

Date and Time: Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:12:00PM EEST

Job Number: 223358433

### Documents (100)

1. Israeli - Palestinian Negotiations Break Off After 4 Hours

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

2. SCRAMBLE TO SAVE CEASEFIRE AFTER ISRAELI SHELLS KILL THREE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

3. With Israeli insecurity, a yearning

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

4. <u>Disco bloodbath; FEARS OF REPRISAL AFTER SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 17 YOUNGSTER OUTSIDE TEL</u>
AVIV NIGHTCLUB

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

5. Israelis blast Arafat's HQ: 'Last chance of peace gone' after two killed in attack by helicopter gunships as

Sharon retaliates



Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

6. <u>ISRAEL ATTACKS ARAFAT'S ELITE GUARD IN GAZA, WEST BANK; STRIKES ARE IN RETALIATION</u>
FOR KILLINGS, BOMBINGS OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS; TWO DOZEN PALESTINIANS ARE INJURED

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

7. Arafat agrees to restart talks

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

8. MIDEAST: PEACE OR ENDLESS WAR?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

9. Israelis bombard Gaza after bus bomb

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

10. MIDEAST FLARE-UP KILLS 6; 100 MORE PALESTINIANS HURT IN WEST BANK CLASH

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 11. Caught in Mideast crossfire

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 12. PERES TO MEET ARAFAT IN BID TO END CLASHES REVIVING PEACE PROCESS 'ONLY CHOICE'

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 13. 'Global justice' may rewrite US law books

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 14. Explosion, then arms and legs rain down

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

# 15. Follow Hezbollah lead, Palestinians are urged: 'If Israel commits any aggression against Lebanon , it will pay

a high price': Nasrallah
Client/Matter: -NoneSearch Terms: Hamas

**Search Type:** Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 16. Nasrallah warns Israel to leave Lebanon alone

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 17. Sharon's hard-line approach getting results

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 18. Pope carries the cross in Rome as Christians celebrate Good Friday

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

# 19. <u>MEANING OF TERRORISM HITS HOME; Sept. 11 is a potent reminder that it is never, ever acceptable to target civilians.</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 20. Foreign Briefs

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

21. NEWS IN BRIEF

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

22. Human bombs top terror

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

23. ISRAEL DESTROYS SHRINE TO JEWISH TERRORIST

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

24. TERROR IN AMERICA: PALESTINIAN REACTION - PALESTINIANS FEAR THE PRICE THEY WILL

**HAVE TO PAY** 

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

25. Jordanian Muslim Cleric Calls for Death of Author in U.S.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

26. There's no limit to man's cruelty

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

27. NYC; Chicken Soup From Barak: It Can't Hurt

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

28. ON WHATSHISNAME, WOMEN'S COLLEGES, NURSES, THE NINTH, ETC.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

29. ISRAELI ARABS COULD BE LINKED TO CAR BOMBS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

30. Get out of gaza says u.s

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

# 31. Israel pulling out of Gaza territory; 'Unforgivable crime': The Israelis take control of the area with a mortar attack

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 32. Israeli forces rocket Palestinian headquarters Arafat's elite quard targeted after suicide bomber kills 2

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 33. Islam taps into its wellspring of anger

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Dec 31, 2001

# 34. <u>CLINTON TO MEET WITH ARAFAT THE PALESTINIAN LEADER'S URGENT VISIT MAY BE THE</u> PRESIDENT'S LAST CHANCE FOR A MIDEAST PEACE DEAL.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 35. Bullets wreck Blair visit

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

#### 36. Questions remain in wake of attack on U.S. warship: Terrorists were known to be in Yemen

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 37. LONG-SUFFERING PALESTINIANS ELATED OVER SAFE PASSAGE TO AN EASIER LIFE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 38. TELEVISION REVIEW In a Land Where Old Youths Meet as Distant Neighbors

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 39. Back at the House: a Rare Look Inside a Private Reception

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

# 40. Terrorist sprays Jerusalem bus with bullets: 2 dead, 40 injured in rush-hour attack; civilian, police shoot gunman dead

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

#### 41. When terrorists become freedom fighters

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

### 42. Terrorist sprays machine-gun fire at Jerusalem bus: 2 dead, 40 injured in rush-hour attack; civilian, police

shoot gunman dead
Client/Matter: -NoneSearch Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 43. NEWS IN BRIEF

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

# 44. <u>'How could he? He was not that kind of man': Denial and disbelief among family and townsfolk in the Galilee</u> home of Sunday's suicide bomber as Israeli Arabs fear rightwing backlash

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 45. Muslims step carefully into political scene in DuPage

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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46. A deadly game

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

47. Only peace can end Mid-east despair

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

48. Booby-trapped plea for help kills 3 in Gaza strip

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

49. Tel Aviv disco blast kills 17: Suicide bomber waited in line with revellers; Pressure on Sharon to retaliate

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

50. Palestinians fill streets in protest; Thousands turned out to mark the "catastrophe" of 1948. By day's end,

<u>five people were dead.</u><
Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

51. Islam nips at Arab leaders that have ties to Israel



Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 52. A chilling reminder of 1982

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 53. Killing for the Glory of God, In a Land Far From Home

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

# 54. <u>Crisis in Israel : Ariel Sharon: the bloodstained past that inflames Palestinians: 'Super hawk' blamed for sparking battles after visit to holy shrine</u>

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 55. Algeria dares to dream: Amnesty for militants might wake country from nightmare

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 56. Old foes gather at funeral \* JORDAN

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type Narrowed by

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Dec 31, 2001

### 57. <u>GAZA AIRPORT OPENS AMID APPLAUSE / PALESTINIANS HOPE IT BRINGS POLITICAL AND</u> ECONOMIC GAIN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 58. Saturday review: Books: The Guardian Year: 2001 ed Ian Katz 304pp, Guardian Books, pounds 14.99

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 59. THE WAR BEGINS; .US, British assault on terrorist camps.; . bin Laden vows no peace for America; .

Threat of reprisals puts world on alert

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 60. Mideast Cease-Fire: Who Will Be the First to Scrap It?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

# 61. <u>Israelis kill radical Palestinian faction chief; Helicopter gunships fired missiles into Mustafa Zibri's office. His</u> group had claimed responsibility for recent car bombings. Israelis kill radical Palestinian leader

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 62. FEARS OF JEWISH TERROR CELL INFLAME TENSIONS IN HOLY CITY UNDER SIEGE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 63. The end game

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 64. Winners and losers in a hard land

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 65. Letters, Faxes & E-Mail; Tuned into homeless' needs

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 66. ISRAELIS END GAZA INCURSION AFTER U.S. REBUKE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 67. Palestinian intifada going mainstream

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 68. Israelis, voting tomorrow, tilt toward hard line

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

# 69. <u>PALESTINIANS SAY THEY WILL AVENGE DEATH THURSDAY'S ATTACK ON A MILITARY</u> <u>COMMANDER WILL NOT DETER FIGHTERS, MOURNERS SAID. INSTEAD, IT COULD ENCOURAGE</u> THEM.

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 70. Sharon's way now riding high

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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#### 71. Israel takes US line on anti-terror

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

72. <u>Terror tactics of the West's own making; Voices of Scotland: Labour MP George Galloway argues that US</u> and British policy ensures that Osama bin Laden is a martyr in the making

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

73. West Bank killings set stage for showdown

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

74. Egypt 's moderate militants talk

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

75. What's behind Arab backlash

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

76. A NATION CHALLENGED: TELEVISION At Arab All- News Channel, Western Values Prevail

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

77. Letters

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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78. What's behind Arab backlash

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

79. Inside the mind of a Palestinian suicide bomber

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

80. In Mideast, women win small battles on rights

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

81. DEATH BY REMOTE CONTROL AS HIT SQUADS RETURN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 82. MICROCHIP MURDER SQUADS DO ISRAEL 'S DIRTY WORK

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 83. Tel Aviv Journal New Conflict Begets Culture War by Israeli Artists

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 84. PEACE IN SHAMBLES Clinton must forget a Mideast deal

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 85. MIDEAST FOES TO MEET

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 86. World Briefing

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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# 87. ISRAEL: WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

88. What lies beneath: We see angry Palestinian children being shot by soldiers and are outraged. The Israelis don't see the children - they see millions of Arabs, intent on their destruction. Linda Grant visited Israel five times to research her Orange Prize-winning book, When I Lived in Modern Times. Here she reveals what she learned about the inner workings of the Israeli psyche

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 89. Letters, Faxes & E-Mail; Keys to effective teaching largely a mystery

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 90. CHECHEN REFUGEES FLEE RUSSIAN AIR-ATTACKS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 91. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

# 92. MONITOR; THE BLAIR BABY, ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON, OXBRIDGE ADMISSIONS, CRISIS AT THE DOME, SIR JOHN GIELGUD; ALL THE NEWS OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 93. Heightened dangers lurk all around us

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

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Dec 31, 2001

#### 94. Israel brings West into midst of Arabs Mideast assassins once fueled by faked paradise

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 95. TERROR IN AMERICA: ACT RASHLY, AND OUR CHILDREN WILL SUFFER IN YEARS TO COME

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

# 96. <u>AIR STRIKES ON AFGHANISTAN : THE MILITANTS - EGYPT , THE BREEDING GROUND FOR ISLAMIC</u> TERRORISM

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to



#### 97. A NATION CHALLENGED: THE ROLE OF RELIGION Scholars Call Attacks A Distortion of Islam

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 98. In support of Palestine :; The frustration that fuels Palestinian rage

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 99. TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to

Dec 31, 2001

#### 100. The enforcer takes on a high-flying dove: Today, Israel 's Labour party is voting for a new leader

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language - Expanded Results

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 1998 to



### Israeli-Palestinian Negotiations Break Off After 4 Hours

The New York Times

June 12, 2001 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

Length: 777 words

**Byline:** By DOUGLAS FRANTZ **Dateline:** JERUSALEM, June 11

### **Body**

Israeli and Palestinian security officials met for four hours tonight, and according to a Palestinian involved in the talks, failed to reach an agreement over an American-initiated proposal that would extend a fragile and partial 10-day-old cease-fire.

Both sides left without officially commenting on the closed session, which was mediated by the United States director of central intelligence, George J. Tenet, at the King David Hotel here. Mr. Tenet, offering his own proposals, had convened the two sides in an effort to formalize an agreement for the cease-fire.

The two sides were far apart on the specific points of an agreement, and officials started the evening pessimistic about bridging the gap. The Palestinian official in the talks said the pessimism was well founded, with no progress made.

The official described the meeting as "difficult and tense." He said Mr. Tenet had told the negotiators that he was uncertain whether he would be willing to continue with the talks, leaving the Palestinians with the impression that he might not even convene a new session.

Israeli officials repeated demands that all attacks, including rock throwing, had to stop. They said the Palestinians had to arrest suspected terrorist leaders before a formal cooling-off period started and political discussions began six weeks later. "Israel will never negotiate under fire," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Prime Minister Ariel Sharon.

The Palestinians have told Mr. Tenet that security arrangements for the cease-fire have to be followed by immediate negotiations and an Israeli pledge to freeze to all construction in settlements in the West Bank and Gaza.

"Israel must cease all settlement activities and accept an international monitoring force to observe the cease-fire," said Mahmoud Abbas, second in command to Yasir Arafat.

The toll of deaths and injuries from the months of violence rose again today, marked by another anguished funeral. The ceremony was for a 5-month-old Israeli, Yehuda Haim Shoham, who died this morning at a hospital here. He

was injured last week by Palestinian stone throwers when his parents' car was stoned as they returned from Jerusalem to the Jewish settlement of Shilo in the West Bank.

On Sunday, Mr. Sharon prayed at the infant's bedside. Tonight, as several hundred mourners gathered outside his office at the start of the funeral procession, Mr. Sharon asked for prayers for the infant and criticized the Palestinian Authority for inciting violence.

Earlier in the day, a Palestinian man was injured when a suspected car bomb exploded in a refugee camp in the West Bank. The injured man, Imad Abu Thyab, was a member of Islamic Jihad, whose leaders issued a statement faulting the Israelis for the bomb.

"Our heroic fighters will not remain motionless," the statement said, according to Reuters. "They will continue striking at the Zionist enemy in revenge for the blood of the martyrs."

The Israeli Army said it had no knowledge of the incident.

The army also said it was continuing to investigate the deaths of three Bedouin <u>women</u> hit by Israeli tank fire on Saturday in the Gaza strip. The bodies were carried through the streets on Sunday as militants pledged to continue their attacks.

The details of Mr. Tenet's proposal to extend the cease-fire have not been released. But officials from both sides said the steps included a pullback of Israeli troops to positions occupied before the latest violence broke out, on Sept. 28; a lifting of Israeli restrictions on Palestinian movement; and a halt to Palestinian incitement to violence.

Both sides are known to have reservations about aspects of the plan. A particular stumbling block has been Mr. Tenet's proposal -- and Israel's demand -- that the Palestinian Authority arrest leaders from the <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad militant groups and collect illegal weapons and mortars that have been regularly fired into Israeli settlements despite the cease-fire.

The Israelis see the arrests as an essential step to limit new attacks, particularly by suicide bombers.

A senior security official said Israeli intelligence had evidence that freed militants were rebuilding bomb-making sites that the Palestinian Authority had dismantled in the two years before the new fighting erupted. A result, the official warned, will be deadlier bombs.

Palestinian officials have refused to make what they call arbitrary arrests. They have said that Mr. Arafat has done everything he can since the disco bombing to curtail terrorist attacks and that it is up to Israel to respond with political concessions. The Palestinians say they fear that a lone suicide bomber could wipe out the truce.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photo: A 5-month-old who died after being injured by Palestinians was taken to Ariel Sharon's office. Father is at left. (Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times)

Load-Date: June 12, 2001



### <u>SCRAMBLE TO SAVE CEASEFIRE AFTER ISRAELI SHELLS KILL THREE</u>

The Independent (London)
June 11, 2001, Monday

Copyright 2001 Independent Print Ltd

Section: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 11

Length: 807 words

Byline: Phil Reeves In Jerusalem

## **Body**

FRANTIC DIPLOMATIC efforts were underway last night to save the crumbling and incomplete ceasefire between Israel and the Palestinians after three <u>women</u> in the Gaza Strip were killed when Israeli tank shells landed beside their tent.

Several thousand Palestinians - some chanting "Death to Israel! Yes to the intifada!" - took to the streets of Gaza yesterday for the funerals of the three, who were Bedouin Arabs living in the fenced-in coastal strip.

Furious Palestinian officials demanded that Israel and the international community condemn what they called unprovoked "cold-blooded murders", which they said happened when three Israeli tank shells exploded close to their tent.

The chief of staff of Israel's armed forces, Lt- Gen Shaul Mofaz said the death of the <u>women</u>, late on Saturday, may have been a mistake by Israeli troops, whom he claimed were under fire from four directions. Israel has been intensely criticised by human rights groups for shelling civilian areas with tanks and helicopters, but a military spokesman insisted yesterday that the army was responding to Palestinian fire, and was aiming only at the source of it.

The death of Nasra Al-Malalha, 65; her 18-year-old daughter, Hikmat Al- Malhala, and Salimah Al-Malalha, 43, brought the number of Arab <u>women</u> killed in the intifada to 16, according to officials from the Palestinian human rights group, LAW. Two other people were said to be seriously wounded.

The <u>women</u> were the first fatalities in the conflict since 21 young people, mostly Israelis from the former Soviet Union, were killed when a suicide bomber detonated himself outside a disco in Tel Aviv 10 days ago - an attack that caused Yasser Arafat to announce he would adhere to a ceasefire, earlier introduced - albeit only partially - by Israel's Ariel Sharon.

It was the most serious attack on Palestinians since Mr Sharon dispatched F-16 jets three weeks ago to bomb several Palestinian targets in the West Bank, killing 11 policemen in Nablus, after a deadly suicide bombing against Israelis.

Although the general level of bloodshed and fighting has lessened since the ceasefire, violence has continued - including Palestinian drive-by shootings of Israeli motorists, mortar attacks, and stonings - one of which injured a five -month Israeli baby - and attacks on Arabs by Jewish settlers occupying the West Bank.

#### SCRAMBLE TO SAVE CEASEFIRE AFTER ISRAELI SHELLS KILL THREE

On Saturday, at least 17 Palestinians were injured by Israeli troops using lethal rubber-coated steel bullets as they tried to cross an Israeli blockade on the West Bank.

Yesterday, there was international pressure on both sides to persevere with the teetering ceasefire - the first step in the Mitchell Commission's blueprint for returning to negotiations.

The United States' Middle East envoy, William Burns, issued a cautiously- worded statement expressing "deep regret" over the <u>women</u>'s deaths and calling on the Israeli army to minimise the risk to civilians when it shoots back at Palestinian gunmen, but also demanding a halt to Palestinian attacks on Israelis.

Mr Arafat met the European Union's security envoy, Javier Solana, and Goran Persson, the Prime Minister of Sweden, which holds the presidency of the EU.

The EU is playing an increasing role in the current diplomatic struggle to dampen the flames in the Middle East.

In a statement afterwards, the Palestinian leader vowed "to continue seeking the full implementation of the Mitchell report as a package, with a total Israeli freezing on settlement activities, including the so-called natural growth."

Israeli and Palestinian officials were yesterday preparing for an evening meeting in the West Bank town of Ramallah with the chief of the CIA, George Tenet, who has been dispatched to the region by the Bush administration, which - bowing to the inevitable - is now being drawn into deeper involvement in the conflict.

At the meeting, both sides were expected to outline their responses to a list of proposals from Mr Tenet, which was drawn up by the Americans but largely based on the Mitchell report.

According to Israel's Ha'aretz newspaper, these included the withdrawal of Israeli troops to positions of 28 September 28 (when the intifada erupted); an end to Israeli blockades of the occupied territories; the arrest by the Palestinian security forces of 20 to 30 <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad activists; an end to anti-Israel incitement on Palestinian media and the confiscation of mortars and other illegal firearms.

There are many difficulties on both sides.

For example, Palestinian officials have made clear that they have no intention at this stage of jailing Islamic militants; Israel continues to try to water down the call for a total settlement building freeze. Add to this deep distrust, mutual resentment, popular anger and the presence of violent fanatics on both sides, and the picture only looks bleak.

# **Graphic**

Relatives of three Palestinian <u>women</u> killed by Israeli tank fire hold blood-stained cloth as they sit in a tent at a refugee camp in Gaza; Adel Hana/AP

Load-Date: June 11, 2001



## With Israeli insecurity, a yearning

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

May 30, 2001, Wednesday

Copyright 2001 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 6

Length: 767 words

Byline: Ben Lynfield Special to the Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

Highlight: In the West Bank yesterday, two Israelis and one Palestinian were killed in separate incidents.

### **Body**

At first glance, Sharon Davara, a student at the Hebrew University, seems calm and collected as she sits with friends at the counter of Elisha's Espresso Bar in the heart of Jewish West Jerusalem.

It is Sunday morning, an hour after the latest bombing by Palestinian militants - this one just around the corner, near the office where she works part-time - and the third in 48 hours. It is only after Ms. Davara is asked about the apparent escalation in bomb attacks that her inner struggle appears.

"The feeling of fear controls my mind. It affects everything," says Davara, of the eight-month-old intifada, or uprising. "Before I brush my teeth, I open the newspaper to make sure nothing has been bombed... You sit on the bus and look around to see if there are Arabs or someone with a big bag. You don't want to go out." Psychologists here say the fears of Davara and Israel's 6 million other citizens are out of proportion to real danger they face. Out of the 88 Israelis who have been killed on the Israeli side during the intifada, most were on the front lines - either in the army or living in Jewish settlements. At least 478 Palestinians have been killed.

To the militant Arab groups launching the attacks, it's what terrorism is intended to do: sow insecurity among Israeli citizens and political leaders. A survey last week in the Ma'ariv newspaper showed that for the first time Israelis, by a margin of 48 to 45 percent, favor a US-imposed cease-fire in the conflict with the Palestinians. This, despite a sharp swing to right-wing parties among those surveyed.

"The message is 'come save us, the main thing is to get us out of this trouble,' " wrote Chemi Shalev, the paper's diplomatic correspondent. "The public is ready to clutch any straw that might get it out of its distress."

For <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad, the attacks "are part of a long-term struggle they hope will end up by defeating Israel and establishing an Islamic state," says Ghassan Khatib, head of the Jerusalem Media and Communications Center.

#### With Israeli insecurity, a yearning

Attacks in the occupied territories by Fatah, a Palestinian political movement with an armed wing, are "aimed at giving Israelis the impression that if there is no peace then there will be a price to pay," says Mr. Khatib.

Palestinian fears appear even more widespread. "I think everyone in the Gaza Strip is traumatized one way or another," psychiatrist lyad Sarraj recently told Reuters. "A state of tension and apprehension doesn't pass anyone by."

Anxieties for Israelis and Palestinians play out in many ways, psychologists say, beginning at home. Tensions are exacerbating among couples, who lose their sense of security and belief they can work out differences.

"People's paths in life aren't as clear as they used to be. They are all braced inside - waiting for the next attack," says Janet Baumgold-Land, a therapist at the Counseling Center for *Women* in Jerusalem.

"They stay where they are, they are not looking forward to moving onto something new. The idea is to stop here and dig in, rather than feel that the world is open," she says.

Chanoch Yerushalmi, director of student counseling at the Hebrew University, says his patients are having dreams about bombings and terrorist acts.

Cheli Mualem, who works with Davara as a telephone operator, says that every day she wonders which is the best bus line to take so that "you don't come home without your arms and legs." This kind of response is not simply a reaction to the actual danger of bombs, psychologists say. Rather, it comes from an accumulation of previous traumas or as a result of the tremendous emphasis placed by the government and media on bombings by Palestinians.

Perceptions shaped by media

"We are in a tunnel without light," says Cheli's sister, Michal, who, like many Israelis, immediately phones friends and relatives to check on them after explosions.

In the view of Ms. Baumgold-Land, the government and media highlight the bombings to convey the message that Israelis are "the good guys" while the Palestinians are "terrorists."

"They'll show footage of terrorist attacks over and over, but they won't show Palestinian [victims of the Israeli army]. The feeling is that we're the victims, it's only happening to us. We tend to demonize the other so that it becomes a whole group that is out to get us. It's way beyond a specific act."

Meanwhile, there were further escalations yesterday in the West Bank. Two Israeli settlers were killed in separate shootings by Palestinians, and one Palestinian was reported shot dead by Israeli troops.

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Load-Date: May 29, 2001

**End of Document** 



# <u>Disco bloodbath;</u> FEARS OF REPRISAL AFTER SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 17 YOUNGSTER OUTSIDE TEL AVIV NIGHTCLUB

# MAIL ON SUNDAY June 3, 2001

Copyright 2001 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: Pg. 12;13 Length: 781 words Byline: Chester Stern

### **Body**

THE Middle East was bracing itself for a violent backlash last night after the suicide bomb attack on an Israeli nightclub.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon took the unusual step of calling a full cabinet meeting on the Jewish Sabbath amid calls for a rapid retaliation against Palestinian targets.

But Tony Blair led world leaders in calling on both sides to ensure the violence does not spiral out of control.

Describing the attack which left 17 young people dead as 'completely unforgivable', the Prime Minister said he understood the grief and anger that would follow the bombing but cautioned: 'Every time the violence is ratcheted up another notch then all that happens is that it continues and scores of innocent people die.' He went on: 'I've no doubt at all that Israelis will consider very carefully what they should do, but I do believe it is important that they are moderate in their response.' US President George W. Bush condemned the bombing and called on PLO leader Yasser Arafat to denounce the killing and order an immediate ceasefire.

Horror came to Tel Aviv's teeming beachfront on Friday evening.

The promenade was crowded with many young Israelis beginning their Sabbath weekend, among them girls decked out in shiny tops, mini-dresses and platform heels.

While many Israeli discos advertise themselves to attract customers over 20, teenagers are some of their main customers since the legal drinking age of 18 is rarely enforced.

The Pacha nightclub, a converted aquarium popular with Russian immigrants, stands alongside busy restaurants and bars . . . and it was here that the bomber, who had packed a lethal mixture of nails and bullets in plastic explosive around his body, joined the queue for a party.

When the bomb went off 90 people were also wounded 15 seriously and witnesses said blood and human flesh covered cars parked nearby.

'It was a horrifying scene,' said Roni Soklitski, a night club owner.

# Disco bloodbath; FEARS OF REPRISAL AFTER SUICIDE BOMBER KILLS 17 YOUNGSTER OUTSIDE TEL AVIV NIGHTCLUB

'Dozens of teenagers were standing outside when the explosion took place.

'There was one big pile of bodies of young <u>women</u>.' Another witness, Yan Mahuteen, 25, said: 'I saw many dead girls lying on top of each other. There was a moment of silence after the explosion. It was so terrible that I just couldn't look at the bodies.' Joey Rosenfeld, 43, who heard the blast from a mile away and raced to the scene said: 'They were just kids going to the disco. They just wanted to dance and have fun.' Palestinian Islamic Jihad, which seeks to replace Israel with an Islamic state, claimed responsibility for the bombing.

Sources said the terrorist who carried out the attack was from the West Bank city of Ramallah.

One of his brothers, a *Hamas* activist, had carried out a similar attack against an Israeli bus in Jerusalem.

Ariel Sharon, Defence Minister Binyamin Ben Eliezer and Foreign Minister Shimon Peres held telephone conversations throughout the night to discuss the attack, which took more Israeli lives than any other since the Palestinian uprising began in September.

The Israeli government is under pressure to lift a unilateral ceasefire. 'I hope the Israeli people understand that there is no other choice but to go to war against targets that we haven't hit in the past,' said Gideon Ezra, a member of parliament.

Yesterday morning the Israeli army imposed a blockade on all Palestinian towns in the West Bank as Yasser Arafat condemned the outrage.

He said: 'We have exerted and we will now exert our utmost efforts to stop the bloodshed of our people and the Israeli people, and to do all that is needed to achieve an immediate and unconditional, real and effective ceasefire.' Hundreds of angry Israelis chanting 'Death to the Arabs' attacked a mosque across the street from the scene of the bombing.

They threw stones at the Hasan Bek mosque and hundreds of Arabs who barricaded themselves inside the compound responded with shouts of Allahu Akbar (God is Great). Police said several were injured.

Meanwhile hundreds of Palestinians took to the streets of Ramallah to celebrate the outrage chanting 'Sharon, Sharon, prepare the graves' as many of them fired into the air from automatic rifles. Back at the Tel Aviv forensic institute there was only sorrow as distraught families who hadn't found relatives at hospitals waited to identify their remains.

And in the chaos there was one man left wondering at his own mixed fortune.

For he had been close to death again.

Eli Yadid, 24, a Pacha club employee who had blood all over him from taking the injured to hospital, was among those injured in the collapse of a Jerusalem wedding hall that killed 23 people last week.

'I don't understand,' he said. 'I feel like tragedy is chasing me.'

Load-Date: June 4, 2001



# Israelis blast Arafat's HQ: 'Last chance of peace gone' after two killed in attack by helicopter gunships as Sharon retaliates

The Guardian (London)
March 29, 2001

Copyright 2001 Guardian Newspapers Limited

Section: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 1

Length: 792 words

Byline: Suzanne Goldenberg in Jerusalem

### **Body**

Israeli army helicopters attacked the headquarters of Yasser Arafat's elite forces last night after a day when another suicide bomber claimed the lives of two teenagers.

Witnesses said helicopter gunships fired missiles on Gaza and the West Bank city of Ramallah, setting buildings and cars on fire, knocking out electricity and killing at least two Palestinians in Ramallah. Dozens were wounded.

One of the dead was a bodyguard to the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat. The other was a civilian woman. Mr Arafat's home in Gaza was among the damaged buildings.

An adviser to Mr Arafat said the retaliatory strikes had destroyed the last chances of peace. "This is a dangerous escalation," Nabil Abu Rdainah, who was with Mr Arafat in the Jordanian capital, Amman, said. "We hold the Israeli government fully responsible."

The US state department in Washington declared the violence futile, for both sides. "We recognise Israel's need to provide for its security. At the same time, we do not believe there is a military solution to this conflict," a spokesman said.

In Israel the military said its helicopters had fired on six targets in the Gaza Strip, including installations of Mr Arafat's Force 17 in the Jabaliya refugee camp and a police installation in Deir al-Baleh in the south.

The low-flying Israeli gunships blasted a Force 17 building that had been used as an arsenal, only 100 metres from Mr Arafat's house and 500 metres from his headquarters on Gaza's coast. The Palestinians said the building had been empty for some time. **Women** and children screamed as they fled from nearby buildings.

Mr Arafat was in Jordan, where Arab leaders ended a two-day summit in Amman with pledges of financial aid to the Palestinian Authority.

In Ramallah tanks and helicopters struck a single target, again a building of Force 17.

"Our task is to hit directly at the sources of fire," an Israeli spokesman said. Palestinian officials said the Israeli army had warned them beforehand to leave.

Israelis blast Arafat's HQ: 'Last chance of peace gone' after two killed in attack by helicopter gunships as Sharon retaliates

Last night's hour-long attacks were the physical expression of Mr Sharon's regular accusations against Force 17. He has repeatedly blamed the unit, and by implication Mr Arafat, for drive-by shootings of Jewish settlers, and the firing on their enclaves by Palestinian militants.

He also blamed Mr Arafat for the suicide bombing that killed two schoolboys yesterday morning - which the armed wing of the Islamist militant organisation <u>Hamas</u> said it carried out - because his administration had freed many jailed bombers.

"To my sorrow, despite the fact that many in the world thought a new leader had arisen here, to my sorrow he (Arafat) has remained a leader of terror," Mr Sharon said yesterday in parliament, hours before ordering the attacks.

Since a sniper's bullet killed a baby girl on Monday in the enclave of extremist Jewish settlers inside the West Bank city of Hebron, Mr Sharon has faced a growing clamour to retaliate swiftly and harshly against commanders of the Palestinian uprising.

The pressure increased with two bombings in Jerusalem on Tuesday, and yesterday morning's suicide attack in central Israel. The cry for revenge put Mr Sharon in a peculiar position: the hardliner with a 50-year history of dealing harshly with Israel's Arab neighbours was being accused of going soft since his installation as prime minister three weeks ago.

It also showed his helplessness in soothing Israelis' anxieties on security, the same fears that saw former prime minister Ehud Barak trounced at the polls last month.

"Everyone who sees these things that have occurred over the course of 36 hours understands exactly what kind of sit uation we are in," Mr Sharon told Israel Radio earlier yesterday. Then he promised: "If our deterrence has been slightly eroded it will soon be fully restored." Most analysts - and Mr Sharon's advisers- had predicted that he would hold off for the duration of the Arab summit in Jordan.

Mr Sharon is now expected to consider further measures. In opposition he said Mr Barak's policy of bombing raids on Palestinian police installations was ineffective.

But Mr Sharon will have to weigh his next steps carefully. For all of his efforts to implicate Mr Arafat directly in the bombing attacks inside the borders of the Jewish state, and the drive-by shootings that have terrified Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, last night's missions remain extremely controversial in the international commu nity, and the prime minister knows it.

In the morning, he held a phone conversation with the US president, George Bush, part of a wider effort to get diplomatic sanction for a resort to greater military might to try to end the uprising.

No UN observers, page 15 Leader comment, page 23 Latest news at guardian.co.uk/israel

Load-Date: March 29, 2001

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# ISRAEL ATTACKS ARAFAT'S ELITE GUARD IN GAZA, WEST BANK; STRIKES ARE IN RETALIATION FOR KILLINGS, BOMBINGS OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS; TWO DOZEN PALESTINIANS ARE INJURED

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

March 29, 2001, Thursday, FIVE STAR LIFT EDITION

Copyright 2001 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.

Section: NEWS, Pg. A1

Length: 706 words

Byline: From News Services

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIPMIDDLE EAST; JEWS; ARABS; HOLY LAND; ISRAELIS; TERRORISM; PLO

### **Body**

Israeli helicopters rocketed the headquarters of Yasser Arafat's elite Force 17 guard in Gaza and the West Bank town of Ramallah on Wednesday. The airstrikes were in retaliation for a wave of killings and bombings, including a suicide attack that killed two Israeli teen-agers earlier Wednesday.

Red flares lighted up the night sky over Ramallah, where two people were killed in the assault, and flames leaped from burning buildings and cars as firefighters tried to extinguish multiple blazes.

Doctors in Ramallah said the dead were a member of Force 17 and a *female* civilian. Overall, more than two dozen Palestinians were injured in Ramallah and Gaza, several critically, doctors said.

The attacks on Palestinian government buildings were the first since last fall.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has repeatedly accused Force 17 of involvement in attacks against Israeli civilians.

"The purpose is to strike directly at those responsible for terrorism," the Israeli military said in a statement. The military said it hit the Force 17 headquarters in Ramallah and four Force 17 targets around Gaza City and Deir al-Balah in the southern Gaza Strip, including a training camp and an arms depot.

The buildings under attack all are in areas governed by Arafat's Palestinian Authority under peace agreements. They had been evacuated after the Israeli military warned the Palestinians to leave.

In Gaza City, the low-flying Israeli gunships blasted a Force 17 building that had been used as a weapons arsenal and that is only 100 yards from Arafat's house. The Palestinians said the building had been empty for some time, but **women** and children screamed as they fled nearby buildings.

Arafat's home in the Gaza Strip was damaged by the helicopter strike, Reuters News Service said.

# ISRAEL ATTACKS ARAFAT'S ELITE GUARD IN GAZA, WEST BANK; STRIKES ARE IN RETALIATION FOR KILLINGS, BOMBINGS OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS; TWO DOZEN PALESTINIANS ARE INJ....

Reuters television footage showed rooms of Arafat's house strewn with shattered glass and debris, walls with broken plaster and a hole in one wall that apparently was hit by a missile. In footage filmed by Palestinian television a short while earlier, senior Palestinian police officials toured the house, inspecting the damage.

In Washington, Richard Boucher, the State Department spokesman, said the use of force cannot end the conflict.

Boucher said, "We recognize Israel's need to provide for its security." But, he added, "We do not believe there is a military solution to this conflict."

Boucher announced the U.S. reaction hours after the United States, standing by Israel, used its first U.N. veto since 1997 to kill a Security Council resolution backing a U.N. observer force to help protect Palestinians.

Arafat was in Amman, Jordan, where Arab leaders wrapped up a two-day summit meeting earlier Wednesday with pledges of financial aid to the cash-strapped Palestinian Authority.

In a summit statement, Arab leaders voiced "their continued commitment to a comprehensive, permanent and just peace in the Middle East" but also assailed Israel in language that recalled Arab wars with Israel. The Israeli strikes happened after the meeting ended.

Senior Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat called the Israeli attacks "a response to the Arab summit" and noted that it followed the U.S. veto of a resolution for a force that the Palestinians had requested.

The nighttime assault took place hours after a suicide bomber detonated nail-filled explosives strapped to his body near a group of Jewish seminary students, killing two. The previous day, militants carried out back-to-back attacks, including a suicide attack that injured two dozen people.

The Palestinian militant group <u>Hamas</u> claimed responsibility for both suicide bombings and said more bombers were ready to strike.

The teen-agers had been dropped off at a gas station Wednesday near the communal farm of Sdeh Hemed, about 15 miles northeast of Tel Aviv near the boundary of the West Bank. They were waiting for a bus to their school in the West Bank.

The assailant, described as a man in his late 20s with black hair and a mustache, approached the youngsters.

"He looked at them. Then the explosion went off," said one of the students, Rafael Somer, 15, suppressing tears. "I was hurled backward. When I got up, I saw one of my friends without hands. Another friend was torn apart." Somer was lightly injured.

# **Graphic**

PHOTO (1) COLOR PHOTO headshot - (Yasser) Arafat

His house is damaged in attack

(2) COLOR PHOTO by THE ASSOCIATED PRESS - In an image from television, firefighters in the West Bank town of Ramallah try to extinguish blazes that were ignited Wednesday when Israeli forces fired on the headquarters of Yasser Arafat's elite guard.

Load-Date: March 29, 2001

ISRAEL ATTACKS ARAFAT'S ELITE GUARD IN GAZA, WEST BANK; STRIKES ARE IN RETALIATION FOR KILLINGS, BOMBINGS OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS; TWO DOZEN PALESTINIANS ARE INJ....

**End of Document** 



### Arafat agrees to restart talks

The Cambridge Reporter January 2, 2001 Tuesday

Copyright 2001 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd. **Section:** CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A6

Length: 753 words

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

## **Body**

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat has agreed to go to Washington in an effort to restart Mideast peace talks, Palestinian officials said yesterday.

The announcement came as continuing clashes with Israeli forces and apparent revenge attacks for the killing of a prominent Jewish settler left four Palestinians dead in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, including a 10-year-old boy.

In another development, a car bomb caused three rapid-fire explosions yesterday evening in the Israeli coastal city of Netanya, blowing out shop windows and blasting apart vehicles. Dozens were injured, one seriously. AP

Jewish settlers, angry over the ambush shooting Sunday that killed extremist leader Binyamin Kahane and his wife Talia - the son and daughter-in-law of the late Rabbi Meir Kahane - blocked the entrances of several Palestinian towns in the West Bank yesterday, vowing to take back the roads.

In one incident, a 22-year-old Palestinian was killed by Jewish settlers firing on a crowd in his West Bank village.

Yesterday's deaths also included a Palestinian boy, Muad Abu Adwan, 10, who died after reportedly being caught in crossfire Sunday in the West Bank town of Hebron.

Elsewhere, two Palestinian policemen were killed late Sunday on the outskirts of Tulkarem, the same West Bank town where a senior activist in the Fatah movement was assassinated, apparently by Israeli security forces, earlier in the day.

The Israeli Army claimed the policemen were slain in a gun battle with its forces. But Palestinian hospital officials said bones in their hands had been crushed, suggesting they may have been beaten before being shot.

