374	346	177
Inventory	3,089	3,814	3,719	2,655	1,788	1,403	1,005	581	484	286
Property, Plant, & Equipment	1,711	1,505	1,205	569	391	344	243	122	106	60.9
Goodwill	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441
Common Equity	1,764	1,829	1,657	967	762	611	385	282	247	145
Total Cap.	2,205	2,330	1,862	1,476	1,153	955	634	405	367	228
Cap. Exp.	450	355	322	183	200	116	68.7	52.1	27.5	29.5
Cap. Exp. %	20.0	15.2	17.6	12.4	14.8	11.9	10.9	11.9	7.5	11.7
Cap. Exp. % of Rev.	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.4	3.0	3.2
Cap. Exp. % of Cap.	20.0	15.2	17.6	12.4	14.8	11.9	10.9	11.9	7.5	11.7
Cap. Exp. % of EBITDA	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.4	3.0	3.2
Cap. Exp. % of EBITDA	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.4	3.0	3.2
Cap. Exp. % of EBITDA	1.8	1.5	1.6	1.8	1.9	2.2	1.8	2.4	3.0	3.2

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PRO SE PRO SE  
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54 Bolling, Richard W.

• Supreme Court term: confirmed by the Senate Mar. 27, 1882, by a voice vote; served until July 7, 1893

• Died: July 7, 1893, Newport, R.I.  
Samuel Blatchford entered Columbia College at the age of 13 and graduated four years later at the top of his class. He spent the next four years preparing to become a lawyer by studying with and working for his father's friend New York governor William H. Seward. Samuel Blatchford became a lawyer in 1842 and practiced law first with his father and then with Seward's law firm. Later he established his own law firm.

After serving 15 years as a federal judge in New York (1867-82), Blatchford was appointed to the Supreme Court by President Chester Alan Arthur. Justice Blatchford served on the Supreme Court for 11 years, performing ably but without distinction. During the Court's memorial service for him in 1893, Attorney General Richard Olney said, "If [Blatchford] was not brilliant, he was safe."

#### BOLLING, RICHARD W.

• Born: May 17, 1916, New York, N.Y.  
• Political party: Democrat  
• Representative from Missouri: 1949-83  
• Died: Apr. 21, 1991, Washington, D.C.  
Arguing that foreign and domestic problems had mushroomed after World War II, Representative Richard Bolling called for institutional reform to make the House of Representatives function "effectively and responsibly." Bolling wanted greater party discipline, stronger leadership from the Speaker, reduced powers of seniority, and general reform of the committee structure. As Speaker Sam Rayburn's "lieutenant and leg man" on the Rules Committee, Bolling led the opposition to the conservative faction under chairman Howard Smith, which was blocking debate on civil rights and other liberal legislation. In 1961, Bolling helped Rayburn win expansion of the membership of the Rules Committee to

break the conservatives' majority. Later when he became chairman of the Rules Committee himself, Bolling helped carry out many of the reforms he had proposed. SEE ALSO Rayburn, Sam; Rules Committee; Rules of the House and Senate; Smith, Howard W.

SOURCES Richard Bolling, *House Out of Order* (New York: Dutton, 1965); Richard Bolling, *Power in the House: A History of the Leadership of the House of Representatives* (New York: Capricorn Press, 1974).

#### BOLL WEEVILS

When Ronald Reagan won the Presidency in 1980, he carried with him the first Republican majority in the Senate in 26 years. Democrats retained their majority in the House, but the margin between the parties was narrowed. The balance of power in the House was held by a group of conservative Democratic representatives from the South and West. They organized themselves as the Conservative Democratic Forum but were more popularly known as the Boll Weevils, after the beetle that infests Southern cotton.

Led by Representative Phil Gramm (Democrat-Texas), the Boll Weevils voted with Republicans to enact Reagan's economic program, which involved cuts in federal spending and a plan to stimulate the economy by cutting taxes. Democrats responded by removing Gramm from his seat on the Budget Committee. Gramm resigned and won reelection as a Republican and soon after was elected to the Senate. Several other Boll Weevils also changed their party affiliation, but with less electoral success.

#### BONUS MARCHERS

Twelve thousand American veterans of World War I stood on the Capitol lawn on June 17, 1932, while the Senate debated the "Bonus Bill." Already passed by the House, the bill would have authorized immediate payment of a bonus that the veterans were

receive in 1945. The veterans, demanding their bonus right away, to help them and their families survive the economic hardships of the Great Depression. The marchers came from all over the United States, set up tents on vacant land in Washington, and then gathered at the Capitol to await the final vote. Some veterans feared mob violence, but when the Bonus Bill, which would have authorized immediate payment of the bonus, was defeated, the marchers vowed to continue their fight, "America," and returned to their homes. Yet the Bonus March ended tragically. U.S. Army troops under the command of General Douglas MacArthur fired on the marchers from the city and their camps. There were 100 casualties, and two children died in tear-gas attacks. Mill, the Bonus Marchers had organized the march, was arrested for his part in the need for federal action to end the depression.

SOURCES William Manchester, *The Glory and the Dream: A Narrative History of the Bonus March, 1932-1972* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1974).

#### BORAH, WILLIAM E.

• Born: June 29, 1865, Fairfield, Ill.  
• Political party: Republican  
• Died: Jan. 19, 1940, Washington, D.C.  
"My Borah's got the floor," sent news reporters rushing to the press galleries and senators to their seats, to hear the speech. William E. Borah was an influential maverick whose position was unpredictable but whose speeches were always well reasoned and magnificently delivered. Thoughtful and deliberate, he was never swayed by the prevailing mood but sought to influence and shape public opinion. Borah came to the Senate during the Progressive Era, and his leadership led to the direct election of senators, the graduated income tax, and other progressive reforms.

World War I, Borah's attention to foreign policy, and he spoke out

Bradley, Joseph P. 55

strongly against the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the war. During the 1920s, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, he promoted isolationist policies designed to keep the United States out of foreign wars. One observer found Borah "so thoroughly independent that there was hardly a person with whom he did not differ at one time or another." But even if they disagreed with him, liberals and conservatives alike found that Borah's independence helped give them sharper perspectives on the issues.

SEE ALSO Treaty of Versailles  
SOURCES LeRoy Ashby, *The Spearhead Leader, Senator Borah and the Progressive Movement in the 1920s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972).

#### BRADLEY, JOSEPH P.

Associate Justice, 1870-92

• Born: Mar. 14, 1813, Berne, N.Y.  
• Education: Rutgers University, B.A., 1836  
• Previous government service: none  
• Appointed by President Ulysses S. Grant Feb. 7, 1870; replaced James Wayne, who died in 1867 and whose seat was unoccupied by act of Congress until 1870  
• Supreme Court term: confirmed by the Senate Mar. 21, 1870, by a 46-9 vote; served until Jan. 22, 1892  
• Died: Jan. 22, 1892, Washington, D.C.  
Joseph P. Bradley was a poor farm boy who became a very successful and wealthy man. He studied hard in school and attracted the attention of a local minister, who recommended him to Rutgers University. After graduating from Rutgers in 1836, Bradley studied law in the office of Arthur Gifford and became a lawyer in 1839. He worked hard and built a rewarding career as a lawyer.  
In 1870, President Ulysses Grant appointed Joseph P. Bradley to the Supreme Court. During his 22 years of service on the Court, he was known for his careful

EXHIBIT NINETY-FIVE (95) OF  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
From JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE  
JJC/JJC May 04 2002

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 FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
 BY JOHN J. CRAPO, PRO SE JUDGE ✓

outgoing President to skip the inauguration ceremonies entirely.

Until the 1960s the expenses involved in the transition were borne by the winning candidate and his party. In 1960 Kennedy and the Democratic National Committee spent \$300,000. Congress later passed the Presidential Transition Act of 1963, which provided \$900,000 for the "orderly transfer of a President and the inauguration of a new President." Funds were increased to keep up with inflation. The Presidential Transition Effectiveness Act of 1988 provided that in 1992 the newly elected President would receive \$3.5 million and the departing President would receive \$1.5 million. Under the new law, the President-elect's transition organization would be required to limit private contributions to no more than \$5,000 from a single source and to report all such contributions. These limits and disclosure provisions were designed to prevent big-money contributors from buying influence and access in the new administration.

SEE ALSO *Succession to the Presidency*  
 SOURCES Carl M. Brauer, *Presidential Transitions: Eisenhower through Reagan* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). James P. Pfiffner, *The Strategic Presidency: Hitting the Ground Running* (Chicago: Dorsey, 1988). James P. Pfiffner and R. Gordon Hoist, *The Presidency in Transition* (New York: Center for the Study of the Presidency, 1989).

"TREASON OF THE SENATE"

SEE *Scandals, congressional*

TREATY OF VERSAILLES

The Treaty of Versailles was the agreement negotiated by the victorious Allied nations with the defeated Central Powers to end World War I. Twice, in 1919 and 1920, the Senate rejected the treaty. These Senate votes were a major defeat for President

and transitions occur at the end of a President's term and last from shortly after the inauguration to shortly after the inauguration. Unplanned transitions occur almost simultaneously when a President dies or resigns. They take several weeks to complete.

The planned transition involves briefing the policies of the outgoing administration (especially national security matters), preparation of the inaugural message and the first message to Congress, and the preparation of legislation; preparation of the budget of the outgoing President; recruitment of personnel to fill the political appointments that constitute the administration; and Presidential administration and agency in each department and agency in order to exert maximum White House influence on its operations.

An unplanned transition the Vice President takes the Presidential oath of office. He then speaks to the nation about events that led to his succession, usually addressing a joint session of Congress.