Meanwhile, in an incident that could inspire more rage, an Associated Press news cameraman partly filmed an unarmed 50-year-old Palestinian being shot yesterday after Israeli soldiers stopped him from passing through a tense part of the West Bank town of Hebron.

Footage showed a man identified by his family as retired garbage collector Jadallah al-Jabari talking with a soldier manning a barricade near the town's market.

The footage halts and then resumes to show the man lying on the ground, clutching his leg, his foot nearly severed.

#### Arafat agrees to restart talks

The cameraman had walked away and did not see the shooting. But he said only about a minute elapsed between the time he filmed al-Jabari and when he heard two shots. He said he believed the shots came from a second soldier.

The bomb attack in Netanya, 35 kilometres north of Tel Aviv, shattered shop windows and destroyed a car parked along a central shopping street. Several witnesses reported hearing three explosions in rapid succession, the Israeli news media reported.

Israeli Radio reported more than 50 people were treated in hospital. Lt.-Col. Danny Ronen said police suspected the only gravely wounded person, a man, was involved in planting the bomb.

There was no immediate claim of responsibility. The <u>Hamas</u> militant group denied involvement but called such attacks a holy right for Palestinians resisting the occupation of their land.

Palestinians, meanwhile, held marches and demonstrations throughout the West Bank and Gaza in a show of support for the 36th anniversary of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement.

Grassroots leaders of Fatah and other Palestinian groups have been pressing Arafat to turn down U.S.-peace proposals, which they say fail to protect the rights of refugees among other things.

I say that our people are very strong and will continue their struggles and confrontations, Arafat said in Gaza.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak said that if a peace deal could not be reached with the Palestinians, Israel could pursue a plan of unilateral separation, including unilaterally setting boundaries between the two sides.

We must part from the Palestinians, he said. It is one of our highest priorities to do so in an agreement, but we will have to prepare to do so without an agreement if it becomes clear that the Palestinians are not interested in an agreement under terms acceptable to Israel.

Arafat spokesman Nabil Aburedeneh called the Palestinian leader's planned visit to Washington a decisive visit at which the future of the peace process will be determined.

Palestinian officials announced today's early morning trip after President Bill Clinton called on Arafat in an attempt to pressure him to say yes to the U.S. leader's invitation to peace talks.

Clinton talked to Arafat for 45 minutes by telephone yesterday and a meeting between the two could take place as early as today in Washington, a White House official said.

# **Graphic**

AP; Palestinian <u>women</u> grieve as the funeral procession passes yesterday in the West Bank town of Tulkarem for Thabet Thabet, a prominent member of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement who was shot to death Sunday.

Load-Date: December 2, 2002



#### **MIDEAST: PEACE OR ENDLESS WAR?**

The Toronto Star
October 6, 2000, Friday, Edition 1

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Section: NEWS

Length: 767 words

#### **Body**

IT IS NOT easy to think of any public figure in any democratic country who in recent years has behaved as recklessly, as stupidly and as destructively as Israel's Likud leader Ariel Sharon did by making a visit to the Temple Mount in Jerusalem last week.

Some 70 people have died since in riots and street clashes, and the peace talks between Israelis and Palestinians have halted completely.

More culpable than Sharon's recklessness was his opportunism. He's not a religious man, so his visit to what Muslims call the Haram al-Sharif, their third holiest place, but also believed by Jews to be the site of the Second Temple that was destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D., was not motivated by piety.

Sharon's motive was politicial in the narrowest and most self-interested sense of that term. By reasserting Israel's claim to sovereignty over the Temple Mount by his own presence, Sharon hoped to upstage former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, who is expected to return to active politics and to reclaim his leadership of Likud now that he's been cleared of corruption charges.

The presence of any Israeli leader at the Temple Mount at a time when the issue of sovereignty over this holy site is the single most difficult item in the peace negotiations would have been exceedingly provocative.

That it was Sharon who should have done it made an explosion certain. Arabs and Palestinians refer to Sharon as "a butcher" and recall that he led the Israelis' 1982 invasion of Lebanon that resulted in the massacres in Palestinian refugee camps and that he once led a commando squad that killed dozens of Arab <u>women</u> and children sheltering in basements in the village of Qibya.

Sharon's troubled history goes a long way to explaining one of the most important aspects of the reaction to his visit. This time, and for the first time in the long conflict between Israelis and Palestinians, many of Israel's own Arabs, full citizens of the country in law although second-class citizens in fact, took to the streets not just to protest but to attack Israeli soldiers and police.

As these Israeli-Arabs start to identify themselves as Palestinians, Israel is facing a potential civil war at the same time it is struggling to negotiate peace with the Palestinians and other Arabs.

It's one thing that Sharon should have guessed much of this would happen and welcomed the probable response since the violence has halted the peace talks that he opposes.

#### MIDEAST: PEACE OR ENDLESS WAR?

It's quite another matter that Prime Minister Ehud Barak, who could have foreseen most of these consequences, failed to intervene to prevent or, at the very least, delay Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount.

Here resides the most disheartening aspect of the peace talks. They are taking place - at the moment, not taking place at all - between two weak leaders.

On his side, Barak, whose coalition has split apart, faces defeat in a non- confidence vote in parliament. According to polls, his Labour party trails the right-wing Likud. If that party is led by Netanyahu, Barak's defeat becomes highly probable.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's condition is worse. He is presiding over a corrupt, chaotic, bankrupt state. His credentials as a freedom fighter have long since faded and he's challenged by the extremist *Hamas* movement.

Arafat's weakness makes it almost impossible for him to accept any settlement of divided sovereignty in Jerusalem that does not make it seem he and the Palestinians emerged as winners from the bargaining.

The same is true for Barak. If he's seen to have lost, he would pay the price by losing the election.

Just one, slender, ground for hope remains. This is that both men now need each other. The wording of any deal and, therefore, its appearance, now becomes more important than its actual contents.

There is one other, fragile, reason to be hopeful. The 1990 intifada uprising by Palestinian youth shook Israelis' confidence in themselves and in their ability to control events as did no other event in the Middle East struggle. Out of it came the Oslo talks and an initial peace agreement.

The prospect of a second - internal - intifada, waged this time by Israeli- Arabs, may cause Israelis to once again examine themselves and to grant Barak the manoeuvring room he needs to craft out a compromise, such as the surrendering of sovereignty over the Temple Mount to the United Nations.

In brief, things are now so bad in the Middle East that everyone may realize the stark alternatives are either peace or endless, brutal war.

Richard Gwyn's column appears Wednesday, Friday and Sunday. He can be reached at gwynR@sympatico.ca

Load-Date: October 6, 2000



# Israelis bombard Gaza after bus bomb

The Guardian (London)

November 21, 2000

Copyright 2000 Guardian Newspapers Limited

Section: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 2

Length: 813 words

Byline: Suzanne Goldenberg in Gaza City and Virginia Quirke in Jerusalem

#### **Body**

Israeli gunboats and attack helicopters inflicted their most devastating reprisal in nearly eight weeks of bloody conflict last night, punishing the Palestinians for the bombing of a settler school bus.

The two-hour barrage was Israel's explosive reply to yesterday morning's attack on a school bus in the Gush Katif bloc of Jewish settlements in southern Gaza. The blast ripped holes in the bus the size of melons, killing a woman teacher and a man and wounding five children. Three were from the same family; two underwent amputations.

Last night's bombardment, which sent more than 30 missiles streaking towards security installations, political offices, and a television tower, shattered fragile hopes of the last three days that Israel and the Palestinians were edging towards a truce. Instead, there was the dreary return to mutual recrimination.

Fighting between Israeli troops and Palestinians raged late last night, hours after the missile strikes. Gun battles were reported near the West Bank town of Ramallah, in the divided town of Hebron and near Jewish settlements and military bases in Gaza.

Israel's prime minister, Ehud Barak, said later that he would try to stop the violence, which has killed more than 240 people, mainly Palestinians. But Israel would wreak harsh retribution for any attack on its own, to "make the Palestinian Authority understand it will not achieve anything with violence".

Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority said it "holds the Israeli government and Israeli army fully responsible for this criminal aggression". The statement also appealed to the international community to intervene to stop the "barbaric attacks".

Three obscure groups - the Palestinian Hizbullah, the al-Aqsa martyrs, and Omar al-Mukhtar - claimed responsibility for the bus bombing. However, Israel's choice of targets made it clear that it considers Mr Arafat's police and security services, and the armed tanzim militias of his Fatah movement the real culprits.

During the last five weeks, Israel has repeatedly accused Mr Arafat of giving a "green light" to militant bombers, by freeing <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad activists from his jails in the West Bank and Gaza. The Palestinians later rearrested most of the militants.

For weeks there have been almost daily bombings of army and settler buses in Gaza. But none came close to yesterday's horror, exacted by a mortar bomb which shot large pieces of shrapnel straight through the armoured vehicle, on the morning school run. The well- planned operation ended with the escape of three men, who fled on foot into territory under Palestinian control, Israel's army said.

#### Israelis bombard Gaza after bus bomb

For Mr Barak, who has spent this crisis veering between his personas of former army chief and one-time peacemaker, the bombing could not have come at a worse time. On Sunday, he managed to stave off a reprisal for the killing of a soldier in Gaza by arguing that it would play into Palestinian hands by escalating the bloodshed. Yesterday, as a large crowd of settlers converged on his home in Jerusalem, accusing him of having "blood on his hands", Mr Barak was pushed into action.

The revenge was swift, with more than a dozen missiles landing within the first 15 min utes. As Gaza descended into chaos and pitch black - when the power went out - hundreds poured on to the city's main avenue to gawp at a sky lit brilliant blue by tracer fire guiding helicopters to their targets on all sides of the city.

Footsoldiers of Mr Arafat's Fatah milita roamed the streets with assault rifles. But they, like most Palestinians, were angry, not afraid.

"O Barak, listen, isten," they said scrunching over broken glass in front of the Fatah headquarters, a three-story building whose facade was punctured by three missiles. "Our people will never kneel."

Even old men threatened revenge. "Israel's mothers will suffer as much as our own," said Atta Abu Karish, a member of Fatah's higher council, struggling to turn back the crowds as the rattle of helicopters signaled a further attack.

Doctors at Gaza City's Shifa hospital said 50 people were wounded. In the emergency room, most casualties were in uniform, although a man arrived cradling his son, and two **women** were also admitted.

The casualties could have been far higher. As word of the bus bombing spread, the authorities cleared out police, intelligence, and coastguard buildings, decanting hundreds of armed men into the streets in anticipation of Israeli reprisals. People living near expected targets also fled; some took refuge in the grounds of the hospital.

Armed men in the various uniforms of the Palestinian Authority shoved their way through the crowds, bearing stretchers of their wounded comrades. One coastguard, who was hit in the knee in one of the first strikes, said: "The helicopter just stopped in front of us, and hung over the beach. Then I was hit."

Settler children, page 17

Load-Date: November 21, 2000



# <u>MIDEAST FLARE-UP KILLS 6;</u> 100 MORE PALESTINIANS HURT IN WEST BANK CLASH

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)
October 28, 2000, Saturday,
SOONER EDITION

Copyright 2000 P.G. Publishing Co.

Section: WORLD, Length: 727 words

Byline: EDWARD CODY, THE WASHINGTON POST

Dateline: EL BIREH, West Bank --

#### **Body**

In a mortal choreography, they all played their roles. Excited Palestinian youths hurled stones at Israeli soldiers 75 yards up the road. Palestinian gunmen peeking from the windows of nearby buildings fired short bursts of gunfire. And the Israeli soldiers, huddled behind their jeeps, responded with relentless volleys of tear gas canisters, rubbercoated bullets and standard ammunition from sniper rifles.

By the end of the drama -- one of a dozen that played out across Gaza and the West Bank -- a half-dozen more Palestinian youths were killed and more than 100 Palestinians were injured, including a <u>women</u> shot in the back as she tried to pick olives in a grove near this West Bank town about 15 miles north of Jerusalem. Another fatality was the hope that several days of relative calm earlier this week might hold promise for an end to a month of violence that has killed more than 135 people and made peace between Israel and the Palestinians seem more remote than any time in a decade.

"We cannot specify precisely how long this confrontation will last, but it's not a matter of days," the Israeli Army chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Shaul Mofaz, told Army Radio. "In my estimation, it's a matter of months."

Tayed Abdul-Rahim, a top lieutenant of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, interpreted Mofaz's comments as an indication that Prime Minister Ehud Barak's Israeli government plans to prolong the violence to impose an unacceptable settlement on the Palestinians that it could not obtain through negotiations.

While President Clinton pleads for peacemaking meetings in Washington with Barak and Arafat, officials on both sides of the battle here seemed instead to be girding for a prolonged period of grinding street clashes and political invective. And their followers -- the Israeli soldiers who fired on protesters and the Palestinian youths who provoked them with rocks and bullets -- seemed deeply committed to their roles as combatants.

At a news conference in Washington, Clinton expressed frustration over yesterday's killings and said violence would have to abate before serious peace talks could resume.

"I'm very disturbed about today because we actually had two or three good days here where there was very little violence," Clinton said. Asked about possible meetings with Barak and Arafat, he said, "I think there has to be a much lower level of violence before they could meet together and talk about the long-term prospects for peace."

#### MIDEAST FLARE-UP KILLS 6; 100 MORE PALESTINIANS HURT IN WEST BANK CLASH

For most of the day after noon prayers, dozens of young Palestinians braved the stench and irritation of teargas to rush up to a makeshift barricade on the edge of town and throw stones at the Israeli jeeps just up the road. Hundreds more stood back and watched, then dashed up to join the melee, only to retreat again after a hollow explosion rang out and another volley of canisters dropped down to spread their nauseating gas.

Ambulances whined up and down the street, dashing into the crowd to pick up a wounded youth and carry him to a field hospital about 500 yards back or, in the case of serious injuries, to the main hospital in the adjoining town of Ramallah. Doctors and Red Crescent paramedics at the field hospital -- set up in the basement garage of an apartment building -- used tranquilizers and drips to revive youths overcome by tear gas.

The youths, most of them of high-school age, dared one another to stay at the front, laughing as if in a game. They wrapped their faces with the Palestinians' traditional checkered headdress or tied a green banner from the Islamic Resistance Front, *Hamas*, around their forehead. Some wore black ski masks to conceal their identity.

"Mohammed, you chicken, what are you doing back here?" shouted a slender youth, so young his mustache was only a wisp, as he came running back from the barricade and discovered his companion watching from a distance.

"That is my son," a man boasted as his 15-year-old approached. "I try to keep him back, but he wants to participate."

A man sold sweet drinks from a cart on one side of the crowd; another man and his son sold kabobs of lamb and liver on the other. Palestinian policemen, armed with AK47 assault rifles, directed Ramallah traffic away from the scene of the clashes and chatted amiably with older protesters. As far as could be seen, they neither encouraged nor discouraged the youths heading for the barricades.

#### **Graphic**

PHOTO, PHOTO: Lefteris Pitarakis/Associated Press: A Palestinian; demonstrator throws back a tear gas canister during yesterday's clashes with; Israeli soldiers in the West Bank town of Ramallah.

Load-Date: November 2, 2000



# Caught in Mideast crossfire

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
October 15, 2000, Sunday, FINAL

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Section: News; A4 Length: 837 words

**Byline: TOMMY SCHNURMACHER** 

# **Body**

Canadian parents frequently complain that their children are exposed to excessive violence on television.

In the Middle East, it's a different story. Children are part of the violence.

The world was horrified seeing the footage of 12-year-old Palestinian Mohammed Aldura shot dead as he and his father were caught in a crossfire.

What was this young boy doing in the midst of a gun battle?

Part of the blame lies with the Palestinian leadership, which encourages its own children and teenagers to get in harm's way. The anti-Israel and anti-Jewish indoctrination of Palestinian children is an integral part of the education system in that part of the world.

'Beware of the Jews'

An Islamic education textbook warns: "One must beware of the Jews, for they are treacherous and disloyal."

That's in Grade 9.

Elementary-school students in Grade 6 read a book called The Conqueror of Africa, which says: "The first words the young boy heard were the words Jihad, attack and conquest. For him, no joy equaled the participation in Jihad. ... Nothing gave him more pleasure than the sight of the enemy lying dead on the battlefield ... coming down on them, blow after blow, crushing their skulls."

A substantial percentage of the Palestinians killed or injured over the past few weeks have been under the age of 16, because the Israeli army faces a foe that insists on having adolescents at the front line of riots and demonstrations.

No matter what the content of their education, children should be in school and not engaging in battle.

Despite the current crisis, Israelis have not been cheering the death of Palestinians.

However, when a Palestinian mob of businessmen and merchants lynched two Israeli soldiers, their brutal actions were greeted with roars of approval.

#### Caught in Mideast crossfire

Not content with murdering unarmed reservists, the mob went even farther. They desecrated the corpses and used knives to hack away parts of the bodies.

Friday's papers across the country showed the cheers of the crowd saluting the sight of one of the rioters at the police-station window with fresh blood on his hands.

Hanan Ashrawi, a member of Chairman Yasser Arafat's government frequently interviewed as a Palestinian spokesman on CNN broadcasts, was not a member of that angry mob.

Yet she could not bring herself to condemn the torture and executions. She insisted that the Palestinian Liberation Organization would "continue to resist and fight."

Ashrawi would undoubtedly prefer the entire Israeli army to be as helpless as those two soldiers.

It is clear that whatever Arafat and Ashrawi cannot win at the negotiating table, they hope to accomplish through violence. Arafat continues to insist that he will have full control of all Jerusalem.

Were that ever to occur, one imagines that the Wailing Wall would be treated with the same respect and dignity reserved for Joseph's Tomb, which was ransacked and demolished within five hours of being handed over to Palestinian authorities.

#### Killed Rabbi

In addition to destroying the building, Palestinians also managed to ruthlessly kill Hillel Lieberman, a rabbi whose only crime was trying to save holy books.

There may not have been any videotaped footage of how that poor man was killed, but Lieberman joins the hallowed ranks of other selfless rabbis - many of whom lost their lives in Nazi Germany as they tried to save sacred scrolls from hate-filled gangs.

Every nation in the world, including Canada, routinely votes against Israel in the United Nations. The most recent UN resolution was one-sided enough to contain no criticism at all of the violence directed at Israel.

One should not hold one's breath waiting for the despot-ridden UN to condemn the torture and execution of helpless Israeli reservists. Nor will it condemn Arafat for opening Palestinian jails to release terrorists from <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad.

Right-wing politician Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount has been used by the Palestinian authority as the excuse to justify the violence.

Even if the visit was ill-advised, Palestinians could have registered their protest by demonstrating vigorously against Sharon. Instead they chose to rain a shower of rocks and stones on the heads of Jewish men, <u>women</u> and children praying at the Wailing Wall.

The UN might have been more pleased if the Israeli army had allowed its own people to be stoned to death or driven from Judaism's holiest site. Videotaped footage could have been used for political purposes, but Israel does not believe in using victims of violence as public-relations material. Instead, the Israeli army sought to protect the victims from the onslaught.

We can always hope for peace, but many Arab leaders are hoping to destroy the state of Israel.

The Canadian government should support Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak to make sure they do not get their way.

- Tommy Schnurmacher is heard weekdays 9 a.m. to noon on CJAD Radio 800. His E-mail address is tommys@total.net

# Caught in Mideast crossfire

Load-Date: October 15, 2000



# PERES TO MEET ARAFAT IN BID TO END CLASHES REVIVING PEACE PROCESS 'ONLY CHOICE'

#### The Scotsman

November 1, 2000, Wednesday

Copyright 2000 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.

Section: Pg. 11

Length: 795 words

Byline: Ben Lynfield In Al-Bireh, West Bank

#### **Body**

A DAY after Israel used missiles to signal its determination to control the Palestinian uprising, the Jewish state's elder statesmen, Shimon Peres, announced that he would meet Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in a bid to defuse the violence.

Mr Peres, the Israeli government minister for regional co-operation, said last night he would join Mr Arafat during the next few days in the first bilateral meeting since the uprising began more than a month ago.

"I think there is no choice for the Palestinians, or for us, other than to continue the peace process. And the sooner we do it, the better we will be serving our peoples," Mr Peres said.

The remarks came amid Palestinian bitterness over Israel's strike late on Monday night against the office of Mr Arafat's Fatah movement here. Neighbours said no-one was injured in the attack, which came after a helicopter circled repeatedly in a warning to evacuate the building. The restroom of the Fatah office was destroyed and a neighbouring house was slightly damaged.

The attack portended - in the words of army officials - a shift to "offensive tactics" and it came as part of the widest strikes yet against Fatah targets.

In the Gaza Strip yesterday, Israeli troops shot dead three Palestinians during clashes at a crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

Officials at Gaza's Shifa Hospital said two men, aged 17 and 22, were shot in the head, while the third, aged 23, was shot in the chest.

A CNN journalist, Ben Wedeman, 41, was shot in the back during the clashes and was later reported in stable condition. A total of 152 people have died, all but 12 of them Arabs, in more than a month of violence.

Missile attacks also took place late on Monday night on a Fatah office in the northern West Bank city of Nablus, and on Mr Arafat's Force 17 presidential guard offices in the Gaza Strip town of Khan Yunis.

The helicopter assaults were prompted by the killing of two Israelis in Jerusalem, for which army officials hold Fatah responsible.

#### PERES TO MEET ARAFAT IN BID TO END CLASHES REVIVING PEACE PROCESS 'ONLY CHOICE'

One man, Kodesh Gilmor, was gunned down at close range on Monday, while the bound and stabbed body of another man, Amos Mahlouf, was found the same day.

"This is a warning signal to those who perpetrated and planned the attacks that we can reach them wherever they are and that it is the responsibility of those who sit in those headquarters to take control of their gunmen and stop the violence," said an Israeli army spokesman, Colonel Raanan Gissin.

Standing in rubble in Al-Bireh, a Fatah activist, Abu Kassam, said yesterday that the office had nothing to do with those killings. "We give services to families of martyrs, and of prisoners. We have no weapons here."

He said the killings in Jerusalem were a response to "the Israeli massacres of our people," a reference to the violence that has left 152 people dead, all but 12 of them Arab.

In recent weeks, Israel has tended to define Fatah in terms of its gunmen, described by Mr Gissin as terrorists in a throwback to the 1982 Lebanon invasion. But Fatah, which means "conquest" in Arabic, is at once the backbone of the Palestinian Authority and the main mobilising force for Mr Arafat.

A kind of ruling party, it exerts control at universities, unions, non -governmental organisations and <u>women</u>'s groups and has branches in almost every Palestinian village, refugee camp and town.

While Fatah is the engine behind the uprising, it was also the driving force behind Palestinian backing for the 1993 Oslo Agreement on self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Unlike the Islamic Resistance Movement, <u>Hamas</u>, which calls for Israel's destruction, Fatah over the years moved from the idea of armed struggle to liberate all of historic Palestine to a renunciation of terrorism and espousal of a two-state solution.

In the view of activists like Mr Kassam, Fatah has not changed since 1993; it is Israel that has moved away from peace by expanding Jewish settlements and refusing to accept a Palestinian state with its capital in East Jerusalem.

Israeli officials counter that they have offered Mr Arafat viable compromises but that instead he is using violence to improve his negotiating position.

As Israel carries out strikes against Fatah targets, it is well-aware that it is hitting its past and potential negotiating partner, according to Joseph Alpher, a leading Israeli strategic analyst. "This is a reason for restraint," he said. "But at the same time, the idea is to deter and punish."

"Fatah in historical terms and official terms is still our partner," Mr Alpher said. "The fact that our helicopters targeted its militant wings is an indication that something is wrong.

"But I wouldn't say Fatah is the enemy. Certain elements in Fatah are behaving like the enemy rather than partners in the peace process."

Load-Date: November 1, 2000



#### 'Global justice' may rewrite US law books

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

August 10, 2000, Thursday

Copyright 2000 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: USA; Pg. 2 Length: 832 words

Byline: Justin Brown, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

Highlight: Two civil cases help put US at vanguard of universal law. But officials remain wary.

#### **Body**

A new round of lawsuits is testing America's willingness to be part of a global justice system.

For the past decade, the United States has been confronted with the concept of "universal jurisdiction": whether, for example, a foreign citizen can be punished in the US for a crime committed elsewhere. The debate gained new intensity globally last year, when dictator Augusto Pinochet was indicted by a Spanish judge and detained in Britain for crimes allegedly committed while he ruled Chile.

Now two civil cases in New York federal courthouses test similar legal waters for the US. Experts say such cases are helping create a global legal system in which international criminals cannot hide from justice. Yet American officials are generally hesitant to embrace the concept of universal jurisdiction in criminal cases, worried about loss of US sovereignty or retaliation by other nations.

But in civil cases, "US courts have been at the vanguard," says Diane Orentlicher, an international-law expert at American University in Washington.

In one of the current cases, a group of Muslim <u>women</u> and children from Bosnia are suing Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb military leader accused of committing war crimes in Bosnia during the early 1990s. They want millions of dollars to compensate for the actions of the army under Mr. Karadzic's command, which allegedly committed genocide, rape, and torture.

The second case was brought by the family of an Israeli-American man who was killed during a 1996 terrorist attack in Jerusalem. Named in the suit are two Syrian military officials, the Syrian defense minister, and the leader of Syrian forces in Lebanon. The family of the victim alleges that the Syrians provided training and resources to help the Palestinian terrorist organization *Hamas* carry out the attack.

#### 'Global justice' may rewrite US law books

In both cases the defendants deny the charges, and it is unlikely that they will appear in court. Even if a jury penalizes the defendants in absentia, it is improbable that the victims or victims' families will ever collect damages - unless there are assets in the US that can be seized.

Still, such an outcome, alongside the Pinochet case, could push forward the concept of a global legal system.

On Tuesday, Chile's Supreme Court lifted General Pinochet's immunity from prosecution, opening the way for the former dictator (now back in Chile) to be tried on human rights charges.

Universal language of law?

In the US, the legal system is coming under increasing pressure to address this new type of global justice. Yet, so far the government has not explicitly taken a comprehensive position that balances civil and criminal law.

"The US has been inconsistent in its approach," says Bruce Broomhall of the International Justice Lawyers Committee. "Sometimes they're in favor of [universal jurisdiction], sometimes they're against it."

US lags in criminal law

Mr. Broomhall and other human rights advocates say that the US is lagging behind other advanced Western countries when it comes to international criminal law. US law allows the pursuit only of civil cases.

Countries such as Canada, Germany, Belgium, and South Africa are expected to make new laws for criminal prosecution soon. Other European countries have already passed such laws or are expected to follow suit.

In the US, civil cases are based on two different laws. One allows American terrorism victims to sue sponsoring countries for compensation. That law is being used in the case against Syria.

Another, the Alien Torts Claim Act, allows aliens to sue in US federal court if acts were committed against them in violation of the law of nations or a US treaty.

It has already been used once against a Bosnian Serb in 1998, and is being used against Karadzic.

Protecting US sovereignty

Yet, when it comes to criminal law, US officials are hesitant to lend their support. The concern is that, if the US allows for criminal prosecution of crimes committed abroad, other countries could retaliate against the US.

A similar principle exists with diplomatic immunity.

"It's necessary to prevent the harassment of American dignitaries overseas," says Brett Scaefer of the Heritage Foundation in Washington.

International criminal laws also touch on the sensitive issue of sovereignty. Those concerns have prevented the US from making a commitment to an international criminal court, which is in the process of being formed with the support of most US allies. Republican lawmakers worry that if the US were to participate in the court, other countries would gain a hand in US foreign policy.

Yet, some US officials are eager to pursue prosecution of other nationals.

Lincoln Diaz-Balart, a Republican congressman from Florida, has been urging various governments to arrest Cuban dictator Fidel Castro for "crimes against humanity." The Castro regime has been accused of several kinds of human rights violations, including torture. But Castro rarely leaves Cuba.

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Load-Date: August 10, 2000



#### Explosion, then arms and legs rain down

#### **USA TODAY**

August 10, 2001, Friday,

FINAL EDITION Correction Appended

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Section: NEWS;; COVER STORY

**Length:** 1507 words **Byline:** Jack Kelley

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

# **Body**

At the scene: USA TODAY's Jack Kelley was with an Israeli official 30 yards away when the bomb detonated.

JERUSALEM -- It was a scene out of a war movie.

The blast was so powerful it blew out the front of the Sbarro pizza restaurant on Jaffa Street. It knocked down people up to 30 yards away and sent flesh onto 2nd-story balconies on the next block.

Traumatized <u>women</u>, some with nails from the bomb embedded in their faces, arms and chests, huddled on the street corner and cried. Men stood motionless in shock. Children, their faces burned, walked around screaming, "Mom, mom, where are you?" Blood splattered the walls and dripped onto sidewalks.

Thursday's suicide bombing, which killed at least 15 people and injured nearly 90, struck downtown Jerusalem at the busiest time of the day -- as the lunch hour was ending, at 2 p.m. I happened to be walking near the restaurant when the suicide bomber struck.

It was the deadliest attack in Israel since the suicide bombing of a Tel Aviv disco June 1 that claimed the lives of 21 young Israelis. With so many people critically injured, it threatens to become the most deadly attack since violence erupted here in late September.

Officials warned that the death toll could rise. At least 10 people were in critical condition, including a 4-month-old child.

An entire family -- a couple and their three children -- were killed, relatives said. The family had lived in a settlement in the West Bank.

Two foreign tourists were among the dead, Israeli public radio reported. The radio identified them as Judith Greenbaum, 31, from New Jersey and Giora Balach, 60, from Brazil.

Hanna Tova Nachemberg, 31, of Riverdale, N.Y., was critically wounded with shrapnel in her chest, according to Rabbi Avi Weiss of the Hebrew Institute of Riverdale.

Three French tourists also were injured.

#### Explosion, then arms and legs rain down

"The bomber knew what he was doing," Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert said as he helped teams of Orthodox rabbis gather pieces of flesh from the street. Under Jewish law, people's bodies must be placed in their graves whole, or with all parts accounted for.

"This is a massacre," Olmert said.

The militant Muslim group Islamic Jihad, in a telephone interview with USA TODAY, claimed responsibility for the attack. It identified the suicide bomber as Hussein Omar Abu Naaseh, 23, from the West Bank town of Jenin.

The militant Muslim group *Hamas* also claimed credit for the bombing.

"We want this successful operation to prove to the terrorist (Israeli Prime Minister Ariel) Sharon that we can, and we will continue to, get him and his fellow pigs and monkeys where it hurts the most," senior Islamic Jihad official Abdallah al-Shami said.

Sharon convened an emergency meeting of his Security Cabinet immediately after the bombing and vowed to carry out a retaliatory attack against militant Muslim leaders. Israel has been targeting Palestinian extremists and assassinating them. It says they direct the terrorism.

Soon after the bombing, Palestinian Television reported Israeli tanks were shelling homes in Gaza.

Later in the day, Israeli soldiers took over a Palestinian security building in Abu Dis, which is next to Jerusalem.

The Israeli military sealed the entire West Bank and was moving troops into Jenin, the suicide bomber's hometown.

Palestinian flag comes down

The Israelis also closed nine Palestinian Authority offices in East Jerusalem, including Orient House, the unofficial Palestinian foreign ministry. Seven Palestinian officials were brought out of Orient House early today and taken into custody by the Israeli military. Soldiers took down the Palestinian flag and replaced it with the Israeli flag.

Also, Israeli F-16 warplanes fired missiles at a Palestinian police building near Ramallah in the West Bank early today, Palestinians said. There were no casualties, but the building was destroyed. It was the first F-16 attack since May. Until now, Israel had confined its retaliation for Palestinian attacks to tank and helicopter strikes on Palestinian police positions.

"We hold (Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser) Arafat responsible for this madness," Israeli government spokesman Danny Naveh said. "He has given the green light to Islamic Jihad, *Hamas* and the other terrorists."

But Palestinian Authority spokesman Yasser Abed Rabbo, who denounced the bombing, blamed Sharon for carrying out "Mafia-style" assassinations of nearly 60 militant Muslim leaders since September. "Sharon has inflamed the Palestinian people with his terrorist, gangland-style assassinations," Rabbo said.

The popular Sbarro restaurant, like other shops and eating places along Jaffa Street, was packed at lunchtime, so I and an Israeli official I was scheduled to interview decided not to eat there.

Several customers, including three mothers and their infants in strollers, stood outside on the sidewalk, eating their pizza and plates of spaghetti. Dozens of pedestrians pushed their way around the <u>women</u> or were forced to walk along the busy street next to the crowded buses.

Among those I could see fighting their way into the restaurant was a young man, wearing a white T-shirt and dark sport jacket. A black pouch, similar to a small camera case, was attached to his waist. He appeared to be a Palestinian.

Once inside, he stared at the fluorescent menu board and at the red, green and white tiles, as if to survey his surroundings, one of the restaurant workers said later. He then asked the restaurant clerk how long he would have

#### Explosion, then arms and legs rain down

to wait for a plate of take-out spaghetti. As the clerk answered, witnesses said, the man reached inside his pouch and calmly detonated what turned out to be a bomb.

The explosion was deafening and sent out a burst of heat that could be felt far down the street. It blew out windows and threw tables and chairs into the air. Victims' arms and legs rained down onto the street.

Three men, who had been eating pizza inside, were catapulted out on the chairs they had been sitting on. When they hit the ground, their heads separated from their bodies and rolled down the street. Dozens of men, <u>women</u> and children, their bodies punctured by nails from the bomb, began dropping in pain. One woman had six nails in her neck. Another had a nail in her left eye.

Two men, one with a 6-inch piece of glass in his right temple, the other with glass shards in his calf, fell to the ground bleeding. A passerby tried to comfort them but broke down crying. As he walked away, he tripped on a decapitated body and fell.

Next to them, a man groaned in pain. "Help me, please. I'm dying," he said. His legs had been blown off. Blood poured from where his genitals had been. An Israeli soldier, upon seeing him, gasped "Oh, God," dropped his gun and vomited. The man bled to death less than a minute later.

'There could be another bomb!'

Police officers began arriving, yelling into their handheld walkie-talkies and shouting instructions for bystanders to leave. "There could be another bomb! There could be another bomb!" a police officer yelled into a megaphone. He began to cordon off the area.

Few could hear him over the screams of the injured, the sirens of approaching ambulances and the shrill blare of dozens of car alarms set off by the explosion.

Suddenly, a Palestinian man ran up to an injured Israeli as if to help. An Israeli soldier butted the Palestinian in the chest with his rifle, knocking him to the ground.

"I'm a nurse! I'm a nurse," the Palestinian yelled. As he got up, another Israeli soldier threw him against a wall, grabbed him by the neck and placed him under arrest. Two other soldiers hauled him off, hitting him in the head as they walked.

"Terrorist!" a nearby police officer yelled, pointing at the man.

Meanwhile, yards away, a little girl about 3 years old, her face covered with glass, walked among the bodies, calling out her mother's name. Seconds later, she found her. The girl told her mother to get up. But the mother, apparently already dead, didn't respond. The girl, still unaware of what had happened, was led away, in hysterics, by an Israeli policewoman.

Inside the blackened shell of the restaurant, a policeman pointed to what he said was the top of the head of the suicide bomber, which was lying on the floor. The nose and mouth were missing. The teeth appeared to be lying nearby.

"You've killed us all, you bastard," the officer said pointing to the head.

He then tried to kick the head, but was stopped by another officer. The man spat at the head as he was led away.

Dozens of ambulances arrived over the next 30 minutes to cart off the dead and injured as relatives began arriving. Rabbis, with white gloves, raced around the street picking up pieces of flesh. One rabbi found a small hand splattered against a white Subaru parked outside the restaurant.

"It's of a girl," Rabbi Moshe Aaron said. "She was probably 5 or 6, the same age as my daughter." He gently put it into a bag.

"I wish I could say there won't be anything like this tragedy again," Aaron said. "But it's just a matter of time until another bomber kills more of us. It'll be like this until the end of time."

#### Correction

On April 22, a team of journalists finished a review of former USA TODAY reporter Jack Kelley's work and concluded that at least 20 of his stories contained fabrications and that he also lifted at least 100 passages, without attribution, from other publications. This story was among those cited in reports that were published on March 19, 2004 and April 22, 2004. The investigation found that the events of the suicide bombing at the Sbarro pizza restaurant differed substantially from what Kelley reported, including that: no adult victims were decapitated; Kelley did not see the suicide bomber before the explosion because the alleged bomber he described did not fit the bomber's actual description; in addition to the suicide bomber, three men, not four as Kelley reported, were killed in the blast; the bomber's head and upper torso flew up and got stuck in a vent so Kelley could not have seen an Israeli police officer try to kick the head of the suicide bomber; there is no record of a Rabbi Moshe Aaron, quoted by Kelley, as working as a volunteer at the scene; Kelley likely was not with an Israeli intelligence officer, as he claimed.

Correction-Date: July 23, 2004

# **Graphic**

GRAPHIC, B/W, Source: AP (MAP); PHOTO, Color, Eyal Warshavsky, Agence France-Presse; PHOTO, B/W, Peter Dejong, AP; Death toll could rise: An Israeli paramedic carries a seriously wounded child from the attack in Jerusalem on Thursday.<>>About 90 injured: Israeli police and medics surround the pizzeria in Jerusalem where a Palestinian detonated a bomb during lunchtime.

Load-Date: July 23, 2004



# Follow Hezbollah lead, Palestinians are urged: 'If Israel commits any aggression against Lebanon, it will pay a high price': Nasrallah

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
May 27, 2000, Saturday, FINAL

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Section: News; A17 Length: 826 words

Dateline: BINT JBEIL, Lebanon

# **Body**

Hezbollah's triumphant leader warned Israel yesterday to leave Lebanon alone or expect reprisals, and urged Palestinians celebrating Israel's chaotic departure from south Lebanon to rise up anew against the Jewish state.

Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah, whose Iranian-backed guerrillas have been riding a wave of enthusiasm since Israel's departure this week, made clear it's too early to retire the Katyusha rockets it periodically launched into Israel as part of its struggle to force Israel off Lebanese soil.

"If Israel commits any aggression against Lebanon, it will pay a high price," Nasrallah told 30, 000 cheering supporters crowding a stadium and spilling into the streets of this former Israeli stronghold.

"The time when we were afraid of threats by Israel, the time when its planes and tanks and gunboats violated our skies, land and sea - that time is gone," he said. "You are today in Bint Jbeil safe and happy, and they are in the northern settlements of Palestine along all the border terrified before an unknown future."

But Nasrallah said his guerrilla group, which led the Lebanese resistance after Israel invaded in 1982, was not a substitute for the state in southern Lebanon.

"The state is the one responsible. We are absolutely not responsible for the security in this area," he said, standing in front of Lebanon's flag and a banner that carried the number 1,276: the total of Hezbollah guerrillas killed in the fighting.

Draped from the podium was Hezbollah's logo, an arm clutching an AK-47 assault rifle and the words, "Hezbollah will conquer."

"Oh God, oh God preserve Nasrallah for us!" the crowd shouted, waving clenched fists in the air. Hezbollah's yellow-and-red flags fluttered over the white and black turbans of Shiite Muslim clerics, colourful head scarves of **women** and baseball caps worn by men to guard against the baking sun.

The jubilation since Israel's final departure Wednesday has spread beyond Lebanon, with Arab world officials and media praising Hezbollah. Supporters of the Islamic militant group <u>Hamas</u> in the West Bank town of Nablus celebrated during a march yesterday to support Palestinian prisoners on hunger strikes. They raised the slogan: "Hezbollah is the victor." Others chanted: "Hezbollah is brave, moving forward."

Follow Hezbollah lead, Palestinians are urged: 'If Israel commits any aggression against Lebanon , it will pay a high price': Nasrallah

Nasrallah urged Palestinians to follow Hezbollah's example to regain their land, saying if Palestinians wait for the international community, "you will get nowhere."

"In order to liberate your land you don't need tanks and planes. With the example of martyrs you can impose your demands on the Zionist aggressors," he said. "Israel may own nuclear weapons and heavy weaponry, but, by God, it is weaker than a spider's web."

Nasrallah also had a message for Arab leaders: "We demand from the Arab governments at a minimum to stop the normalization of relations and sever relations with Israel."

Israel completed its troop pullout from Lebanon before dawn Wednesday, six weeks ahead of its self-imposed July 7 deadline. Israeli-allied militiamen dropped their weapons and fled in the face of advancing guerrillas and their supporters.

Earlier yesterday, Prime Minister Salim Hoss urged militiamen among the more than 6,000 Lebanese who fled to Israel during the withdrawal to return home and surrender. Militiamen are considered traitors subject to prison terms or, in extreme cases, death sentences.

Nasrallah said militiamen "must be punished to the extreme so they will be an example for the future."

About 1,500 militiamen and others affiliated with the pro-Israeli South Lebanon Army militia have turned themselves in to Lebanese authorities. Thus far, 400 have been ordered to stand trial.

UN teams, meanwhile, fanned out in south Lebanon to ensure Israel has withdrawn completely and the SLA has been dismantled. These are formalities to deploying a peacekeeping force along the Lebanon-Israel border.

UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said yesterday in New York that he expects to have the certification of Israel's withdrawal "in the next few days."

Lebanese police also were settling in at southern Christian villages, a move intended to provide some security after reports of looting by armed Shiite guerrillas. The SLA was Christian-led, though a majority of its men were Muslim.

Underlining the difficulties facing government security forces, several policemen in the village of Bourj el-Moulouk tried to stop guerrillas from stealing five trucks yesterday. But police backed off when three carloads of gunmen arrived, and the guerrillas took the vehicles.

At the border fence yesterday, families came to see the Israeli side and a crowd of about 100 threw stones and firebombs, starting a bush fire that was put out by Israeli soldiers. In the past two days, civilians have thrown firebombs, glass bottles, fruits and insults at a group of Israeli soldiers guarding their side of the frontier.

# Graphic

P Photo: THOMAS COEX, AFP / Lebanon's Hezbollah militia head Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah addresses a crowd, flanked by bodyguards, during a "victory" rally in the border town of Bint Jbeil yesterday.

Load-Date: May 28, 2000



#### Nasrallah warns Israel to leave Lebanon alone

The Pantagraph (Bloomington, IL)

May 27, 2000, Saturday

Copyright 2000 The Pantagraph

Section: News; Pg. A11

Length: 810 words

**Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS** 

# **Body**

BINT JBEIL, Lebanon (AP) - Hezbollah's triumphant leader warned Israel on Friday to leave Lebanon alone or expect reprisals, and urged Palestinians celebrating Israel's chaotic departure from south Lebanon to rise up anew against the Jewish state.

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#### Nasrallah warns Israel to leave Lebanon alone

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# **Graphic**

A child wearing a military uniform held a portrait of Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah while a supporter waves a Hezbollah flag at the Israeli fence along the Lebanon-Israeli border Friday.

Load-Date: May 27, 2000



#### Sharon's hard-line approach getting results

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

December 22, 2001 Saturday Final Edition

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Section: CANADA & WORLD; Pg. D02; Canada & World News

Length: 883 words

Byline: Cameron W. Barr Dateline: JERUSALEM

# **Body**

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is enjoying his finest hour at the height of a long and controversial career as a soldier and statesman.

His longtime nemesis, Yasser Arafat, is scrambling to meet Israeli demands that he suppress Palestinian militants. Violence against Israelis has dropped dramatically this week.

While there is deep skepticism about Sharon's capacity to convert his current successes into the achievement of peace with the Palestinians, as he says he wants to do, there is no doubt he has a moment or two to savour. The Christian Science Monitor

The last time he wedged Arafat into such narrow straits -- during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which Sharon orchestrated as defence minister -- tens of thousands of Israelis took to the streets to oppose him. The noted Israeli writer Abba Eban called the invasion "a dark age in the moral history of the Jewish people."

Now, Sharon heads a broad-based coalition government. There are no mass demonstrations to protest his hard-edged handling of the Palestinian uprising. His main political competitor, former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, can do little more than heckle from Op-Ed pages.

"Sharon is winning," says Palestinian political scientist Manuel Hassassian. Arafat's speech on Sunday -- in which he demanded his people cease "armed activities" against Israelis -- is a sign of "Sharon's victory over the Palestinians," adds Palestinian legislator Abdul Jawad Saleh.

Since assuming power in March, Sharon has insisted that Israel would not negotiate with the Palestinians under fire, demanding absolute quiet as a precondition for implementing a ceasefire or resuming discussions about a peace deal.

In the meantime, he has fought the Palestinians by assassinating suspected militants, using fighter jets and attack helicopters to destroy sites associated with Arafat's Palestinian Authority, and maintaining a policy of "closure" on the Palestinian territories that UN officials say has created the worst socio-economic crisis for the Palestinians since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

#### Sharon's hard-line approach getting results

Once criticized -- at home and abroad -- as an invitation to anyone with a gun to delay peacemaking, Sharon's demand for quiet is now broadly endorsed by the U.S. and Europeans. Palestinian arguments that a ceasefire is untenable without tangible political gains have been dismissed.

Although Sharon has long styled himself as an enemy of terrorists, in some ways he has them to thank for his ascendancy.

A year ago, as he campaigned for the premiership, Sharon sought to portray himself as a grandfatherly warrior who could do what was necessary to protect Israelis from the Palestinians. No one doubted his resolve.

In the early days of his military career, he headed a unit formed to carry out reprisal raids after Arab attacks on Israelis. In August 1953, Unit 101 killed 20 Palestinians in a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. In October of that year, Unit 101 killed 69 people in the Palestinian village of Kibya. In both cases, the majority of the dead were <u>women</u> and children.

After the invasion of Lebanon, a government panel determined that Sharon bore "indirect responsibility" for the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian refugees by Lebanese Christian militiamen allied with Israel.

Many Israelis wondered whether Sharon -- as prime minister -- would employ these sorts of tactics in dealing with the Palestinians. He has not.

"He's much more moderate than in the past," says Avraham Diskin, a political scientist at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. "Age did something good to him."

To be sure, the Israeli military has been more aggressive under Sharon than under his predecessor, Ehud Barak. Palestinians killed in the conflict outnumber Israelis by more than 3 to 1, and many Palestinian civilians have died during Israeli attacks.

But Palestinian terrorist acts -- such as suicide-bomb attacks in a crowded pizzeria and on a pedestrian mall -- have always made the Israelis seem relatively less barbaric. In the high-tension aftermath of one such attack, Sharon held fire. In other cases, most of the Israeli retaliation was directed against buildings and institutions and not against people.

Events in the U.S. have also benefited the Israeli leader. President George W. Bush has yet to meet Arafat and has seemed much less inclined than some of his predecessors to engage in even the pretense of even-handedness in dealing with the two parties.

Ever since Sept. 11, Sharon has sought to style the Israeli struggle against Arafat as a smaller version of the American battle against Osama bin Laden. While this approach took a few months to take hold, it now seems the U.S. officials view Palestinian attacks against Israel as harshly as they do the violence perpetrated against the U.S.

U.S. support has been crucial in forcing Arafat to crack down, as he is now doing in earnest. Yesterday, Palestinian police under Arafat's authority exchanged gunfire with supporters of the Islamic Resistance Movement as the police sought to arrest one of the group's leaders. Better known as <u>Hamas</u>, the organization has been responsible for a series of terrorist attacks on Israelis.

The clash is an indication Arafat is willing to risk wrecking Palestinian unity in order to meet U.S. and European demands that he stifle Palestinian militancy.

# Graphic

# Sharon's hard-line approach getting results

Photo: Spectator File Photo; Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon sits in front of black-adorned chair of slain minister Rehavam Zeevi at a special memorial session of the Knesset Oct. 17.

Load-Date: January 1, 2002



# Pope carries the cross in Rome as Christians celebrate Good Friday

The Pantagraph (Bloomington, IL)

April 11, 1998, Saturday

Copyright 1998 The Pantagraph

Section: NEWS; Pg. A9

Length: 724 words

Dateline: ROME

# **Body**

ROME (AP) - Protected from the driving, chilly rain by an aide's white umbrella, Pope John Paul II carried a wooden cross in a solemn Good Friday procession at the Colosseum to symbolize Christ's suffering before his crucifixion.

Thousands of people stood beneath umbrellas outside the ancient monument, holding candles during the evening procession. The pope walked haltingly for a short stretch, carrying the lightweight cross.

The meditation for Friday's ceremony paid special attention to the suffering of <u>women</u> and lamented that Christians long made Jews suffer by holding them responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Earlier, John Paul heard the confessions of 16 people in St Peter's, a tradition he began in 1979.

Elsewhere on Good Friday, thousands of pilgrims retraced Jesus' last steps in Jerusalem, some shouldering wooden crosses or fingering rosaries. In the Philippines, 18 people screamed and grimaced on crosses while nails were driven through their hands and feet. And dozens of repentant men in Taxco, Mexico, whipped themselves or strapped 100 pounds of thorny blackberry stalks to their bare shoulders in penance.

Holy week culminates Sunday with Easter, when Christians celebrate their belief in Jesus' resurrection. John Paul will celebrate an open-air Mass and deliver a message and Easter greetings in more than 50 languages.

Brown-robed Franciscan monks led pilgrims in Jerusalem through the Old City's cobblestone alleys singing hymns in Arabic, Italian, Latin and English. They walked the Via Dolorosa, or Way of Sorrows, which tradition says Jesus took to his crucifixion.

Nuns fingered rosaries and pilgrims held up Bibles and small crosses as the procession made its way to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. One group reenacted Jesus' last walk in full costume.

Muslim families attending noon prayers at nearby Al Aqsa Mosque had to push their way against the crowd. Friday also marked the end of the Muslim holiday of Eid al-Adha and the start of the Jewish holiday, Passover.

Hundreds of Israeli soldiers were posted along the Good Friday procession route. Israel has been on heightened alert because of threats of suicide attacks by the Islamic militant group *Hamas*.

#### Pope carries the cross in Rome as Christians celebrate Good Friday

Inside the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, pilgrims placed silk cloth and Bibles on the slab where tradition says Jesus was placed after dying. "I'm impressed to see all the nationalities here for the same cause," said Andrew Hayes, a monk from Valyermo, Calif.

John G. Luck, of Ottawa bought wooden souvenir crosses after the procession. "Incredible," he said of his experience.

In Mexico City, more than 1,600 people were participating in an elaborate annual play in which an actor playing Christ carries a 200-pound cross two miles through the streets of the poor Iztapalapa neighborhood. More than 1 million people were expected to attend.

Members of Christian brotherhoods based in Taxco, 100 miles southwest of Mexico City, whipped themselves or carried heavy bundles of thorns - a tradition honored in the picturesque mining town for more than 200 years.

The men consider Holy Week the crest of their devotion. They have undergone at least a year of religious preparation to participate in processions that began Tuesday and mark the days leading to Christ's resurrection. They walk before the faithful and the curious while clouds of incense billow and boys pound somber marches on drums.

Each man has his own reason for enduring the pain, said Javier Ruiz Ocampo, the town's official historian. Some hope to please God for the benefit of a sick relative, or to pay for a sin of their own. Others simply pray for world peace.

Outside San Pedro Cutud village in the Philippines, an annual reenactment of Jesus' crucifixion drew 15 participants and hundreds of tourists. Fourteen men and one woman were nailed to crosses in the hot sun, where they remained for a few minutes in a form of penance.

A man dressed as a centurion used a spear to make a small cut to draw blood from the chest of the men.

Three men also were nailed to crosses outside a chapel in the village of Lugam. And thousands of barefoot penitents crowded the streets of Manila's Quiapo district to worship at the Church of the Black Nazarene.

The crucifixion ritual has continued for more than 40 years in the Philippines, Asia's only predominately Roman Catholic nation.

Load-Date: August 14, 1998



# <u>MEANING OF TERRORISM HITS HOME;</u> <u>Sept. 11 is a potent reminder that it is never, ever acceptable to target civilians.</u>

Portland Press Herald (Maine)

November 11, 2001 Sunday, FINAL Edition

Copyright 2001 Blethen Maine Newspapers, Inc.

Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. 4C

Length: 810 words

Byline: John W. Porter Editorial Page Editor

#### **Body**

Sitting in the wood-paneled conference room on our sixth floor last week and listening to a delegation of Palestinian politicians talk about strife in the Mideast, I should have felt half a life away from the young man I was 20 years ago.

I have many, many friends who'd laugh out loud at the sight of me in a jacket and tie, asking important questions of people front-and-center in one of the more significant and difficult conflicts on the planet.

I always loved politics and journalism, but 20 years ago I was a former county fair carnie who had learned a lot of life's lessons in assistant principals' offices and bars. I never pictured myself as being in an "establishment" position.

Life has a strange way of working change, however. Sometimes it occurs over time, sometimes abruptly in what I once heard described in a seminar as a "cosmic nudge."

So there I was, with the Palestinians, decades removed from a more passionate me.

Yet, oddly, as our conversation with the Palestinians went on, I saw myself seated at McNulty's Cafe, talking politics with all that passion. It was during that time that I drew an emotional connection between being Jack Hurley's grandson and the Republican cause in Northern Ireland.

THE PARALLELS between The Troubles and the struggle in the Mideast are well known, and they do have their limits. Still, at bottom, both conflicts are about groups of people whose claims on particular pieces of ground go back centuries. Both conflicts are defined, too, by religious differences: Protestant-Catholic in Ireland, Muslim -Jew in the Middle East.

And, of course, both conflicts have wrought the twin scourges of terrorism and the use of military troops as police.

I don't pretend to have the closeness to the dispute in Northern Ireland that our guests last week have to the Israeli-Palestinian dispute. They have been living this tragedy their whole lives, and whether their grievances are valid in history's light or not, there's no question they believe they've been wronged.

What reminded me of the barroom conversations of 20 years ago was their passion, their total belief in the rightness of their cause and their desire to see what they believe to be a terrible wrong righted at any cost.

MEANING OF TERRORISM HITS HOME; Sept. 11 is a potent reminder that it is never, ever acceptable to target civilians.

I asked if the world should see terrorist organizations like <u>Hamas</u>, which has claimed responsibility for acts of violence in Israel and the occupied territories, in the same light as Osama bin Laden's terrorist network.

No, they said, these groups working within the occupied territories are resistance movements, aimed at dislodging an occupying force.

As they explained this, I heard my own voice uttering similar words 20 years ago. The Irish Republican Army wasn't a terrorist movement, but a group of freedom fighters. Even if they did sometimes cause civilian deaths, what choice did the oppressed people of Northern Ireland have?

I clung to pieces of this terribly naive, ends-justified-the-means thinking for a long time. In recent years I came to view the IRA as once misguided, but commendable in its decision to participate in the peace process there.

Then came the cosmic nudge.

SEPT. 11 DIDN'T just change the world around us, it changed us as individuals and in different ways. Boarding a plane six days after the attacks, I felt a deep sense of anxiety, anger and outright fear. I got a better glimpse of why it's called terrorism.

Legitimate resistance movements and freedom fighters never, ever target civilians. They may attack their oppressors covertly, but they do so to the exclusion of non-combatants. American patriots aimed their musket balls at Redcoats, not the civilian men, <u>women</u> and children who believed in retaining British rule.

Thirty-four years ago The Troubles started off the way it should have ended: With a massive, peaceful protest over discrimination aimed at Catholics in Northern Ireland. Yes, there was a devastating police crackdown afterwards, and that, in turn, led to the resurrection of the IRA.

There was never a need to strike terror in the hearts of British civilians, however. Northern Ireland is moving away from British rule today because all sides know that prosperity is impossible if the conflict isn't resolved. Given the disruptive capacity of mass demonstrations, and the dampening effect on the economy of curfews aimed at controlling them, there would still be a need to settle this dispute even if a single act of terror had never been committed.

Likewise, the Palestinians have always drawn the most sympathy and made the most progress when they've resorted to massive nonviolent protests.

Here is what Jack Hurley's grandson believes today: The IRA is not made up of freedom fighters and heroes, but rather of thugs and villains who wrongly believed that the rightness of their cause would justify their evil deeds.

- John W. Poter can be reached at *jporter@pressherald.com* or 791-6480.

# Graphic

File photo

No cause can justify this evil.

Load-Date: November 12, 2001



# Foreign Briefs

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)
February 17, 1998, Tuesday

Copyright 1998 Telegraph-Herald

Section: National/World; Pg. a 12

Length: 778 words

**Byline:** Associated Press

# **Body**

Suharto installs military chief

JAKARTA, Indonesia- President Suharto installed a trusted former aide at Indonesia's new armed forces commander Monday as ethnically-charged food riots flared for a fourth day.

Violence has been building over the past two months as rising food prices and unemployment have hit millions of poor, mainly Muslim, Indonesians.

Wiranto, the new commander, who like many Indonesians uses one name, warned that the 465,000 member military would act against anyone who threatened national stability.

Netanyahu cleared in spy scandal

JERUSALEM - An investigating panel appointed by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu cleared him of blame Monday in the botched assassination of a <u>Hamas</u> leader in Jordan. Netanyahu insisted Israel would stick to its policy of striking at terrorists "in any place."

The Sept. 25 assassination attempt in Amman infuriated Jordan's King Hussein, Israel's best friend in the Arab world. The king still wants Mossad chief Danny Yatom fired, said a senior Jordanian official, speaking on condition of anonymity.

The three-member panel of inquiry pinned most of the blame on Yatom, but said it was up to the prime minister whether to dismiss him.

7 dead found in Chiapas

SAN CRISTOBAL DE LAS CASAS, Mexico - Red Cross workers discovered the bodies of seven men Sunday in a cave in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas.

The discovery of the bodies comes nearly two months after the Dec. 22 massacre of 45 sympathizers of the Zapatista rebel movement. Residents blamed a paramilitary group with government ties to that massacre.

Relatives of the victims found Sunday had pressed authorities to find the men, who had been missing since October.

#### Foreign Briefs

#### Chinese freighter sinks

BEIJING - Thirty sailors are missing after a Chinese freighter sank in the South China Sea, a state-run newspaper reported Monday.

Only four of the 34 people on board the 30,000-ton Jade Sea have been rescued following the Feb. 7 accident, the Liberation Daily said. It said more than 10 other vessels have been sent to look for the missing, who include the ship's captain.

The freighter belonged to the Qingdao Ocean Shipping Co., the newspaper said.

The Liberation Daily gave no other details.

12 killed in Somalia

MOGADISHU, Somalia - Fighting between feuding factions of a leading clan has killed at least 12 militiamen in the last two days in a southern Somali town, hospitals reported Monday.

Four gunmen were killed Sunday and another eight were killed Monday in what appeared to be a cycle of revenge killings between Eyr and Suleiman sub-clans in Afgoe, 18 miles southwest of Mogadishu.

Both belong to Habr-Gedir, a major group of the Hawiye clan led by Hussein Aidid, a U.S. citizen and former Marine reservist.

The hostility between the two groups has been unceasing since the Eyr gunmen killed Mogadishu businessman Qasim Sheikh Mohamoud in December. He was a Suleiman.

Islamic headwear banned

ANKARA, Turkey - Turkey has ordered religious schools to stop letting their <u>female</u> students and teachers cover their heads in the Islamic manner, the Education Ministry said Monday.

The issue is a volatile one in Turkey, a constitutionally secular nation with an overwhelming Muslim majority.

Head scarves - which some devout <u>women</u> wear to cover their hair, in keeping with Islamic custom - have been banned in schools and government offices since the foundation of the secular Turkish republic. In recent years, they have been tolerated at the religious schools.

U.N. aborts relief flights

RUSTAQ, Afghanistan - Bad weather blocked relief flights to quake-stricken northeastern Afghanistan again Monday, frustrating aid workers who have managed to get only one flight through in four days.

An estimated 30,000 people in the remote mountains of the northeast are cold, hungry and badly in need of shelter and food after a powerful Feb. 4 quake, which crumbled villages and killed an estimated 4,500 people.

Helicopters have managed to reach some of the most isolated villages, while aid convoys have taken four to six days to traverse the snow- and mud-clogged road from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan in Central Asia.

Secession hearings start

OTTAWA - Opening a historic, high-risk court case, the federal government argued Monday before the Supreme Court that neither Canadian nor international law gives Quebec the right to secede unilaterally.

Quebec's separatist government is boycotting the case, contending that secession is a matter to be decided by voters - not judges.

#### Foreign Briefs

The federal government initiated the case last year when it asked the Supreme Court to rule whether secession is legal under either Canadian or international law, and which would prevail if there was a conflict.

Load-Date: February 17, 1998



#### **NEWS IN BRIEF**

The Philadelphia Inquirer

JANUARY 20, 1998 Tuesday SF EDITION

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A04

Length: 730 words

#### **Body**

In the Nation Unabomber defendant Theodore J. Kaczynski was taken off a 24-hour suicide watch at the Sacramento County Jail over the weekend and returned to a regular cell. This came at the direction of the jail psychiatric staff, said Sgt. Jim Cooper, a county sheriff's spokesman. He said Kaczynski, put on suicide watch this month after apparently trying to hang himself, was being monitored at least every 15 minutes.

Louise Woodward's au pair agency will no longer pay her legal costs, her parents said yesterday. Instead, some of the more than \$330,000 raised by Woodward's supporters will be used to fund her appeal, her family said. Woodward, 19, was convicted Oct. 30 of second-degree murder in the death of 8-month-old Matthew Eappen, but a judge reduced the verdict to manslaughter and the sentence to time served. Both sides have appealed. EF Au Pair, the agency that placed the British woman with the Eappen family, did not immediately return calls seeking comment.

Maine utilities said about 22,000 business and residential customers still lacked service yesterday, less than one-tenth of the total during the peak outage after the ice storm that struck four states nearly two weeks ago. Utilities in upstate New York said about 41,000 customers were still without power. The Federal Emergency Management Agency said it was drawing up guidelines to reimburse some of the hundreds of Maine residents who bought generators to survive the outage.

States are appropriating a record \$305 million to support the arts this fiscal year, the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies reported yesterday. That tops 1992's record of \$292 million for state funding.

The first <u>female</u> cadet to enroll at Virginia Military Institute has withdrawn. Beth Hogan, 18, of Junction City, Ore., who went to the formerly all-male military school with dreams of piloting the Navy's F/A-18E Super Hornet fighter plane, dropped out Friday, VMI spokesman Mike Strickler said. Hogan, hobbled by an ankle injury for much of her first semester, told school officials that VMI's rigorous testing of its freshmen was not for her. Hogan is the fifth woman to withdraw since 430 men and 30 **women** enrolled in August; 65 men also have quit.

In the World Russian President Boris N. Yeltsin, back in the Kremlin and seemingly in fighting form after a two-week vacation, scolded his government yesterday for breaking a promise to settle wage arrears to Russia's public employees. He also raised eyebrows by endorsing some hard-line comments by his hawkish interior minister about

#### **NEWS IN BRIEF**

breakaway Chechnya before making his first public appearance in nearly a month, looking relaxed and confident at a Kremlin diplomatic function.

In Jericho, on the West Bank, two <u>Hamas</u> militants were convicted and sentenced to 15 years in prison at hard labor yesterday for building bombs that killed 26 people in Jerusalem. Jasser Samara and Nassim Abu Rous were arrested Wednesday, two days after Palestinian intelligence uncovered 1,500 pounds of explosive materials in the West Bank city of Nablus. The trial and sentencing were completed in less than three hours in a special security court in Jericho.

Oil from a ruptured pipeline in Nigeria has washed ashore along the country's southeastern coast, blackening beaches for a mile, Mobil Corp. said yesterday. The 1.6 million-gallon spill - said to be the largest in Nigeria's history - has infuriated residents of nearby fishing villages, who say the spill has caused widespread environmental damage. The oil leaked last Monday from an underwater pipeline connecting an offshore platform to a storage terminal in Nigeria's Akwa Ibom state.

Forces loyal to Sierra Leone's military rulers have retaken the diamond town of Tongofield from a traditional hunters' militia after a weekend of fighting there killed more than 100 people, army commanders said yesterday. The same commanders, contacted by telephone in the southern capital of Bo, reported the recapture of a second town, Grima, and the killing there of 50 of the kamajors, as the hunters are known.

Hutu rebels killed 37 people in two separate ambushes in northwestern Rwanda yesterday, the independent Rwanda News agency said. In the first attack, rebels killed 35 bus passengers and wounded more than 30 others near the town of Gisenyi. Two people died when a second vehicle was ambushed on the same Gisenyi-Ruhengeri road.

Load-Date: October 24, 2002



# Human bombs top terror

The Cairns Post/The Cairns Sun (Australia)
September 18, 2001, Tuesday

Copyright 2001 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 839 words

#### **Body**

THEY are deadly killing machines, human weapons whose aim is to kill as many people as possible by killing themselves.

The devastating events in the United States last Tuesday in which hijackers seized aircraft and crashed them into the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington were the most deadly suicide attacks ever.

But the strategy is not new. It has been cultivated for two decades in the Middle East where Israel has borne the brunt of dozens of suicide attacks by Palestinian Islamic militants opposed to its existence.

"No country is immune to such attacks," Boaz Ganor, an Israeli expert on the phenomenon, said.

He said such strikes, which also have taken place in recent years in Sri Lanka, India and Turkey, were so deadly because the weapon was "a human smart bomb".

"Suicide terrorism is a growing phenomenon. We see this in the number of states that suffer from this," Mr Ganor said. "This method works for the terrorists as they achieve what they want to achieve, they get much more casualties."

Palestinian suicide bombers are given a bomb, usually packed with nails for more deadly effect, which they are told to detonate in a crowded place so that as many people as possible will be killed and maimed, Israeli experts say.

They are taught they will not be committing suicide which is forbidden by Islam but rather martyring themselves for God and will go straight to heaven.

"Those who are actually involved are highly brain-washed and indoctrinated so they do it blindly," Palestinian analyst Khalil Shikaki said.

They require no skills, other than pressing the detonator of a bomb, and are usually chosen because they are young, religious, poor and easily malleable.

But the Israeli experts say the profile of suicide attackers has changed since a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation erupted last year after peace talks broke down.

Older, more educated, men have strapped explosives to their bodies and blown themselves up in recent months. Last week, a Palestinian teacher detonated a bomb outside a Jerusalem hospital when confronted by police a block away from a pizzeria where a bomber killed 15 people - mostly **women** and children - a month ago.

#### Human bombs top terror

The first attack by an Arab Israeli suicide bomber on September 9 raised the spectre for Israel of an "enemy within" the Jewish state.

The middle aged man, married with 10 children, killed three people when he blew himself up at a railway station in the northern Israeli city of Nahariya.

Mr Ganor said a suicide attack was particularly effective because "it gives the ability to be accurate" and since the attacker is killed "it leaves no trace of the organisation".

Modern suicide operations are believed to have their roots in post-revolutionary Iran where thousands of soldiers became human minesweepers, walking through minefields towards their Iraqi enemy and certain death during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq war which claimed the lives of nearly one million people on both sides.

Shi'ite Muslim guerillas in Lebanon adopted the strategy during Israel's invasion in 1983.

The guerillas drove trucks filled with explosives into the Beirut headquarters of French and American peacekeepers and killed themselves along with 241 US marines and 58 French paratroopers. A similar attack killed 60 people at the headquarters of Israeli intelligence in the Lebanese port of Tyre.

Shortly after the Lebanon attacks, the US and France ended their peacekeeping missions. Israel eventually withdrew its troops from Beirut to a security zone in south Lebanon, which the army left in May 2000.

"Their success in achieving their objectives is something that could have been a factor in making other Islamic groups use suicide attacks to achieve their goals," Mr Shikaki said.

But he said the series of Palestinian attacks against Israel in recent years had failed to pressure it to end its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Israelis, Mr Shikaki explained, viewed these suicide bombings as strikes against "the very existence" of the Jewish state.

The stated aim of the militant <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad groups - behind the suicide bombing campaign in Israel - is to set up an Islamic state in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Israel.

Suicide attacks spread to the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka and India, where a suicide bomber killed former Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991.

The Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) employed the method to carry out more than a dozen attacks against Turkish personnel in the 1990s, frequently using *female* suicide bombers.

"Suicide attacks are the weapon of the weak. This is clearly not something that a stronger party would use as those who have tanks or airplanes or nuclear weapons do not need to use suicide attacks," Mr Shikaki said.

"It's very difficult to combat someone who is determined to kill himself or herself. What you want to combat is the environment that leads to this, including political grievances and cultural issues."

And, Mr Ganor said, copycat attacks could follow last week's suicide strikes in the US.

Load-Date: November 12, 2001



#### ISRAEL DESTROYS SHRINE TO JEWISH TERRORIST

The Toronto Star

December 30, 1999, Thursday, Edition 1

Copyright 1999 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NEWS

Length: 803 words

Byline: Sandro Contenta

#### **Body**

Yisrael Goldstein throws himself on his son's West Bank grave yesterday calling him a saint as settlers protest dismantling ordered by court.

as supporters taunt police, soldiers KIRYAT ARBA, West Bank - Israeli soldiers have torn down a shrine to a Jewish settler who massacred 29 Palestinians at prayer.

The soldiers used a jackhammer and tractor yesterday to destroy a limestone plaza that had been built around the grave of Baruch Goldstein, who opened fire on Palestinian worshippers in neighbouring Hebron six years ago.

Supporters of the mass killer in this militant Jewish settlement jostled with police as soldiers also removed other items surrounding the tomb - benches, lampposts, stands to light candles, rose bushes and a cabinet full of prayer books.

All that remains is a stone tomb with an engraving on its cover that reads: "Holy Baruch Goldstein. He gave his soul for his country and people. Clean of hands, pure of heart."

The shrine, which had become a site of pilgrimage for some hardline Jewish settlers, had often been condemned as "a stain on Israeli society" by Trade Minister Ran Cohen and others.

Cohen sponsored a bill that was passed by Israel's parliament last year banning memorial sites at the grave of terrorists. It was aimed specifically at Goldstein's memorial.

But the dismantling of the shrine was held up when Goldstein's father, Yisrael, appealed to the courts. The supreme court ordered the shrine demolished last month. Cohen now says the inscription on the tombstone must also be removed.

The soldiers moved in with heavy equipment at 8:30 in the morning, and were soon confronted by Goldstein's father, who threw himself on his son's grave and called him "a saint."

"This is a tragic day for the people of Israel," said the distraught father, after a rabbi convinced him to retreat.

Goldstein's tomb is the lone grave at the end of a small park named after the late rabbi Meir Kahane, the founder of the outlawed Kach group, of which Goldstein was a member.

#### ISRAEL DESTROYS SHRINE TO JEWISH TERRORIST

Police and soldiers surrounded the site, keeping Goldstein's 100 or so supporters from coming near. Some are members of the right-wing Kach movement.

The group's men stood at a distance and sent their <u>women</u> and children to confront and taunt police. Vered, a young woman in her ninth month of pregnancy, was restrained by several <u>women</u> soldiers after trying to push her way to the grave.

"I feel deep grief today and I hope Baruch Goldstein will take revenge on all the soldiers and police," said Vered, who wouldn't give her surname.

Soldiers also had to restrain another young woman carrying a crying toddler from rushing the gravesite. By the end of the day, three people were arrested.

One Goldstein supporter shouted on a loudspeaker: "We will not forget, and we will not forgive."

"This is a barbaric act. . . . We will rebuild the shrine in a few days," said Tiran Pollach, 33, a senior member of the anti-Arab Kach movement. "He joins the list of heroes of the Jewish people."

Before moving to Israel, Goldstein was a spokesperson for the extremist Kach movement in the United States. He then became a physician treating militant settlers in Kiryat Arba and neighbouring Hebron.

Hebron was transferred to the control of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority in 1997, except for the city centre, where 450 Jews protected by soldiers live surrounded by 120,000 Palestinians.

On Feb. 25, 1994, Goldstein put on his army reserve uniform and walked into Hebron's Tomb of the Patriarchs, revered by both Jews and Muslims as the site of Abraham's tomb.

Goldstein opened fire with his machine gun and mowed down 29 Palestinians as they prayed. He was then beaten to death by survivors.

The massacre led to the banning in Israel of the Kach group. It also triggered a series of suicide bomb attacks against Israelis by members of the militant *Hamas* group, which stalled peace talks.

Pollach, who said he knew Goldstein well, said Goldstein's massacre was premeditated.

"He carried out the massacre with foresight. He planned it. He got ready for the attack. He put on his army officer's uniform and, when he carried out the massacre, it was viewed by himself and others as an act to save the Jewish people," Pollach said.

As do many settlers in the Hebron area, Pollach claims Goldstein acted to prevent an attack on Jews that Arabs were planning.

Kiryat Arba resident Jacob Arazoni said he doesn't approve of Goldstein's massacre, but believes Goldstein was provoked.

"If there was no reason for him to kill, of course we would be against it. But there was something that made him do this," said Arazoni, a 47-year-old high school teacher who also knew Goldstein.

Arazoni, not a member of Kach, believes the shrine will be rebuilt by Goldstein's supporters and force another showdown with police.

## **Graphic**

#### ISRAEL DESTROYS SHRINE TO JEWISH TERRORIST

#### BARUCH GOLDSTEIN:

Massacred 29 praying Palestinians in 1994.

Load-Date: December 30, 1999



# TERROR IN AMERICA: PALESTINIAN REACTION - PALESTINIANS FEAR THE PRICE THEY WILL HAVE TO PAY

The Independent (London)
September 13, 2001, Thursday

Copyright 2001 Independent Print Ltd

Section: NEWS; Pg. 8

Length: 823 words

Byline: Phil Reeves In Bethlehem Yasser Arafat donates blood at the Shifa Hospital in Gaza City Adel; Hana/AP

#### **Body**

MAHMOUD ABDULLAH was at home watching television, when news of the terror assault on the United States broke. As the carnage grew, he did not take to the streets to dance in celebration, as some Palestinians did.

But he did feel this horrendous slaughter had proved a point. "I told myself that this is a strike from God, and it showed that there are some forces stronger than the Americans in this world," he said yesterday. "I felt that there had been a change in the balance within the world."

Mr Abdullah, 23, used to make his living selling clothes in Bethlehem market, but now - like many, many thousands of other Palestinians on the West Bank - he is unemployed, having lost his livelihood to the economic collapse brought about by the intifada and Israel's military siege of Palestinian areas.

Bitterness has set in as the loss of Palestinian lives has risen steadily over the last year to more than 600. With it, has come a deepening of a long-held antipathy towards the US for the money - some \$ 3bn a year - and weapons and political support it has lavished on Israel.

Most of the world will have been disgusted by the television footage of Palestinians dancing in the streets in the hours after the catastrophe in the US. The crowds were not large - except in the West Bank city of Nablus where several thousand took part - but the impact of the pictures was immense.

It was far more shocking, and even more self-destructive, than the Palestinians' mass demonstrations of support in favour of Saddam Hussein during the 1991 Gulf War, or the hideous pleasure regularly expressed on their streets over the ruthless murder of Israeli civilians by Islamic suicide bombers.

Many Palestinians were at pains to point out yesterday that these revellers did not reflect the majority view. "These are people in total despair," said one PLO official, "They know that they will be blamed for these attacks, even though the Palestinians were not involved, and they believe Israel will now be allowed to do what it likes to them."

People in the streets of the occupied territories approached by The Independent yesterday expressed conflicting emotions. They condemned the massacre - along with their own leader, Yasser Arafat, and the entire Middle East, including some of its most extreme elements. Mr Arafat donated blood yesterday for the victims of the terror attacks while other Palestinians held a vigil in Jerusalem.

# TERROR IN AMERICA : PALESTINIAN REACTION - PALESTINIANS FEAR THE PRICE THEY WILL HAVE TO PAY

Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, leaders of the Palestinian <u>Hamas</u> and several radical Islamic clerics, came out against it. So did the countries on America's blacklist of nations which it accuses of "sponsoring terror" - Libya, Sudan and Iran.

And yet, at street-level, Arab opposition to American policy in the Middle East remained unshaken, and often emerged entwined with the view that the assault on America represented a terrible form of divine justice, a counterblow by Islam against the world's secular, consumer-mad superpower.

It is not - Palestinians argued - a contradiction to wholly oppose the mass murders in the US but to continue to argue that American conduct in the Middle East has been wrong and cruel.

If any heart could be expected to be hardened to Tuesday's horrors it was that of Nahme Hard, 58. Last November, her two sisters - Rachme, 59, and Aziza, 54 - were killed by a missile fired from a US-made Apache helicopter outside her Bethlehem home. It was Israel's first assassination of the intifada, and it found its target - a Fatah gunman called Hussein Abayat, 34. But it also killed the two innocent <u>women</u>, who were passing by.

Nahme has a picture of Saddam Hussein, his chest decked in medals, above the door of her stark home at Beit Sahour, on the edge of Bethlehem. She condemns America's failure to persuade Israel to lift the economic blockade of the West Bank and Gaza, and shakes her head despairingly at the suffering of her people.

But the massacres in New York and Washington horrified her as much as any other. "I cried. I thought - what crime have these people committed? They are men, <u>women</u> and children. What have they done wrong? They aren't guilty of anything."

There were nods of agreement from her nephew, a 31-year-old officer in the Palestinian Preventative Security force called Hamed. He said: "I was shocked when I saw people celebrating. They are not representatives of the Palestinian people. They were just kids. Our battle is not with the Americans. It is with Israel. Civilians should not be killed like this. Osama bin Laden is not our friend. He is an enemy."

Underlying these emotions, there is a widespread fear of the price that Palestinians will now have to pay. Despite their dislike of US policy, the Palestinian leadership still looks to Washington as the only power that can ultimately mediate between them and Israel. After this week's events, the Bush administration, always reluctant to be sucked into the Middle East quagmire, will keep its distance.

Load-Date: September 13, 2001



### Jordanian Muslim Cleric Calls for Death of Author in U.S.

The New York Times

June 30, 2001 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 1; National Desk; Pg. 9

Length: 857 words

Byline: By DEAN E. MURPHY

#### **Body**

A radical Muslim cleric in Jordan has issued a religious opinion that advocates the death of a Muslim scholar in the United States in punishment for a book he wrote about Islam.

The cleric, Sheik Abdel Moneim Abu Zant, declared the author, Khalid Duran, an apostate and called on Muslims in the United States "to unify against him," a Jordanian newspaper aligned with the cleric reported. The paper also reported that Mr. Abu Zant urged two prominent Sunni Islamic religious institutions to issue judgments of apostasy against Mr. Duran, the equivalent of a death sentence.

The book, "Children of Abraham," an introduction to Islam, was commissioned by the American Jewish Committee as part of a project to promote better understanding between Jews and Muslims. It was reported to be offensive for "distorting Islam" by focusing too much on issues like <u>female</u> circumcision, the relationship between men and woman, whether Ramadan observances decreased productivity and whether head scarves contributed to marital infidelity.

The edict was reported on June 6 in the weekly Arabic newspaper Al-Shahed, or The Observer, which is aligned with the Islamic Action Front, the party of the Muslim Brotherhood, to which Mr. Abu Zant belongs. It is the main political opposition party in Jordan.

The newspaper reported that the book's publication was "evidence of an evil intention to besmear the image of Islam in the United States." The intended result of the edict was that Mr. Duran's "blood will be shed," the newspaper said.

Michael J. Wildes, Mr. Duran's lawyer, said that Mr. Duran, 61, had been moved from his suburban Washington home and was being provided 24-hour private security.

The American Jewish Committee condemned the threat but said it had no plans to withdraw the book, which is for sale on the Internet and will be in bookstores soon.

"In a free society no one should tolerate the threat to kill an author," said David A. Harris, executive director of the Jewish group, which is also publishing a book about Judaism for Muslims. "All Americans, not least Muslims, should immediately speak out against this outrage and assault on democratic society."

#### Jordanian Muslim Cleric Calls for Death of Author in U.S.

Mr. Duran, who was born in Germany and moved to the United States in the 1980's, said yesterday that he had received death threats over the years because of writings that criticize extremist Islamic groups. But he had never been the target of a religious edict.

He said the edict surprised him because unlike much of his academic and journalistic work, "Children of Abraham" was meant to have no particular point of view. Its aim was to present a variety of opinions.

"One thing is clear: He has not read the book," Mr. Duran said of Mr. Abu Zant. "I hear every day from other Muslims who have read the book that they like the book."

David Schenker, a research fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, said the edict by Mr. Abu Zant did not carry the same religious authority as the one against Salman Rushdie, which was issued in 1989 by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Mr. Schenker described Mr. Abu Zant as more of a populist religious figure than an accomplished Islamic religious scholar.

Even before its publication, the book and its author were criticized by some Muslims in the United States, including the Council on American-Islamic Relations, or CAIR, an advocacy group in Washington that often sides with Muslim hard-liners on Middle East issues. The groups questioned Mr. Duran's credentials and suggested that the book sensationalized some issues, like the treatment of **women** in Islamic societies.

Officials at the American Jewish Committee said that attacks by CAIR most likely laid the foundation for Mr. Abu Zant's edict, particularly since the article in Al-Shahed mentioned the American group.

But Ibrahim Hooper, a spokesman for CAIR, said the Jewish organization was making too much of the Al-Shahed article. Mr. Hooper described the article as "an editorial in a party newspaper that nobody ever heard of." He said that Mr. Abu Zant was making a recommendation to the Sunni religious authorities, not issuing a death sentence of his own.

"Even if he said what the American Jewish Committee says he said, it is not a fatwa, it is just some guy in a party newspaper in Jordan," Mr. Hooper said. "This isn't about a death edict, it is about the American Jewish Committee going around pressing Islamaphobic hot bottons trying to get publicity for their deceitful book."

But Reuven Paz, academic director of the International Policy Institute for Counterterrorism, near Tel Aviv, said that Sheik Abu Zant's declaration was serious. "What Abu Zant said literally is that his blood is 'permissible,' " he said. "Though there is no direct translation of that in English, it means that any Muslim can and should kill Duran."

Mr. Abu Zant, a former member of the Jordanian parliament, was jailed in 1999 for denouncing his government's decision to close the Amman office of the militant Islamic movement <u>Hamas</u>. Last year he issued a religious threat against a Jordanian poet and he has joined other clerics in denouncing Pokemon as a Jewish plot against Islam.

http://www.nytimes.com

## **Graphic**

Photo: Khalid Duran, a Muslim author who has been called an apostate. (The New York Times)

Load-Date: June 30, 2001



### There's no limit to man's cruelty

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)
July 15, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 Times Publishing Company

Section: PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 1D; COLUMN

Length: 833 words

Byline: BILL MAXWELL

#### **Body**

Each morning, I read the newspapers, watch the news on television and listen to National Public Radio. And each morning, I am disturbed by the many examples of man's cruelty to man I read and hear about.

On one day alone, the following stories were in a single newspaper:

In Northern Ireland, the centuries' old bloodbath continues. There, the police and rioters fight pitched battles after a day of marches by Roman Catholics and Protestants. Firebombs are thrown and powerful water cannons are used. Dozens of people are injured as Protestant members of the Orange Order pass near a Catholic neighborhood. All around, black smoke rises, and broken glass and chunks of brick lie everywhere. HORROR

What are these madmen fighting about? The cause has something to do with a battle between William of Orange, a Protestant, and King James II, a Catholic. The idiocy of this mess is that the battle occurred way, way back in 1690. Think of it: People are dying in 2001 for something that took place more than 300 years ago.

In Israel, the West Bank and Gaza insanity rages. As matters have been since recorded history, the area's inhabitants are trying to annihilate one another. Palestinian gunmen are taking aim at the head of Jewish settlers. Palestinian children are hurling rocks at Israeli soldiers.

Jewish settlers are torching Palestinian olive groves. Israeli tanks are shelling positions in the West Bank city of Hebron. <u>Hamas</u> suicide bombers are trying to cross into Israel. Israeli bulldozers are pushing down Palestinian homes outside of East Jerusalem.

What are these madmen fighting about?

As far as I can tell, they are fighting over two different versions of history outlined in their sacred texts. They are fighting over questions of who was in the region first, who owns this or that piece of land, who has rights to this or that monument or this icon, this mount or that mount, this road or that road, this river or that river.

Everything in the news suggests that fresh blood will flow for generations to come. Rational people, those with the long view of history, are being drowned out by short-sighted extremists on both sides.

In Afghanistan, the Taliban and the opposition militia are determined to kill one another. Matters will not improve anytime soon, because outside forces, such as Russia, Iran and Pakistan, are pouring arms and cash into the conflict.

#### There's no limit to man's cruelty

And even as it battles the opposition militia, the Taliban finds ample time and uses cruel methods to mistreat the nation's **women**, who have been turned into creatures of perpetual humiliation.

On most of the African continent, people are butchering other people. In Ivory Coast, for example, paramilitary policemen shot and killed dozens of young men and dumped their bodies in an Abidjan field. The source of the conflict? It has something to do with - you guessed it - differences between Muslims and Christians.

In South Africa, the poor are getting poorer, and their homes, mere shacks, are being pushed down by riot police and other government officials. Homeless <u>women</u> and children roam the land searching for food, firewood and shelter.

Macedonia dominates a page in the New York Times. Government soldiers and ethnic Albanian rebels prepare to battle to the end. If a NATO-mediated truce does not come soon, an all-out civil war is a certainty. Guns are everywhere, and generations of ethnic hatred threaten to spill over and affect the entire region.

India and Pakistan, nuclear rivals since 1999, may yet blow each other off the map if they cannot solve their squabbling over Kashmir. These two nations have fought three wars since 1947. Nothing indicates that they will make permanent peace anytime soon.

And I read in the New York Times that the United States and many of its closest allies, such as Saudi Ababia, Israel, Greece and South Korea, are trafficking in human flesh. Trafficking in Persons Report, a publication of the U.S. State Department, indicates that future slaves, mostly <u>women</u> and children, are kidnapped or tricked into going to another nation because they have been promised legitimate jobs.

Traffickers take their victims' papers and make slaves of them in private homes, sweatshops, farm-labor camps and brothels. Releasing the report, Secretary of State Colin Powell said: "It is incomprehensible that trafficking in human beings is taking place in the 21st century - incomprehensible but true, very true."

In all of my naivete, I cannot comprehend the violence, racism, sexism, homophobia and other kinds of cruelty around the world. Such acts will continue and will increase until good people everywhere cultivate active outrage outrage that says "no more," outrage that demands action.

Each time I witness our capacity to hurt one another, I am reminded of Gulliver's assessment of humankind as he rebukes the king of Brobdingnag: "I cannot but conclude the bulk of your natives to be the most pernicious race of little odious vermin that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the face of the earth."

Load-Date: July 16, 2001



# NYC; Chicken Soup From Barak: It Can't Hurt

The New York Times

November 23, 1999, Tuesday, Late Edition - Final

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**Distribution:** Metropolitan Desk

Section: Section B; ; Section B; Page 1; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk; Column 1;

Length: 744 words

Byline: By CLYDE HABERMAN

By CLYDE HABERMAN

#### **Body**

IF you want to open a kosher shop or restaurant, you have to get a rabbinical seal of approval, known in Hebrew as a hechsher. Sometimes, a temporal version of a hechsher is needed in the world of New York politics, and that is exactly what Hillary Rodham Clinton got over the weekend from the visiting Israeli Prime Minister, Ehud Barak.

Whether it does her any good remains to be seen, of course. But at this stage of her nascent campaign for United States senator -- when she should be able to count on an overwhelming majority of Jewish votes here, and finds tepid support at best -- it is no small thing that Israel's leader pronounced her politically kosher.

You'd have to be insensate not to notice that Mrs. Clinton's campaign is in danger of dying before it is even born. She has some Democrats already saying she should give up the Senate race. She has others calling on her to at least give up her day job as first lady. On all sides, there is a growing perception that, for all her smarts, she may be a serial bumbler when it comes to politics.

Obviously, Mrs. Clinton did herself no good among New York's crucial Jewish voters with her recent (and many would say absolutely unnecessary) visit to the West Bank. Her sin: she waited hours before denouncing an anti-Israel diatribe by Suha Arafat.

The wife of the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, had prattled on about Israeli forces' supposedly contaminating Palestinian water supplies and spraying Palestinian <u>women</u> and children with "poison gas." Mrs. Clinton's attackers say that instead of then pecking Mrs. Arafat on both cheeks, she should have immediately stood up and screamed her outrage, diplomatic obligations as first lady be damned.

Mrs. Clinton quickly felt the politically radioactive fallout. Some polls show her running in a virtual dead heat among Jews against her likely Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani; accepted wisdom is that she will need at least two-thirds of the Jewish vote to win.

But the way some of her Jewish critics have talked, you'd think she was smuggling dynamite to <u>Hamas</u> suicide bombers. Many of her sharpest attackers, mind you, are hardly neutral. Some have never embraced the Israeli-

#### NYC; Chicken Soup From Barak: It Can't Hurt

Palestinian peace process set in motion by Mr. Arafat and the martyred Israeli Prime Minister, Yitzhak Rabin, and blessed by President Clinton.

Helping stoke the anti-Clinton fervor has been a stream of invective in journals like Rupert Murdoch's New York Post, which went so far last week as to print a readers' survey that put both Clintons among the "most evil people" of the millennium. The president ranked No. 2, barely behind Hitler. His wife was deemed more evil than the likes of Saddam Hussein, Adolf Eichmann and Charles Manson. Some newspapers would have tossed out such results as malicious and patently absurd.

IT was significant then that Mr. Barak, a former army chief of staff and Yitzhak Rabin's political heir, came to New York and put the West Bank incident in perspective. The real sin lay with Mrs. Arafat, he suggested at a dinner Saturday night sponsored by the Israel Policy Forum, a group formed to support Israeli-Palestinian talks.

The first thing needed is "a joint code of conduct during the negotiations by which both sides refrain from inflammatory rhetoric," he said. Impolite translation: zip Mrs. Arafat's lip.

Moments later, Mr. Barak turned to Mrs. Clinton. Her visit, he said, "touched so many hearts in our country and encouraged our peace efforts."

"Speaking of the Clintons," he went on, "let me tell you frankly, I wish that we Israelis will always have such true friends in the White House. President Clinton, the leaders of Congress and the American people continue to demonstrate their deep commitment to a just and fair peace in the Middle East. We are so grateful for their ongoing assistance. We could not have come this far on the road to peace without their sustained effort."

In no way was the prime minister endorsing Mrs. Clinton over Mr. Giuliani, in effect telling New York Jews to buy what she is selling. All he said -- though that alone counts for something -- was that she is politically kosher, that she has his personal hechsher.

Whether he helped her is a tougher question than anything Regis Philbin has come up with on his quiz show. The audience on Saturday was basically a liberal crowd, the sort of people you might normally expect to rate the first lady highly. Yet Mr. Barak's praise of her drew thin applause.

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: November 23, 1999



#### ON WHATSHISNAME, WOMEN'S COLLEGES, NURSES, THE NINTH, ETC.

Richmond Times Dispatch (Virginia)

June 17, 2001 Sunday City Edition

Copyright 2001 Richmond Newspapers, Inc.

Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. F-7

Length: 842 words

Byline: Ross MacKenzie

### **Body**

#### So let's see:

- (1) At last we're done with the malign Oklahoma City bomber. Yet desperate death-penalty detesters are trying to push their case uphill past all the odds. Even enlightened Europeans are supposed to be blistering the visiting George Bush about Whatshisname getting the heinous veinous stuff.
- (2) The Senate has switched (with the new majority leader clichedly pledging bipartisanship), Bush has signed the tax-cut bill all the right people are complaining about, and for him this past week it's been Europe. The cognoscenti say he was getting a well-deserved earful not only about Whatshisname (etc.), but about global warming, missile defense, and (generally) ugly awful mean-spirited retrograde doofus America and let's not forget the Bush administration, which is all of the above and more.

With Father's Day here, one is reminded that not much changes: About 30 years ago the electric knife was a hot item for giving; this year, the ads say, it's the electronic fork (can the plug-in spoon be far behind?). Yet among the many other tidbits in the news are these . . . .

Before departing for Europe, Bush addressed 15,000 at the ceremonies dedicating the D-Day memorial in Bedford. He lauded the generation of Normandy invaders who "gathered and advanced as one, and changed the course of history."

\* \* \*

Another <u>women</u>'s college - Trinity, in Burlington, Vermont - has closed. Lockstepping after their all-male counterparts toward demise, all-<u>female</u> schools now number (alas) only 74.

\* \* \*

Oh, and among the shortages of personnel in so many crucial areas, now it's nurses. In some hospitals 25 percent of nursing positions are unfilled - backing up surgical schedules and overworking those on staff. And the shortage shows signs of growing worse. Enrollment in nursing programs is plunging and many nurses are leaving hospitals. The average age of nurses is rising. Numerous hospitals are holding job fairs overseas to attract foreign nurses. In some urban areas, temporary staffing agencies receive up to \$70 an hour for freelance nurses.

\* \* \*

#### ON WHATSHISNAME, WOMEN'S COLLEGES, NURSES, THE NINTH, ETC.

Quote No. 1: Dr. Peter Piot, head of UNAIDS, on AIDS - which has killed 22 million worldwide and infected 36 million others: "This is now, without any doubt, the largest epidemic in human history, and we are certainly not at the end of it." Quote No. 2: *Hamas* spokesman Abdel Aziz Rantisi, on terrorist bombings such as the recent one outside a Tel Aviv nightclub that killed and maimed many: "This kind of operation is the right of the Palestinian people to terrorize the enemies."

\* \* \*

And speaking of the Palestinians, Jordan - the Palestinian state - doesn't want any more either, and for some of the same reasons as Israel's. About three of every four Jordanians are of Palestinian origin, though the technically non-Palestinian minority runs the place. Now Jordan, which long has granted free-entry to Palestinians, is turning Palestinians away at its Jordan River crossing. Maybe the ruling Jordanian minority shares the Israeli view that Palestinians - with one of the world's highest birth rates - quickly would put the government out of business.

\* \* \*

As so often is the case these days, the medical front is full of good news. (1) U.S. cancer rates for both affliction and death declined in the 1990s - notably for cancers of the prostate, colon, and lung. (2) A new treatment for leukemia shows great promise. (3) New research demonstrates that tick-borne Lyme disease is difficult to catch and easy to get rid of (with two capsules of the antibiotic doxycycline). And (4) not all fat is necessarily bad. A report in the journal Tissue Engineering says stem cells harvested from fat have proved capable of becoming muscle, cartilage, and bone - meaning potentially big things for repair or replacement of worn or injured body parts.

\* \* \*

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals continues to buff its reputation for some of the most mischievous far-left rulings in the judiciary. It has sanctioned (6-5) a trial for Lon Horiuchi, a government sniper involved in the 1992 shoot-out at Ruby Ridge. And it has blocked logging in thousands of forested acres in Oregon on the grounds the government failed to weigh the effects on protected Umpqua cutthroat trout and coho salmon.

\* \* \*

Will Vermont Senator Jim Jeffords' jump imperil, among others, the Senate's Chaplain? Since 1995, his principal patron Trent Lott, the Senate Chaplain has been the Rev. Lloyd John Ogilvie, 70 - a former California TV minister. Forceful speaker; outspoken Christian; developer of a "Faith and Freedom" stairwell (dubbed the "stairway to Heaven") up to his plush Capitol office. Democrats frequently wince at his prayers, such as this one prior to the Senate vote on the Attorney General nomination of former Missouri Senator John Ashcroft: Dear Father . . . . Remind the Senators on both sides of the aisle that what goes around comes around. He could prove too much for the Senate's new Democratic regime. But then, in one Senator's words, even complaining about the Senate Chaplain "is a little like taking on God."

## **Graphic**

**PHOTO** 

Load-Date: June 20, 2001



#### ISRAELI ARABS COULD BE LINKED TO CAR BOMBS

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)
September 7, 1999, Tuesday,
SOONER EDITION

Copyright 1999 P.G. Publishing Co.

Section: WORLD,; COLLEGE FOOTBALL LOG

Length: 777 words

Byline: JOEL GREENBERG, THE NEW YORK TIMES

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

#### **Body**

The Israeli police yesterday said they were holding five people in connection with two cars that blew up Sunday in northern Israel, indicating that they suspect that the men in the cars were Israeli Arabs.

A gag order barred public identification of the suspects or the three men, apparently would-be bombers, who were killed in the almost simultaneous blasts in two cities. But officials hinted broadly that they were Israeli Arabs, drawing expressions of shock and condemnation from Israeli Arab leaders.

If that is confirmed, it would be the first time that Arab citizens of Israel have been known to be involved in carbombings. Previous suicide bombings, which have killed scores of Israelis in recent years, were believed to have been carried out by Palestinians from the militant Islamic groups *Hamas* and Islamic Holy War.

In Sunday's blasts, the two occupants of one explosive-packed car were killed and a <u>female</u> passer-by, an Israeli Jew, was seriously wounded in Tiberias, a resort on the Sea of Galilee. A second car exploded almost simultaneously in the port city of Haifa, killing its occupant.

The explosions took place less than 24 hours after the signing of a new Israeli-Palestinian agreement in Egypt, though it is not clear whether the timing of the blasts was coincidental.

The prospect that Israeli Arabs, possibly members of the Islamic Movement in Israel, might have been acting in concert with Palestinian militants opposed to peace moves raised concerns among Israeli security officials and leaders of the 1 million Israeli Arabs.

"If it indeed emerges that there is such a connection, then there will be very deep concern," said Public Security Minister Shlomo Ben-Ami. "If it turns out that this attempt is linked organically to the Islamic Movement, we'll certainly have to draw conclusions."

Israeli Arabs voiced worries that they would again be labeled a fifth column, a charge that had faded during decades of civic loyalty.

"The Arab community is stunned," Taleb a-Sana, an Israeli Arab member of Parliament, said in a radio interview. "A tremendous effort has been made over dozens of years to consolidate our status here, to build a relationship and

#### ISRAELI ARABS COULD BE LINKED TO CAR BOMBS

positive coexistence - to struggle, but within the law and the democratic rules of the game. Whoever carried out such an act is Enemy No. 1 of the Arab community."

pg99 0144 990907 N S 9909070120 00002975 IT N

In a watershed ruling, the Israeli Supreme Court yesterday unexpectedly outlawed the Israeli security service's practice of using physically coercive interrogation methods that critics have long denounced as forms of torture.

A nine-judge panel led by Chief Justice Aharon Barak unanimously banned several admitted techniques of the General Security Service - or Shin Bet, as it is better known - for obtaining information from suspected terrorists. These include violently shaking the suspects' upper torsos, forcing them to crouch like frogs and shackling them in contorted positions with opaque sacks over their heads.

The court's ruling is unprecedented in a country where repeated terrorist attacks have long created a perceived conflict between the security interests of the state and the human rights of suspects. Until this decision, the court has shied away from imposing restrictions on Israeli security agencies, effectively condoning their practices.

Yesterday, civil rights lawyers were stunned when, years after the lawsuits were filed but only four months after their hearing, the court not only ruled decisively that the interrogation methods were illegal but immediately enjoined the government from using them.

"It was certainly surprising," said Dan Yakir, lawyer for the Association for Civil Rights in Israel. "On the one hand, it was the only legal decision they could have handed down. On the other, the Supreme Court doesn't have a very impressive record in defending human rights in light of security claims."

The court, clearly made uneasy that it had come to an unequivocal legal decision, acknowledged mixed emotions in its ruling.

"Deciding these applications weighed heavy on the court," the decision said. "Our apprehension is that this decision will hamper the ability to properly deal with terrorists and terrorism, which disturbs us. We are, however, judges. Our brethren require us to act according to the law."

The Supreme Court suggested that the parliament draft legislation if it wanted to override the ruling by sanctioning the use of physical force in interrogations. Barak has long believed the issue should be addressed in the legislature and not the courtroom. Justice Minister Yossi Beilin said he was "very proud" of the court's decision.

## **Graphic**

PHOTO, PHOTO: Suhaib Salem/Reuters: A Palestinian boy holds a photo of his; father, Ahmed Abu N'sera, yesterday during a demonstration in the Gaza Strip.; The boy's father is a Palestinian militant convicted of killing an Israeli in; the Gaza Strip and sentenced to life in prison.

Load-Date: September 8, 1999



#### Get out of gaza says u.s

DAILY MAIL (London)
April 18, 2001

Copyright 2001 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: Pg. 7

Length: 876 words

Byline: Matthew Kalman

### **Body**

ISRAEL dramatically backed down and started to pull its troops out of the conflict-hit Gaza Strip last night on the orders of the American government.

Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon made the shock announcement that he was ordering his country's army to retreat from areas it had reoccupied only hours earlier in the Palestinian-ruled area.

The about-turn came a few hours after the United States called on Israel to withdraw 'immediately'.

In his first statement on four days of Middle East violence, Secretary of State Colin Powell said the U.S. was 'deeply concerned' that the fighting could escalate and lead to a broader conflict in the region.

General Powell blamed the Palestinians for provoking the violence in the Gaza area with a mortar attack on Israel on Monday, but he said the Israeli response, which included attacks from the air and the sea, was 'excessive and disproportionate'.

'We call upon both sides to respect the agreements they've signed,' he said.

'For the Palestinians, this includes implementing their commitment to renounce terrorism and violence, to exercise control over all elements of the PLO and the Palestinian authority, and to discipline violators.

'For the Israelis, this includes respecting their commitment to withdraw from Gaza according to the terms of the agreements signed by Israel and the Palestinians.

There can be no military solution to this conflict.' Asked how quickly the Israelis should pull back, a U.S. State Department official said: 'The Israelis should get out now. They made an agreement to withdraw and they should not reoccupy.' Only two hours after General Powell and his officials had issued their dramatic statements, Mr Sharon revealed that his troops would withdraw.

His spokesman said the move out of the areas seized in Gaza would take place 'shortly'.

'We always said that it will happen when the military operation ends,' the spokesman added, without giving a specific timetable.

#### Get out of gaza says u.s

Last night a Palestinian official confirmed: 'Our people on the ground saw the beginning of the pullout.' Earlier in the day Israeli forces had moved up to a half mile into the Gaza Strip and a leading Israeli general had said his troops could stay in their new positions for months.

His warning followed Israel's heaviest firepower attack in months, destroying Palestinian homes and leaving one dead and 30 wounded.

The man killed was Mohammed Al-Masri, a 24-year- old policeman. He had been on duty at a Palestinian police post near the village of Beit Hanoun. Israel believed the post had been used to fire mortar bombs.

Palestinians condemned the offensive.

'We lived a night of fire, war and horror,' said a 30-year-old resident of Beit Hanoun. 'There was fire in the sky. Men, <u>women</u> and children were running everywhere throughout the night as bullets flew over their heads.' Apart from the wounded, hospitals reported that relatives had brought dozens of people in for help from shock after they endured six hours of night bombardment.

The Gaza attacks, involving tanks, helicopter gunships, missiles, ships and bulldozers, began less than 24 hours after Israel bombed a Syrian radar station, killing three Syrian soldiers. Palestinian leader President Yasser Arafat called the bombardment a 'dirty Israeli ploy to end Palestinian resistance'.

He vowed his people would keep fighting until they won independence.

The onslaught, the latest sign of Rightwing Mr Sharon's 'get tough' policy, came after Islamic militant group <u>Hamas</u> claimed responsibility for a mortar attack on Sderot, a stronghold of his Likud Party about two miles east of Beit Hanoun and five miles from his sheep farm in the Negev Desert.

Those mortar rounds landed deeper in Israel than any since the start of a Palestinian uprising for independence last September.

The Palestinians have fired dozens of mortars at Israeli targets in recent weeks, mainly Jewish settlements in Gaza.

The attack on Sderot caused no damage or injuries, but was the first on an Israeli town and considered a major provocation by Sharon.

'This is unjustified and crosses the line,' Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres told Israel radio. 'There's a limit to everything.' Israel had threatened repeatedly in recent weeks that it would retake some Palestinian-controlled areas if the escalation continued.

Palestinian cabinet ministers accused Israel of raising the stakes.

Planning minister Nabil Shaath said that after Israel's action against Syrian targets in Lebanon earlier this week, 'there is a serious threat of an explosion in all these areas'.

Protests by thousands of people broke out in other Palestinian-run areas such as Hebron and elsewhere in the West Bank.

Israel closed for an indefinite period the Egyptian-Israeli border crossing in the Rafah area.

Gaza residents used donkeys and made long detours to get to destinations in the Strip, where 1.2million Palestinians live in an area that at some points is just two-and-a-half miles wide.

At least 379 Palestinians, 13 Israeli Arabs and 71 other Israelis have died since the uprising began in September.

Israel transferred most of the Gaza Strip to Palestinian rule in 1994 at the start of seven years of peacemaking, which became deadlocked before the latest spate of violence began.

## Get out of gaza says u.s

Load-Date: April 19, 2001



## <u>Israel pulling out of Gaza territory; 'Unforgivable crime': The Israelis take</u> control of the area with a mortar attack

# Telegraph Herald April 18, 2001 Wednesday

Copyright 2001 Woodward Communications, Inc.

Section: Pg. c6

Length: 909 words

Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

#### **Body**

Israel began pulling its forces out of a strip of Palestinian territory in Gaza on Tuesday after holding it less than a day, the military said. The withdrawal followed sharp U.S. criticism over the incursion.

After a barrage of heavy rocket fire, Israel seized nearly a square mile of the Gaza Strip early Tuesday in retaliation for a mortar attack on an Israeli desert town. It was the first time Israel took over Palestinian-controlled territory since peace accords were signed in 1994.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat denounced the seizure as an "unforgivable crime" and said his people would "not kneel before gangs."

Secretary of State Colin Powell called the action in Gaza "excessive and disproportionate," and said Israel should respect its commitment to the Palestinians. "The situation is threatening to escalate, further, posing the risk of a broader conflict," Powell said.

Israel initially said it could hold the territory - an area of orange groves and farmland - for months until Palestinian mortar fire stopped. But Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's aides were quick to say their forces would withdraw when the danger of mortar attacks was gone.

Palestinian security officials, also speaking on condition of anonymity, said U.S. officials told them the Israelis would withdraw from the area.

A military statement said the pullout began after the mission was accomplished.

The Israeli assault came in response to mortar fire Monday night on Sderot, a working class town of 24,000 about 21/2 miles east of Gaza. The town is a stronghold of support for Sharon, and his sheep ranch is 5 miles away. The Islamic militant group *Hamas* claimed responsibility for the mortars, but Israel blamed Palestinian security forces.

Flares lit up the sky Monday night as Israeli forces shelled and rocketed Palestinian police stations across the Gaza Strip, killing a policeman and injuring 36 other people. Soon after, troops crossed into the corner of Gaza closest to Sderot, seizing and tearing down abandoned Palestinian security posts. Under Israeli tank fire, army bulldozers razed orange groves outside the Palestinian town of Beit Hanoun, and Israeli troops built fortified positions.

Israel pulling out of Gaza territory; 'Unforgivable crime': The Israelis take control of the area with a mortar attack

During the barrage, hundreds of Palestinians, including crying children, ran into the streets in Gaza City's Rimal neighborhood, where rockets punched holes in the facade of a police headquarters. Rimal resident Ghada Skaik, whose bedroom window was shattered, said she spent a sleepless night. "If you go to bed and you can't feel safe, then where can you go and feel safe?" she said.

By daybreak, after Israeli troops settled into their new positions, tanks periodically fired toward Palestinians trying to approach the area. Palestinian medics carrying the body of a Palestinian policeman away from the rubble of a Beit Hanoun police compound were sent running by Israeli fire, at one point dropping to the ground to take cover.

Two Palestinian boys were killed by Israeli gunfire late Tuesday. In Gaza's Rafat refugee camp, Bara el-Shael, 10, was shot by soldiers, relatives and doctors said. In el-Khader, near Bethlehem in the West Bank, Rami Musa, 16, was killed when an Israeli tank shelled his home, Palestinians said. The Israeli military said there was an exchange of fire at el-Khader.

Since the violence erupted on Sept. 28, 475 people have been killed, including 391 Palestinians, 64 Israeli Jews and 19 others.

Israeli tanks also cut the Gaza Strip into three parts, preventing north-south traffic and paralyzing life in the crowded territory of 1 million Palestinians. The crossing from Gaza into Egypt was sealed.

Stranded Palestinian commuters resorted to the Mediterranean beach - the only remaining passage. Young <u>women</u> in long robes and white headscarves, some carrying schoolbooks, walked along the beach, and donkey carts and tractors ferried passengers.

The Israeli commander of the region, Brig. Gen. Yair Naveh, said that the seizure of the territory - about a square mile - removed Sderot from the danger of mortars.

Israeli troops withdrew from two-thirds of the 140-square-mile Gaza Strip in 1994, as part of interim peace accords with the Palestinians.

Since the outbreak of Israeli-Palestinian fighting in September, Israeli troops have entered Palestinian-controlled territory from time to time, but each time withdrew quickly.

Palestinians had fired dozens of mortars at Israeli targets in recent weeks, mainly Jewish settlements in Gaza. The attack on Sderot caused no damage or injuries, but was the first on a town inside Israel proper.

"This is unjustified and crosses the line," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told Israel radio. "There's a limit to everything."

Arafat said the Palestinians would fight until they obtained statehood. "Everyone must understand that our strong people will not kneel in front of the gangs that are attacking our masses and our citizens and our villages and our refugee camps and cities," he said after returning from a meeting in Egypt with President Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak, who has tried to mediate an end to the fighting, said peace efforts were now dead. "I don't see any possibility of success this way," Mubarak said, blaming Sharon for the flareup.

The land was seized at a time of renewed tensions on Israel's border with Lebanon. Lebanese Hezbollah guerrillas killed an Israeli soldier in a weekend rocket attack, followed by an Israeli airstrike against Syrian targets in Lebanon, a first since the 1980s.

Load-Date: April 24, 2001



# <u>Israeli forces rocket Palestinian headquarters Arafat's elite guard targeted</u> after suicide bomber kills 2

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

March 29, 2001, Thursday

Copyright 2001 Charleston Newspapers

Section: News; Pg. P1A

Length: 852 words

Byline: Ibrahim Barzak The Associated Press

#### **Body**

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - Israeli helicopters rocketed headquarters of Force 17, Yasser Arafat's elite guard, in Gaza and the West Bank town of Ramallah on Wednesday, retaliating for a wave of bombings, including a suicide attack that killed two Israeli teen-agers.

Red flares lit up the night sky over Ramallah, where two people were killed in the assault, and flames leaped from burning buildings and cars as firefighters tried to put out multiple blazes.

Doctors in Ramallah said the dead included a member of Force 17 and a *female* civilian. Overall, more than two dozen Palestinians were injured in Ramallah and Gaza, several critically, doctors said.

The attacks on Palestinian government buildings were the first since last fall and further eroded the fabric and foundation of the peace agreements that granted the Palestinians autonomy and self-government.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has repeatedly accused Force 17 of involvement in attacks against Israeli civilians.

"The purpose is to strike directly at those responsible for terrorism," the Israeli military said in a statement. The military said it hit the Force 17 headquarters in Ramallah, and four Force 17 targets around Gaza City and Deir al-Balah in the southern Gaza Strip - including a training camp and an arms depot.

The buildings under attack - all in areas governed by Arafat's Palestinian Authority under peace agreements - had been evacuated after the Israeli military warned the Palestinians to leave.

In Gaza City, the low-flying Israeli gunships blasted a Force 17 building that had been used as a weapons arsenal and is only 100 yards from Arafat's house.

The Palestinians said the building had been empty for some time, but <u>women</u> and children screamed as they fled nearby buildings. The smell of gunpowder hung in the salty sea air after the attack.

The Bush administration implicitly criticized the attack and said the use of force cannot end the conflict.

In a statement cleared with Secretary of State Colin Powell, spokesman Richard Boucher said, "We recognize Israel's need to provide for its security." He said, however, "We do not believe there is a military solution to this conflict."

Israeli forces rocket Palestinian headquarters Arafat's elite guard targeted after suicide bomber kills 2

That reaction came hours after the United States, standing by Israel, used its first U.N. veto since 1997 to kill a Security Council resolution backing a U.N. observer force to help protect Palestinians.

Arafat was in Amman, Jordan, where Arab leaders wrapped up a two-day summit earlier Wednesday with pledges of financial aid to the cash-strapped Palestinian Authority.

In a summit statement, Arab leaders voiced "their continued commitment to a comprehensive, permanent and just peace in the Middle East," but also assailed Israel in language that recalled Arab wars with the Jewish state.

Senior Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat called the Israeli attacks "a response to the Arab summit" and noted that it followed the U.S. veto of a resolution for a force that the Palestinians had requested.

Erekat described Wednesday's attacks as "premeditated Israeli aggression which will escalate drastically."

The nighttime assault came hours after a suicide bomber detonated nail-filled explosives strapped to his body near a group of Jewish seminary students waiting at the roadside near the West Bank, killing two. The previous day, militants carried out back-to-back attacks, including a suicide attack that injured two-dozen people.

The Palestinian militant group <u>Hamas</u> claimed responsibility for both suicide bombings and said more bombers were ready to strike.

Sharon, who had been under growing pressure to respond to Palestinian attacks, which included three bombings and the shooting death of a 10-month-old girl in less than 48 hours, called his security Cabinet into session before the Israeli offensive began.

"We are witnessing grave terrorist activities - terrorist activities that the chairman of the Palestinian Authority [Arafat] has not been willing until now to control," Sharon said.

Israel says Arafat has released hundreds of Islamic militants from prison in recent months, and that gunmen of the Tanzim militia affiliated with Arafat's Fatah movement have killed a number of Israelis in shooting attacks over the past six months.