Recently have Presidents cooperated with their successors in planning transitions. In 1944 Franklin D. Roosevelt began the custom of briefing party opponents on national security matters, and in 1952 Truman did the same. Dwight Eisenhower established a custom of providing a personal briefing to his successor (John F. Kennedy). The two men created the precedent of appointing aides to serve as liaisons between the incoming and outgoing administrations.

Outgoing Presidents usually want their successors to endorse their last projects. Hoover, in the midst of the Great Depression, attempted to get President Franklin Roosevelt to support his program for economic recovery. Incoming Presidents generally do not give these commitments because they wish to preserve their freedom of action. Consequently, there is often some friction between outgoing and incoming Presidents. It is rare but not unknown for the

fortune to repay bills the military incurred on his signature. At the end of the war Tompkins applied to the Treasury for repayment but his accounts were closed, leaving him with severe financial problems.

Tompkins was sponsored by many politicians as a potential Presidential candidate in 1816, but he attracted little support among the Republicans in the (the congressional caucus) who determined the party's choice. James Todd won the Republican nomination, but accepted Tompkins as his running mate.

While Vice President, Tompkins to clear up his tangled financial affairs, poor health and drinking heavily. Most of his term in New York City was defeated for the New York governorship in 1820 but ran for reelection with Van Buren and served a second term as Vice President. In 1824, near the end of his term, Congress finally authorized Treasury to reimburse him for his expenses.

SEE ALSO *Monroe, James*

TORT

A tort is a civil wrong, other than a contract violation, done by one person or other party. By contrast, a tort is a violation of a government's laws, not the statutes that pertain to wrongs in society, which the government has authority to punish through its law enforcement powers.

Torts involve violations of state or criminal law. They usually are the responsibility of state courts, but the Supreme Court sometimes becomes involved when the tort law of a state conflicts with the Constitution or federal laws.

TRANSITION PRESIDENTIAL

Many activities occur prior to and immediately after a new President's

640 Tompkins, Daniel

• Died: Feb. 7, 1826, Frankfort, Ky.  
 Thomas Todd was a veteran of the American War of Independence. At the age of 16, he served in the Continental Army. Before the war was over, Todd went to college and prepared to become a lawyer. In 1783, Todd moved to the western frontier in Kentucky, where he practiced law and served as a clerk in the government.

During his nearly 19 years on the Supreme Court, Justice Todd wrote only 14 opinions. He mostly followed the leadership of Chief Justice John Marshall, even though he was appointed by President Thomas Jefferson, a political foe of Marshall.

TOMPKINS, DANIEL  
 Vice President

- Born: June 21, 1774, Fox Meadows, N.Y.
- Political party: Democratic-Republican
- Education: Columbia College, B.A., 1795
- Military service: New York State Militia, 1812-14
- Previous government service: New York State Constitutional Convention, 1801; New York State Assembly, 1803-04; U.S. House of Representatives, 1805; associate justice, New York Court of Appeals, 1805-7; governor of New York, 1807-17
- Vice President under James Monroe, 1817-25
- Died: June 11, 1825, Tompkinsville, N.Y.

Daniel Tompkins was considered for several appointments, including secretary of state, during James Madison's Presidency, but his career was confined to New York State until 1817. During the War of 1812, as governor of New York and commander in chief of the New York State militia and the Third Military District of the United States, Tompkins found it necessary to borrow money to supply his troops. He borrowed much of the money on his own credit. Creditors later seized his personal

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gave the Senate the power to make treaties, and it was not until 10 days before the convention adjourned that the President was given the major role in negotiating treaties. The Constitution's requirement of consent by the Senate reflected concerns that treaties reached by the national government might injure the interests of some of the states. In 1786 the Congress under the Articles of Confederation had approved the Jay-Gardoqui Treaty, which conceded American navigation rights on the Mississippi River to Spain. Westerners had seen this treaty as sacrificing their interests in favor of those of New England merchants.

Does the Senate's advice come only when the President submits a treaty draft to the Senate? Or can the Senate advise the President while he is negotiating the treaty? The language of the Constitution does not divide treaty making into separate stages for negotiation and Senate consent. Rather, the President "makes" the treaty with the advice and consent of the Senate, which seems to imply a role for the Senate in the negotiations.

George Washington set the early precedents. While negotiating an Indian treaty, he suggested that "the business may possibly be referred to their [the Senate's] deliberations in their legislative chamber." Washington met with the Senate on August 22, 1789, to obtain its advice. The senators decided they would not commit themselves to any treaty draft that Washington presented to them that day. Washington had to return two days later in order to obtain their consent, but the experience of consultation soured him. He never again consulted in advance with the Senate in person. When he negotiated the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, he consulted with Senate leaders in writing and submitted the full treaty to the Senate only after it was completed.

Since Washington's time, practices have varied. Until 1815 it was the custom for Presidents to send a special message to Congress before starting negotiations and again when treaty drafts had been con-

cluded to forge an alliance with those facing reservations. But Wilson refused to make any compromises. Instead, he took cases directly to the people, confident that public opinion would force the Senate to accept the treaty and the League of Nations. In September 1919 Wilson embarked on a nationwide speaking tour to win support. His tour was exhausting and collapsed on September 25 in Pueblo, Colorado. He returned to Washington and suffered a stroke on October 2.

On November 19 Democrats in the Senate voted down the treaty with the major reservations; then Lodge's Republican coalition voted down Wilson's version of the treaty. Although more than two-thirds of the Senate favored some sort of ratification, they were caught between Wilson and Lodge, and no treaty could pass. For the first time, the Senate rejected a peace treaty negotiated by the President. The United States never became a member of the League of Nations. Instead, Congress passed a joint resolution in 1921 officially recognizing an end to hostilities with Germany and other Central Powers.

ALSO Advice and consent: Treaty powers. Wilson, Woodrow. Ambrosius, Woodrow. Lloyd E. American Diplomatic Tradition. The Treaty Fight in Perspective. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. Thomas A. Bailey, Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963). Woodrow Wilson, The Hope of the World (New York: Doubleday, 1920).

TREATY POWERS

Constitution provides that the President shall have the Power, by and with Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur. The framers expected the Senate to play a major role in treaty-making process. In fact, most treaties at the Constitutional Convention

and Iraq, and the French received Syria and Lebanon. Japan acquired Germany's Pacific Islands.

The only victory for Wilson during the negotiations was the inclusion of a League of Nations as part of the treaty. The League would be an assembly of all sovereign nations, pledged to preserve the independence and territorial integrity of each member.

Wilson returned home in June to find for U.S. participation in the League of Nations. Opposition came from German-Americans and Italian-Americans, and from isolationists in the South and West. Wilson had not consulted with the Senate during the negotiations and had been overruled by the influential chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Republican Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts. Lodge led the fight against the League and believed the United States should retain complete freedom of action in international affairs. Although Lodge was no isolationist, he wanted to unite the isolationist wing of his party known as the Irreconcilables, with his followers around a series of "fourteen reservations" to the treaty (an echo of Wilson's Fourteen Points). One provision was U.S. withdrawal from the League by a current resolution of Congress, not subject to Presidential veto. Another provided that the President could not send troops in a League peacekeeping operation—an attack on the President's power as commander in chief. Still another would have prevented the President from making interim appointments to fill national organization when the League was in recess.

The most important reservation amended the treaty by stating that the United States would retain complete freedom of action in foreign affairs. The only Congress had the right to force U.S. forces to military action in a League or the President.

To get the two-thirds vote for ratification, supporters of

Woodrow Wilson, who had gone to Paris to personally negotiate the treaty with the Allied leaders and the defeated Germany and Austria and who led the fight for its ratification.

The treaty was negotiated at a peace conference held between January and June 1919 at the Palace of Versailles outside Paris, France. It was attended by 32 nations but dominated by Prime Minister David Lloyd George of Great Britain, Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau of France, Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando of Italy, and President Woodrow Wilson of the United States. Wilson shattered precedent by attending the conference in person rather than naming the secretary of state or a special envoy as chief of the delegation. He was the first U.S. President to go to Europe during his term. Wilson's delegation did not include any leaders of Congress. Instead, Wilson took hundreds of experts to advise him about the peoples and politics of Europe.

Wilson's Fourteen Points program renounced territorial gains for the United States and denounced secret understandings. He called for "open covenants openly arrived at." The other Allies, however, had already come to agreement about the spoils of war, especially German colonies in Africa and the division of the Ottoman Empire in the Middle East.

Signed by the defeated German government in June 1919, the Treaty of Versailles was a vindictive settlement. Germany was forced to accept sole responsibility for the war, pay \$56 billion in reparations to the victors, and disarm. The French were allowed to occupy German territory for 15 years and to regain the province of Alsace-Lorraine, which Germany had conquered in 1871. Poland was given a corridor to the sea through the German province of Prussia, which cut Germany in two. Altogether, Germany was stripped of 10 percent of its people, one-eighth of its territory, and all its overseas possessions. From the Ottoman Empire the British received mandates, or territories, in Palestine, Trans-Jordan,

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cluded. Since then, some Presidents have consulted informally with congressional leaders before negotiations, as President Chester Arthur did in 1884 on a treaty with the independent islands of Hawaii. Many have given extensive briefings to senators while negotiations were in progress, as Secretary of State Dean Acheson did with key senators about the North Atlantic Treaty Organization treaty of 1949. One senator, Walter George, actually wrote part of the treaty for the administration.