Since the uprising began in late September, 443 people have been killed, including 362 Palestinians, 62 Israeli Jews and 19 others.

Palestinian Cabinet Minister Nabil Amr denied the Palestinian Authority had any ties to the bombings in recent days.

The Israeli assault began after the Arab summit ended, apparently because Israel wanted to avoid any retaliation during the gathering of Arab heads of state.

Israel launched a similar helicopter assault in October, striking Palestinian police buildings in Ramallah and near Arafat's headquarters in Gaza City, in retaliation for the mob killing of two Israeli reserve soldiers in Ramallah.

The latest suicide bomber targeted a group of teen-agers who had been dropped off at a gas station Wednesday near the communal farm of Sdeh Hemed, about 15 miles northeast of Tel Aviv near the boundary of the West Bank. The teens were waiting for a bus to their school.

Load-Date: March 29, 2001



Guardian Weekly October 24, 2001

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Section: ATTACK ON AFGHANISTAN; Pg. 3

Length: 1905 words

Byline: Peter Beaumont in Nablus

Highlight: Hostility to West fuelled by outside interference as well as failures and tensions in the Muslim world

#### **Body**

The teenagers were teasing us in bad English. "Do you like Bin Laden?" asked the one leaning over my chair. "Do you respect him?" he pestered, giggling with his friends. In the barber's shop opposite the mosque in the Balata refugee camp in the West Bank city of Nablus it was difficult to know the correct response. For slow-thinking journalists, however, there is a primer scrawled recently in Arabic on the mosque's walls. "Blood for blood," it warns, "the West will fall."

Among a sizeable minority of the young men of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, Osama bin Laden has become a folk hero. It is not just for his championing of the Palestinian cause, as he did on Arab television last week after the first day of the United States bombing. It is not even for attacking the US in the first place, which many, even among *Hamas* supporters, admit repelled and shocked them.

Instead, by a convoluted logic, they admire him for becoming the target -- with the Taliban -- of US bombing. Strangely self-fulfilling, it is the fatalistic logic of those who feel themselves to be perpetually the victim.

It was a contradiction summed up last week by a survey of Palestinian students at the West Bank's Bir Zeit University -- 89% believed the US was wrong to attack Afghanistan: 64% said the attacks on the US violated Islamic law. However, what is most alarming is the sizeable minority -- 26% -- who said they believed the suicide hijackings were consistent with the teachings of Islam.

Last week in Gaza City those tensions erupted as the policemen of Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority fought with the young men of <u>Hamas</u> demonstrating in sympathy with the people of Afghanistan -- and Bin Laden -- in the worst outbreak of inter-Palestinian violence in years.

What is certain is that Bin Laden is opening deep and dangerous fault lines throughout the societies of the Middle East. His actions and the West's reaction to them have become, for a substantial and radicalised minority, a kind of shibboleth that marks you on either side of an ideological divide: Are you for -- or against -- the US and the West? It is the question Bin Laden wants the Islamic world to ask itself. Ironically, the outcome that he envisages is one he shares with the rightwing US historian Samuel Huntington who -- like Bin Laden -- believes that, by their inherent, contradictory cultural values, conflict between Islam and the West is inevitable. But is it?

For behind the simplistic world views of the Huntingtons and Bin Ladens is a reality as complex as it is murky. The hostility towards the West, for all its specific grievances such as the bombings of Afghanistan and Iraq, and America's support for Israel, is as deeply embedded in a century of internal conflicts as in the history of the West's

often clumsy interventions. They are frictions born of the struggle of the Islamic world to reinvent itself amid competing ideas of democracy, nationalism, modernisation and religious revival.

That struggle has inevitably been played out in terms of a continuous process of evaluation of its progress against the achievements and failures of America and the West. But the question remains: What, precisely, fuels that rage against the West?

I find Professor Abdu Sattar Kassem, a lecturer in political science at the University of Nablus, outside his apartment block in the city centre. It is Friday and he is anxious to pray. To keep the interview as short as possible, he hands me an article he has written on the question. "As an Arab", he writes, "I understand why so many Arabs and Muslims hate the US and look at it as a power of evil."

A charming, clever man who studied in the US, he says: "The dumbest thing of all is that when I tried to talk to American colleagues and explain why they were disliked in the Middle East, they simply did not want to hear it or believe it. It is a form of cultural arrogance. They simply believe that they are best, and nothing can challenge that.

"What you have to understand is that many Arabs and Muslims want to build an Islamic civilisation in its own right. They blame the West in general -- and America in particular -- for subjugating that ambition by dividing the Arab world through the dictators that America supports. America has done this by fragmenting the Islamic world, dividing it under rulers it supports. America has perverted the attempts to democratise the Arab world. They are hypocrites. They preach freedom and democracy, but prevent Arabs from enjoying it.

"The final issue is the US support for Israel in tormenting the Palestinians. It will not be enough for America to force the Israelis to accept a Palestinian state . . . They must withdraw all support for Israel. Create a level playing field."

These are complaints you will hear repeated by many Muslim and Arab intellectuals. But not all are happy simply to blame the West for all the failings of the Muslim world.

Among them is Hazem Saghiyeh, a London-based columnist for the Arabic newspaper Al Hayat, who, while identifying the same causes of friction as Prof Sattar Kassem, puts a radically different gloss on the roots of Muslim dislike of the West. These, he says, have as much to do with the failure of the Islamic project itself in issues of governance and modernisation in the past century and a half as they do with American and Western interference. He does not deny there are good reasons for Muslims to dislike the West -- not least the almost universally unifying feature of the widespread Islamic support for the Palestinian cause and the way in which the West has shored up obnoxious regimes across the Middle East.

But he argues that equally important is a historic sense of inferiority in the Muslim world. It is a sense of inferiority, he believes, that has magnified the importance of the US and the West in its history. "Crucial is the sense of superiority to Europe enjoyed for almost a thousand years by Islam. For centuries after the defeat of the Crusaders it felt, not without some justification, that it was intellectually, morally, scientifically superior.

"Islam -- and the Ottoman empire in particular -- was plunged into a deep crisis from which it has never really recovered after the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution. For a long time the Muslim world had become isolated and inward-looking, and had little contact with the outside world. The new epoch of European supremacy was a trauma and injury to its psyche."

Significantly -- as other historians of the Middle East have pointed out -- this mid-19th century crisis was accompanied by the emergence of deep divisions in the Islamic world itself over how best to reassert its values. It divided those who argued for reform, modernisation and an Islamic Enlightenment from those arguing for Islamic fundamentalism.

The result, Mr Saghiyeh believes, was a narcissistic culture of victimisation that survives until today. "That narcissism and sense of humiliation," he says, "was accentuated by the disaster in 1948 when the Arab armies were defeated by the Israelis."

Tensions were exacerbated, says Mr Saghiyeh, by the widespread failure of nationalist Arab models of governance in the postwar era that delivered autocratic and human rights-abusing regimes across the region.

A side-effect of the poor record on human rights and freedom of speech has been the rise of a parallel narrative in Islamic consciousness. Robbed of the freedom to express themselves, many have turned to the "conspiracy theory" as an alternative model to explain the problems of the world.

"The rise of the conspiracy theory in the Muslim world in the last few decades is extremely important. Because people feel they are not in control, because they feel they world is becoming stranger and stranger, they look for something behind it."

That "something" is the myth of an almost omnipotent and controlling American power behind the scenes.

At the heart of the hostility towards the West is a shared set of specific discontents across the Muslim world that have created a feeling of power-lessness and alienation in a substantial section of its populations. Specifically it is a discontent being driven by a myriad of social, demographic, political and economic problems.

They are problems neatly encapsulated by experiences of the Gulf states such as Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Kuwait. The rapid growth in population, which in some states has left a population where two-thirds are under 30, has combined with general economic problems and bad governance (in particular, rampant corruption) to create a massive gap of expectation in its young and sometimes well-educated populations. At its heart is a feeling of deracination and alienation among young Muslims across the region.

"There has been a process of suburbanisation," says Mr Saghiyeh. "There has been a population explosion that has been accompanied by a shift from the countryside to the cities without gaining the benefits they expected of urban life: a comfortable life and the best jobs. Consequently these young people feel neither urban nor from the countryside."

It is a feeling of rootlessness mirrored in the failures of modernising projects in the Muslim world. "These are also people who have lost their traditional ways of life but have not become modern, who have not benefited through all their education. It is a recipe for psychological breakdown and hysteria."

In the past two decades that gap of expectation has been filled by the politicisation of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism -- which has emerged out of the failure of the Arab nationalist secular project that created a series of violently monolithic states, including Syria and Iraq.

The result, says an Egyptian diplomat based in the Middle East, is that many people -- frustrated with the failure of economics, politics or nationalism to give them the better lives they seek -- have turned to Islam as a revolutionary solution.

"They look to men like Bin Laden as a revolutionary solution -- a magic formula when all else has failed. And remember that people like Bin Laden carefully target the poor and illiterate, people they know are suffering, and present their vision as a kind of revolutionary Islam that will magically solve all their ills." It is a revolutionary message first preached two decades ago in Iran by Ayatollah Khomeini.

It was Khomeini who in the 1980s provided the vocabulary for hatred of America as the "Great Satan" that has been recycled by others, such as Bin Laden, who seek to reimpose the seventh-century utopian community of the Prophet Muhammad -- the *velayat-e fagih* (clerical rule).

Walking through the alleys of Nablus's refugee camps with Samir, my driver, during Friday prayers, it is hard to avoid the sense of the continuing politicisation of Islam or its appeal. For many of the younger generation it is a process framed explicitly in a hostility to the West.

"You know," he says, "when I was young it was only the old men who went to the mosque. Now it is almost everyone. Especially the young men."

We stop and chat to 30-year-old Tawfik Ibrahim. "The Americans are happy with what has happened to the Palestinians," he tells us politely. "Now they are bombing the poor people of Afghanistan who have no planes or bombs. They can kill Bin Laden. But there will be hundreds more Bin Ladens. As long as <u>women</u> can have children . . . "

The Observer

# **Graphic**

Photo, Palestinians shout pro-Taliban slogans, Osama Silwadi/Reuters

Load-Date: November 2, 2001



# CLINTON TO MEET WITH ARAFAT THE PALESTINIAN LEADER'S URGENT VISIT MAY BE THE PRESIDENT'S LAST CHANCE FOR A MIDEAST PEACE DEAL.

# The Philadelphia Inquirer JANUARY 2, 2001 Tuesday SF EDITION

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 843 words

Byline: Lenny Savino and Nomi Morris, KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

#### **Body**

In what may be the last hope for President Clinton's efforts to broker a Middle East peace deal, Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat left for Washington early today to meet with Clinton.

White House spokesman Elliot Diringer said the meeting was set after a 45-minute phone call yesterday between Clinton and Arafat. Diringer said the President "expressed concern" about the growing violence in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, and "urged all parties to do everything in their power to stop it."

Earlier yesterday, a car bomb in the Israeli resort city of Netanya wounded more than 50 people, one critically. It was the latest episode in an escalating pattern of violence that has put pressure on the Israeli government to halt peace negotiations in the face of terrorism.

Israel's deputy prime minister, Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, said on Israeli television: "This attack is a serious attack, so serious that as far as I am concerned, we should stop everything and think about where we go from here."

Although Diringer rejected the notion that the Arafat meeting was Clinton's last-ditch effort to achieve peace between Israelis and Palestinians before leaving office Jan. 20, there are strong indications that both sides are increasingly pessimistic that a settlement is possible in the time left.

The influential Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz reported that Israel was already planning an international public-relations campaign to pin the blame for stalled negotiations on the Palestinians.

Clinton has proposed a framework for final peace talks in which Arafat would drop his demand that all Palestinian refugees displaced by the creation of Israel in 1948 be allowed to return to their former homes. In return, Clinton's proposal would give the Palestinians some form of sovereignty over portions of Jerusalem, including the holy site revered by the Israelis as the Temple Mount and by Arabs as Haram al-Sharif (Noble Sanctuary).

# CLINTON TO MEET WITH ARAFAT THE PALESTINIAN LEADER'S URGENT VISIT MAY BE THE PRESIDENT'S LAST CHANCE FOR A MIDEAST PEACE DEAL.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak has said that he would accept the Clinton plan as a basis for negotiations, if Arafat would. But Barak has also said that Israel would never give up control of the Temple Mount.

In yesterday's bomb blast in the city of Netanya, 20 miles north of Tel Aviv, an explosive detonated in a parked car, sending off three rapid-fire blasts that shattered windows and blew apart vehicles on a crowded shopping street.

"Cars were ripped up; <u>women</u> [were] screaming," a witness told army radio. Police ordered people from the area for fear of more bombs.

Israel radio said 54 people received treatment. Only one was seriously hurt. Israeli Police Commissioner Shlomo Aharonishki told reporters that police suspect he was involved in the bombing. Hospital spokesman Etty Shiling said the man was in critical condition.

There was no immediate claim of responsibility. The <u>Hamas</u> militant group denied involvement but called such attacks a "holy right" for Palestinians.

Israel quickly threatened retaliation.

"I think the time has come to stand up and say enough," said Ben-Eliezer, who is also a retired general.

"Our forbearance cannot go on, and in my opinion, the reaction has to be vigorous and immediate. . . . It has to be made clear to Arafat, whom I still see as responsible for all that is happening in the territories."

Israel immediately closed Gaza's airport, sealing off the territory entirely after closing the West Bank's and Gaza's land borders after two bombings Thursday.

More than 350 people have been killed in the siege of near-daily bloodshed, most of them Palestinians. Ambushes and revenge attacks killed six on Sunday, the latest a 10-year-old Palestinian boy and two Palestinian policemen.

On the diplomatic front, time for this round of peace negotiations is not only running out because of the end of Clinton's presidency. Israel will hold elections Feb. 6, and Barak is trailing his Likud opponent, Ariel Sharon, in opinion polls. Sharon has said that he would not abide by the terms of any peace agreement reached by Barak that divided sovereignty over Jerusalem.

President-elect George W. Bush has been very circumspect in his comments about the Middle East, saying that he supports Clinton's efforts and that Americans should unite behind the President on the issue. But once a Bush administration is in office, it is unclear how much urgency it would place on Middle East peace. Key Bush advisers are known to believe that the Palestinians may not be ready to make the serious compromises required to achieve a lasting settlement.

Israel radio said yesterday that Barak was also expected to consult with Clinton by telephone. But there were no immediate signs that Barak was preparing to go to Washington.

A Palestinian spokesman, Tayeb Abdel-Rahim, told the Palestinian news agency Wafa that Arafat "would make an urgent visit to Washington" to get questions answered about the Clinton plan.

Arafat has been under growing pressure from Clinton, some moderate Arab leaders, and the European community to move forward into substantive talks based on the Clinton plan.

Lenny Savino's e-mail address is Isavino

# Graphic

# CLINTON TO MEET WITH ARAFAT THE PALESTINIAN LEADER'S URGENT VISIT MAY BE THE PRESIDENT'S LAST CHANCE FOR A MIDEAST PEACE DEAL.

PHOTO;

rwashington.com

This article contains information from Inquirer wire services.

Load-Date: October 31, 2001



#### **Bullets wreck Blair visit**

The Times (London)
January 9, 1999, Saturday

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Section: Home news Length: 774 words

Byline: Sam Kiley and Jill Sherman in Cape Town

### **Body**

FOUR people were wounded in a gunfight between Muslim extremists and police about 100 yards from Tony Blair in Cape Town yesterday after officers spotted men handing out guns to demonstrators baying for the Prime Minister's blood.

Mr Blair's convoy of cars had been held up by the demonstration organised by a group calling itself Muslims Against Global Oppression, and he was smuggled in through a side entrance of the Castle moments before shooting broke out.

The police said that they had seen two men distributing arms to protesters who held up placards condemning the British and American airstrikes against Iraq and saying "Death to Blair", "One Blair, one bullet", and "Long live <u>Hamas</u>".

The officers said that they gave the crowd five minutes to disperse before firing teargas and throwing stun grenades at the demonstrators. They then opened fire after being shot at themselves.

Officers took deliberate aim with shotguns loaded with lightweight birdshot as others armed with automatic rifles crouched with their weapons at the ready. But Superintendent Wicus Holtzhausen said the police did not use sharp-point ammunition.

Two members of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs - a Muslim vigilante group with its own armed wing - were arrested: a man who had been wounded in the neck and shoulder and a woman grazed on the head by a bullet.

A child was also seen being carried away from the scene, and a reporter running for cover was caught in the crossfire and shot in the legs by a police gun.

Ordinary civilians fled the scene and dived for cover behind an ornamental wall as the demonstrators, some of them **women** wearing traditional Islamic black face veils and long dresses, attempted to hide their firearms.

Mr Blair ignored the pandemonium on the street and continued with his programme, presenting British soldiers with medals for their work in retraining the South African Army. But members of his entourage said that they heard the gunshots and the sounds of police and ambulance sirens wailing through the city.

Downing Street tried to play down the incident, claiming that Mr Blair's visit was not affected and pointing out that he went on to attend the military ceremony and to deliver his keynote speech later. But it overshadowed his

#### Bullets wreck Blair visit

address, and throughout the day there were signs of much greater security, with several police and army personnel accompanying him when he visited an orphanage.

The police also sealed off Cape Town International Airport prior to his departure for Kuwait - where he will meet British servicemen serving in the Gulf - and the streets surrounding the Parliament buildings, where he delivered his main speech to politicians and business leaders last night.

There, in spite of the demonstrations, Mr Blair went ahead with a key section of his speech justifying the joint military action taken by the United States and Britain against Iraq.

Acknowledging that it was a particularly sensitive area, he said: "The military action we and the Americans took against Iraq last month was controversial. But I believe it was right. Saddam Hussein has a proven record of aggression against his neighbours and developing and using weapons of mass destruction, including against his own people.

"People say you can't be self-appointed guardians of what's right and wrong. True, but when the international community agrees certain objectives and then fails to implement them, those who can act must."

However, Mr Blair devoted the bulk of his speech to trying to reassert his leadership at home after three weeks of crisis that has seen the resignation of two ministers, and to reinforce his determination to press on with his modernising programme.

He would go ahead with "authoritarian and harsh" policies to combat crime, he declared, and he signalled much tougher welfare reforms than have been announced so far, as well as further proposals to secure better teachers.

The key to modernisation was leadership, he said, especially where change was likely to prove unpopular. His intention was to build a nation that looked forward, that sought to lead in Europe and not to retreat into "the mist of an empire mentality" that had no relevance to Britain in the 21st century. "A nation that is led not drifting, leadership that takes the tough decisions and does not flinch when the going gets tough."

It would not be easy, he continued: "Nobody ever went into government thinking it would be a nice easy 9 to 5 job. It takes resolve, determination, a real grip, a real sense of purpose and direction. And that is what we offer."

Distant leader, page 14

Security breach, page 15

Leading article, page 21

Load-Date: January 9, 1999



# Questions remain in wake of attack on U.S. warship: Terrorists were known to be in Yemen

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
October 14, 2000, Saturday, FINAL

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Section: News; A21 Length: 830 words Byline: IAN BRODIE

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

#### **Body**

While U.S. President Bill Clinton promised to avenge his country's dead sailors, questions were being asked yesterday why the USS Cole was allowed to sail into Aden, where it became a sitting duck for known terrorists in the region.

The inquest into why the warship was there at a time of greatly heightened tension began as the Pentagon raised the death toll in Thursday's terrorist suicide bomb attack to seven and said that 10 more missing sailors were presumed dead.

Clinton ordered the Stars and Stripes to be flown at half-mast from government buildings yesterday as the Pentagon released the names of 17 sailors who died in the attack, two of them **women**.

The homecomings of the bodies and injured will feature prominently on American television in the coming days particularly as the presidential election, which is just over three weeks away, is being fought partly on the battleground of the United States' military role in the world.

Both the Republican candidate, George W. Bush, and Vice-President Al Gore, the Democrat in the presidential race, agree that there should be swift retaliation if the culprits of the Yemeni bombing are identified.

Bush has favoured a more restrained role for the U.S. military abroad, although he has not questioned its presence in the Gulf, but if there is a popular backlash against the loss of servicemen's lives abroad, he could benefit.

The deaths in Yemen hit hardest in the destroyer's home port of Norfolk, Virginia, where families had comforted each other while waiting for news of the crew.

In the small town of Williamsport, Maryland, family and friends grieved the loss of Craig Wibberley, 19, who left high school just last year and was thrilled to be assigned to the USS Cole. A former classmate said tearfully: "He was everybody's best friend."

Of the 35 injured, 11 were taken by French aircraft to a military hospital in neighbouring Djibouti and the rest were evacuated to a U.S. base in Germany. The USS Cole, its port side holed amidships, will be towed back to the United States for repairs.

Questions remain in wake of attack on U.S. warship: Terrorists were known to be in Yemen

As the questions swirled yesterday about the fate of the ship, teams of FBI agents and other investigators were sent to Aden.

One answer was that the navy had resumed visits to the risky port as the Clinton administration was seeking better ties with Yemen.

Aden had been on a prohibited list for navy refuelling calls until 15 months ago, when the policy was changed. Since then there have been 12 such visits. "We have been working to improve your relations with Yemen for some time," Admiral Vern Clark, chief of U.S. naval operations, said.

A retired senior counterterrorism analyst described sending the American destroyer into Aden as a big blunder. "The ship's crew were victims of a political decision that Yemen was no longer a rogue state," he said.

A Marine Corps officer told the Washington Times that it was "buffoonery" for a U.S. warship to refuel in Yemen while clashes between Israel and the Palestinians were unleashing anti-American frenzy across the Arab world.

Yemen is known to harbour cells of <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a similar Egyptian group and two homegrown terror groups suspected of links to Osama bin Laden, the fugitive terrorist leader, whose family is from Yemen.

Even the latest report on terrorism by the U.S. State Department had said that Yemen has "lax and inefficient enforcement of security procedures and the government's inability to exercise authority over remote areas of the country continued to make the country a safe haven for terrorist groups."

U.S. Defence Secretary William Cohen and Clark yesterday agreed that many questions about the explosion that damaged that destroyer remain unanswered, but they denied that the navy had let down its guard in a dangerous area.

Nevertheless, the ship had been required to give several days' notice that it would be stopping to refuel on the way from the Mediterranean to the Gulf, where it was due to take part in maritime patrols enforcing the oil embargo against Iraq.

The advance notice was apparently enough to alert a group that had penetrated the private contracting firm supplying the fuel. Two of them, standing to attention and saluting, were on the small mooring boat as it pulled alongside and blew up.

The Pentagon was besieged by questions about why the USS Cole was not escorted by an oiling ship for refuelling at sea. Admiral Clark said he could never remember an oiler accompanying a single ship. Besides, he was short of resources, an issue that could be taken up by Mr who has already accused Mr Clinton of running down America's military preparedness.

Admiral Clark and Mr Cohen said that with 100 ships at sea around the world, the US Navy would always face risks and not all could be eliminated. But the awkward questions about the USS Cole will now wend their way through months of investigations and an official inquiry.-

#### Graphic

P Photo: (Craig) AP / Wibberley: thrilled by posting to Cole.

Load-Date: October 15, 2000



## LONG-SUFFERING PALESTINIANS ELATED OVER SAFE PASSAGE TO AN EASIER LIFE

The Scotsman

October 27, 1998, Tuesday

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Section: Pg. 10

Length: 810 words

Byline: Matt Rees In Bir Zeit

#### **Body**

IT took eight days of circuitous travel via three different countries and cost GBP 400 for Jamal Safi to go from his family home in a Gaza refugee camp to his mechanical engineering classes here in the West Bank earlier this month. A distance of only 60 miles, as the crow flies, was hugely complicated by a series of Israeli checkpoints and permits which are almost impossible for a Palestinian to obtain.

Such tortuous expeditions are commonplace for those Palestinians whose lives are split between the West Bank and Gaza by the narrow strip of central Israel. That is why negotiating issues like the Israeli troop withdrawal, which grabbed the headlines at the Washington peace summit last week, are seen as peripheral by Palestinians. Israel's agreement to open a so-called "safe passage" between the two occupied territories has captured the attention of Palestinians long separated from family or business connections.

"It is the only point which has really touched the people," says Mr Safi, a 25-year-old student at the West Bank's premier university in this village north of Ramallah. "The people are all talking about safe passage, which shows how terrible they felt the situation was before."

The agreement carved out at the Wye Plantation summit is likely to be ratified by the Israeli cabinet tomorrow and in the Knesset next week. In that case, Israeli officials say a safe passage route could be opened two weeks from now, allowing Palestinians to travel under escort between Gaza and the West Bank city of Hebron.

The prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, faces challenges from right -wingers. He was almost certain to defeat a first vote of no-confidence brought by a right-wing party last night. But nationalist rebels from the prime minister's own coalition joined forces with the opposition yesterday to send a bill to the Knesset floor which would dissolve parliament.

That bill will come to a vote within two weeks and, if passed, would lead to a general election as early as March.

Right-wing Israeli politicians believe the safe passage will be used by Gazan extremists to get into the West Bank, from where it is much easier to infiltrate Israel itself. Palestinians, too, have their suspicions. Most refuse to believe that Israel will allow the kind of freedom of movement outlined in the peace agreement, which was signed almost five years ago and where "safe passage" was first mandated. A safe passage was opened for a month back then between Gaza and Jericho, but Palestinians complained there were too many Israeli restrictions and it was suspended.

#### LONG-SUFFERING PALESTINIANS ELATED OVER SAFE PASSAGE TO AN EASIER LIFE

This time, Israel says it will allow Palestinians to travel in bus convoys along a specified route. Travellers will have to spend about two hours going through baggage checks before the one-hour drive. Even activists of the Islamic fundamentalist group *Hamas* will be allowed on the bus, though they will have to book their seat five days in advance and undergo an additional security check.

"If there will be an attempt to use this passage for terrorism, Israel can take action to stop it," says Shlomo Dror, an official in the Israeli government department which oversees the Occupied Territories. "But there won't be any random checks."

Only about 3,000 Palestinians, mostly businessmen, have current permits to travel between the West Bank and Gaza.

Their journey costs them less than GBP 3. Others, like Mr Safi the engineering student, must pay GBP 150 for a black-market permit or make long detours which still often result in failure. Mr Safi should have finished his degree last year, but missed a total of two years of study when he found himself twice trapped in Gaza on visits to his family and was unable to get a permit to return to the university. Fearing such difficulties, many Gazans have opted to study at the less impressive universities in their coastal strip. But whereas Bir Zeit University is one of the most liberal centres of learning in the Arab world, Gaza's institutes of higher education are riven by politics and corruption.

Al-Azhar University in Gaza is controlled by Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority. It is overcrowded. Its standards are low, and getting lower as many of Mr Arafat's secret police thugs demand admission, seeking the academic qualifications they need for promotion.

Nearby, the Islamic University is divided into two adjoining campuses - one for men, one for <u>women</u> - both decrepit and crowded. Niveen Ahmed, a 20-year -old business student, wanted nothing to do with Gaza's universities, so she came here. But she has been able to visit her family for a total of only ten days in the three years she has been at Bir Zeit. "I feel I am not part of my family anymore," she says. "They cut us off from Gaza. I hope the safe passage will make life easier, because now I feel like I am on a different continent from my family."

Load-Date: October 27, 1998



## <u>TELEVISION REVIEW; In a Land Where Old Youths Meet as Distant</u> Neighbors

The New York Times

December 13, 2001 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Column 1; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 949 words

Byline: By JULIE SALAMON

## **Body**

A Palestinian boy named Faraj tells a documentary filmmaker about his desire to avenge a friend who threw stones at an Israeli soldier and was killed. But when the filmmaker arranges to have Faraj meet two Israeli twins -- who are as sports obsessed as he is -- he prepares for the rendezvous as if it's a date. On the telephone he asks them what kind of food they like. Before they arrive, he spritzes himself with cologne.

Their meeting is a humanist's dream. The Israeli twins speak of holding their breath in fear whenever they take a bus downtown, half expecting a terrorist bomb. Yet like Faraj they are willing to check out an enemy whose interests are so closely aligned with theirs (track, volleyball). They come to the Palestinian's neighborhood -- a refugee camp that resembles a housing project. They agree to speak the neutral language of English, resulting in a conversation that is far more friendly than fluent. They wrestle, play ball, have a meal.

But mirroring so many moments of potential rapprochement in Middle East history, this one turns out to be far more heartbreaking than heartwarming. Their connection -- captured so emotionally on camera -- appears very real but doesn't last. It's doomed by the inherent fickleness of youth but, more pointedly, by the political reality of checkpoints and propaganda.

This moment of confounded possibilities lies at the heart of "Promises," an intensely personal and insightful documentary that looks at the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from the vantage point of seven children living in or near Jerusalem. Part of PBS's "P.O.V." series, which specializes in nonfiction films by independent producers and directors, "Promises" demonstrates the unusual power of thoughtful, subjective filmmaking. This extraordinary enterprise was distilled from 170 hours of filming between 1997 and the summer of 2000; post-Sept. 11 it has acquired an even greater sense of sorrow and frustration.

The film was made by Justine Shapiro, B. Z. Goldberg and Carlos Bolado, but it is Mr. Goldberg whose face becomes familiar in front of the camera. Born in Boston, he grew up just outside Jerusalem and then returned to the United States to study film at New York University. Though he maintains a resolute nonpartisanship, his quiet, thoughtful interviews with the children reveal his own deep -- perhaps quixotic -- yearning for peace. It's a tribute to his open spirit that all the children, the most dogmatic and the most reasonable, seem to have great affection for him.

#### TELEVISION REVIEW In a Land Where Old Youths Meet as Distant Neighbors

He has captured these children as they must really be, much too old in their political thinking but buoyantly childish. On the streets of Jerusalem he interviews a 13-year-old rabbi-in-training named Shlomo, who talks not only about being cursed and punched by Arab boys but also about Jewish and Palestinian adults he knows who have civil relationships. As he speaks, a Palestinian boy about his age comes close and starts belching, not hostilely but teasing. Shlomo, in Orthodox black and white, tries to ignore him but starts giggling. Finally he belches back, and for a moment the universal language of boys prevails.

An angelic-looking Palestinian boy named Mahmoud fiercely denounces Israelis and says he doesn't even want to meet one. This same boy, who urges the filmmakers not to tell his mother that he has sneaked cups of coffee, also says: "I support <u>Hamas</u> and Hezbollah. They kill <u>women</u> and children, but they do it for their country." He seems shocked when Mr. Goldberg tells him that he, Mr. Goldberg, is half-Israeli.

Mahmoud is unmoved. "You're half-American," he said. "I'm talking about authentic Jews. Not Americans."

An equally fierce, chubby 10-year-old named Moishe, son of a Jewish settler family, says, "If I could make my own future, all the Arabs would fly away."

The children repeat the rhetoric they're taught by adults, and they reflect the wide range of response to the region's history. Moishe makes the cameraman wait while he searches the Bible for the specific reference that marks Jewish claim on the land. Mahmoud explains that the Koran has marked the spot for Muslims. Others, including the secular Israeli twins and a Palestinian girl, are willing to compromise.

The film's personal focus may assume too much knowledge on the part of viewers, especially since this film would be a valuable teaching guide. The filmmakers supply some history, not going back to ancient Judea but more recently to what Israelis call the 1948 War of Independence and Palestinians call "the catastrophe." A bit more geopolitics would provide useful context.

Still the documentary illustrates through imagery and interviews the uneasy convergence in Jerusalem of history and modernity, Arab and Jew, fanaticism and reasonableness. The camera sweeps by Burger King signs and Hasidic Jews dressed as in the Middle Europe of centuries ago. Palestinian children wear T-shirts that say, "I have a dream," and cars and camels still share the road in places. It records the checkpoints leading into the Palestinian territories, seen by Israelis as necessary safety measures and by Palestinians as insults.

Wisdom does emerge from the mouths of these children, who are anything but innocent. "In war both sides suffer," one of the twins says. "Maybe there's a winner, but what is a winner?"

P.O.V.

**Promises** 

PBS, tonight at 9

Produced, written and directed by Justine Shapiro and B. Z. Goldberg; Carlos Bolado, co-director and editor; Yoram Millo and Ilan Buchbinder, camera; Stephen Most, consulting writer and researcher; Janet Cole, executive producer; Lucy Kaplan, consulting producer; Cara Mertes, P.O.V. executive producer. Series produced by American Documentary Inc.

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: December 13, 2001



## Back at the House: a Rare Look Inside a Private Reception

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

July 27, 1998, Monday

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Section: INTERNATIONAL; Pg. 7

Length: 708 words

Byline: Ilene R. Prusher, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: BALATA REFUGEE CAMP, NABLUS, WEST BANK

## **Body**

The groom's mother jumps into the back of our car. His grandmother climbs in, too. I only wanted to meet the bride, but now I learn that the only way to get to her house is to be escorted by Wael's relatives. Singing and clapping, they shout out of the open windows like high-school cheerleaders.

"We asked for the hand of Maha from her father ... we counted the money for your dowry under the shade of the lemon tree ... you're beautiful and we took you but we ... gave you a man."

Mother and daughter end each refrain with an "aiy-YEE!" a sort of Palestinian yee-haw.

"We will distribute meat and invite everyone in the village ... Maha's worth all the girls in the West Bank...."

It's been a week since the pomp and politics of the <u>Hamas</u> wedding (story, Page 1), all of which seem far away when two graying <u>women</u> are giggling in the back seat. Their chants carry us all the way to the house of their daughter-in-law to-be, Maha Dweikat. All the men wait outside, and I can hear <u>women</u> inside singing and drumming.

Upstairs, I find Maha sitting like a queen, atop a platform that stands five feet off the ground. Black-haired and thin, she wears a heavily beaded white gown with a heart-shaped collar that stands up like the cape of a superhero. She has curls and pearls and silver sparkles in her hair, five gold chains with religious pendants around her neck, and a thick coat of makeup that is already melting in the July heat. Beneath her white satin gloves, I can see the burnt sienna designs from her henna party - a Middle Eastern tradition in which <u>women</u> decorate their hands and feet the night before a wedding.

Though the others are joyous, Maha doesn't look particularly happy.

#### Back at the House: a Rare Look Inside a Private Reception

But she is proud to tell me that she has agreed in her marriage contract to cover her face, as well as her hair. That's common in places like Saudi Arabia, but rare here. The other <u>women</u> offer words of respect over her plans to lead such a pious life.

"Islamic law says that <u>women</u> should be covered all the way, because it's a shame to show yourself," says Maha, who met Wael while studying Islamic law at an-Najjah University here.

When it is time to make the bridal procession through town, Maha's parents put a tulle veil over her face. Then they put an orange-and-black scarf over her whole head, and then a black men's cloak over her dress. She looks as though she's being kidnapped.

At the bride's party at Wael's house, the atmosphere is steamy and boisterous. Maha watches from another regal platform, this one with two red armchairs for the bride and groom. Maha sits alone. Wael will stay at the groom's party across the street until all <u>women</u> not related to him leave the house. Then, he'll take Maha to their honeymoon suite and new home: an additional floor he built on top of his family's house.

No food or drink is offered to the guests, but there is joy in the air. Wael's two sisters, well-dressed, coiffed and unveiled, twirl at Maha's feet. Wael's mother, Inaam, dances too. Maha's relatives sit in a row with veils drawn tightly around their heads. They watch without cracking a smile.

Maha also sits looking on the verge of tears. She tells me she's happy, but I am still baffled. It's a month almost to the day since my own wedding, when my feet ached from too much dancing, my face from too much smiling. Finally, someone explains to me that the bride and her parents are not to be seen to be having too much fun. The bride should be melancholy over leaving her parents, and her parents should look sad to be losing their daughter. Celebrating is for the groom's family.

But there are other layers to the contrast. The Dweikats are more fundamentalist that the Hashash family, and they don't seem to approve of the rowdiness of their in-laws. Inaam had not raised her children to be nearly so religious, but Wael grew zealous while in college.

Inaam says that in her day, she never would have agreed to dress the way her daughter-in-law will. Her children's generation, she readily admits, is more interested in religion than hers.

"I used to be very modern and stylish," she says. "But I'm so glad that Maha's a religious girl. Wael didn't want anyone to see his wife except him. Yes, religion is coming back, and it's a blessing."

Load-Date: July 26, 1998



## Terrorist sprays Jerusalem bus with bullets: 2 dead, 40 injured in rush-hour attack; civilian, police shoot gunman dead

# The Ottawa Citizen November 5, 2001 Monday Final EDITION

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Section: NEWS,; News

Length: 861 words

**Byline:** Matthew Kalman **Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

At least two people were killed yesterday and more than 40 wounded, several of whom were fighting for their lives last night, after a Palestinian gunman opened fire on a commuter bus in north Jerusalem during the afternoon rush hour.

The attack temporarily threw into doubt an Israeli withdrawal from the Palestinian town of Kalkilya in the West Bank, which eventually began last night, and increased pressure on Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to arrest terror suspects.

The gunman, who was armed with an M-16 automatic rifle, opened fire without warning at a bus as it passed through the busy French Hill interchange. It was a few minutes before 4 p.m., and the bus was crowded with people making their way home from work and school.

The Ottawa Citizen

The gunman has been identified as Khatem Shweiki, 24, a member of the terrorist group Islamic Jihad.

The interchange, in the disputed part of the city, lies on the boundary of east and west Jerusalem, and divides the mainly Jewish neighbourhoods of French Hill and Ramat Eshkol from the mainly Arab neighbourhoods of Shuafat and Anata. It is the main northern entrance to Jerusalem.

There have been several drive-by shootings in the area, and a suicide bombing earlier this year, in which only the terrorist was killed, occurred at the same junction.

Eyewitnesses said the attack lasted only a few seconds before the gunman was shot dead by police officers. At least one Israeli civilian also opened fire at the gunman. His body lay sprawled on the road next to the bus, which was riddled with bullet holes.