The composition of the negotiating team may help the President secure Senate consent. President Harry Truman used a Republican, John Foster Dulles, as his chief negotiator for the treaty with Japan at the end of World War II to give it bipartisan support. For arms control negotiations, some Presidents have given senators an informal "veto" over members of their negotiating teams or allowed senators to send staff members to negotiating sessions as observers. Since 1962 members of Congress have been advisers on trade agreement negotiations, and President Jimmy Carter named 26 senators as "official advisers" to his arms negotiating team at Geneva in 1977 and 1978.

Sometimes, Presidents have even put members of Congress in their negotiating delegations, as William McKinley did when he included three senators in his Treaty of Paris delegation in 1900.

President Woodrow Wilson did not favor this kind of collaboration: he argued that Presidents should negotiate treaties by themselves and then submit them to the Senate. When he negotiated the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, he did not include a single member of the Senate in his delegation nor did he provide Congress with any information about negotiations. The Senate defeated the treaty. Jimmy Carter almost committed the same error, failing to include senators on his negotiating team or provide them with briefings when he negotiated the Panama Canal Treaty in 1977. To save the treaty in 1979, Carter agreed to amendments negotiated by several senators with the Panamanian government.

The two-thirds provision by which the Senate gives its formal consent has been interpreted since 1953 to mean two-thirds of a quorum (the minimum number of members necessary to transact business). The Senate may amend the treaty before giving its consent, in which case the language must be accepted by the entire nation. The Senate has also altered treaties by means of reservations, which indicate substantial change in the interpretation of treaty provisions (the new document is sent to the other nation but does not require its consent) and understandings, which clarify relatively minor aspects of the treaty's implementation.

Sometimes the Senate has amended treaties so severely that it caused the other nation to reject the agreement. In 1913, when the United States signed a treaty with Great Britain to suppress the international slave trade, pro-slavery senators amended the treaty that the British rejected the agreement. At other times, nations have accepted Senate amendments as the price necessary for Senate approval. The Supreme Court upheld the Senate's right to amend a treaty, in the case of *Hoover v. Taker*, when the Court declared that "a treaty is something more than a contract, for the Federal Constitution declares it to be the law of the land before it becomes a law, the Senate must agree to it. But the Senate and the President may modify or amend it."

After the Senate consents to a treaty, the President may ratify it by signing the other nation that it is in effect. He may withhold ratification if he decides to implement it. He may withhold ratification because circumstances changed, because he objects to the treaty, or because he foresees problems with the other nation's adherence to it. Between 1789 and 1989 the Senate approved some 1,500 treaties, or about 90 percent of the total it received. Only 20 treaties by formal vote, and one treaty to annex Texas in 1844 and one son's Treaty of Versailles in 1919.

of supposedly impartial citizens selected to determine the facts and sit in judgment of a defendant in a trial. The jury, at the end of the trial, reaches a verdict of guilty or innocent, which determines whether the defendant is freed or punished.

The right of an individual to a trial by jury is provided in three parts of the U.S. Constitution. Article 3, Section 2, says, "The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury." Amendment 6 says, "In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial." Amendment 7 says, "In Suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right to trial by jury shall be preserved."

The Supreme Court ruled in *Baldwin v. New York* (1970) that the right to a trial by jury is provided to any adult accused of a crime if the potential punishment is incarceration for more than six months. And, according to the 7th Amendment, a trial by jury is available to those involved in a common lawsuit (federal civil, or noncriminal, case) if the controversy involves more than \$20.

In a trial by jury of a criminal case, the jury has the power to decide whether the accused person is guilty or innocent. The jury also may make decisions, within legally prescribed limits, about degrees of criminal behavior (for example, whether a person is guilty of murder or merely manslaughter) and the severity of punishment for a guilty person.

The traditional size of a jury, 12 people, is based on English legal traditions that were brought to America during the colonial era. However, some states have experimented with smaller juries, especially in trials of less serious crimes. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Williams v. Florida* (1970) that a six-person jury is not necessarily a violation of the constitutional guarantee of due process of law. Further, Section 48 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure permits the parties in a dispute to agree to a jury of less than 12 members. Another tradition has been the requirement

unratified treaties were either withdrawn by the President or never acted on by the committees. Although most treaties since World War II have been signed, the Senate has sometimes asked or amended important Presidential initiatives. These include the heavily amended Panama Canal Treaties of 1979 and the Strategic Arms Limitation Agreements with the Soviet Union that Jimmy Carter withdrew from the Senate after the invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. Proposals have been made to lower the approval requirement to three-fifths or an absolute majority of senators present. An idea is to prevent any amendments or reservations by senators. Such changes would require a constitutional amendment, and the Senate is unlikely to agree to limitations on its treaty powers.

Treaty obligations can be terminated in a variety of ways. Congress may pass a law, consistent with the terms of the treaty, that the courts will enforce the law at the expense of the treaty. Congress can pass a resolution that directs the President to abrogate, or nullify, a treaty. Or the President can request a Senate resolution, pending to abrogation of a treaty. Finally, the President can abrogate a treaty unilaterally, without obtaining the consent of the Senate, as Jimmy Carter did in 1978 with the Mutual Defense Treaty of 1954 with the Republic of China (Taiwan).

Also Advice and consent; Executive Branch; Louis Fisher, *Constitutional Law: Congress and the President* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); Robert C. Byrd, "Treaties," in *Encyclopedia of the United States Senate*, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1991).

TRIAL BY JURY

Involves public examination of a legal case in a court of law. A jury is a group

EXHIBIT NINETY-EIGHT (98)  
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BY Mr John J. CRAPO, PRC Se

JJCl/jc May 04th  
Year 2002

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OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
BY STCKHLDR John J CRAPO  
JJC/jjc May 04 2002



Jawaharlal Nehru and Mohandas Gandhi on the eve of Indian independence in 1946. UPI.

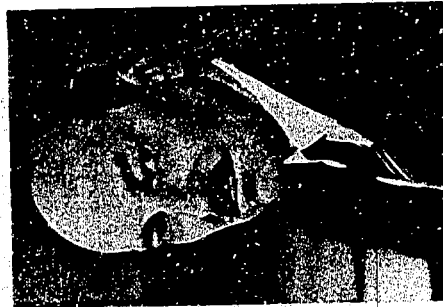
rearmament expenditures prompted by the Korean War. Faced with a serious rift within his party which made it difficult to control Parliament with so slim a majority, Attlee decided in September 1951 to call for a new general election.

The campaign reshaped the issues of the year before. The government saw the choice as one between "Forward with Labour" rather than "Backward with the Tories." Churchill, accused by Labour's left wing of being a warmonger, was still seeking redress for the defeat of 1945 and spoke more moderately and more effectively than he had in 1945 or 1950. The Conservatives, he indicated, would accept the social services and almost all nationalization proposals already enacted except steel. The true choice, Churchill contended, was that Conservatives offered a ladder (in which everyone could rise), while Labour offered merely a queue (in which everyone took his turn). The results of the election were again very close: Conservatives, 321; Labour, 295. Liberals, 6. Labour still had a slim popular-vote plurality, and only one voter in eighty had switched from Labour to the Conservatives since the previous general election; but this was sufficient to make Winston Churchill prime minister again at the age of seventy-six.

The Labour government had accomplished much in six years: it had

THE POSTWAR WORLD  
Clement Attlee (1883-1967) was leader of the Labour Party, 1935-1955, and prime minister, 1945-1951. UPI.

Ernest Bevin (1884-1951) served as chairman of the general council of the TUC, minister of labor in World War II, and foreign minister in Attlee's Labour Government. Radio Times, Hulton Picture Library.



entire Western Front by attacking what seemed to be the weakest link among the Central Powers—Turkey. For decades the preservation of the Ottoman Empire had been a major object of British foreign policy. By the turn of the twentieth century, this aim no longer loomed so large, and the Anglo-Russian Entente of 1907 necessarily made the defense of the Dardanelles against Russia a less pressing concern. This same entente had convinced the dominant forces in the Turkish government by 1914 that their salvation now lay with Germany. The Allied naval and land attack upon the Dardanelles thus had the paradoxical purpose of opening that waterway to Russia. The Russians were eager for closer military cooperation and easier communications with the Western powers and strongly favored the plan. Its chief defender in London was Winston Churchill, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who had become aware sooner than most of his colleagues of the stalemate that lay ahead in France.

The operation was badly mismanaged. The British and French fleets, seeking to force their way through the Straits, withdrew because of losses at the very point that the Turkish defenders were ready to give in. The Allies then decided to stage a land invasion instead; but by the time British, Australian, and New Zealand troops landed in April 1915, the Gallipoli peninsula had been well fortified and the Allied forces found it impossible to storm the almost impregnable hilltop positions overlooking their small beachhead. Heavy fighting in Poland prevented the Russian armies from lending support; and after clinging to their beachhead for several months, the Allies were forced, in December 1915, to evacuate Gallipoli. Fifty-five thousand men were lost in a campaign which from the start had been strongly opposed by the French government and by the more conservative military leaders in Britain. Winston Churchill became the scapegoat for the debacle and lost his position as First Lord of the Admiralty.