"The bus was full, especially of young high school girls coming home," said eyewitness Mazal Amsalem. "When the shooting started there was panic. Everyone crouched down on the floor of the bus. I saw several girls injured in the head and other parts of their bodies."

Terrorist sprays Jerusalem bus with bullets: 2 dead, 40 injured in rush-hour attack; civilian, police shoot gunman dead

An Israeli who lives in a nearby settlement and is licensed to carry a gun said he shot the terrorist.

"I was travelling in a car behind the bus when I saw someone open fire from the right-hand side," said the man, who would identify himself only as "Marcus." "He was standing and firing. I got out of the car and emptied a whole clip into him. He fell to the ground and then two border policemen approached. They kept on shooting to make sure he was dead."

Jerusalem police chief Mickey Levy said the police officers on the scene were part of a 24-hour armed guard posted to deal with such attacks. He said their swift response "prevented an even greater tragedy."

A number of victims lay in pools of blood as medics rushed to deal with the most seriously wounded. A fleet of ambulances ferried them to nearby hospitals.

Medics tended to shocked and wounded people who sat, some crying and shaking and others bleeding from minor wounds, at the side of the road.

Some eyewitnesses said they saw two additional attackers escaping on foot in the direction of a nearby Arab neighbourhood.

The dead man was carrying papers that identified him as a member of the Islamic Jihad terror group from the Palestinian-controlled city of Hebron, about 50 kilometres to the south.

The attack came exactly a week after four Israeli <u>women</u> were shot dead by two Islamic Jihad terrorists at a bus stop in the northern town of Hadera.

Last Friday, U.S. President George W. Bush announced he was including Islamic Jihad, together with <u>Hamas</u> and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), on the list of most-wanted terror groups alongside Osama bin Laden.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon had earlier postponed a visit to Washington and London planned for this week and announced the withdrawal of Israeli forces from one of the Palestinian areas occupied after the assassination of an Israeli cabinet minister two weeks ago. Diplomatic sources in Jerusalem said the trip is likely to be rescheduled for later in the month. Mr. Sharon said he decided to remain in Jerusalem to oversee the redeployment of Israeli forces from four remaining Palestinian towns on the West Bank.

Mr. Arafat, who is scheduled to meet with European Union foreign ministers in Brussels today, faces increasing pressure from the United States, Britain and Europe for failing to clamp down on terrorists.

Yesterday morning, Israeli missiles destroyed three buildings in Gaza that Israel alleged were being used to produce mortar bombs.

Israel has captured more than 40 Palestinian terror suspects and assassinated several more since Israeli Tourism Minister Rechavam Zeevi was gunned down in a Jerusalem hotel by members of the PFLP.

There have been signs of hardening attitudes recently, with Mr. Sharon describing the Oslo peace process as a "tragic mistake" and Mr. Arafat suggesting that the assassination of Mr. Zeevi was the work of Israeli intelligence operatives.

In an interview with Newsweek magazine, Mr. Sharon expressed grave reservations about the peace process begun in 1993.

"The Oslo agreement was one of Israel's most tragic mistakes," he said.

Asked whether he considered Mr. Arafat a partner for peace, Mr. Sharon replied: "At the present time, no. If Arafat stops terror, we'll negotiate with him."

Terrorist sprays Jerusalem bus with bullets: 2 dead, 40 injured in rush-hour attack; civilian, police shoot gunman dead

## Graphic

Colour Photo: Haim Zach. Reuters; Miriam Ben Yishai, right,, is comforted by a friend after identifying the body of her daughter, at a funeral home.

Load-Date: November 5, 2001



## When terrorists become freedom fighters

University Wire November 19, 2001

Copyright 2001 The Tartan via U-Wire

Section: COLUMN Length: 961 words

Byline: By Yaron Rachlin, The Tartan

Dateline: Pittsburgh

## **Body**

In a recent column in The Washington Post, Richard Cohen cites an Indian reporter who asked a question that I would like to ask the President myself. "Sir," he cried out to George Bush last week at the White House, "Why are there two laws in this world, one for America and one for the rest of us? When terrorism hits America, you go halfway around the world and make war in Afghanistan. But when we suffer terrorism, you ask us to be restrained. Is an Indian life less precious than an American life?"

While Muslim leaders around the world desperately seek to draw a distinction between terrorists (Osama and friends) and "freedom fighters" (whoever they are funding at the moment), Indian and Israeli citizens continue to be gunned down indiscriminately. The argument put forth is that violent action is a legitimate response to the Israeli "occupation" of Palestinian territories, and the Indian "occupation" of Kashmir.

Carnegie Mellon U.

The question of the legitimacy of Indian and Israeli claims presents one core issue, but I think that a more pressing question ought to be answered first. Is violent action against innocent civilians ever a legitimate response to "occupation," regardless of the validity of such "occupation?" If you are willing to concede that the murder of innocent civilians is a reasonable response in support of your political cause, then you enter a morally relativistic realm. This is a magical place where Osama bin Ladin has his own narrative, in which he is a brave fighter against the infidel Christians and Jews, and therefore any murderous action -- including plowing planes loaded with people into office buildings -- is merely the latest chapter in a heroic saga.

Alternatively, if you subscribe to the old-fashioned notion that regardless of the nobility of your political cause, the ends do not justify the means, then you should conclude that turning away from a political solution and toward the path of violence against civilians makes you an inhuman murderer, not a freedom fighter.

On Nov. 11, Pakistani President (and dictator) Pervez Musharraf was a guest on NBC's "Meet the Press." Tim Russert stated, "The Indian government has said if you're against terrorism, you have to be against all terrorism. And many of the organizations that are creating terrorism in Kashmir have roots in Pakistan." To this President Musharraf responded, "They have moral support in Pakistan. Everything about the freedom struggle that is going on, I would like to differentiate. There is no terrorism going on in Kashmir."

Well that clarifies everything. So on Oct. 1 when a suicide squad of Jaish-e-Muhammad attacked the legislative council building of Jammu and Kashmir, they were simply engaged in a "freedom struggle." In this particular attack,

#### When terrorists become freedom fighters

38 people died and an additional 52 were wounded. The victims include 27 civilians, three elected officials, and a college *female*. Why is Pakistan so eager to label the perpetrators of such bloody acts as freedom fighters? The answer is provided in this statement made by Mr. Jack Cunningham, a member of the Labour Party (UK) and member of Parliament, in 1994. In a press briefing he stated, "There is a lot of evidence to suggest the insurgency is organized, assisted, and triggered by forces outside India. I mention here Pakistan, which is conducting training camps... I also met four captured militants: one Afghan, one Palestinian, and two Pakistanis. They admitted that they fought in Afghanistan and Kashmir at the behest of Pakistan."

Now let us turn to President Musharraf's philosophical brothers in the "freedom struggle," the Arab leaders. The United States and Britain have for many years been concerned about Syria's support for armed militant groups including Hizbullah and <u>Hamas</u> (freshly added to the list of terror organizations by the United States), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (who recently assassinated Israel's tourism minister).

Bashar Assad, dictator of Syria, defined these groups as freedom fighters, "we, and I personally, differentiate between resistance and terrorism." Again let us consider specific instances. On August 9, 2001, a Palestinian "freedom fighter" entered a Sbarro pizzeria in downtown Jerusalem and detonated a bomb that was packed with nails, screws, and bolts. The bomb completely gutted the restaurant, which was full of lunchtime customers. Fifteen people were killed, including seven children, and about 130 were injured. To make matters worse, many Palestinians celebrated this blow for the "freedom struggle" by dancing in the streets and handing out sweets, an image that should be familiar to most Americans. Palestinian students at al-Najah University in the city of Nablus marked the anniversary of the outbreak of Palestinian violence with an exhibition entitled The Sbarro Cafe Exhibition, celebrating this suicide bombing. According to Associated Press reports, the exhibition was replete with body parts and pizza slices strewn across the room. The walls were painted red to represent spattered blood.

Terrorist organizations that deliberately target civilians with the intent to maximize pain and suffering should never be called "freedom fighters." Our administration seems contradictory on the question of terrorism that does not explicitly target the United States. While Condoleezza Rice states, "you can't say there are good terrorists and there are bad terrorists," Colin Powell suggests that he made a mistake by agreeing to Israel's demand that a week of Palestinian nonviolence precede the implementation of the Mitchell Committee recommendations. I suppose that a week of nonviolence is too much to ask from the "freedom fighters" of this world.

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Load-Date: November 19, 2001



## <u>Terrorist sprays machine-gun fire at Jerusalem bus: 2 dead, 40 injured in</u> rush-hour attack; civilian, police shoot gunman dead

# The Ottawa Citizen November 5, 2001 Monday EARLY EDITION

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Section: NEWS,; News

Length: 861 words

Byline: Matthew Kalman

Dateline: JERUSALEM

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## **Graphic**

Colour Photo: Haim Zach. Reuters; Miriam Ben Yishai, right,, is comforted by a friend after identifying the body of her daughter, at a funeral home.

Load-Date: November 5, 2001



## NEWS IN BRIEF

## The Philadelphia Inquirer MARCH 7, 2000 Tuesday SF EDITION

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## The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A02

Length: 918 words

## **Body**

In the Nation

14 of 217 EgyptAir crash victims identified

The first 14 of the 217 victims of EgyptAir Flight 990 have been identified, including two New Jersey <u>women</u>, four months after the Cairo-bound Boeing 767 plunged into the Atlantic Ocean, leaving no bodies intact. Gloria Berchielli and Anne M. Soernssen of Jamesburg, N.J., were among those whose identifications were reported in a statement yesterday by the Rhode Island medical examiner.

New recommendations to keep babies safe

In an effort to further reduce crib deaths, doctors recommended yesterday that babies not be put to sleep on water beds, sofas, quilts, and other soft surfaces. In a policy statement, the American Academy of Pediatrics also said that soft material such as toys and pillows should be kept out of cribs.

Airplane pulled back onto tarmac in Calif.

Two giant cranes pulled a Southwest Airlines Boeing 737 back onto the tarmac of Burbank Airport in California yesterday, 14 hours after it gave the 142 people aboard the scare of a lifetime by careening off a runway and onto a six-lane road while landing, stopping near a bank of gas pumps. Officials said it was a miracle no one was seriously hurt. A National Transportation Safety Board investigation has begun.

Census gets an assist from religious groups

An array of religious leaders pledged yesterday to help the Census Bureau accurately count America's diverse population and reach out to those wary of giving information to the government. Leaders from the Catholic, Jewish and Muslim communities and other groups said they would take time before, during and after services to ensure that congregants returned questionnaires for the once-a-decade census.

NASA to repair antenna on Atlantis shuttle

#### **NEWS IN BRIEF**

Workers inadvertently damaged an antenna on the space shuttle Atlantis while preparing for an April launch, NASA said yesterday. The dish-shaped antenna, three feet in diameter and made of graphite epoxy, was being folded into launch position when it banged into the basket of a work bridge, spokesman Joel Wells said. It sustained a quarter-inch nick that engineers believe can be repaired, Wells said. The antenna provides the main communication link between the orbiting shuttle and Mission Control.

INS official pleads not guilty to spying for Cuba

A U.S. immigration official accused of spying for Cuba pleaded not guilty in Miami yesterday to charges of communicating national defense secrets. Mariano Faget, 54, a Cuban-born supervisor in the Miami office of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, stood silently during the brief hearing. Faget has been jailed without bond since his Feb. 17 arrest.

N.Y.'s Cardinal O'Connor awarded medal

Ailing Cardinal John O'Connor smiled and joked yesterday at his residence in New York as he was given a proclamation awarding him the Congressional Gold Medal. The medal is the highest civilian honor awarded by Congress, and both houses rushed to approve it for the cardinal, 80, mindful of his precarious health.

In the World

Candidate will run as independent in London

Leftist politician Ken Livingstone split Britain's ruling Labor Party yesterday by announcing he would run as an independent candidate to be London's mayor. In response, Prime Minister Tony Blair said it would be a disaster for eight million Londoners if Livingstone wins on May 4, as all the latest opinion polls say he will. Livingstone lost the party's nomination to Blair's chosen candidate, former Health Minister Frank Dobson.

One killed, others pursued by Palestinians

Palestinian security forces arrested at least one man and were pursuing others after raiding a suspected hideout used by Islamic militants in the northern West Bank town of Tulkarem, officials and witnesses said yesterday. Security officials said they found chemicals believed to be raw materials for explosives. Last week, Israeli security forces raided a hideout of *Hamas* militants in the Arab town of Taibeh, killing four suspects.

Border sealed between Montenegro, Serbia

Serbian police sealed off the border between Serbia and Montenegro, virtually halting trade between the two rival Yugoslav republics, Montenegrin officials said yesterday. The pro-Western Montenegrin leadership has accused Serbia of launching a trade war to trigger economic and social turmoil in Montenegro. Serbia has said the restrictions were imposed to protect its economy.

Zimbabweans refuse to leave whites' farms

Zimbabwean war veterans and illegal squatters occupied at least 214 white-owned farms across the country yesterday, defying police orders to return home. The squatters were angry about the February rejection of a new constitution that would have permitted seizure of white-owned farms without compensation. President Robert Mugabe plans to reintroduce the land provision in 30 days as an amendment to the current constitution.

Cohen plans to make visit to Vietnam

Defense Secretary William S. Cohen will travel to Vietnam next week, becoming the first American defense chief to visit the nation since the Vietnam War, the Pentagon said yesterday.

Court allows Zhirinovsky in Russian election

#### **NEWS IN BRIEF**

Russia's Supreme Court ruled yesterday that ultranationalist leader Vladimir V. Zhirinovsky must be allowed to run in presidential elections March 26, despite alleged financial irregularities.

U.S. envoy says dialogue made with Sudan

U.S. special envoy Harry Johnston said yesterday that his brief trip to Sudan had achieved a breakthrough in Sudanese-U.S. relations by establishing a dialogue between the two nations.

Load-Date: January 30, 2002



# 'How could he? He was not that kind of man': Denial and disbelief among family and townsfolk in the Galilee home of Sunday's suicide bomber as Israeli Arabs fear rightwing backlash

The Guardian (London)
September 11, 2001

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Section: Guardian Foreign Pages, Pg. 15

Length: 886 words

Byline: Suzanne Goldenberg in Abu Sinan, Israel

## **Body**

The first time people took any notice of Mohammed Shakir Habeishi was last autumn when he campaigned in flowing Muslim robes and turban for mayor of this small town in the Galilee.

Yesterday, his notoriety spread much further when Israel named him as the first Arab citizen of the Jewish state to blow himself up for the Palestinian cause.

The revelation that Habeishi, 48, a father of eight, had carried out Sunday's attack on a railway station in the northern coastal town of Nahariya, killing three Israelis, has caused consternation to Arab and Jew.

For rightwing Jews, the suicide attack is proof of a potential fifth column among the 1m Arab residents inside Israel's borders. For Arabs, it is a calamity, forcing them to demonstrate their loyalty once more to the Jewish state.

Both peoples should have read Habeishi's campaign literature more closely.

In fiery language, he accuses Israel of "desecrating our holy sites" and of "massacring our people, men, <u>women</u> and children" in the West Bank and Gaza.

"We are passing through terrible days. Our unarmed people are being killed and in jured. Houses are being burnt and destroyed by oppressors using sophisticated weapons under the cover of democracy and while waving the flag of peace," his leaflet says.

Sunday's bombing was immediately claimed by the radical Palestinian group, <u>Hamas</u>. However, a spokesman yesterday refused to confirm if Habeishi was a follower.

In Abu Sinan, a mixed town of 11,000 Muslims, Christians and Druze in northern Israel, people were stunned that Habeishi had carried out the attack, and frightened by the implications. The town routinely sends its sons to serve in the Israeli army, and people succumbed to a collective state of denial.

None of their own was capable of killing, they said, maintaining that Habeishi never expressed a political opinion.

'How could he? He was not that kind of man': Denial and disbelief among family and townsfolk in the Galilee home of Sunday's suicide bomber as Israeli Arabs fea....

Most say that until Habeishi ran - and was soundly defeated - in last year's municipal elections, they knew him only by sight. He was considered a loner, who moved to the town several years ago, and raised two families from two wives on the proceeds of a hardware shop next to the town mosque.

His family says that he had a history of drug problems, and that he embraced religion wholeheartedly after emerging from a rehab programme.

"You have to understand, this is the first time anything like this has happened here," said Habeishi's second wife, Wafa, cradling their 16-month-old daughter. "I just can't believe it. He was not that kind of man."

Habeishi's son by his first wife was equally disbelieving. "My father has been missing for the past 10 days," said Abdur Rahman Habeishi, 20. "Where is the proof that he is even dead?"

Israeli security officials were suspicious of Habeishi, and his extended family, for some time. They raided both his homes nearly two weeks ago, and arrested two of his sons. Yesterday, one of his sons was held for further questioning.

Seven Abu Sinan residents - including Habeishi's brother - were charged with spying for Lebanon's Hizbullah guerrillas in November, and last week four Israeli Arab teenagers were arrested for allegedly plotting to plant bombs in Israel.

For both peoples, the arrests are a measure of the growing alienation of a community torn between its sympathies for the Palestinian revolt waged by its ethnic kin in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, and Israel's demands that it remains loyal to the Jewish state.

Those competing demands collided when Israeli riot police shot dead 13 unarmed Israeli-Arab protesters in the towns and villages of the Galilee last October.

Nearly a year later, that rupture to the delicate co-existence within Israel remains unhealed, and Arab and Jewish political leaders yesterday expressed fears for the future.

"Hatred is accumulating," said Fawzi Mishleb, the mayor of Abu Sinan. "Imagine if this man had exploded himself on behalf of a group from this town. He would have jeopardised the whole town.

"A suicide bomber might kill Israeli Jews, but the Arabs will suffer greatly economically. It is very hard for people today to go to a town like Nahariya and do their work the way Jewish people look at them."

Despite the efforts of Habeishi's family to paint him as a man with no political inclinations, he was well known as a religious activist, and used to wander the towns of the Galilee preaching Islam.

He also appears to have been a follower of the Islamic Movement, a lawful political group that is gaining strength in the Arab towns of the Galilee.

Yesterday, several rightwing Israeli politicians demanded a ban on Islamic activists - although the movement's leader, and other Arab leaders - condemned Habeishi's attack.

"Any movement whose goal is to gnaw away at the founda tions of the state of Israel should be outlawed, and if the Islamic Movement falls within this category then it too," the public security minister, Uzi Landau, said yesterday.

As suspicions deepen, Mayor Mishleb is anxious that Abu Sinan should not suffer collective punishment for Habeishi's actions.

"He represented himself, and himself alone," he said. "He is the only one responsible for his actions, and you can not blame us for what he did. The Israeli government must know that this is the action of just one man."

Special report on Israel and the Middle East at www.guardian.co.uk/israel

'How could he? He was not that kind of man': Denial and disbelief among family and townsfolk in the Galilee home of Sunday's suicide bomber as Israeli Arabs fea....

Load-Date: September 11, 2001



## Muslims step carefully into political scene in DuPage

Chicago Daily Herald January 25, 1998, Sunday

Copyright 1998 Paddock Publications, Inc.

Section: News;

Length: 758 words

Byline: Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah Daily Herald Staff Writer

## **Body**

For years suburban Muslims have spent time and money on building domed mosques and schools.

Now the fledgling community is ready to test its wings in a new direction - the realm of politics.

Muslims say it's time their voices be heard - by either running for office or giving support to candidates.

"We have to have more input in what should be done about various problems facing the country," said Inamul Haq of the Islamic Foundation of Villa Park.

It's that interest in making a difference that's driving members of the Villa Park mosque to host a dinner today with local and statewide politicians.

The politicians will get a chance to introduce themselves to Muslims and in turn learn about the community.

Robert Schillerstrom, 45, of Naperville, a Republican who is running for DuPage County board chairman, says he'll be there because Muslims represent the county's growing diversity.

"I've reached out to this group as part of my desire to represent the community and be a leader for everyone here," he said.

Over the past 30 years, Muslims have been steadily moving into DuPage County, seeking the same things that attract others to the Western suburbs - low crime and good schools, said Abdul Hameed Dogar, the director of the Islamic Foundation of Villa Park.

In 1974, the Islamic Foundation became the first mosque in the county. Now there are five mosques and two schools for the 3,000 Muslims that call DuPage home.

The dinner is just one way the Muslim community is focusing on politics.

Others are focusing on efforts to register more Muslim voters. With 400,000 Muslims in Illinois and about 300,000 in the Chicago area, Muslims estimate there are only 25,000 registered voters, says Moin "Moon" Khan, spokesman for the Council of Islamic Organizations of Greater Chicago.

They want to double that number by the end of October. Several voter registration drives are already under way at area mosques.

#### Muslims step carefully into political scene in DuPage

But getting more registered voters may prove easier than getting Muslims actually involved in politics. Stereotypes both within and outside the community have held Muslims back from politics.

Part of the problem is that many Muslims who are immigrants come from countries that are not democracies, said Asif Yusuf, a second-generation American who ran unsuccessfully for the Oak Brook village board in 1993 and 1995.

"Politics is not in their blood because they're not used to seeing it," he said.

Also, that first generation was far more concerned about issues in their homeland or becoming financially secure in a new country.

"It happened with other communities, like (the) Italians," Yusuf said. "The older generation talked about going home all the time. With their kids that mentality disappeared, and they think more of becoming part of the system."

The first generation also gave more priority to building mosques, said Azra Haque of Oak Brook, a Democrat who has played active roles in local and national campaigns.

"We were so busy trying to build from the ground up to make mosques and centers that we didn't get involved in the local political scene," she said.

And when Muslims did get involved they set their sights too high, running unsuccessful campaigns with little name recognition for national offices, Haque said.

Haque believes Muslims need to get involved more at the grass-roots level.

The younger generation and especially <u>women</u> should get involved by running for town board or local school districts, Haque said.

Organizers hope that today's dinner will be a start in stirring political interest among Muslims.

But the Muslim community fears that as they become more involved, they could open themselves up to stereotypes.

In fact, a Chicago-area candidate recently accused an opponent of accepting money from a Muslim group that he said supports *Hamas*, an anti-Israeli terrorist group.

Muslims say comments like that are unfair and unfounded.

In fact, Yusuf, 35, said when he first ran for Oak Brook trustee, he was aware his ethnic and religious background could be an issue for some.

"It's unfortunate that the media portrays Muslims in a negative light and people do rely on that information to jump to conclusions," he said. "But once I talked to people more it was never an issue with me or the people I talked to."

Even now, some members of the Muslim community oppose any political efforts, saying it's too soon or that it's against the religion, Haq said.

But, Haq says, the community is growing in numbers and it's time they do something. "We can't remain isolated from the issues that the broader society is facing," he said.

## **Graphic**

#### Muslims step carefully into political scene in DuPage

islampoltk ne0123vpael DuPage County Muslims, like those attending services at the Islamic Foundation in Villa Park, want to get more involved in politics. A dinner at the mosque today will have local politicians meeting the community. Daily Herald Photo/Ed Lee

Load-Date: January 27, 1998



The Times (London)
October 19, 2000, Thursday

Copyright 2000 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Features

Length: 1935 words

Byline: Sam Kiley Middle East bureau chief

## **Body**

Palestine's child martyrs are the consequence of Arafat's weakness and Israel's intransigence. But their elders are desperate too

With the sounds of the funeral crowds ringing in my ears and the religious droning of the dead child's mother running around my brain, I could barely contain my rage. Was she mad? Was she guilty of parental irresponsibility verging on infanticide?

Miriam, mother of Mohammed abu Aasi, 13, said she was happy her son had been shot through the heart by an Israeli soldier at the Netzarim Junction in Gaza. He was a martyr, guaranteed his place in paradise. She had even asked him if he wanted a bite to eat before he went off to die - and offered to go with him.

"I am happy that he has been martyred. I will sacrifice all my sons and my daughters (12 in all) to Al Aqsa and Jerusalem," she intoned, her face a blank mask, revealing neither grief nor pride.

In the background, a neighbour and member of the radical <u>Hamas</u> movement was wagging his finger and spitting out the slogans she was to repeat for the foreign media. Two <u>women</u> sitting either site of her shrilled their encouragement, and held a <u>Hamas</u> flag with a Koranic verse across Miriam's chest.

This was the image that the Israelis most wanted us to see. A criminally irresponsible, fanatical mother - who cynically sends her children to die on the front line - being bullied and brain washed by a group of "terrorists", notorious for suicide bombings against civilian targets.

Yarden Vitkay is a decent man. He is also the Israeli military spokesman. Following each death of a minor he has had the same response - regardless of whether the boys were killed "in combat" or as bystanders.

"We regret the death of anyone in this conflict and of children in particular. But if they had stayed away from the front line and not thrown rocks and Molotov cocktails, they would be playing football today - not lying buried."

He is right, in part. Hundreds, sometimes thousands, of children have rushed to the barricades. Some, like Mohammed abu Aasi, have been inflamed and inspired by the television images of children their own age being gunned down by Israelis.

But can Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat control the children? Or dampen the adult rage which has so far been directed at the Israelis, but could easily turn on him if he falls off the surfboard of popular anger?

Since birth, Palestinian children have been pumped full of religious fundamentalism which promises paradise for those who die for the cause of free Palestine. In school their text books do not even show Israel on maps. The West Bank and Gaza and the rest of Israel proper is called "Palestine".

They are lectured on the perfidy of Jews and the brutality of the security forces of the "Zionist enemy". Instructed in detail on past atrocities such as the Deir Yassin massacre of 1948 and Sabra and Shatila in 1982, they are born with revenge in their hearts and a yearning to return to land which their grandparents and great-grandparents fled in 1948 and 1967. The "Jehuda", most are told, are evil American-backed colonists who must be driven into the sea.

Africa's horrible warlords learnt long ago that a boy going through puberty, trapped in a child's body flooded with testosterone and on the cusp of manhood, is among the most dangerous forms of life.

He can carry a weapon and wants to be a hero. A new term has been coined for these boys' state of mind: "premoral". That means they can be persuaded to do more or less anything.

In Sierra Leone, that means chopping off hands. On the West Bank and Gaza, it means firing sling shots at the Goliath of the Israeli military and sneaking up, under fire, beneath the enemy bunkers to fling petrol bombs through their gun slits.

The demonstrations, riots, gun battles, and clashes - whatever you want to call the violence has engulfed Israel and the Occupied Territories - are a deadly game. Thousands of Palestinian kids want to play it.

Approving or not, the Palestinian authorities have done nothing to stop children playing with their lives. Let's face it, dead kids make great telly.

But a conflict which threatens to unite the Arab world against Israel as strongly as the 1973 Yom Kippur War, which has resulted in volunteers for Jihad from Indonesia to Morocco offering their services, has deeper roots - it has driven oil prices so high a world recession is around the corner and has driven dove-ish Israelis into a state of existential terror. The kids might be having a twisted form of fun. But their elders are in a state of rage which has driven scores of them to die at the barricades too.

And whatever their leaders say, they are not going to stop soon. But what triggered the violence? Why, seven years into a peace process started at Oslo, have the Palestinians taken to the streets to give so freely of their blood? One man, Ariel Sharon, provided the detonator. One word, coined 6,000 miles away and 52 years ago in a different language, provided the TNT. That word is "apartheid". It is on every Palestinian's lips.

In a series of interviews conducted the week before Sharon's visit to the Noble Sanctuary/Temple Mount on September 28, leading Palestinian intellectuals warned that the territories were about to blow up.

Hannan Ashrawi, the former spokeswoman for the Palestinians during the first intifada; Ghassan Khatib, a leading political analyst at Bir Zeit University; and Rawa Shawa, a member of the Palestine Legislative Council, all say the same thing.

They argue that far from being offered concessions at the failedCamp David summit in July, Arafat was told - not asked - to sign an Israeli proposal which Bill Clinton wrapped in Old Glory. It would have been the end of the Palestinian dream, and Arafat's own death warrant. "He was being asked to swallow a deal that created a Bantustan," says Dr Ashrawi, a fierce critic of the veteran Palestinian leader.

It is a difficult argument to refute. Arafat was offered political control of the Muslim and Christian quarters of Jerusalem's Old City. That was an Israeli concession. In return he was being told to give Israel a military presence in the Jordan Valley, allow Israel to slice off between 10 and 15 per cent of the West Bank, have no army and no sovereignty over the sea or Palestine's air space.

He was also told to agree that the Palestinians would give up their claim to the right to return to their lands. The dream of a capital in East Jerusalem would be abandoned in return for a handful of outlying villages, hemmed in by Israeli developments.

The results would have produced an economically unviable mutant state consisting of blotches of land divided from one another by settlement blocks and sliced up by by a web of Israeli bypass roads linking the Jewish settlements. Worse still, it would have added insult to injury and done nothing to restore the honour of a defeated Palestinian people.

When Ariel Sharon, the former defence minister implicated in the massacre of thousands of Palestinians by Israeliallied Christian Phalange in Lebanon 22 years ago, and who now leads the right-wing Likud Party, waddled on to the Noble Sanctuary/Temple Mount he must have known that he was going to set off violence.

The West Bank and Gaza were about to blow because the Palestinian territories had already become a model Bantustan run by Arafat. And his own people were sick of it.

An ink splotch of a "country" of indeterminate legitimacy provided cheap labour without responsibility to the "parent country" (in this case Israel). Just like Venda, Lebowa, and Bophuthatswana, "Palustan" took the lead from the South African homelands and the American Indian reservations, building a casino where hardliners from the other side of the colour, race or religious lines could get their kicks.

In South Africa, beer-bellied Calvinistic Afrikaners would slip across the "borders" to gamble and indulge in the forbidden delights of sex with black <u>women</u> in Sun City. On the Sabbath, the Oasis casino in Jericho is crammed with ultra-Orthodox Jews transfixed by the blackjack tables and plastic horses racing around a mini track.

The 60,000 Palestinians who live in Gaza but work in Israel have to leave home every day at around 4am. They are marched through cattle pens, individually interrogated and go to work. At the end of the day they pass back through the pens. If they are caught in the Israeli areas without a pass, they are arrested and either jailed or banned from re-entry.

Travel between the West Bank and Gaza is strictly controlled by the Israelis, who also control Gaza's airport which takes an age to get through. Jewish settlers on the West Bank and Gaza enjoy a heavily subsidised life. Water costs more than 50 per cent less for a Jew than an Arab, Israeli lawns are green and flourishing in the desert while Palestinian olive groves wither.

The Palestinian National Authority, run by Mr Arafat, and the security services that protect it evolved a cosy and lucrative economic relationship with Israel. Anything imported to the West Bank, and Gaza especially, has to be through an Israeli agent. Arafat's authority controls licences for commodity monopolies and takes a 17 per cent cut. The monopolies are run by his cronies, in league with agents established by Israeli intelligence services.

Industrial sites set up in settlements that are all illegal under international law, get tax breaks. Moreover they do not have to observe Israeli labour laws when employing Palestinians.

Meanwhile, according to a leading human rights campaigner, Bassam Eid, human rights abuses of Palestinian opposition groups by Palestinian security forces is worse than anything handed out by Israel's Shin Bet.

"Many of those tortured by the Israelis have become the torturers, and there are fewer restrictions on them," he says.

Political analyst Ghassan Khatib, says: "All of Arafat's wrongdoings have been strongly supported by the Western countries because Arafat is seen as the only one who can deliver peace. No matter how much he violates human rights and the democratic process, the West will continue to throw money at him."

Before the latest uprising, Arafat's popularity was plummeting. In Gaza he was often referred to with open contempt as a weakling who gave away his principles at the start of the Oslo process in 1993 - and by agreeing to negotiate on setting up a state and on bringing refugees home, he had already lost vital ground.

In return, the Gazans got nothing (though the West Bank has been through a boom). Their annual per capita income is ten times less than an Israeli's. The cost of living in the Gaza Strip, which its 1.1 million inhabitants call the "biggest prison in the world", is 25 per cent higher than it is in Israel, and only Israeli goods can be bought there.

For the time being, the rage of the Palestinians and their children is directed at Israel. But the widespread view is that Arafat has given away too much and has humiliated his people by behaving like the president of a South African "homeland" - independent in name only.

"The anger on the streets can be controlled but there are no advantages to doing so," says Najor Shaddad, mayor of the Gaza village of Huzza. "We still see our lives getting worse every day and the disgusting Israeli soldiers killing out children. Arafat could try to stop this uprising, but why should he? He now has the chance to give our children a future by getting a better deal.

"Only then will our youngsters stay away from the barricades. Only when we get some dignity, and justice. Until then, we shall all keep dying, young and old."

Load-Date: October 19, 2000



## Only peace can end Mid-east despair

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada) January 9, 1998 Friday Final Edition

Copyright 1998 Metroland Media Group Ltd **Section:** NEWS; Pg. A12; Opinion

**Length:** 780 words **Byline:** Elham Farah

## **Body**

"Let us call it the continuing search for peace in the Middle East," Professor John Sigler of Carleton University said when I invited him to speak to the Canadian Institute of International Affairs, Hamilton Branch, about the political complexity in the Middle East.

Professor Sigler, currently serving a two-year term as vice-chair (Canada) of the North American Co-ordinating Committee of Non Governmental Organizations on the Question of Palestine, will speak on Jan. 22 at McMaster University.

"Let us not give up, we will keep trying to find peace in the Middle East," Sigler said with a positive tone in his voice.

Canada has been known for its peaceful stand on the conflicts in the Middle East. Whether in Cairo or in Jerusalem, Canadians are highly respected and are known for their integrity and fairness. The Canadian government has participated in the Middle East/ North Africa Economic Summits, in Casablanca in 1994, in Amman in 1995, Cairo and Doha in 1997. Canada has been a strong supporter of these summits since the first summit in Casablanca to help build common interests among individuals and groups affected by the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The peace process in 1993 marked a new era in Israeli-Palestinian relations. Palestinians and Jewish Canadians who share a deep connection to that land and its people have joined to express their hopes and commitment to peace. However, the tremendous strides that have been made to achieve this peace have been challenged by <u>Hamas</u> suicide bombings in Israel and by the 1995 assassination of Prime Minister Rabin by an Israeli.

Tension, aggression and lost hopes have been brought to the region by the fragility of the peace deal. Political instability doesn't encourage business; recession and increasing unemployment have created despair and defeat among the two nations (Israelis and Palestinians).

#### **DESPAIR**

"I live without hope in this country," I was told by Avi from Tel Aviv who came to Nazareth to do business with my cousin last August, while I was visiting my family in Nazareth. "I have been in Canada in Vancouver; it is very relaxing over there," Avi added.

I have heard similar narratives of despair and defeat from other Israelis.

Whether in Palestine or in Israel, people react differently to defeat. For example, Islamic extremists express rejection of Western values. During my last visit to Israel (in August), I felt that both Palestinians and Jews were

#### Only peace can end Mid-east despair

living in tension and fear of the future. Over a coffee conversation I asked someone who has been an active member in Israeli society since the 1950s, "Why is the peace falling apart?"

She told me, "People are living in misery because we lack leadership and vision." She added, "Since the '50s, I believed the only solution for our misery is the co-existence for the two nations. We both have the problem and we both have the solution. In 1954 I established the Chapter of Naamat in Nazareth to promote more co-operation between Arab and Jewish *women* inside Israel."

She also pointed out that there is a need to understand the root of the problem to solve it.

Since my childhood, people in Nazareth have asked, "Who will solve the problem of the Middle East?"

It was always clear that it would take outside intervention. The Gulf War gave us a vivid idea about the superpower interest in the Middle East. However, for the people of the Middle East, this is not new. For the older people, the history of the Middle East is their life and their story. My grandmother, who lived more than 90 years in Nazareth, always told us stories about the Turkish, the Russians and the English who were in Palestine before the Jews established Israel in 1948.

Without peace, business will be very difficult. And without new economic infrastructure in the new Middle East, life will continue to be hard for both nations. Without peace people will continue to live in despair.

To learn more about the Middle East, come to hear the well-informed views of John Sigler (see the box below).

#### FOR MORE INFORMATION

Anyone interested in understanding what is happening in the Middle East is invited to hear Professor John Sigler speak on "The Continuing Search for Peace in the Middle East."

Sigler, a professor of political science and international affairs at Carleton University, has written or edited 20 books, travelled frequently to the Middle East and advises various government and non-government agencies on Middle East polices. He speaks at a meeting of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs meeting on Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. at the Faculty Club, McMaster University.

There is a \$10 cost for non-members of the institute. Please call 847-7373 by Jan. 19 if you wish to attend.

Load-Date: October 16, 2002



## Booby-trapped plea for help kills 3 in Gaza strip

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution
June 23, 2001 Saturday,
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Section: News;; Brief Length: 893 words

## **Body**

Two Israeli soldiers and a Palestinian were killed in an explosion in the Gaza Strip on Friday, after being lured toward a booby-trapped jeep by other Palestinians calling for help. Elsewhere in Gaza, two Palestinian teens were critically wounded by Israeli fire.

The Islamic militant group *Hamas* claimed responsibility for the explosion.

Still, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon was not expected to walk away from a U.S.-backed truce ahead of his meeting with President Bush in Washington next week.

From News Services

The three were killed near the Jewish settlement of Dugit. The army said a patrol was passing an abandoned house and heard Palestinians calling for help. Two soldiers got out of their jeep and, when they approached the house, a second jeep parked nearby exploded, killing the soldiers and the Palestinian inside it.

A third soldier came under Palestinian fire and was slightly hurt.

Near the Jewish settlement of Ganei Tal in southern Gaza, two 18-year-old Palestinians were seriously wounded by army fire, one with a shot to the chest and another with a bullet in the head. Circumstances of the incident were not clear.

MIDDLE EAST Gay parade unites Israelis, Palestinians

On Gay Pride Day in Tel Aviv, Israel, dozens of black-clad Israeli and Palestinian gays linked arms and marched to protest Israel's continued occupation of parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The group of about 150 lesbians and homosexuals whistled and chanted under the banner, "There is no pride in the oppression of others."

Ban on Turkish party threatens stability

Turkey's top court banned the pro-Islamic Virtue Party, the main opposition party, in a verdict that threatens the stability of a government already struggling to overcome an economic crisis. The Constitutional Court voted 8-3 to close Virtue on the grounds it was a focal point for anti-secular activities.

THE AMERICAS 30 soldiers killed in Colombia fighting

#### Booby-trapped plea for help kills 3 in Gaza strip

Clashes between rebels and the army near the riverside town of Puerto Leguizamo, 318 miles south of Bogota in Colombia's main coca-growing region, left 30 soldiers and 26 leftist guerrillas dead Friday, the army said. They were the heaviest casualties since a U.S.-backed anti-narcotics offensive got under way late last year.

#### Mexico, U.S. to test new border measures

Mexico and the United States announced new measures to reduce deaths of migrants heading north, including a pilot program in which Border Patrol agents near San Diego will experiment with nonlethal weapons such as rubber bullets. The agreement also calls for U.S. reconnaissance flights over desert areas where many migrants have died recently and for cooperation in cracking down on those who smuggle people across the border.

#### ASIA More than 40 die in train derailment

Three cars of a passenger train plunged off a bridge into a river in southern India on Friday, reportedly killing more than 40 people and injuring 200, officials and news reports said. The Press Trust of India news agency reported that 42 had died. The last three cars of the Mangalore-Chennai Mail derailed and fell more than 100 feet into the river as the train was crossing a bridge, said officials in Kozhikode, 12 miles from the site. One of the cars was reserved for **women**.

#### 3 Americans given life terms in Cambodia

In Cambodia's biggest terrorism trial, five men, including three Americans of Cambodian descent, were sentenced to life in prison for an attack Nov. 24 that they said was meant to overthrow the government. Two Americans, tried in absentia, were Chhun Yasith, 43, and Thong Samien, 60, both from Long Beach, Calif. Richard Kiri Kim, 51, of Oregon was the only American in custody.

#### AFRICA Ship of immigrants sends distress signal

A ship that is carrying immigrants and has been refused entry at several West African ports sent out a distress signal off the coast of Togo. The ship's Swedish captain, Henning Kielberg, also radioed that his propeller was badly tangled in fishing nets. Togo's foreign minister, Koffi Panou, said his nation would try to help the ship and bring relief to the 186 Liberians on board but won't let it dock in Togo.

#### EUROPE Swiss lawmakers vote to join U.N.

Switzerland's Parliament voted overwhelmingly in favor of joining the United Nations, strengthening the government's plan to put the issue to a referendum in 2002. Most lawmakers agreed that membership would not infringe on Swiss neutrality. Although the European headquarters of the United Nations is in Geneva, the Swiss voted 3-1 against joining in 1986.

#### Government attack ends cease-fire

Macedonian troops attacked Albanian rebels with tanks and helicopter gunships, endangering settlement talks. The attack against rebels in Aracinovo and Nikustak followed allegations by President Boris Trajkovski that ethnic Albanian politicians were making demands the Slav-led government couldn't accept.

#### Escaped zoo vulture attracts following

An African vulture that escaped from a British zoo was the center of a media circus as journalists and bird experts tracked it to a small seaside town. Foster, a Ruppell's griffon vulture, flew off during a falconry display at Banham Zoo in Norfolk, England, on Monday. It was sighted Friday in Southwold, 70 miles to the south.

COMING UP A decree enabling Slobodan Milosevic's extradition to the U.N. war crimes tribunal will be considered by Yugoslavia's federal Cabinet today.

## **Graphic**

#### Photo:

Israeli soldiers search the scene of an explosion that left two of their comrades dead when a booby-trapped jeep exploded Friday near the Jewish settlement of Dugit, Gaza Strip. / GADI KABALO / Associated Press

Load-Date: June 23, 2001



## <u>Tel Aviv disco blast kills 17: Suicide bomber waited in line with revellers;</u> Pressure on Sharon to retaliate

The Ottawa Citizen

June 2, 2001 Saturday

FINAL EDITION

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Length: 846 words

Byline: Lee Hockstader

Dateline: JERUSALEM

### **Body**

A thunderous explosion triggered by a Palestinian suicide bomber ripped through a throng of young Israelis outside a beachfront nightclub complex in Tel Aviv last evening, killing at least 17 people and injuring more than 80.

The suicide bombing was the most lethal in Israel in more than six years, transforming a balmy, palm-fringed scene of weekend revelry into a tableau of carnage.

It intensified already strong pressure on Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to renew air strikes, assassinations and other attacks on Palestinian targets, which had been suspended under a policy of restraint for the last two weeks.

Almost immediately after the blast, Israeli officials suggested they would order reprisals. "Rest assured we will draw the proper conclusion," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Mr. Sharon. "No one will be exonerated." The Washington Post

There was no immediate comment from Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader whom Israel blames for encouraging such attacks. But Ahmed Qureia, speaker of the Palestinian parliament, said Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority opposes the killing of civilians, whether Israeli or Palestinian.

U.S. President George W. Bush urged Mr. Arafat to condemn the bombing and to call for an immediate cease-fire.

One witness told Israel Radio the suicide bomber slipped into the midst of a mostly teen-age crowd celebrating the biggest party night of Israel's weekend before detonating the bomb a little after 11 p.m.

One of several nightclubs at the Dolphin complex in southern Tel Aviv was featuring free admission for <u>women</u>, so many of the victims were young and *female*.

Stunned, bloodied and broken, they were shown on Israeli television being wheeled into hospital emergency rooms.

The promenade outside the nightclubs was also packed with young Russian-speaking immigrants from the former Soviet Union. One of them, who identified herself as Irina, told Israel Radio: "We were a lot of girls standing there. It was a lot of fun. And all of a sudden, there was a boom, smoke, and people fell."

Tel Aviv disco blast kills 17: Suicide bomber waited in line with revellers: Pressure on Sharon to retaliate

An Israeli medic who said he arrived at the scene within five minutes of the blast said he saw "body parts everywhere, all of them youths, so young -- the most horrendous scene I've ever seen."

At least two militant Palestinian groups, Islamic Jihad and the Islamic Resistance Movement, known as <u>Hamas</u>, claimed responsibility.

But the Israeli government immediately blamed Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority, saying it gives its blessing to such attacks.

The attack last night followed a week of violence directed by Palestinians at Israeli military and civilian targets, in which four Israelis were killed. But until the Tel Aviv bombing, most of the week's most serious incidents took place in the West Bank and Gaza, where Israel still occupies much of the land it captured in the 1967 Middle East war.

Psychologically, this attack at the heart of Israel's largest city made a huge difference: Even through the last nine months of brutal violence between Israelis and Palestinians, Tel Aviv had been largely spared the worst bloodshed. As a result, some of the city's residents seemed only vaguely aware of the mayhem concentrated in the West Bank, Gaza and in Israeli cities such as Netanya, near the West Bank, where a number of bombs have exploded.

The area where the bomb exploded is packed with several thousand youths every Friday night, most of whom arrive after 10 p.m. to dance, drink and party. Several nightclubs are clustered there.

The blast created instant mayhem where moments earlier there had been merrymaking. Some cars sped from the scene, their occupants fearing a second explosion. Ambulances, their sirens screaming, streamed toward it. Within minutes, the plaza was jammed with medics, police, soldiers and ultra-Orthodox volunteers who collect body parts to ensure a proper Jewish burial.

According to several reports, the suicide bomber's head was found about 14 metres from the scene more than a half-hour after the explosion. He was counted among the 17 dead.

Israeli officials said Mr. Sharon was likely to convene an emergency meeting of his security Cabinet to consider Israel's response. He has been under intense pressure from hard-liners and Jewish settlers to strike hard at the Palestinians because of the attacks on settlers over the last week.

Still, Mr. Sharon's options are limited. When, in response to the last major Palestinian suicide bombing May 18, the Israeli leader ordered U.S.-supplied F-16 warplanes to bomb targets in the West Bank and Gaza, he was fiercely criticized by world leaders and by the Israeli press.

Moreover, Israeli authorities acknowledge it is virtually impossible to stop a suicide bomber intent on killing himself and others -- least of all with air strikes.

Still, many Israelis close to Mr. Sharon seem convinced there is no way to deal with the Palestinians other than to hurt them.

"We have no choice other than to go to war, and to hit targets that we haven't hit yet," said Gideon Ezra, a lawmaker of Mr. Sharon's Likud Party.

## **Graphic**

Black & White Photo: Jerome Delay, The Associated Press;, Israeli police and medics search the scene as victims cover the, ground outside a discotheque in Tel Aviv early today.; Black & White, Photo: Havakuk Levison, Reuters; A man calls for help on a, cellphone while he attends to a friend wounded in the nightclub, blast.; Black & White Photo: Havakuk Levison, Reuters; Nightclub, patrons comfort a wounded person outside the discotheque.

Load-Date: June 2, 2001



# Palestinians fill streets in protest; Thousands turned out to mark the "catastrophe" of 1948. By day's end, five people were dead.<

The Philadelphia Inquirer

MAY 16, 2001 Wednesday CITY-D EDITION

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## The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A03

Length: 894 words

Byline: Barbara Demick INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Dateline: RAMALLAH, West Bank

### **Body**

From schoolgirls in candy-striped uniforms to masked paramilitaries with Kalashnikovs, a wide swath of Palestinian society took to the streets yesterday in mass demonstrations marking the 53d anniversary of Israel's founding and the displacement of Palestinian refugees in the ensuing Arab-Israeli war.

The Palestinians' annual day of mourning known as Al Nakba - Arabic for the catastrophe - began at noon with sirens and three minutes of silence. Tens of thousands gathered in cities throughout the West Bank and Gaza, listening to speeches and chanting anti-Israeli slogans.

Soon, however, the <u>women</u> and children dispersed and the demonstrations turned into clashes, as young men marched on Israeli checkpoints.

By the end of the day, the toll was four Palestinians and one Israeli dead, which was deemed lighter than expected given current high tensions and the enormity of blood spilled these last seven months - 452 people killed on the Palestinian side and 78 on the Israeli side.

Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat left town to attend meetings in Egypt, eliciting criticism from Israelis, who said he was dodging responsibility for violence, and from Palestinians, who felt his place was among them.

In a prerecorded speech broadcast on Palestinian television and over loudspeakers in town squares, Arafat embraced the recommendation of a commission led by former U.S. Sen. George J. Mitchell that Israel freeze construction in Jewish settlements as a gesture to restore calm.

"It is high time to see the victory of justice and international legitimacy on the land of Palestine," Arafat said in the speech. "The attempt [by Israel] to forge history through missiles, rockets, planes and tanks will not succeed because we have a just cause."

Palestinians fill streets in protest; Thousands turned out to mark the "catastrophe" of 1948. By day's end, five people were dead.<

Yesterday's mood had been inflamed by the killing the day before of five Palestinian border police manning a checkpoint in Beitunia, a village between Jerusalem and Ramallah.

Shaul Mofaz, the Israeli army chief of staff, told a parliamentary committee yesterday that the army had intended to kill Palestinians who had been firing on Israeli positions, not to kill police.

"We did not intend to get this result. . . . If there was a mistake, we won't be ashamed to admit it," Mofaz reportedly told the foreign affairs and defense committee.

The Israeli fatality yesterday was a 22-year-old woman killed in a drive-by shooting just outside Ramallah.

Among the Palestinian dead was a bodyguard to Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of the militant <u>Hamas</u> movement. The Israeli army said that the bodyguard and another man died when they were hit by an Israeli tank shell as they fired a mortar round. Two more Palestinians were killed during clashes at a traffic circle outside Ramallah, the military said.

Raanan Gissin, a spokesman and adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, said the violence proved that the Palestinians had learned little in the half-century since Israel was created May 15, 1948, and immediately invaded by neighboring Arab states.

"This is the 53d anniversary of the so-called calamity," Gissin said, "so maybe they should stop repeating the mistakes of the past. They should learn that violence gets them nothing."

The Nakba is traditionally a chaotic day of protests and violence, but yesterday's turnout was far greater than in past years. In Ramallah, the bustling hub of the West Bank, it appeared that most of the adult population had spilled from their workplaces into the street. In Manara Square, the town center, anti-Israeli banners festooned billboards advertising chocolate and computer services.

There were schoolboys marching with drums, pregnant <u>women</u> pushing baby strollers, vendors selling sesame buns from carts. But beneath the carnival-like atmosphere, there was a current of rage. Boys burned effigies of an Israeli bus and a helicopter. One man, face contorted in anger, shot a revolver into the air, scattering the crowd.

"There has to be revenge. We will not stand by watching," vowed a 28-year-old member of Force 17, Arafat's private militia, who gave his nickname as Abu Sayeed. He said that at age 15 he had been sentenced to five years in an Israeli prison for throwing a Molotov cocktail at a house owned by Sharon in the Old City of Jerusalem.

The same tone of defiance was struck by a taxi dispatcher, Sadat Yassin, 53. He said he was born under an olive tree in 1948, as his parents fled from Lod, the city that is now the site of Israel's main airport. His father, Yassin said, still keeps in a safe-deposit box the key to the family's house and deeds to 42 acres.

"The only way left for us is the armed struggle," Yassin said. "In the past, we put our hands out for peace."

An estimated 700,000 Palestinians became refugees in 1948 during the war that followed Israel's creation. With their children and grandchildren included, the number classified as refugees now reaches into the millions.

Many of those interviewed in Ramallah said they had been supporters of the 1993 peace accords but were now disillusioned.

"It is a pity. We had very high hopes," said Suheil Gedeon, 45, a Palestinian banker. "We thought we could live with the Israelis. . . . We felt between them and us, we could build Palestine and Israel together. I have so many friends in Israel I met with often. We have the same aspirations."

Barbara Demick's e-mail address is foreign @phillynews.com.

Palestinians fill streets in protest; Thousands turned out to mark the "catastrophe" of 1948. By day's end, five people were dead.<

## **Graphic**

#### PHOTO;

NASSER NASSER, Associated Press - Demonstrators flash the victory sign as they crowd Ramallah streets to mark the displacement of Palestinians after Israel's founding.

Load-Date: October 31, 2001



#### Islam nips at Arab leaders that have ties to Israel

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA) November 30, 2000, Thursday

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Section: OPINION; Pg. 11

Length: 989 words

Byline: Geneive Abdo

Dateline: TEHRAN, IRAN

#### **Body**

For the first time in 20 years, Iranians marking the annual "Struggle Against World Arrogance" day shifted their avowed hatred from the United States to Israel. This celebration is held every November to commemorate the 1979 seizure of the US Embassy in Tehran and the capture of American hostages. Iranians historically mark the event by burning American flags and effigies of Uncle Sam.

But this year, protesters jammed a registration booth decorated with a hanging doll bearing the Star of David. They were volunteering to join the Palestinians in their latest uprising against Israel. Others carried placards with drawings of the now-famous 12-year-old Palestinian boy allegedly killed by Israeli gunfire as his father tried to shield him.

Public opinion in Iran, as in much of the Muslim world, has taken a more ferocious turn since the worst violence in years erupted between Palestinians and Israelis. In the streets of Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Rabat, and Riyadh, an explosion of hatred has sparked spontaneous demonstrations, despite state bans on public protest. In Amman, tens of thousands of demonstrators clashed with police, leaving one protester dead. Around 20,000 members of the Muslim Brotherhood staged a protest rally in early October.

In Egypt, students from two of Cairo's Islamic universities took to the streets. Even students from the American University of Cairo, once a finishing school for the country's elite and a bastion of secularism, joined their more religious brothers.

In the case of Iran, public opinion is completely in sync with state policy toward Israel: President Mohamad Khatami and supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei believe the Muslim world should sever all ties with the Zionist state.

But public demands in Arab capitals pose a great challenge to governments with economic and political relations with Israel. In the past, Arab governments were quick to dismiss public opinion. Now, the streets across the Arab world are united in their position: The Palestinian intifadah is as much about the expression of Islamic duty and principle as it is about territory. Now the Muslim people and their governments must defend the faith by taking extreme action to stop Israel from continuing its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and the Islamic holy sites in Jerusalem.

The Islamic dimension of the street demonstrations is pressuring moderate Arab governments to demonstrate their religious credentials. Public outcry may force states not only to change their policies toward Israel, but also to alter their domestic agendas to include the desires of moderate Islamic activists whom they have aggressively excluded for decades.

Egypt, the first Arab country to sign a peace treaty with the Jewish state, is under more strain than its neighbors. Egyptian officials say they have halted almost all official contact with Israel, but this is not enough to satisfy a powerful and demanding Islamic movement that is calling for the end of all ties.

At the summit of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, which was held mid-November in Qatar, there was a clear split between those countries that want to cut all ties with Israel and those that want to maintain relations. Egypt, Jordan, and other states that benefit from relations with Israel overruled Syria, Iran, and other governments advocating an end to any contact with the Jewish state

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, whose administration has tried to quash the moderate Islamic movement by preventing Islamic activists from running in elections or holding government positions, knows his time is running out. In recent parliamentary polls, Islamists captured the largest number ever of seats in the 454-member assembly, taking 17 places against 388 seats won by Mubarak supporters.

While this will hardly influence what has traditionally been a rubber-stamp legislature, the inroads made by the Islamists are significant: They won seats despite an alleged pattern of police harassment and ballot manipulation designed to deprive the Islamic candidates of victory.

The electoral result for the Islamists is only a small sign of their growing power. Over the past 10 years, broad Islamic sentiment has penetrated the judiciary, the universities, and the professional unions representing millions of doctors, engineers, and lawyers. Even at Egypt's al-Azhar, a 1,000-year-old center of learning for the Sunni Islamic world, sheikhs who traditionally issued religious edicts in line with state policy are now defying the government. In recent years they have issued fatwas, or legal decrees, on issues such as <u>female</u> circumcision, bank interest, and <u>women</u>'s rights which openly contradict state policies.

With Islamists now enjoying expanding support within society, Mubarak has been forced to pay attention to the demonstrators in the streets shouting for the destruction of Israel. And this is no easy task.

For 20 years, Egypt has played the role of peace broker for the US. In exchange for its cooperation, the US has rewarded Egypt with \$ 2.1 billion in annual aid. Since the Oslo peace accord was signed in 1993, Mubarak has tried to serve as a mediator between Yasser Arafat and his Israeli counterparts during crises. He has done so with little consideration of the views of his own people, who have rejected Oslo from the start and remained adamantly opposed to Egypt's 1979 peace deal with Israel.

The uprising under way has deprived Arafat of any notion he might have entertained of trying to control the *Hamas* bombers infiltrating west Jerusalem. Likewise, Arab states can no longer rely on their constituencies to remain passive to the injustices toward Palestinians - even when dressed up as "peace accords."

#### Islam nips at Arab leaders that have ties to Israel

Geneive Abdo is Tehran correspondent for London The Guardian and author of 'No God But God: Egypt and the Triumph of Islam' (Oxford University Press).

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#### **Body**

In his 25 years as a foreign correspondent, Robert Fisk has reported from many of the world's worst trouble spots. Few have filled him with such foreboding as Gaza, where he recently spent several weeks. This is the second of two parts on his impressions of a region convulsed by hatred.

I spent three days watching the pathetic demonstrations that followed Israel's seizure of the PLO offices in Jerusalem. Hanan Ashrawi, the senior PLO spokesperson and politician, turned up to demand the right to enter. She was refused. But she came a day late, when most of the TV cameras had gone.

Always late, the Palestinians.

But even when the cameras were there, it didn't stop the border police turning on several Palestinian youths. They were beaten in front of the cameras, groined and punched and head-locked by six cops.

The Independent, London

One was laid in a van where he was held down so that another policeman could stamp on his testicles. A young security man couldn't take his eyes off this vile scene, bending down low, right in front of me, to see where the other cop's boot was landing between the youth's thighs.

How could they do this in front of the cameras? I kept asking myself. And then the dark thought occurred to me: that the police want the cameras to film this, that they want the Palestinians to see what happens to them when they oppose Israel, when they demonstrate, when they object -- as one boy did -- by holding up a paper Palestinian flag.

I think it's the psychological shock of violence that always hits first. The sudden realization that human beings are going to hurt each other. It afflicts everyone in this conflict.

I had been attending the funeral of a <u>Hamas</u> man in Tulkarem, in the north of the occupied West Bank, and was returning to my taxi, which was parked on the Israeli side of the line. On the map of the West Bank and Gaza -- a broken window of settler roads and frontiers -- Area A is supposed to be Palestinian-controlled and Area C Israeli-controlled.

When I'd crossed from Area C to Area A in the morning, the road was a litter of garbage and stones. But when I returned, there was a battle in progress, kids throwing stones at Israeli positions, rubber-coated steel bullets thwacking back through the trees, burning tires.

I was tired and hungry and impatient to return to Jerusalem. So I grabbed the boys beside the burning tires and told them I was a journalist, that I had to cross back through the line.

I found two more sinister figures lurking in a wrecked bus shelter. I told them the same. Then I walked between the burning tires towards the unseen Israelis, slowly, almost a dawdle. Then a stone landed at my feet. Just a very small stone, but it landed with a nasty little crack.

Then, when I turned round, another hissed past my face. One of the Palestinian boys began to shriek with laughter. I kept walking slowly and realized that I would have physically to dodge each well-aimed stone calmly, as if it was perfectly normal for an Independent correspondent to be stoned by Palestinians on a summer's afternoon.

The road ran parallel with Area A now, and a teenager with a sling-shot came crashing through the trees -- I could hear the whir of the rope. The stone came towards me so fast that I couldn't duck, but it missed me by about a foot and smashed into the iron wall of an Israeli factory.

The crash made me look around. I was in the middle of an abandoned garden shop, surrounded by pots and cement eagles and deer and tree-holders. One of the eagles had lost its head. Then three more stones, maybe 20 centimetres long. I realized what had happened, of course.

The Palestinians knew I was a foreign journalist -- I had shown them my Lebanese press card. But the moment I crossed the line, I had become an Israeli. The moment they could no longer distinguish my face, they no longer cared. I was an Israeli because I was on the Israeli side of the line. And I wonder what my friend the rabbi would have done.

Back in Jerusalem, I work the phone again, trying to track down that elusive quotation. If you call people animals, terrorists, vermin, can you be surprised when they behave so violently? Is it any wonder that Arafat is himself tribalizing the garbage tips he still controls, playing the Musris and Nabulsis of Nablus off against each other, backing the Shakars of Nablus and the Shawars of Gaza, placating <u>Hamas</u> or Islamic Jihad by saying nothing about their organizations, merely issuing routine condemnation of suicide bombings, and by mouthing the old revolutionary rhetoric I used to hear in Lebanon 20 years ago?

Some say he is now frightened of the religious men, fearful of the contrast between the ideology of the suicide bomber and the tired, inept, corrupt old men who surround him. I found one of them in an office, swigging from beer bottle.

And I think of Lebanon again, of the disintegration of armies. And I realize, each time I see their checkpoints and their beatings, that the Israeli army is suffering its own disintegration; you notice it everywhere, the sullen, violent soldiers for whom stone-throwers are worthy of execution, the indiscipline of the police, the casual acceptance of murder squads and death-by-missile.

On the way to Jenin, we are stopped by Israeli border guards. On the sweaty road, we call the Israeli army press office for permission to pass.

There's a small Jewish settlement up the hill, all red roofs and luscious foliage. It's strange how naturally we treat these little land-thefts now.

By calling them settlements and their inhabitants "settlers", we all help to perpetuate a lie, that these people are in the Old West tradition, making the badlands bloom, ready to fight off the natives. And we forget that this is the only colonial project still in existence -- the French word for settlers, colons, is more accurate -- and this battle between Palestinians and Israelis is the world's last colonial war.

As long as the Israelis can puff it up as a "war against terror", they'll be able to conceal this. But we should be using the word "colony". Just as the French did before they were driven out of Algeria.

Then the border guards get bored. One of them switches on the Jeep's loudspeaker and hooks the mike to his mobile phone and begins playing the music "hold" button. Three lines of the 1812 Overture, three lines of Beethoven's Fifth, three lines of the Water Music, all squawking out at high decibels, distorted and high-pitched, spilling its hi-tech destruction of the world's greatest musicians over the sweltering road with its lizards and bushes and garbage.

It's a relief to find sanity. On a flight into Tel Aviv I find myself sitting next to an Israeli paratroop officer. I give him my own gloomy assessment -- an "Intefadeh" that will go on until 2004. He says it will last well into 2006.

"And in the end, we'll be back on the '67 border and give them East Jerusalem as their capital," he says. And then he adds: "But given the way we're treating them, I'd be surprised if they'd settle for that."

I ask a Palestinian in Rafah what he thinks. "Two thousand and five, 2006, what difference does it make? But I tell you one thing. After this "Intefadeh" is over, there will be a revolt against Arafat. How did he ever allow this to happen? How did he ever think he could win?"

And again I remember Beirut. After Arafat and the PLO left Lebanon in 1982, a rebellion started among his own guerrillas. A man called Abu Moussa turned Palestinian against Palestinian, helping to lay siege to the PLO when Arafat briefly returned to the Lebanese city of Tripoli.

The Syrians chose Abu Moussa as mutineer -- he still lives in Damascus -- and so I find myself asking who is the new Abu Moussa? Have the Israelis chosen him yet?

I am driving again through Gaza. Beside the road, a group of middle-aged men are sitting under a green awning; some have their heads in their hands, others are just looking at the sand. They are mourning Mohamed Abu Arrar, shot in the head by an Israeli soldier while throwing stones. He was just 13.

Every wall has become a mosaic of posters: dead youths, dead old men, dead children, dead <u>women</u>, dead suicide bombers; usually they have a coloured photograph of the Al Aqsa mosque behind their heads, a building some of them will never have seen.

Just outside Khan Younis, the Israelis have bulldozed acres of citrus groves and houses -- for "security" reasons, of course, since there is a Jewish settlement in the distance -- and left yet another bit of "Palestine" looking like the moon.

"Well, they say it's for security of course," a European official tells me. "But I have a question. There were three houses standing over there, one of them was finished and lived in, the other two were still just walls and roofs. The Israelis said they could be used for ambushes. So a bulldozer comes and totally demolishes the completed home, and then just destroys the staircase of the two unfinished houses. Now, how can that be for 'security'"?

Down at Rafah, I come across the truly surreal. A middle-aged man steps out of a tent right on the border -- the Egyptian flag behind him almost touching the Israeli flag -- and asks me if I would like to see the ruins of his toy shop.

And there it is, right beside the tent, a tumble of concrete blocks, model telephones, lampshades, clocks, and toy helicopters.

"The Israelis destroyed it in May and I stayed till the very last moment, running into that alleyway when the tanks arrived," he says.

Mohamed al-Shaer, it turns out, is a Palestinian with an Egyptian passport.

"I've got one house over there behind the palm tree," he says, pointing across the Israeli frontier wall. "And I'm here to guard this property."

He's allowed to pass back and forth like other dual-citizen Rafah residents because of a 1906 agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Britain that he proceeds to explain in complex and unending detail.

Behind him, children are flying kites and each time a kite floats over the frontier wire an Israeli soldier fires a shot. It cracks across the muck and sand and the children shout with pleasure. "Cra-crack", it goes again.

"They always shoot at the kites or the kids," Mohamed al-Shaer says. He learned his English as a computer programmer in Cairo and explains fluently that the real reason he stays is that he has a brother whom he distrusts, that the brother lives on the Palestinian side of Rafah and might re-register the land on which the shop was built as his own if Mohamed returned to Egypt.

Every night, Palestinians shoot from these streets at the Israelis, which is why the Israelis destroyed Mohamed al-Shaer's shop.

"These were the bullet holes from last night," he says, pointing at three fist-sized cavities in the wall of the nearest building. "I could hear the bullets going over my tent."

I wonder how this little cameo can be written: a Palestinian at war with his own brother, sitting in a tent next to a demolished toy shop watching the Israelis shooting at kites.

I call up an old friend, an American Jewish woman with a talent for going through archives. I give her the date that is still going through my head, 15 September 1982, the last hours for up to 2,000 Palestinians who were about to be murdered in the Sabra and Chatila camps in Beirut.

She comes back on the line the same night. "Turn your fax on," Shifra says. "You're going to want to read this." The paper starts to crinkle out of the machine. An AP report of 15 September 1982. "Defence Minister Ariel Sharon, in a statement, tied the killing (of the Phalangist leader Gemayel) to the PLO, saying that "it symbolizes the terrorist murderousness of the PLO terrorist organizations and their supporters."

A few hours later, Sharon sent the Phalange into the camps. Reading that fax again and again, I felt a chill come over me. There are Israelis today who feel as much rage towards the Palestinians as the Phalange felt 19 years ago.

And these are the same words I am hearing today, from the same man, about the same people. Why?

#### **Graphic**

Photo: Adel Hana, the Associated Press; A Palestinian woman weeps as she is seen through the remains of her house which an Israeli army bulldozer destroyed in the Rafah refugee camp.

Load-Date: November 5, 2001



## <u>Killing for the Glory of God, In a Land Far From Home - Correction</u> Appended

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

#### Correction Appended

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Byline: By JUDITH MILLER

Series: HOLY WARRIORS/Last of three articles: The Jihad's Young Recruits

Dateline: PANJSHIR VALLEY, Afghanistan

#### **Body**

Muhammad Khaled Mihraban, a polite, soft-spoken 26-year-old Pakistani, thinks he has already killed at least 100 people. Maybe more; he isn't really sure.

"My goal was not to kill," he said. "But I had a line to follow, an Islamic ideal. I knew that Muslims needed their own country, a real Islamic country."

Mr. Mihraban found that country when he came to Afghanistan in 1992. Having decided "to consecrate my life to jihad" while studying Islamic law at Punjab University in Lahore, he said, he joined a Pakistani militant group that was fighting India in the disputed province of Kashmir. His training took place in Afghanistan.

"We learned how to plant mines, how to make bombs using dynamite and how to kill someone quietly," he recalled.

A gifted student, he was soon asked to train others in group camps near Khost. "But I wanted to act, not teach," he explained. So after a stint waging war in Kashmir, he returned to Kabul to fight alongside the Taliban forces that control most of the country.

Mr. Mihraban, who was captured by the rebels fighting the Taliban in northern Afghanistan, said in an interview in a bleak prison that if he were released, he would "stay right here and fight again for Kabul." If he were asked to do so, he said, he would go to London, Paris or New York and blow up <u>women</u> and children for Islam. "Yes, I would do it," he said quietly, without hesitation.

If the international terrorism that has haunted Americans for the last decade has a home, it is Afghanistan, the place that comes closest to the extremists' ideal of a state ruled by the strict code of Islamic law.

Afghanistan is an inspiration, an essential base of operations, a reservoir of potential suicide bombers and a battle front where crucial ties are forged. It is also, American officials say, where Osama bin Laden is experimenting with chemical weapons.

Participants in nearly every plot against the United States and its allies during the last decade have learned the arts of war and explosives in Afghan camps, authorities say, including the defendants in the 1998 bombings of two American Embassies in East Africa.

The Central Intelligence Agency estimates that as many as 50,000 to 70,000 militants from 55 countries have trained here in recent years. The agency says the Taliban permit a wide range of groups to operate in Afghan territory, from the Pakistani militants who trained Mr. Mihraban to Mr. bin Laden's organization Al Qaeda (Arabic for The Base). Middle East officials said that as many as 5,000 recruits have passed through Mr. bin Laden's camps.

American and Middle Eastern intelligence officials believe that Mr. bin Laden maintains a network of a dozen camps in Afghanistan that offer training in small arms and in explosives and logistics for terrorist attacks. The officials said the embassy bombings, which killed more than 200 people, were rehearsed on a model built to scale at one of Mr. bin Laden's Afghan camps.

One camp, according to those officials, is educating a new generation of recruits in the uses of chemicals, poisons and toxins.

Within the last year, trainees at the camp, which is called Abu Khabab, have experimented on dogs, rabbits and other animals with nerve gases, the officials said. Recruits have also fashioned bombs made from commercially available chemicals and poisons, which have been tried out on animals tethered to outdoor posts on the camp test range, according to surveillance photographs and informers' reports.

"The role of Afghanistan is now absolutely clear," said Michael A. Sheehan, the former coordinator of the State Department's Office of Counterterrorism, who in late December became assistant secretary general for peacekeeping operations for the United Nations. "Every Islamic militant we've looked at goes scurrying back there for sanctuary. Afghanistan, and to a lesser extent Iran, are the only major sanctuaries left."

#### The Training

Where Recruits Study Tactics and Explosives

Middle Eastern officials estimate that in the last six months, more than 100 men recruited by Mr. bin Laden's and affiliated groups have been trained at the camp, which is named after the Egyptian militant who runs it, Midhat Mursi -- whose nom de guerre is Abu Khabab.

The camp is part of a large complex of such training sites known as Darunta, about eight miles from Jalalabad, an Afghan eastern provincial capital, down a dusty road that runs atop an old stone dam of the same name. According to Western and Middle Eastern officials, a cache of chemicals is stored in the reinforced caves of nearby mountains and naturally protected underground tunnels.

Abu Khabab's graduates in the last year include Raed Hijazi, the Jordanian-American whom Jordan has convicted in absentia as a ringleader of the failed plot to attack tourists in Amman during the millennium celebrations.

Mr. Hijazi, whom the Syrians arrested in October and sent back to Jordan, has described his advanced training on explosives to Jordanian investigators, according to Western officials. He has told investigators that a key lieutenant of Mr. bin Laden helped arrange his trip to Afghanistan.

A rare reference to the explosives training at the Abu Khabab camp appears in the sealed indictment of Nabil abu Aukel, a Palestinian arrested last June by Israel.

Israel has accused Mr. Aukel of collaborating with <u>Hamas</u>, or the Party of God, the militant Palestinian organization, and several Arab-Israelis on plots aimed at military and civilian targets inside Israel. The indictment, a copy of which

was provided by Steven Emerson, an American expert on Islamic terrorism, states that Mr. Aukel, a Palestinian, received advanced training in explosives using chemicals at the Abu Khabab camp in March 1998.

The camp leader warned Mr. Aukel "never to discuss the nature of the training," the indictment says. Israeli officials said Mr. Aukel's arrest marked first time Israel had uncovered an Al Qaeda cell inside its borders.

At the urging of the United States and Russia, which also sees a threat from Afghan training camps, the United Nations recently imposed the harshest economic sanctions on Afghanistan to press the Taliban not only to evict Mr. bin Laden and his senior entourage, but also to close down all the militant camps to foreigners.

The Taliban, or "students of Islam," who rule all but a sliver of Afghanistan, deny that they harbor terrorists or those who train them. Wakil Ahmad Mutawakil, the Taliban foreign minister, said the pressure to expel Mr. bin Laden was both "insulting and useless." Mr. Mutawakil denied in an interview in November that Mr. bin Laden was financing the Taliban, saying he had become a "very poor man." Mr. bin Laden, the foreign minister said, could not possibly be planning terrorist operations since his activities were "closely supervised by Afghan guards."

Mr. Mutawakil recently invited a New York Times reporter to visit any location in Afghanistan identified by Western officials as part of Mr. bin Laden's network.

But Taliban officials in Afghanistan ultimately barred the reporter from visiting any of the locations. At Darunta, the reporter was stopped several miles from the gates of the complex. After five days in Kabul, Jalalabad and environs, the reporter and her Afghan-American interpreter were politely escorted to the border and told to leave Afghanistan.

The Inspiration

Afghanistan's Appeal As a War Zone

The Afghan cause has inspired several generations of young men determined to wage holy war. Thousands came here in the 1980's to fight the Soviet forces in response to a fatwa, or religious order, from leading Islamic scholars. Thousands more have come since then to help the Taliban expand their power, or to be trained for jihads elsewhere.

Taliban officials boast that they have imposed true Islamic rule, cleansing Afghan society of Western influence. Since their capture of Kabul in 1996, they have among other things banned education for girls and most work for <u>women</u>, and instituted harsh punishments for blasphemy, playing cards, watching television, listening to music and trimming one's beard.

Mr. bin Laden arrived in Afghanistan in 1996 after he was expelled from Sudan. American officials and Afghan opponents of the Taliban say their loyalty to him has been well earned. The officials say Mr. bin Laden provided the Taliban with some of the cash they used to buy off local warlords in their march to power.

His financial support of the Taliban is said to continue. Several diplomats and aid workers in Afghanistan estimated that he had put up millions of dollars -- one diplomat's estimate was \$40 million -- to rebuild roads destroyed in the war against the Soviets and the ensuing civil war.

Mr. bin Laden is also said to be providing the Taliban with military help.

Ahmed Shah Massoud, commander of a group of rebels in northern Afghanistan, said in an interview at his headquarters that he was fighting a unit of soldiers specially trained by Mr. bin Laden, the 55th Brigade, which includes some 700 Arabs and other militant Muslims. Mr. Massoud said he had captured brigade members, whom he called the most seasoned fighters.

Despite financial aid and weapons from Iran and Russia, Mr. Massoud's alliance lost ground to the Taliban last year. His forces are now confined largely to the northern region's impregnable Panjshir Valley with its soaring, snow-tipped mountains and dazzling vistas.

Mr. Massoud said his soldiers were holding some 1,200 Taliban prisoners, 122 of them foreign Muslims. There are Pakistanis, an immigrant to Pakistan from the Burmese province of Arakan, Yemenis, Britons and Chinese Uigurs, among others. Interviews with several of them illustrate the attraction that Afghanistan still has for militants around the world.

Mr. Mihraban, the young Pakistani, comes from the town of Chaghi, in the province of Baluchistan. His gentle eyes and polite manner gave no hint of the fervor that had led him to this stark prison in the harsh, craggy mountains of the Hindu Kush.