#### The Home Front (1914-1915)

Within Britain itself, once war had begun, all the animosities that had troubled the immediate prewar domestic scene were subordinated to what Winston Churchill was to call "a higher principle of hatred." Trade unions called off pending strikes. Political parties agreed upon an electoral truce. John Redmond, the Irish Nationalist leader, and Sir Edward Carson, the Ulster leader who had dabbled with rebellion in the interest of preserving the Anglo-Irish union, both turned their energies to recruiting army volunteers. Suffragette leaders newly released from jail devoted themselves to winding bandages, organizing war relief, and asking young men why they were not at the front. All over the country recruiting posters depicting the stern and imposing features of Lord Kitchener, Minister for War, bore the same message: "Your Country Needs You." "Oh, we don't want to lose you but we think you ought to go," went the words of one music-hall ballad. For the time being, Britain insisted upon preserving its volunteer-army

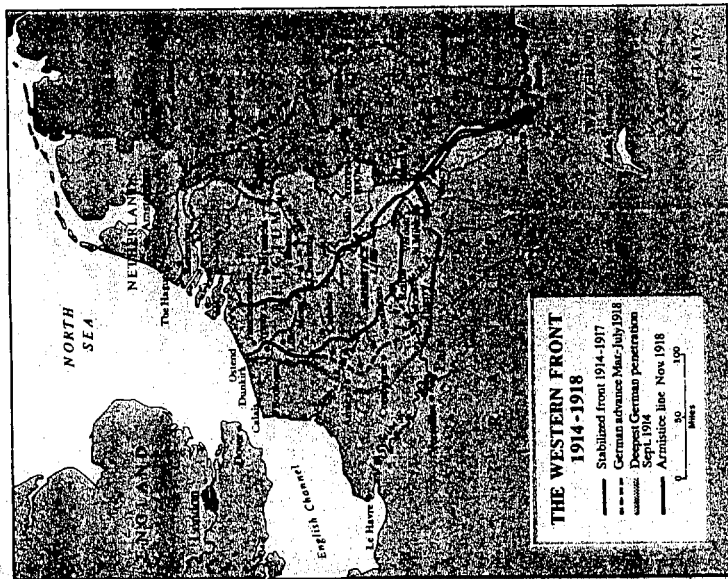
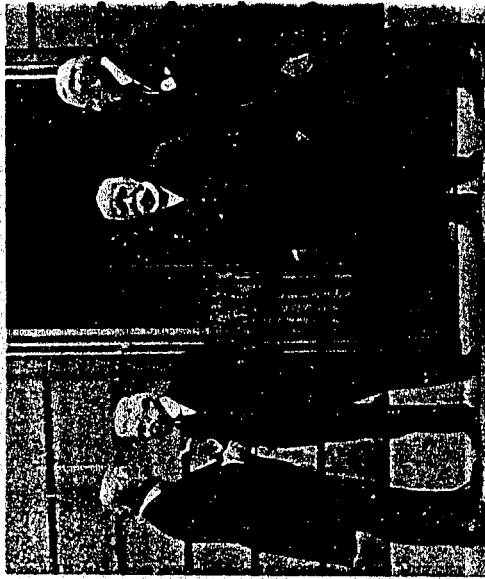


EXHIBIT ONE (01) Hundred (00) OF 115 EXHIBITS  
 BY IDA STEPHLOR J.J. CRAPO  
 JJC / JJC May 04 2002 7:28 AM

don might still have claimed in 1914 the technical right to involve all the dominions in war, but it could hardly not have compelled their military aid. Yet tiny New Zealand sent 112,000 troops to fight overseas, almost as large a percentage of its total population as was recruited for the armed forces in the British Isles themselves; and even larger contingents (representing a somewhat smaller percentage of the total population) were sent by Australia, Canada, and South Africa. Almost the entire professional Indian army (80,000 Europeans and 230,000 Indians) was immediately sent to Europe or the Middle East, and over a million Indians fought overseas before the war was over. The motives ranged from traditional loyalty by emigrant sons and outrage at German militarism to a desire (in India at least) to be rewarded with a greater degree of self-government.

War weariness at times sapped the spirit of imperial unity overseas just as it encouraged political discord at home. Some South African Boers wished to take advantage of the conflict to regain their republican status; but



THE BIG FOUR AT PARIS, 1919  
British Prime Minister David Lloyd George is seen here with Italian Prime Minister Orlando, French Premier Georges Clemenceau, and U.S. President Woodrow Wilson. U.S. National Archives.

other Boer leaders, like Botha and Smuts, working in cooperation with South Africans of English origin, kept South Africa in the war. New Zealand and Canada adopted military conscription, in emulation of the mother country, though in the latter country the issue opened the latent Anglo-French rivalry. French Canadians took comfort in the fact that the British Empire and France were, for once, allies, but they still opposed conscription if only because the French Third Republic was anti-clerical rather than loyal Catholic. Australia, whose labor party was much influenced by emigrant Irishmen, narrowly voted down conscription in two national referendums. In all other ways Australia cooperated loyally with the imperial war effort, and all the dominions as well as India found cause to take pride in the military exploits of their fighting men.

In India, the war impelled the British government to spell out its future intentions. Edwin Montagu, Secretary of State for India, did so in 1917 when he called for "the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The same spirit characterized the Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918, which in turn led to the Government of India Act of 1919. "Transferred" powers were henceforth to be exercised by ministries responsible to the elected provincial legislatures, and only "reserved" powers remained directly in the hand of British officials. Nationalist leaders were disappointed by the limited nature of the reforms and launched a civil-disobedience campaign against new antisection acts that accompanied them. In Amritsar, General Reginald Dyer ordered his native troops to fire upon an unauthorized assembly. The resulting "Amritsar Massacre" killed 379 people and wounded 1,200 others. Some Englishmen applauded the action as having averted a second Indian mutiny, but Asquith termed it "one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history." Dyer was ultimately dismissed from the service, and members of the Indian National Congress found new fuel to enflame the sometimes fitful nationalistic zeal of their countrymen.

For a time in 1917 and 1918 an Imperial War Conference of Dominion Prime Ministers and representatives from India convened regularly in London. They generally met with Lloyd George's five-man war cabinet as an enlarged Imperial War Cabinet. Such wartime planning promised to revive Joseph Chamberlain's hope of a federal supergovernment for the British Empire, but the entry of the United States into the war and increasing interest in the prospective League of Nations tended to sidetrack such speculation.

The dominions and India demanded, and eventually received, the right to separate membership at the Paris Peace Conference; and Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and India were granted separate representation in the League of Nations. Many Americans saw this decision as an example of British duplicity in that it increased British representation;

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the first time a general staff was set up along Prussian lines and a Military Intelligence Branch was associated with it. An expeditionary force of six infantry divisions (with associated artillery and cavalry contingents capable of rapid mobilization) was set up, and the older militia was replaced by a fourteen-division Territorial Army to take over home defense in wartime. Officers' Training Corps programs were established in most "public schools," designed to produce tens of thousands of commissioned officers for modern war. In 1911 the Royal Flying Corps was founded to assist the army in reconnaissance work, and that same year a little-noted measure, the Official Secrets Act, reversed traditional judicial procedures by making it necessary for anyone accused of attempting to transmit secret military information to a foreign state to prove his innocence. Mass conscription had not been adopted, but Britain was adapting its military forces with reasonable efficiency for the possible demands of twentieth-century warfare.

Every so often an international crisis would upstage domestic concerns in the newspaper headlines. The Bosnian crisis of 1908 was one example; on that occasion Austria weakened Russian prestige in the Balkans by proclaiming the full annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Turkish territory it had been "occupying" since 1878. Another crisis captured the headlines in 1911 when the German gunboat the *Panther*, appeared off the coast of Morocco at Agadir in the effort to reassert and dramatize German influence in North Africa. Lloyd George gave public expression to the concern of his countrymen: "Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and prestige among the Great Powers, and if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by sacrifices of the great and beneficent position that Britain had won by centuries of heroism and achievement—then I say emphatically that peace at such a price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure." These ringing phrases sounded more like Palmerston at his most bellicose than like a former "pro-Boer" Liberal who belonged to the pacifist wing of his party. But times had changed and so had Lloyd George. Each international crisis seemed to elicit greater tension and excitement.

Sometimes World War I is seen as the inevitable result of two increasingly rigid alliance systems meeting in inevitable head-on collision. Yet neither the Triple Alliance nor the Triple Entente was ever as rigid or stable as it seemed at the height of a temporary and often deliberately manufactured crisis. No state could ever be totally assured of the support of its supposed allies. No nation ever wished to break all ties with states in the other camp. Nor, in one very real sense, could they; for the monarchs of pre-1914 were almost all related. There was good reason to call Queen Victoria the "Grandmother of Europe." (See Appendix, p. 396.)

Emperor William II of Germany, who in his earlier days had written delightful "Dear Grandmama" letters to Victoria, continued during the early years of the twentieth century to write similarly personal letters to his cousin, Nicholas II of Russia. He would write in English, addressing the

near as "Dearest Nicky" and signing the letters "Your affectionate friend Willy." Envy of his Uncle Edward VII, who regarded William as the enfant terrible of Europe, did not prevent him from wearing his scarlet British field marshal's uniform and proudly taking his place of honor in the imposing monarchical funeral cortege that followed his uncle's coffin through the streets of London in May 1910. Torn like so many of his countrymen between feelings of envy and admiration for Britain, William for once was satisfied that his assigned role at the funeral befit his station, and he wrote to Berlin from Windsor Castle: "I am proud to call this place my home and to be a member of this royal family."

Stronger even than links of monarchy were ties of trade and finance. International commerce was increasing everywhere; and although German competition caused grave alarm for some English businessmen, it never caused as much general concern as German naval competition. When in the summer of 1914 Britain agreed not to hamper the building of a projected Berlin-to-Bagdad railway, it acknowledged the fact that Germany had peacefully supplanted Britain as the most influential foreign economic influence in Turkey. Furthermore Britain was Germany's best customer, while Russia was Germany's single most important supplier of food and raw materials. During the years 1912-1914, as Germany apparently came to accept the impossibility of surpassing British naval power, Anglo-German diplomatic relations improved. Both countries cooperated in limiting the scope of the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and by June 1914 one leading German diplomat spoke of the "pleasant cordiality of Anglo-German relations." World War I was far less the inevitable outcome of economic rivalries or of inflexible alliances than the result of mediocre statesmanship and the subordination of true national interest to ephemeral notions of national prestige.

### The Lights Go Out

The assassination of the Austrian crown prince in Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, alerted the chancelleries of Europe to the probability of another international crisis; but the absence of an immediate diplomatic reaction by Austria gave the political atmosphere a deceptive calm. Two weeks after the assassination, Lloyd George could assure an audience that the international sky had never looked bluer. Behind the scenes, however, the Austrians were planning to make use of the assassination to crush their pesky southern neighbor, Serbia, once and for all; the assassin had been a young Bosnian who hoped to make Austria-controlled Bosnia part of a greater Serbia. Having obtained the promise of full support from their German ally, the Austrians on July 23 issued a forty-eight-hour ultimatum to Serbia demanding the suppression in Serbia of all anti-Austrian publications, the punishment of all teachers who spoke out against Habsburg domination, and the acceptance of Austrian officials to enforce Serbia compliance to these

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Dominion of Canada in 1867, looked forward to creating under British auspices a similar union of South Africa, made up of the two English colonies (Cape Colony and Natal) and the two inland republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) inhabited by Boers, the descendants of the original Dutch settlers of South Africa. It was Lord Carnarvon's hope that a greater degree of British control would ease the perpetually strained relations between the Boers and the neighboring Zulus. The Boers, although they had agreed in theory to outlaw slavery, continued to practice it, and they both feared and hated the Zulus. It was the Zulu threat that caused the Boers to acquiesce for the moment in the British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877. An ultimatum to the Zulus, sent by the British high commissioner in South Africa in defiance of instructions from London, committed British troops to a full-fledged Zulu war. The war proved the mettle of the 40,000 skilled spearthrowers who constituted the Zulu army. It also led to the massacre of the inhabitants of a British fort and a prolonged military campaign. By the summer of 1879, the Zulu army had been destroyed, but the war had proved costly both in men and in money and was extremely unpopular in England.

Equally disagreeable things were happening to the English in India. The British viceroy had long been fearful of the Russian advance into central Asia, which seemed to pose an eventual threat to India. In the 1850s, the focus of this threat was Afghanistan, whose amir preferred a policy of neutrality in lieu of becoming the satellite of either Russia or Britain. In order to forestall the Russians, however, the British insisted on the acceptance of a British military mission. When he refused, the British army invaded the country and dictated a treaty ceding military control over the Afghan passes to Britain and accepting British control over Afghan foreign policy. Just as the British were celebrating their military success, a group of Afghan army mutineers massacred the new British minister in Kabul and his entire entourage. The war then began all over again, and the British press began to question the price of imperial glory.

Britain's international discomforts gave Gladstone the opportunity for a political return. He was far too emotionally involved not to speak out against Disraeli and his policies and far too energetic to stay in political retirement. As a young man he had thought nothing of walking thirty miles a day. Even at the age of seventy, which he attained in 1879, his favorite exercises were still walking and felling trees upon his estate at Hawarden near Liverpool. When Gladstone was invited to be the Liberal candidate for the Scottish county of Midlothian, he was provided with a welcome opportunity to attack six years of "Beaconsfieldism." The "Midlothian campaign" of the autumn of 1879 and the winter of 1880, a long series of formal public addresses punctuated by a score of brief "whistle-stop" speeches, marked the final conversion of the Tory of the 1850s into the popular democrat of the 1880s, the GOM (Grand Old Man) of the late Victorian scene.

Gladstone lacked the tact to get along with the queen or even with

colleagues as easily as Disraeli did. He could, however, impress his subordinates with his intellect, his energy, and his impassioned parliamentary sallies, and unlike his Tory rival, he could electrify a crowd. Caning had been a time been a popular hero, and so had Palmerston; but never in the nineteenth century did an English statesman manage to embody the aspirations and gain the respect and admiration of millions of his countrymen as did Gladstone at the time of the Midlothian campaign.

His opponents, who regarded the proper site for a public speech to be the floor of the House of Commons and not an open-air arena, ridiculed him as a demagogue. Gladstone's public appeals were indeed unorthodox, but he never condescended to his audience, and he appealed not to the self-interest of the masses but to their self-respect. Both privately and publicly, he looked upon "the people" as a high tribunal to whom he was presenting a legal case. The voters were to him a great jury of intelligent men who were concerned with political issues and who looked upon the casting of a vote, as Gladstone himself did, as a profound moral act.

In the speeches that comprised the Midlothian campaign, Gladstone stressed many subjects, but time and again he harked back to his main theme: in foreign relations, it was not desirable for Britain to act unilaterally or to attempt to dominate others. Rather Britain should support international public law and thereby neutralize the selfish aims of immoral powers. The small nations of Europe would then look to Britain as a guide to or clearly and constitutional freedom. Britain should support their aspirations, as it had in Belgium and Italy, and not treat them as pawns, as Disraeli had done in the Balkans. Disraeli saw his prime duty as that of advancing British interests and upholding British honor by whatever means were available. For Gladstone, words such as *interest* and *honor* were meaningless if they were not reconcilable with underlying moral principles, with the cause of humanity, justice, civilization, and religion.

Gladstone's eloquent indictment of Disraeli, combined with Chamberlain's organizing talents on the constituency level and the agricultural and industrial depression of the later 1870s, resulted in a Liberal landslide in the general election of 1880. In the new House of Commons, 347 Liberals overhauled 240 Conservatives and 65 Irish Home Rulers. Disraeli retired from the prime ministership; a year later, having completed his last novel—*Eudymon*, the story of a young man who grows up to be prime minister of England—he was dead.

At the time of the Liberal triumph, the leadership of the party was still formally in the hands of the marquess of Harrington, and Victoria would have much preferred him to Gladstone. "I never could take Mr. Gladstone . . . as my minister again," she had written in 1879, "for I never COULD have the slightest particle of confidence in Mr. Gladstone after his violent, mischievous, and dangerous conduct for the last three years." But as Harrington soon made plain to her, she had no choice. It was clearly Gladstone who embodied the Liberal party and Gladstone who had won the election.

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not yet seem securely established. Spain was racked by civil war and played no role in European affairs commensurate with its population. The central and eastern part of Europe was, however, dominated by three great autocratic monarchies, the new German Empire (with Bismarck as chancellor), the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the Russian Empire. These powers were joined in a 'Three Emperors' League which harked back to the post-Vienna Holy Alliance. A major theme underlying Disraeli's foreign policy was his attempt to disrupt the league.

Of the three great monarchies, it was Russia that once again seemed most antagonistic to British interests. When Disraeli came to power in 1874, Anglo-Russian relations, cemented as they were by a marriage between Victoria's second son and Tsar Alexander's only daughter, were friendly; but the perennial "Eastern Question" was soon to bring the two countries once again close to war. The gradual, if sporadic, process of Turkish decline as a Balkan and Near Eastern power was still going on, and although Disraeli's absorption with Near Eastern affairs is sometimes attributed to his "oriental" background, less mystical explanations fit the facts more easily. The "nonoriental" Palmerston had, after all, been equally involved with Near Eastern affairs in the 1840s, and the equally "nonoriental" Aberdeen had found his government implicated in the Crimean War in 1854.

It was a revolt in 1876 in Bosnia, one of Turkey's Slavic provinces, which touched off a series of wars and internal upheavals within the Turkish Empire that almost immediately involved the Great Powers. For a time, Disraeli's government, though fearful of the consequences of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, had no fixed policy. The prime minister's gratuitous dismissal as "coffee house babble" of the reports—afterwards confirmed—of the systematic murder of 12,000 Bulgarian men, women, and children by Turkish troops brought Gladstone back into politics. The former prime minister had resigned the Liberal leadership in 1875; and partly because his rival no longer occupied his traditional seat in the front benches in the House of Commons, Disraeli had thought it safe in 1876 to move to the House of Lords as earl of Beaconsfield. The "Bulgarian atrocities" and Disraeli's apparently cynical reaction were too much for a man who viewed foreign affairs as well as economic ones from a moral position; and Gladstone eloquently challenged the proposition that Britain's chief interest lay in the territorial preservation of an immoral and non-Christian Turkey rather than in the success of fellow Christians oppressed by the sultan.

Public sympathy veered toward Turkey in 1877, however, when a Turkish rejection of a Russian-sponsored protocol asking Turkey to institute internal reforms and grant a greater degree of autonomy to its subject nationalities in the Balkans led to a Russian declaration of war. All the traditional fears of Russian aggression were revived as the tsar's troops advanced toward Constantinople. Victoria wanted immediate war against Russia and asked that the government "be bold" and "rally round the Sovereign and country." In the music halls, they were singing:

We don't want to fight  
But, by Jingo, if we do  
We've got the men  
We've got the arms  
We've got the money too!

Disraeli was clearly sympathetic, but his cabinet was divided, and when he at last authorized the British fleet to enter the Dardanelles, it was Abdul Hamid, the new Ottoman sultan, who urged the British to go slowly. The arrival of a British squadron, he warned, might bring on the very event Disraeli most wished to prevent, the Russian seizure of Constantinople.

For in the meantime Turkey had sued for peace. In the Treaty of San Stefano, Russia and Turkey agreed that Russia should obtain Bessarabia, that the autonomous states of Serbia, Romania, and Montenegro should be completely independent of Turkey, and that a large new Bulgaria should be created under Russian protection. Both Britain and Austria were outraged. They had been ignored as Russia extended its influence deep into the Balkans, and the international tradition that major territorial boundary changes should involve all the great powers of Europe had been flagrantly breached. The result was the Congress of Berlin, the most significant diplomatic gathering since Vienna in 1815. For the first time a British prime minister attended an international diplomatic conference in person—as did his new foreign secretary, the marquess of Salisbury (1830-1903)—for the first time in over two centuries such a gathering was not conducted exclusively in the French language. Disraeli, who spoke French with a strong accent, preferred to use his native English.

Although Disraeli and Salisbury returned from Berlin claiming to have brought "Peace with Honour," the scope of their diplomatic achievement is open to question. The main provisions of the Treaty of San Stefano remained unaltered, so that Turkey's once much-vaunted territorial integrity had clearly not been preserved. The big Bulgaria was split into three small states with various degrees of autonomy, and Austria was granted the right to occupy but not to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina. As subsequent events proved, Disraeli had not succeeded in breaking up the Three Emperors' League, but he had succeeded in placing Britain once again in the center of the European diplomatic stage. Britain, in addition to influencing the ultimate settlement, obtained the Turkish island of Cyprus. As the Liberal Sir William Harcourt put it: "It was necessary to bring back something, and that something was Cyprus." Whatever the substance of his diplomatic triumph, Disraeli was for the moment a national hero, and a general election in 1878 might well have returned an even more strongly Conservative House of Commons. The date of election was put off, however, and, by the time it came, public opinion had markedly changed.

Events in South Africa and Afghanistan were largely responsible. Lord Carnarvon, who had supervised the creation of the autonomous

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restoration of the Delhi emperor. Conversely, to see the mutiny as national in scope is to ignore the fact that most of southern and western India remained unaffected by the rebellion. Many Indian princes and most Indian villagers remained untouched by modern notions of nationalism, and a majority either remained loyal to or acquiesced in British rule even when it seemed in grave danger.

The mutiny marked a turning point in a number of respects. In 1858 the power of the East India Company was brought to a final close, and the British crown took over direct command of both the Indian army and the Indian government. The president of the Board of Control became the secretary of state for India (still with a seat in the cabinet) and the governor-general became the viceroy. The ratio of British contingents in the Indian army was increased, and the artillery was confined to the control of British troops. Although an extensive revision of the penal code was introduced after 1860, post-mutiny viceroys were less reform-minded than their predecessors. They continued to encourage public works such as railways, and British private investment in Indian industry became sizable for the first time, but the government hesitated to interfere further with social and religious customs. A revival of orthodox Hinduism provided new encouragement for those English reformers who hoped that the slow infiltration of Western culture would cause Indians to give up their age-old "superstitions" and "prejudices." Standards of government efficiency remained as high as ever, but the gulf between the rulers and the ruled had, if anything, widened. Englishmen back home, temporarily stirred by the mutiny, rapidly lost interest in Indian affairs, and parliamentary debates involving India rarely attracted much interest.

The Mid-Victorian Empire

In this respect, India resembled the other parts of the mid-century British Empire. Trade continued to matter more than political control, and the settlement colonies often seemed a bother, an expense, and even a bore. "These wretched colonies. They are a millstone around our necks," Disraeli confided to a colleague in 1853. As Charles Dike put it in 1868, why should "Dorsetshire agriculture labourers pay the cost of defending New Zealand colonists in Maori Wars? After all, he added, in what proved to be a curiously unpropitious analogy: "It is not likely nowadays that our colonies would, for any long stretch of time, engage to aid us in our purely European wars. Australia would scarcely feel herself deeply interested in the guarantee of Luxembourg, nor Canada in the affairs of Servia." The same attitude prevailed among cabinet members. On one occasion when Lord Palmerston found it difficult to persuade a suitable colleague to become colonial secretary, he finally expostulated to one of the Colonial Office's career officials: "Well, I'll take the office myself. Just come upstairs and show me on the map where these damned places are."

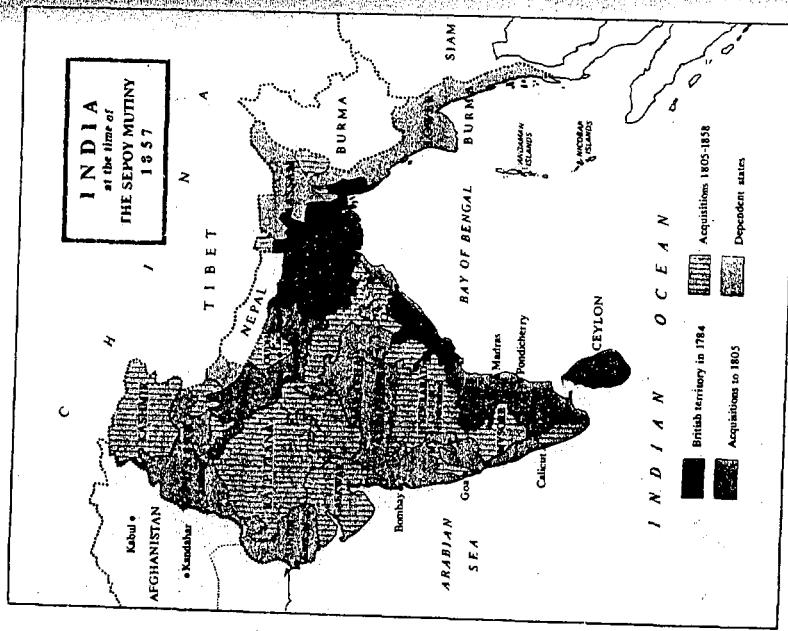


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Britain's role, the wider problem of causation cannot be avoided. It is much about the immediate causes of the war, like the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which partakes of the fortuitous. Yet the reasons made by the chancellories of the Great Powers during the last days of 1914 and the first days of August 1914 can be explained only in the light of assumptions and preconceptions that went back in some cases half a century, in others half a millennium. Britain's ultimate entry involved elements such as concern with the Low Countries and with the European balance of power—that went back half a millennium.

#### The Web of Diplomacy

As recently as the 1890s, Britain had seemed relatively aloof from the web of such "isolation" can easily be exaggerated, however. Britain's interest in the Near East, shown in 1878 at the Congress of Berlin, its cooperation with the Great Powers on the Egyptian Debt Commission, and the secret Mediterranean Agreement with Austria and Italy in the 1880s all demonstrate Britain's involvement with the continent. Every diplomat pretends to be a free agent, but at times the pressure of national security seems to dictate a more or less binding alliance with another power. It was fear of French military revenge (a fear made plausible by the forcible takeover of Alsace-Lorraine in 1871) that prompted Bismarck's Triple Alliance with Austria (1879) and Italy (1882). It was a French desire to escape diplomatic isolation and a suspicion, shared by Russia, of British artributions overseas that prompted the Franco-Russian Alliance of 1894. The desire to escape binding commitments in unforeseen circumstances caused British statesmen to eschew such alliances, until a number of events in the later 1890s led in due course to a reappraisal.

What G. M. Young called "that passionate jealousy of England which for a generation was the most widely diffused emotion in Europe" was brought home to Englishmen by a variety of incidents: the Venezuela Boundary Dispute of 1895, which aroused widespread anti-British sentiment in the United States; the telegram sent by Emperor William II to President Kruger at the time of the Jameson Raid; the Fashoda incident, which brought France and England to the brink of war; and finally, the Boer War. Each demonstrated anew the perils of diplomatic isolation.

In 1901, Joseph Chamberlain grasped the bull by the horns and publicly proposed an alliance with Germany (and, if possible, with the United States as well) as the most logical step for Britain to take in view of her longstanding rivalry with France and Russia. His suggestion was but the latest of a number of approaches in such a direction. Bismarck had hoped to attach Britain to his Triple Alliance in the 1880s but had been unable to overcome Britain's fears that any such alliance would commit it to support Austrian ambitions in the Balkans. In 1901 it was the German



## The Roundabout Road to War

# 13

In retrospect, 1914 remains pre-eminent as a date in the war that was to destroy the "old order" in Europe, the war that was to topple four empires and bring in its wake untold misery and destruction as well as death to nine million men and injury to twenty-two million others. Its long-range consequences were to include the rise of totalitarian dictatorships in Europe, the awakening of militant nationalism in Asia and Africa, the Second World War, and the Cold War. To call the war of 1914-1918 the First World War is technically misleading. The war of the eighteenth century—the War of the Spanish Succession, the War of the Austrian Succession, the Seven Years' War, and the American Revolution—had all been fought on at least three continents as well as the high seas. It was the lapse of a century since the last world war—the Napoleonic—and the achievement in the meantime of an unprecedented potential for military destruction which caused Europeans of 1914 to look upon their world war as unique.

The causes of World War I have been analyzed and disputed by at least two generations of historians; and though this chapter concentrates

<sup>1</sup> The causes of World War I are discussed in thousands of books. Luigi Albertini provides the most detailed account based on the fullest use of government archives in *The Origins of the War of 1914*, 3 vols. (London, 1952-57). Lawrence Langer, *The Long Fuse* (Philadelphia, 1965), is an admirable one-volume introduction. The works by Ernst Strang and Sebastian Wilson mentioned earlier in chapters 4 and 12, Winston S. Churchill, *German Navy* (London, 1948), E. L. Woodward, *Great Britain and the World* (London, 1935), and G. M. Trevelyan, *Biography of Sir Edward Grey* (London, 1927), pay special attention, with varying degrees of illuminating and highly readable accounts of the immediate antecedents and the first month of battle in *The Crisis of August* (New York, 1962).

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army launched its last great offensive of the war. A rapid advance was made in the Somme area, where the depleted British forces retreated in face of superior German numbers; German guns with a seventy-mile range began to shell Paris. The threat of a breakthrough between the British and French forces impelled the Western Allies at last to entrust the strategic decision of the war in the west to one man, General Ferdinand Foch. A drastic conscription act in Britain made every man between eighteen and fifty-five liable to military service, and 355,000 British reserves which had been kept at home because of Lloyd George's fear of General Haig's intentions were now sent to the continent. In April, American troops first took active part in the fighting and during the next three months over 600,000 additional American troops crossed the Atlantic.

In May and June the Germans succeeded in making small advances, but by July the tide had turned. The Allied side had now achieved tactical superiority, and in August General Haig's forces, successfully using their numerical superiority, began a general offensive in the Somme region. The German forces were heavily retreated along the whole Western Front, and by early September the German army chiefs informed their government that peace had to be made at once. The Kaiser's government, which had scorned the Fourteen Points in January, now accepted them in October "as a basis for peace negotiations." The British cabinet issued a reminder that "the pronouncement of President Wilson was a statement of attitude made before the Peace Conference. They cannot, therefore, be understood as a full re-iteration of the conditions of peace."

In the meantime, the Austrians had suffered a major defeat on the Italian front, and an Allied advance from Salonika in Greece had pushed the Ottoman Empire in the Near East, in the course of which British Colonel F. Lawrence had roused the Arab tribes against their Turkish suzerains. The war was climaxed in October 1918 by the capture of Damascus. On October 31 Turkey left the war. In Germany itself, four years of unremitting war effort had likewise taken their toll. The reconstruction of the government in October 1918 only fanned the fires of domestic discontent. In early November a naval mutiny began to spread inland; Emperor William II was forced to abdicate; and early on November 11 it was announced that representatives of the German government had agreed to terms that amounted to a virtual unconditional surrender.

Six million Britons had served in the armed forces. Of these, 750,000 lost their lives (88 percent were killed in action), and 1,700,000 were wounded. For the moment, all that the living could think of was that the ordeal was over at last. As the bells announced the Armistice, London's streets became "a sea of laughing, joking people" dancing and singing in the streets and on buses. The horrors of the past and the fears for the future evaporated for the moment in "a triumphant pandemonium."

tionary Soviet government released early in 1918 the texts of secret treaties which the tsarist government had signed in the course of the war. The treaties assumed that upon an Allied victory both the Ottoman and the Habsburg empires would in all likelihood break up and that it was desirable to plan for the disposition of the territories involved. The treaties, and the interpretations subsequently placed upon them, were not the cause of the consequence of World War I; and some of their provisions were signs of Allied greed than of mutual Allied distrust. The promise that Russia might at long last occupy Constantinople was agreed to by Britain in order to reassure the tsarist government that the Gallipoli invasion, if successful, would not entail the permanent British takeover of Turkey. The promise that part of Austrian Tyrol to Italy was intended as an incentive to gain Italian support for the Allied side. The ultimate breakup of the Habsburg Ottoman empires had less to do with secret treaties, however, than with the longstanding nationalistic ambitions of Czechs, Poles, Serbs, Romanians, and Arabs and with the fact that both these empires chose the losing side in the war.

The Fourteen Points demonstrated the curious ambiguity that marked the United States's entry into the war. Wilson had long urged "peace without victory"; and the Fourteen Points of January 1918 implied that, even though the United States was now militarily associated with the anti-German side, Americans still saw themselves above the battle, fighting not for reasons of self-interest but in order "to make the world safe for democracy." Some historians have long argued that American entry into the war was a matter of self-interest—Wilson had himself said: "England is fighting our fight"—but American war aims were not ordinarily expressed in this fashion. Englishmen in general and Lloyd George in particular could sympathize with many of the Fourteen Points, such as the doctrine of national self-determination as a basis for changing the boundary lines of Europe and the establishment of a League of Nations, a proposal advocated for a number of years by influential Englishmen. But the British government was far less certain than Wilson seemed to be that the war had been the result of secret diplomacy, and it could not accept Wilson's insistence upon "absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, alike in peace and war." To accept this provision, Lloyd George pointed out, would mean that Britain would deprive itself of the right to enforce a naval blockade, one of its major war weapons against Germany. Equally unacceptable to much Western European opinion was the implication that Belgium and France deserved no compensation or reparations for the immense material and human damage done by the German invaders.

The German government answered the Fourteen Points with an all-out drive for total victory. In the east, Germany imposed the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon Romania and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk upon Russia. The purpose was to convert the Balkans and much of prewar European Russia into German satellite states. Then in March of 1918, with its eastern front secure,

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EXHIBIT ONE HUNDRED EIGHT (108) OF 115 -  
 EXHIBITS  
 BY MR JOHN J. CRAPO. PRO SE  
 MAY 04 2002 JJC/jjc

II

THE AGE OF IMPROVEMENT  
1830 to 1851



ENGLISHMAN ON ELEPHANT SHOOTING A TIGER  
A Calcutta Bazaar Painting, ca. 1830. British Museum.

EXHIBIT ONE Hundred Nine (109) OF (115)  
ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN EXHIBITS  
BY Mr John J. CRAPO, PRO SR  
JUCIJC May 04 2002

In a brief history of even one "tight little island," the chronology of events must of necessity predominate; but if these four volumes are in any way fresh and new, it is because their authors have tried by artistry to step beyond the usual confines of a textbook and to conjure up something of the drama of politics, of the wealth of personalities, and even of the peevishness, as well as the greatness, of human motivation. The price paid will be obvious to anyone seeking total coverage. There is relatively little in these pages on literature, the fine arts, or philosophy, except as they throw light upon the uniqueness of English history. On the other hand, the complexities, the uncertainties, the endless variations, and above all the accidents that bedevil the design of human events—these are the very stuff of which history is made, and these are the "truths" that this series seeks to elucidate and preserve. Moreover, the flavor of each volume varies according to the tastes of its author. Sometimes the emphasis is political, sometimes economic or social; but always the presentation is impressionistic—shading, underscoring, or highlighting to achieve an image that will be more than a bare outline and will recapture something of the smell and temper of the past.

Even though each book was conceived and executed as an entity capable of standing by itself, the four volumes were designed as a unit. They tell the story of how a small and insignificant outpost of the Roman Empire hesitantly, and not always heroically, evolved into the nation that has probably produced and disseminated more ideas and institutions, both good and bad, than any state since Athens. The hope is that these books will appeal both, as individual volumes, to those interested in balanced portraits of particular segments of English history and, collectively, to those who seek the majestic sweep of history in the story of a people whose activities have been wonderfully rich, exciting, and varied. Erasmus once wrote: "The important thing for you is not how much you know, but the quality of what you know." In this spirit these volumes were originally written and have now been revised for a second time, not only to keep pace with new scholarship, but equally important to keep them fresh and thought-provoking in a world that is becoming both more nostalgic and more impatient of its past.

Lacey Baldwin Smith  
Northwestern University

## Acknowledgments

This book grew originally out of a series of lectures, amended from time to time, to which Roosevelt University, Northwestern University, and University of Chicago students were exposed between 1958 and 1966. More distantly, the book reflects the influence of my own teachers, men such as Professor Oscar I. Janowsky of the City College of New York and Professors Herman Ausubel and the late J. Bartlett Brebner of Columbia University. More immediately, it is the product of much—if never quite enough—reading of relevant books, articles, and reviews, of impressions gathered during several lengthy sojourns in England since 1956, and of the imaginative suggestions of the general editor of this series, Professor Lacey Baldwin Smith.

The decision to produce first a second and now a third edition has given me the opportunity to correct factual errors, to rethink a number of paragraphs, to rephrase still others, and to retittle several chapters. For the third edition, Chapter 20 has been revised and a new Chapter 21 added, as have many new illustrations and a number of graphs. I am in debt to Professor William B. Willcox of Yale University, Professor Emeritus Charles Muller of the University of Missouri, Professor Robert Zegger of Northwestern Illinois State University, and to Jean Reeder Smith for their suggestions. Two University of Illinois colleagues have made helpful comments—Professor Paul W. Schroeder on Chapters 4 and 6 and Professor Richard W. Burkhardt on Chapter 5. Dr. Alan E. O'Day was comparably helpful with Chapter 9. Research assistants Prudence Ann Moylan and Randall E. McCowen aided me with the second and third editions respectively. My wife did much of the typing for the original edition and has spotted many a fuzzy thought and long-winded sentence. In appropriate if conventional fashion, I take full responsibility for what ultimately appears on the printed page.

Walter L. Arnstein  
Pevensey Bay, England  
1975

EXHIBIT ONE HUNDRED TEN (110) OF 115 EX-  
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BY MR John J. CRAPO, Pro Se  
JUC/jjc May 04 2002 7:41 AM



In a brief history of even one "tight little island," the chronology of events must of necessity predominate; but if these four volumes are in any way fresh and new, it is because their authors have tried by artistry to step beyond the usual confines of a textbook and to conjure up something of the drama of politics, of the wealth of personalities, and even of the pettiness, as well as the greatness, of human motivation. The price paid will be obvious to anyone seeking total coverage. There is relatively little in these pages on literature, the fine arts, or philosophy, except as they throw light upon the uniqueness of English history. On the other hand, the complexities, the uncertainties, the endless variations, and above all the accidents that bedevil the design of human events—these are the very stuff of which history is made, and these are the "truths" that this series seeks to elucidate and preserve. Moreover, the flavor of each volume varies according to the tastes of its author. Sometimes the emphasis is political, sometimes economic or social; but always the presentation is impressionistic—shading, underscoring, or highlighting to achieve an image that will be more than a bare outline and will recapture something of the smell and temper of the past.

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Lacey Baldwin Smith  
Northwestern University

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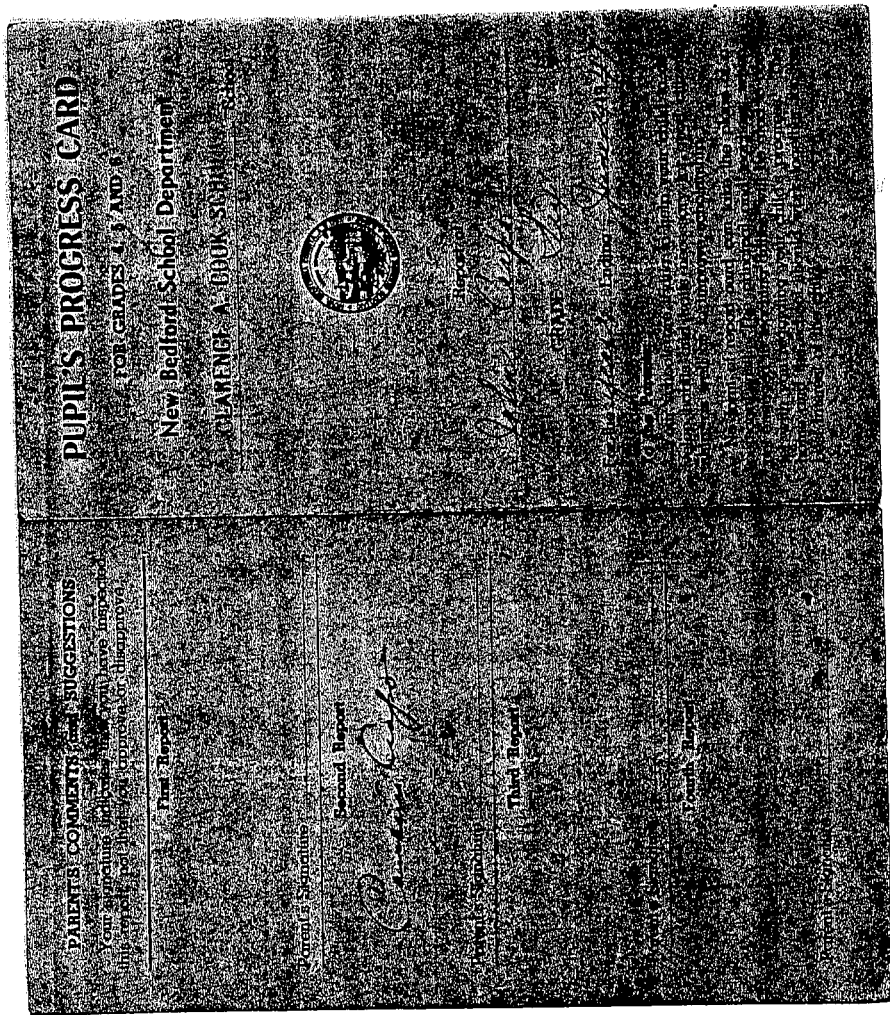
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3:24 AM POWER WAS RE-  
STORED  
TOO DARK . TO ~~OPEN~~ OPEN MY  
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I GOT TO MY BATHROOM WIN-  
DOW I OPENED CURTAINS  
I COULD NOTICE NO LIGHTS ON  
ELSEWHERE IN PREMISES  
I NEEDED TO USE MY COMMODE  
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Sincerely John J. CRAPO

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HOLDER

TEACHER'S COMMENTS	
First Report	
Second Report	
Third Report	

REPORTS	
<b>WORK HABITS - CITIZENSHIP</b> A check (✓) indicates used for improvement; Blank ( ) indicates unsatisfactory	
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MAY 04TH YEAR 2002  
BOSTON HERALD, SATURDAY, MAY 04 2002  
BY (MR) DAVID R. GUARINO

"... THE STATE TREASURER (THE HONOURABLE  
SHANNON P. O'BRIEN, ESQUIRE, JUR. D.) APPEARED  
YESTERDAY... AT A BREAKFAST FORUM... BY THE  
HUB'S BUSINESS ELITE...

("ONE") BUSINESSMAN... IN ANSWERING A  
QUESTION, SAID MOST POLS ON BEALON HILL  
DON'T EVEN KNOW HOW TO SPELL ACCOUNTA-  
BILITY

("STATE") TREASURER ("MS") O'BRIEN... AIMED  
TO PROVE TO ("THE BUSINESSMAN") - AND THE  
CROWD THAT SHE, AT LEAST, COULD.

UNFORTUNATELY, IT CAME OUT, 'ACCOUNT-  
ABILITY'... SHE TURNED... AND BEAMED,  
'HOW'D I DO?'... BUT WORD QUICKLY  
SPREAD AND AFTER THE ASSOCIATED  
PRESS PUT THE ERROR ON WIRE THE  
WIRE, (THE STATE TREASURER)... WAS  
FORCED TO RELEASE A... STATEMENT

'I AM SO EMBARRASSED... (IN SIXTH  
GRADE)... I WAS A STAR SPELLER...'  
(STATE TREASURER MS) O'BRIEN  
SAID..."


# 30 #

4:40 AM SUNDAY, MAY FIFTH (05TH)  
YEAR 2002 JJC/JJC

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 MAY FOURTH (04TH) YEAR 2002

**PUPIL'S PROGRESS CARD**  
 FOR GRADES 4, 5 AND 6

New Bedford School Department  
 CLARENCI A. COOK SCHOOL School



Report of \_\_\_\_\_  
 GRADE \_\_\_\_\_  
 For the year ending \_\_\_\_\_

To the Parents:  
 Our schools are trying to help your child to develop habits and traits necessary for good citizenship as well as to improve scholarship.

No form of report card can take the place of a personal visit. The principal and teachers, when not engaged in teaching duties, will be glad to confer with you regarding your child's progress. The home and the school should work together for the best interest of the child.

**PARENT'S COMMENTS and SUGGESTIONS**  
 Your signature indicates that you have inspected this report, not that you approve or disapprove.

First Report \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parent's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Second Report \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parent's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Third Report \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parent's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

Fourth Report \_\_\_\_\_  
 Parent's Signature \_\_\_\_\_

JJC/JJC MAY 04 2002  
 3:58 P.M.



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 OF ONE HUNDRED FIFTEEN (115) EXHIBITS  
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REPORTS		TEACHER'S COMMENTS			
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<b>WORK HABITS - CITIZENSHIP</b> A check (✓) indicates need for improvement; items not checked are satisfactory. Follows directions Makes good use of time Does neat work Accepts responsibility Respects rights and property of others Works and plays well with others <b>SCHOLARSHIP</b> Reading Language Spelling Mathematics Geography History Penmanship <b>SESSIONS - ABSENT</b> <b>TIMES - LATE</b> <b>TIMES - DISMISSED</b>	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115	[Signature] Teacher's Signature	[Signature] Teacher's Signature	[Signature] Teacher's Signature	[Signature] Teacher's Signature
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FROM MR JOHN J. CRAPO, IDACORP STOCKHOLDER  
MAY 04<sup>TH</sup> YEAR 2002  
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(STATE TREASURER MS) O'BRIEN  
SAID..."

# 30 #

4:40 AM SUNDAY, MAY FIFTH (05TH)  
YEAR 2002 JJC/JJC

**DIVISION OF CORPORATION FINANCE  
INFORMAL PROCEDURES REGARDING SHAREHOLDER PROPOSALS**

The Division of Corporation Finance believes that its responsibility with respect to matters arising under Rule 14a-8 [17 CFR 240.14a-8], as with other matters under the proxy rules, is to aid those who must comply with the rule by offering informal advice and suggestions and to determine, initially, whether or not it may be appropriate in a particular matter to recommend enforcement action to the Commission. In connection with a shareholder proposal under Rule 14a-8, the Division's staff considers the information furnished to it by the Company in support of its intention to exclude the proposals from the Company's proxy materials, as well as any information furnished by the proponent or the proponent's representative.

Although Rule 14a-8(k) does not require any communications from shareholders to the Commission's staff, the staff will always consider information concerning alleged violations of the statutes administered by the Commission, including argument as to whether or not activities proposed to be taken would be violative of the statute or rule involved. The receipt by the staff of such information, however, should not be construed as changing the staff's informal procedures and proxy review into a formal or adversary procedure.

It is important to note that the staff's and Commission's no-action responses to Rule 14a-8(j) submissions reflect only informal views. The determinations reached in these no-action letters do not and cannot adjudicate the merits of a company's position with respect to the proposal. Only a court such as a U.S. District Court can decide whether a company is obligated to include shareholder proposals in its proxy materials. Accordingly a discretionary determination not to recommend or take Commission enforcement action, does not preclude a proponent, or any shareholder of a company, from pursuing any rights he or she may have against the company in court, should the management omit the proposal from the company's proxy material.

July 19, 2002

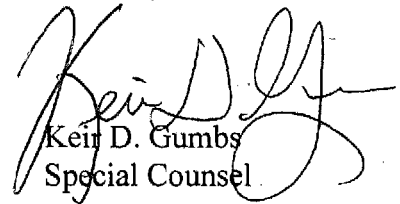
**Response of the Office of Chief Counsel**  
**Division of Corporation Finance**

Re: IDACORP, Inc.  
Incoming letter dated June 17, 2002

The proposal requests that a committee of shareholders consider reports described in the proposal and other matters.

There appears to be some basis for your view that IDACORP may exclude the proposal under rule 14a-8(i)(3) as vague and indefinite. Accordingly, we will not recommend enforcement action to the Commission if IDACORP omits the proposal from its proxy materials in reliance on rule 14a-8(i)(3).

Sincerely,



Keith D. Gumbs  
Special Counsel