His trip to Afghanistan began when he joined Harakat ul Mujahedeen, a group whose dedication to unlocking India's grip on Kashmir has landed it on the State Department's list of terror groups. He trained first in 1992 at the Salman i Farsi camp in Baktiah, Afghanistan, which was run by Harakat. He said he also fought in Tajikistan.

Obeida Rahman, 21, a Yemeni from Sana from a poor family of 10 children, had his living and training expenses in Afghanistan paid for by the teachers at his madrassa, or religious academy. They had urged him to fight in Afghanistan against his family's wishes, he said. He had relished his training. "When you have a gun, you're free," he said. "You feel as if you can do anything."

Abdul Jalil, 21, from Kashgar in Xingiang Province, China, said that despite his capture, he was glad that he had come and fought in Afghanistan on the \$1,000 his father, a farmer, gave him to study. "I still want to create an Islamic state all over the world, God willing," he said. When he is released, he said, "I will go fight a jihad in China."

The goal of returning home to continue the jihad is common among the prisoners. Julie Sirrs, a former Defense Intelligence Agency analyst who has interviewed many of the non-Afghan prisoners held by Mr. Massoud, said nearly half belonged to groups that the State Department has designated as terrorist. None had ever met Mr. bin Laden, they said, but he was their hero. Ms. Sirrs, now an independent consultant, financed her own studies of the prisoners.

In an interview at one of his camps in the Panjshir Valley in late summer, Mr. Massoud said his prisoners had been deluded into believing that they were fighting a jihad in Afghanistan by helping the Taliban.

The prisoners, he said, are in fact "sinners" for conducting terrorism and violating Islam's injunction against fomenting division within Muslim ranks. "My message to those fighting in Afghanistan now is that they will never get God's blessing for what they are doing in my country," he declared.

#### The Enablers

How Islamic Schools Urge Students On

American officials acknowledge that they have limited influence over the Taliban, who they say have a powerful regional ally in Pakistan.

Relief officials and Afghans said they saw soldiers in Pakistan Army uniforms fighting for the Taliban last summer and fall. The witnesses reported that Pakistani Army buses with blackened windows and burlap-covered trucks filled with weapons and supplies routinely crossed into Afghanistan heading for the front near Taliqan, a northern town that the government captured last fall.

Mr. Massoud and relief officials in Afghanistan said the Taliban were finding it ever harder to recruit fighters for the civil war and had even encountered armed resistance to their recruitment missions in different towns and villages. The Taliban forces, he asserted, are increasingly dependent on Pakistani soldiers and students sent to the front to fight for the Islamic cause.

Pakistan denies that it has sent soldiers to fight alongside the Taliban. But diplomats, relief workers and Afghans interviewed in Kabul and Jalalabad insist that Pakistan has provided not only weapons, logistical and other assistance, but soldiers as well.

"Some soldiers apparently came to fight; others for just a look-see at real fighting," said a United Nations official who visited areas near the front during the offensive. "The Taliban were doing quite badly at first. But there is no doubt that Pakistani support gradually turned the tide."

There are also suggestions that Pakistani authorities have pressed students to fight for the Taliban. One relief worker who visited the Indira Gandhi Children's Hospital in Kabul in late June said that all of its 400 beds were filled by Pakistanis wounded at the front, some as young as 15. Several patients said that they had been sent to fight by their religious academies, many of which closed for the summer battle season, leaving impoverished students with no place else to go. A doctor at the hospital said Chechens, Yemenis and Saudis were among the patients.

American officials say they have little leverage over Pakistan. The United States cut off military aid in 1990 after the Pakistanis detonated a nuclear bomb.

With no ally in the region to help, the Clinton administration has mounted a wide-ranging diplomatic campaign to isolate the Taliban militia from the world community. The effort bore fruit late last year when the United Nations, prodded by the United States and Russia, expanded economic sanctions on Afghanistan -- a change that will take effect on Jan. 19.

Senior American officials said that for all their concern about the threat of terrorism, the administration never explicitly offered the Taliban what they most want: formal diplomatic recognition. In its dealing with the Taliban, officials said, the administration promised only that relations would dramatically improve if they expelled Mr. bin Laden and Al Qaeda's leaders and barred foreigners from the camps.

Officials said they decided against directly offering recognition, because, they said, the administration had profound reservations about the Taliban's abuses of human rights, particularly of **women**.

Senior officials also felt that they could not trust the Taliban to deliver on their promises, citing what they called repeated "lies" from the Afghan leadership about Mr. bin Laden's status.

In late December, President Clinton's top national security advisers gathered in Washington to consider the next steps against the Taliban, including possible military action.

A senior C.I.A. official told the group that the bombing of the destroyer Cole in Yemen in October 2000 appeared to have been organized by Muhammad Omar al-Harazi, a longtime member of Al Qaeda also involved in an earlier attempt to destroy an American warship, The Sullivans, as it passed through Aden in January 2000. Mr. Harazi founded the first Al Qaeda cell in Saudi Arabia and was arrested in 1997, accused oftrying to smuggle antitank missiles into the kingdom. Between the failed attack on The Sullivans and the bombing of the Cole, officials said, Mr. Harazi fled to an Al Qaeda guest house in Kandahar, a Taliban stronghold. The C.I.A. said this evidence did not conclusively establish that the group ordered the attack.

Several officials at the meeting opposed military action on the ground that it would achieve little and would make Americans targets of further terrorist attacks. And officials said a military strike could even be counterproductive, enhancing Mr. bin Laden's public standing among militants. "Making him a hero is the last thing we want to do," said one senior American official.

**Holy Warriors** 

SUNDAY -- The making of an Islamic terror network.

MONDAY -- A look inside a plot that could have crippled Jordan's capital.

TODAY -- What motivates the jihad's young recruits.

#### Correction

A front-page article on Tuesday about Islamic militants who train in Afghanistan misstated the reason the United States cut off military aid in 1990 to Pakistan, which supports the government of Afghanistan. The United States suspected Pakistan of developing nuclear weapons; Pakistan's detonation of nuclear devices did not occur until 1998.

Because of an editing error, the article mistranslated <u>Hamas</u>, the name of the militant Palestinian organization linked by the Israelis to a man they arrested, who trained in Afghanistan. The name, an Arabic acronym, stands for Islamic Resistance Movement, not Party of God. <u>Hamas</u> is also an Arabic word for zeal or enthusiasm.

The article also misspelled the name of the region in China from which some members Uighur ethnic group have gone to fight in Afghanistan. It is Xinjiang, not Xingiang.

Correction-Date: January 21, 2001

#### **Graphic**

Photos: Muhammad Khaled Mihraban, a Pakistani captured in the Muslim war for control of Afghanistan, says he has killed 100 people. (Alan Chin for The New York Times)(pg. A1); CONDUIT TOWN -- Bustling Torkham, on the Afghan border, is reported to be a crossing point for Pakistani fighters and supplies in the Muslim war for control of Afghanistan. (Judith Miller/The New York Times); TALIBAN FOE -- Ahmed Shah Massoud, who commands Afghan rebels, criticized foreign holy warriors for dividing Muslims. (Alan Chin for The New York Times); (Satellite image by Space Imaging)(pg. A8) Chart: "The Darunta Camp Complex"A cluster of camps in eastern Afghanistan where militants are taught terrorism. ABU KABHAB CAMP -- Osama bin Laden's camp specializing in training in chemicals, poisons and high explosives. ASSADALAH ABDUL RAHMAN'S CAMP -- Camp of the son of Sheik Omar Abdul Rahman, who was convicted in the World Trade Center bombing. TALIBAN AREA -- Housing for Taliban guests. HIZBI ISLAMI CAMP -- Camp of a Pakistani militant group waging war in Kashmir. JALALABAD AREA -- The capital of Nangarhar Province. (Sources: Middle Eastern and Western intelligence)(pg. A8)

Load-Date: January 16, 2001



## <u>Crisis in Israel: Ariel Sharon: the bloodstained past that inflames</u> <u>Palestinians: 'Super hawk' blamed for sparking battles after visit to holy</u> <u>shrine</u>

The Guardian (London)
October 3, 2000

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Section: Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 5

Length: 957 words

Byline: Brian Whitaker

#### **Body**

When Ariel Sharon, the bulldozer of Israeli politics, marched up to the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem last Thursday accompanied by hundreds of riot police, he was - as he put it - merely exercising the right of every Jew to visit the holiest site in Judaism.

But was it a pilgrimage or a provocation? Yesterday, governments around the world appeared to have little doubt as they heaped condemnation on Israel's hardline opposition leader.

The 45 minutes that the former army general - described in an Israeli newspaper as a "connoisseur of non-kosher foods" - spent exercising his religious rights sparked five days of bloody violence in which scores of people, mostly Palestinians, have died.

Mr Sharon's dramatic gesture appears to have been calculated to embarrass Mr Barak and to reinforce his own position as leader of the Likud party in the face of a likely challenge from the former prime minister, Binyamin Netanyahu.

Mr Netanyahu's path to a political comeback was cleared last Wednesday when the Israeli attorney general decided not to prosecute him for alleged corruption.

Mr Sharon claimed on television that his visit was meant to demonstrate that no Israeli needs ask for permission to visit sovereign Israeli territory. But Israeli governments - including those in which Mr Sharon served - have always been conscious of the sensitivity of the site and have tried to keep Jewish extremists away.

One theory advanced by a western diplomatic source yesterday was that Mr Sharon may have expected Israeli security forces to turn him away from the site - which would have allowed him to accuse Mr Barak of surrendering sovereignty over the area.

Besides infuriating Palestinians, Mr Sharon's visit appears to have caused offence to pious Jews. An article in Ha'aretz newspaper yesterday accused him of desecrating the holy site by visiting it without taking a ritual bath beforehand or changing into non-leather shoes.

Crisis in Israel: Ariel Sharon: the bloodstained past that inflames Palestinians: 'Super hawk' blamed for sparking battles after visit to holy shrine

Mr Sharon yesterday insisted: "It was not my visit to the Temple Mount that ignited the disturbances." He said the riots were "part of an overall campaign planned in advance", which had begun about 10 days ago near Gaza, and had spread to Jerusalem.

Several Israeli officials have lent their support to this claim, suggesting that some of the Palestinians - with or without the connivance of their leaders - were looking for an opportunity to cause trouble, and that Mr Sharon provided it.

"Sharon was (in the best case) not the cause of the disturbances but rather a pretext for them," an article in Ha'aretz newspaper said yesterday. "Instead of lighting the fire, he gave the Palestinians the match. The question remains: Why did he do it?"

As far as the international community was concerned, Mr Sharon deserved and received widespread condemnation. In addition to the criticism levelled by individual countries, France, the current holder of the European presidency, issued a statement on behalf of the EU. "The European Union is very concerned by the continuation of bloody confrontations in Jerusalem and in the territories and dismayed by the number of victims," it said. The European Union urges all those responsible on both sides to take all necessary measures to stop the violence and avoid new provocations."

Meanwhile, the Palestinian observer at the UN protested to the organisation about Mr Sharon's visit and called for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from east Jerusalem and the vicinity of all Palestinian cities.

Mr Sharon is regarded by some Israelis as a hero and by others as a super hawk. Almost anything he says or does is liable to inflame Palestinian feelings because of his bloodstained past.

Born at Kfar Malal in 1928 to a Russian emigre family, he grew up on a cooperative farm in western Palestine under British rule.

In 1953 he founded and led the notorious "Unit 101" commando unit which carried out retaliatory raids against Arab "infiltrators". In one infamous instance, 69 civilians (most of them <u>women</u> and children) were killed by accident in Qibya, a Jordanian village.

He commanded an armoured division during the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars, and was first elected to the knesset (Israeli parliament) in 1973. In 1982, he masterminded the invasion of Lebanon, sending the Israelis into Beirut to drive out the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

In the process, hundreds of Palestinians in refugee camps un der Israeli control were massacred by Lebanese Christian militiamen. An Israeli tribunal found Mr Sharon indirectly responsible for the killings.

Mr Sharon has held numerous government posts, beginning with special security adviser to Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. He later served as minister of agriculture, defence, trade and industry, housing, and national infrastructure, before becoming foreign minister in Mr Netanyahu's government.

As housing minister in the early 1990s, he presided over a huge drive to build Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza. While some Israeli politicians were coy about the true purpose of the policy, Mr Sharon openly proclaimed it as an at tempt to create facts on the ground and make territorial compromises with the Palestinians - or the establishment of a Palestinian state - more difficult.

He strongly opposed the interim Oslo peace agreement of 1993 as "a moral error of the first order" and has described the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat as a "war criminal".

In 1998, he helped to secure the release of two Mossad agents arrested in Jordan for attempting to poison Khaled Meshal, a leader of the Islamic militant group, *Hamas*. Interviewed on Jordanian television, he assured viewers that Israel would make further attempts to kill Mr Meshal, though he added: "I can tell you that we won't do it on your soil."

Crisis in Israel : Ariel Sharon: the bloodstained past that inflames Palestinians: 'Super hawk' blamed for sparking battles after visit to holy shrine

Load-Date: October 3, 2000



The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
February 13, 2000, Sunday, FINAL

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Section: News; A1 / FRONT

Length: 1933 words

**Byline: TOM HUNDLEY** 

**Dateline: ALGIERS** 

#### **Body**

Nocera Tazgart, a smartly dressed 27-year-old who aspires to be a TV journalist, had an idea the photographs might help her make sense of the strange and cruel war that has ruined her country.

Slowly and systematically, she moved through the gallery, taking in each of the stark black-and-white images.

Then, without warning, she came face to face with herself.

The photo shows a young woman in silent agony. She is being helped into a wheelchair by her brother, a friend and a hospital attendant. Her mother, standing off to the side, cannot bear to look.

The photo of Tazgart was taken in February 1995, just a few weeks after a huge car bomb planted on a busy street in downtown Algiers ripped off her right leg. Forty-two people died and 285 were injured in the attack.

They were among thousands of victims of nearly a decade of violence by Islamic militants who sought to overthrow the Algerian government. The battles were fought mostly out of sight of the rest of the world, and only recently has there been hope for some measure of peace.

Tazgart said she remembered seeing the photographer at the hospital that day, but was stunned to find herself among the pictures on display in Algeria's national library.

She wept when she recognized herself.

"It is very frightening to think back on those events," she said. "I think and hope and pray that these pictures are the souvenirs of a black period that has now passed."

The pictures do not spare the Islamic militants who sparked the violence or the government security forces that sought to eradicate them. They were taken over a period of nine years by a Swiss photojournalist named Michael von Graffenried, who worked secretly and at great risk.

That the government has allowed the photographs to be displayed - and that so many people are coming to see them - is taken as sign that perhaps Algeria's long national nightmare is coming to an end.

Last month, President Abdelaziz Bouteflika took a huge gamble to bring an end to the bloodletting. He made good on a July pledge to grant amnesty to the militants if they agreed to lay down their arms by Jan. 13.

The figures vary widely. According to some government sources, about 2,500 militants have accepted Bouteflika's amnesty offer. Others put the number at 4,200.

In the mid-1990s, when the Islamic militants began targeting foreigners in general and journalists in particular, Western reporters stopped coming here, which suited the government.

But it is estimated that 100,000 people, almost all of them civilians, have been killed since violence erupted in 1992. Another 18,000 are in jail; about 20,000 are counted as "disappeared" after being arrested by security forces.

The Islamic Salvation Army - AIS as it is known by its French initials - is the largest of the armed groups, with about 8,000 members. It officially disbanded the day before the deadline. Another group, the Appeal and Struggle, also disbanded recently.

The most dangerous of the terror armies is the shadowy Armed Islamic Groups (GIA). It has rejected the amnesty offer, although several hundred of its followers might have surrendered on an individual basis.

It is the GIA to which Ahmed Ressam, the Algerian-born Montrealer arrested in December by U.S. customs officers in Port Angeles, Wash., has been linked. Ressam faces multiple charges after a cache of bomb-making equipment was found in the trunk of the car he was driving.

The subsequent unraveling of an alleged network of GIA operatives in the U.S. and Canada has brought the Algerian crisis uncomfortably close to home.

Anywhere from 1,000 to 4,000 armed militants remain at large in Algeria. Bouteflika has vowed to crack down on them "without mercy." A major operation was launched two weeks ago against a GIA stronghold in western Algeria. Twenty-five government soldiers and between 32 and 100 militants have been reported killed in the fighting.

There also were reports of a massacre Jan. 18 in which 12 civilians, including <u>women</u> and children, were machine-gunned by GIA militants in the region of the fighting.

Bouteflika, who was elected president last April, won an important vote of confidence in September when 85 per cent of the electorate turned out for a referendum that posed a simple question: "Do you agree with the president's approach to restore peace and civilian concord?" An overwhelming majority said yes.

But as a practical matter, implementing the amnesty is turning out to be deeply controversial. The amnesty law comes with a proviso that no one "with blood on his hands" will go free, but it now appears that plenty of killers on both sides will go unpunished. Some believe this is too high a price for peace.

Cameron Hume, the U.S. ambassador in Algiers, is not so quick to judge. He arrived in this traumatized capital in January 1997, a month in which 1,800 people, mostly civilians, were murdered. In one incident, 150 residents of Sidi Hamid, an Algiers suburb, were massacred in 20-minute frenzy. Most of them had their throats slit.

Now the killing is down to about 150 or so a month. Hume thinks the country has turned a corner.

"The Algerians are the ones who have to forgive and forget. Every country has to find its own way," he said. "We allowed the people of Northern Ireland and Turkey and South Africa to do this. If (the amnesty) works for them, I'll respect it."

Algeria won its independence from France in 1962 after a horrific eight-year colonial war that left a quarter of a million people dead. Since then, it has become a closed, inward-looking place dominated by the military - this despite the fact that French is widely spoken here and more than 2 million Algerians live in France, an overnight ferry-ride away.

The country fell into civil chaos in 1992 when the military-backed government canceled elections that would have brought an Islamist party to power. The Islamists turned radical and the blood began to flow.

First they went after symbols of state authority - government officials and policemen. Then it was intellectuals, foreigners and <u>women</u> who refused to wear the veil. Then it was anybody who didn't join them, including devout Muslims. Whole villages were slaughtered.

Most Algerians are hard put to explain what went wrong and who is responsible. The tendency is to blame outsiders.

"Without the complicity of Europe and America, it would not have been sustained for so long," said Fatima Zohra Flici, 43, who heads an advocacy group called Victims of Terror.

"We see these terrorists operating openly, collecting money, making statements in England and Belgium and America. This means complicity," she said. Fanatics using a gun with a silencer murdered Flici's husband, a physician, in 1993.

Others blame the Saudis, who for decades have been pouring money into "Islamic" projects around the world. Still others point to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency which, in the 1970s, armed and financed Islamic guerrillas across the Middle East to fight the Soviets in Afghanistan. A number of prominent figures in Algeria's Islamic movement had links to the Islamic resistance in Afghanistan.

The real culprits probably lie closer to home. Endemic unemployment, one-party rule and widespread government corruption created the conditions for social unrest.

With 30 million inhabitants and a land mass the size of the U.S. east of the Mississippi, Algeria has enormous reserves of oil and natural gas. But much of its wealth has been squandered by a ruling party that took care of its own while imposing an eastern-European-style socialist economy on everyone else.

Unemployment is officially pegged at 30 per cent, but most analysts believe it is much higher, perhaps as high as 60 per cent for men under 30. The Islamic movement, gaining strength throughout the region, found many recruits among the legions of jobless and restless young men.

The 1992 election was a turning point. The surge of support for the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) reflected not so much a preference for a religious form of government, but a rejection of the National Liberation Front (FLN), the ruling party responsible for mismanaging the country since independence.

The violent excesses of the FIS after the cancellation of the elections appear to have discredited it in the eyes of most of the population, but other, more moderate, Islamic groups have come to the fore.

<u>Hamas</u>, with no connection to the violence-prone Palestinian group of the same name, participated in 1997 parliamentary elections and won nearly a quarter of the seats in the assembly despite being the main victim of the government's customary vote-rigging.

Instead of sulking over the injustice, it has joined with the military-backed parties in denouncing the terrorism of the GIA and the AIS. Little wonder. The halls of its headquarters in Algiers are lined with portraits of some of the 300 party activists murdered by Islamic fanatics.

"Our goal is to enter the democratic process," said Mohamad Meghalia, a 47-year-old psychologist who is the No. 2 man in *Hamas*, now renamed the Society for Peace Movement.

But secular Algerians are wary.

"They give these assurances that they would respect the rules of democracy, but when you see their followers, you are not sure really," said Mostafa Bouchachi, an Oxford-trained lawyer who is representing several jailed leaders of the outlawed FIS.

"Do we have any guarantee that the Islamists would respect the rules of democracy? No, we don't. But the fact is the Islamic movement is still very strong in this country. In a free election they might not win 70 per cent of the vote, but they would win. We can't go on marginalizing these people," he said.

Bouteflika's amnesty is seen as the first serious effort to end the marginalization. But the wounds inflicted by eight years of war will take time to heal.

"Ten years of my life they stole," said Horria Saihi, a feminist film-maker on whom the Islamists pronounced a death sentence. Only in recent weeks has she felt safe enough to travel outside the confines of the walled, heavily guarded compound where she lives.

"I lost my family. I lost my house. I had to send my daughter to live in France. So many nights I was afraid to sleep. And now the government talks to these terrorists like they are heroes," she said.

"To forgive and forget can only come from the individual. The government can't do it by making a law."

Omar Medhi, a 31-year-old mechanic, was arrested by police on his way to work one morning in 1994 and hasn't been heard from since.

"Algeria will find a way to peace someday," said his sister Zohra, a nurse.

"But it won't happen if the government gives forgiveness to the people who committed the massacres while our brothers and husbands are still missing."

Many Algerians think Bouteflika has erred by offering amnesty just when it appeared the police and army had gained the upper hand against the armed militants. But a police captain who has spent the last four years on the front lines of the struggle took a more pragmatic approach to the amnesty issue.

"Minus one bullet is better than plus one bullet," he said with a shrug.

Nocera Tazgart, the woman who lost her leg in the car bomb, thought for a long moment before answering the question of whether the government should forgive the terrorists who were responsible.

"It is not justice," she said quietly. "But perhaps it is more important to bring an end to this killing."

#### **Graphic**

P; CP Photo: AFP / Many Algerians are hopeful that scenes like this, in which mourners gathered to grieve for 42 killed and 285 injured in a January 1995 attack outside the central police station in Algiers, can be relegated to the country's troubled past. But extremists continue to kill.; Color Photo: President Abdel-aziz Bouteflika made good on amnesty offer.

Load-Date: February 14, 2000



#### Old foes gather at funeral; \* JORDAN

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)
February 10, 1999 Wednesday
Late Edition

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Section: NEWS AND FEATURES; International News; Pg. 8

Length: 763 words

Byline: ROSS DUNN Herald Correspondent in Amman

#### **Body**

Israel's President Ezer Weizman was forced to explain himself after shaking the hand of an old, notorious Palestinian terrorist.

The Israeli Prime Minister, Mr Benjamin Netanyahu, stood briefly alongside an Islamic leader he had once ordered to be assassinated.

Syria's President Hafez Assad, who could hold the key to Middle East peace, spoke for only the second time face-to-face with the United States President, Mr Bill Clinton.

American secret service agents got twitchy when they lost sight of former president Jimmy Carter.

World leaders past and present got caught up in a peak-hour crush at an extraordinary gathering of princes, kings, prime ministers and presidents from some 70 countries.

The funeral in Amman for Jordan's King Hussein produced some strange encounters, rare opportunities for casual and formal dialogue between world leaders and chance meetings between those had been bitter foes.

The General Secretary of the Damascus-based Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Mr Nayef Hawatmeh, seized the moment to grasp Mr Weizman's hand and to tell him: "You are the Middle East's man of peace. This is what everyone is saying in Syria. You are the man for peace in the region. We know that you represent the people of Israel."

Mr Weizman, who accepted Mr Hawatmeh's outstretched hand, replied that he hoped Syria and Lebanon would join the peace process. "I hope we shall meet again," said Mr Hawatmeh, who has remained in exile in Syria after his rebel group opposed Palestinian leader Mr Yasser Arafat's signing of peace accords with Israel in 1993.

Mr Hawatmeh's organisation carried out a series of deadly attacks against Israelis, including the 1974 massacre of 24 schoolchildren in the northern town of Ma'alot. It remains opposed to the Israeli-Palestinian accords. However, in recent years the group has said it would accept a two-state solution - one for Palestinians living alongside Israel.

But one of the former pupils injured in the Ma'alot attack, Mr Yishai Maimon, said: "[Israelis] have been harmed very badly by that handshake, when Hawatmeh has still not declared his support for peace and an end to hostile activities."

#### Old foes gather at funeral \* JORDAN

Parents who lost children in the massacre have sought a meeting with Mr Weizman to demand an apology.

But he was unrepentant. He said he would welcome all those who wanted to end their fighting with Israel.

He noted that he and Mr Netanyahu had sat at the funeral alongside Mr Arafat. "What was Arafat four years ago, an angel, a dove of peace?" Mr Weizman asked.

"He murdered and did all sorts of things but the moment arrived when he decided that the time had come, for the sake of his people, to make peace with us. And then the late Yitzhak Rabin shook his hand and Prime Minister Netanyahu shakes his hand.

"I am in favour of shaking hands with every enemy who is willing to shake my hand."

Mr Netanyahu, who indicated he would not have shaken Mr Hawatmeh's hand, had his moment of embarrassment when he virtually stood alongside the head of the *Hamas* political bureau in Jordan, Mr Khaled Meshaal.

In 1997, Mr Netanyahu approved an assassination attempt against Mr Meshaal, which backfired when two Israeli secret agents bungled the operation and were arrested by Jordanian police. "Maybe now is our opportunity," joked one member of Mr Netanyahu's delegation, which included Mr Ephraim Halevy, the head of the intelligence agency, Mossad, which planned the attack.

Mr Netanyahu's wife, Sara, and the rest of the <u>female</u> guests who were not allowed to take part in the funeral ceremony, paid their respects to King Hussein's widow, Queen Noor. It was during this gathering that Mrs Netanyahu met Mr Arafat's wife, Suha, for the first time.

"Mrs Arafat shook my hand warmly and both of us said that it was sad that our first meeting was occurring under such sad circumstances," Mrs Netanyahu said.

As the women waited, the menfolk mingled.

Mr Clinton spoke with many world leaders for a few minutes each. They included Mr Assad. "I'm glad you are here. I hope you will help Jordan," Mr Clinton said. To which Mr Assad was reported to have responded with a "yes", according to the US National Security Adviser, Mr Sandy Berger. He added: "But I couldn't see in his heart."

Looking into another man's heart might have seemed less difficult than the task of the American security agents, who had to watch over Mr Clinton, as well as former presidents, Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush.

Mr Clinton, Mr Ford and Mr Bush were all tall enough to spot easily. "But where's Carter?" groaned one agent.

PAGE 10: Lifting the veil.

#### **Graphic**

Three illus: A solemn Mr Netanyahu at the funeral ceremony. Prince Ali, left front, and the king's other four sons act as pallbearers at their father's funeral. Photograph by AP. Final tribute . . . Syria's President Hafez al-Assad, centre, and members of his Cabinet pray over King Hussein's coffin. Photograph by REUTERS/MILDOS .

Load-Date: August 8, 2007



## GAZA AIRPORT OPENS AMID APPLAUSE / PALESTINIANS HOPE IT BRINGS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GAIN

## The Philadelphia Inquirer NOVEMBER 25, 1998 Wednesday SF EDITION

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#### The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Byline: Lori Montgomery, KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

Dateline: DAHANIYA, Gaza Strip

#### **Body**

Bagpipes squealed and soldiers danced as seven planes touched down in the desert yesterday, officially opening the long-awaited Gaza International Airport.

"Now we have free access to the world," Ahmed Abdul Rahman, director of the Palestinian Authority's cabinet, declared shortly after the inaugural flight, an Airbus A320 from Egypt, stopped on the runway at 8:30 a.m. as Gaza's first on-time arrival.

Here in the Gaza Strip, a crowded and impoverished spit of coastline hemmed in by the Mediterranean Sea and tightly controlled Israeli borders, the airport is the first port of entry managed by the Palestinians themselves, and they are hoping it will be a major engine of economic opportunity.

The airport was promised to the Palestinians during peace talks in Oslo in 1993. It has been finished for nearly a year. Israel gave the go-ahead for its opening last Friday, in accordance with the U.S.-brokered peace deal negotiated last month at the Wye Plantation on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

After five years of negotiating with Israeli authorities - over the direction of the runway, over control of security, over the airport's name, even over the code on the tags that will be attached to passengers' luggage - the opening of the Gaza airport represents a tangible milestone in the Palestinian-Israeli peace process and a potent symbol of the Palestinian claim to statehood.

Another politically potent moment is tentatively scheduled for next month, when Air Force One is expected to touch down at the airport and make President Clinton the first U.S. leader to visit Gaza.

In addition to its political significance, the airport offers genuine relief to Gaza residents who have to travel or ship goods in and out. Until now, the only exit was through Israeli-controlled checkpoints. Travelers who got permission to pass then faced a nine-hour journey on Egyptian roads to the nearest airport or security checks at Ben-Gurion International Airport in Israel.

#### GAZA AIRPORT OPENS AMID APPLAUSE / PALESTINIANS HOPE IT BRINGS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GAIN

The routine was difficult for individual travelers, but it was crippling to businesses in Gaza, where unemployment stands at nearly 40 percent in a population of about one million.

Gaza strawberry and carnation farmers get only half-price on the European market because their fruits and flowers wither during the wait to get through Israeli security checks. A letter that takes three days to get to New York City from Tel Aviv can take more than two weeks if it comes from Gaza.

This month, Pepsi-Cola International Bottling Co. of Gaza, the strip's largest factory, is selling only bottles of soda because the filler machine for cans is broken. The part to fix the machine arrived in Ben-Gurion 10 days ago but so far has not cleared security, say the Palestinians.

"Gaza has been like a prison," said Pepsi owner Mahmoud Yazegi, who is also a member of the Gaza Chamber of Commerce. "Now, with the new airport, we'll finally get out of prison."

Of course, things will not change overnight. About 30 Israeli civilians will be discreetly posted at the Gaza airport to check passports and luggage. Ismail Abu Shanab, a leader in the militant <u>Hamas</u> organization, which opposes the Wye peace agreement, said he and about 6,000 other Gaza residents were on a list of people who would not be allowed to travel.

"I don't expect an improvement in the Palestinian situation," Abu Shanab said. "Israelis still control Palestinian life."

Meanwhile, airport operations will be hindered by the absence of an air traffic control system. The sophisticated German equipment is stuck in a private storage facility in Israel, and the Palestinian Authority must come up with \$635,000 to get it out.

But such things were mostly forgotten amid yesterday's celebration. Emotional applause greeted the first landing, and erupted again as the massive Air Egypt plane stopped at the end of a long strip of red carpet. Egyptian TV crews were the first to emerge, followed by a gaggle of Egyptian actors and comedians.

A group of Egyptian dignitaries descended the gangway and strode with a beaming Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, into the luxurious VIP lounge, an oasis of gurgling fountains, crystal chandeliers, and plush Persian carpets housed under a golden dome modeled after the Dome of the Rock, the holiest Muslim site in Jerusalem and the third-holiest in the world.

The rest of the airport is equally opulent, an \$80 million Moroccan-designed gem funded by Egypt, Germany, Spain, Sweden and the Palestinian Authority. The main terminal features lacy, cream-colored arches and elaborate blue-and red-tiled mosaics. Built on 1,100 acres of flattened sand dunes, the airport includes a newly sodded lawn dotted with date palms and blooming roses.

"We have achieved one of our dreams," said Sanah Barbakh, 24, who said she gave up a better-paying job with a nongovernmental organization to wear the Muslim head scarf and navy blue suit of Gaza's <u>female</u> ground staff because she wanted "to represent my nation."

#### **Graphic**

PHOTO:

**PHOTO** 

Palestinians celebrate the opening of Gaza International Airport. "Now we have free access to the world," Ahmed Abdul Rahman, director of the Palestinian Authority's cabinet, said vesterday. (ADEL HANA, Associated Press)

### GAZA AIRPORT OPENS AMID APPLAUSE / PALESTINIANS HOPE IT BRINGS POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC GAIN

Load-Date: October 24, 2002



## <u>Saturday review: Books: The Guardian Year: 2001 ed lan Katz 304pp,</u> <u>Guardian Books, pounds 14.99</u>

The Guardian (London)

December 15, 2001

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Section: Guardian Saturday Pages, Pg. 8

Length: 936 words

Byline: Peter Mandelson

#### **Body**

The Guardian Year: 2001 ed Ian Katz 304pp, Guardian Books, pounds 14.99

It is not surprising that a compendium of articles reviewing 2001 should be top-heavy with those written in the aftermath of September 11. Some excellent pieces may have been dropped to ensure the attacks on America received appropriate attention, but this does not devalue the book. Ian Katz has created a thoroughly readable anthology which is also a collector's item; thoughts, feelings and analysis bound together to provide an album of a momentous year.

On that fateful day, I was having lunch with Philip Gould. "Isn't that what you New Labour people do every day?" you might ask. But this was a special day because, despite our friendship and professional tie, Philip and I had not really spoken since I resumed my backbench duties the previous January. His pager went off and he said, between mouthfuls, that the World Trade Centre had been attacked. We carried on talking, the horror not impacting on us. It was not until I returned to the office and sat glued to the television that the truth dawned, and I realised that politics would not be the same again. In fact, I felt more - that politics was worth living for again, as people would turn to politicians for explanations and solutions, and that those of us who made our living by thinking and acting on behalf of others would come into our own. It was a sense of responsibility that filled my mind.

I would be less than human if I had not turned first to the entry concerning my own tragicomic departure from government as a result of my failure to have precise and immediate recall of certain eminently forgettable events in 1998. I am not masochistic by nature, so I am sorry I read Patrick Wintour's valedictory piece on my career. It was was typical of its kind (unkind) and full of the usual orthodoxies. Every spin, I spun it; every falling-out, I caused it; every feud, I started it. Even my unusual desire to maintain a modicum of privacy in my very unprivate life was a blot on my copybook. If only history - and politics - were so simple (and not quite so unjust). But let's not get started on all that again.

The Guardian 's circulation soared after September 11, which shows that despite the coming of the internet and 24-hour TV news, newspapers cannot be consigned to history. Nonetheless, its coverage did not please everyone. Among enthusiasts for the government's position, the paper's equivocation (after a decisive start) was perplexing, while for ardent opponents of the war, its middle-of-the-road position was a sellout. That is the story of the Guardian 's life. For me, the truth was contained in the first paragraph of Martin Woollacott's column on September 17: "This is a dangerous moment in history. It would be foolish to allow differences about the best way to respond to a

Saturday review: Books: The Guardian Year: 2001 ed Ian Katz 304pp, Guardian Books, pounds 14.99

terrorist threat to degenerate into an ideological contest that can only make wise choices more difficult, and perhaps fragment popular support for the decisions our governments make."

At which point the ideological contest began. I remain convinced, or at least hopeful, that good will come out of it all. Politicians respond to experience. They learn and question. They acquire new habits. They need to, if "we're interested in picking up the pieces, doing better than before, taming the enmities that threaten to tear apart the world with a ferocity and ignorance that may be more pervasive than we have ever seen" (Hugo Young, October 9).

One particularly terrible blot on the international scene has been the Middle East. If the Guardian stands for anything, as The Guardian Year: 2001 demonstrates, it is to champion the underdog and to look at events from the other end of the telescope. The paper does so in its extensive coverage of the Middle East and the conditions in which Palestinians live. Suzanne Goldenberg's reports are always worth reading, because she is not a propagandist and can see everyone's failings and hypocrisies, including the corruption that blights the Palestinian leadership.

The occupation of the West Bank by Israel is, of course, a disaster for that country, as is its current "closure" policy, which has prevented pregnant Palestinian <u>women</u> getting through roadblocks to a safe delivery in hospital. Do you think Israel does not realise the price it pays for such actions? But, equally, can you imagine what it is like knowing where the suicide bombers are being trained and finding yourself held back by international pressure from doing anything about it? In urging Ariel Sharon to make bold gestures for peace, it should be remembered that Israel's unilateral withdrawal from Lebanon, following a spate of Hizbullah killings of Israeli soldiers occupying the south of that country, hugely boosted the credibility of that organisation and of <u>Hamas</u>, who are dedicated to eliminating Israel. Terror won its prize and Arafat's alternative of living side by side with Israel has been undermined ever since in many Palestinian eyes.

I cannot end this review without highlighting Jonathan Glancey's entirely justified paean to the Royal Festival Hall in "The house that we built". I had not realised that on its opening in 1951, a number of VIPs, including the Lord Mayor of London, missed His Majesty's declaration because they were stuck in a lift. They didn't scream and complain, as later VIPs did when security measures caused delays in getting to the opening of the Dome. But then, they were not newspaper editors.

To order this book (with a free copy of The Bedside Years, ed Matthew Engel) call Guardian book service on 0870 066 7979.

Load-Date: December 15, 2001



# THE WAR BEGINS; .US, British assault on terrorist camps.; .bin Laden vows no peace for America; . Threat of reprisals puts world on alert

The Cairns Post/The Cairns Sun (Australia)

October 9, 2001, Tuesday

Copyright 2001 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 965 words

#### **Body**

THE US and Britain attacked Taliban targets in Afghanistan with missiles and bombs early yesterday, triggering an exodus of civilians from the capital Kabul and incensing Muslim radicals throughout the world.

As frightened and shell-shocked residents of Kabul and other targeted cities counted their dead yesterday after the early morning (Australian time) raids, countries across the world tightened security in anticipation of reprisals.

Saudi-born Osama bin Laden, chief suspect in the September 11 suicide hijack attacks on the US and a target of the US-led raids, said in a pre-recorded message Islam was under attack and urged Muslims to rise up to defend their faith.

In Kabul, the Taliban vowed after an emergency cabinet meeting yesterday to resist US-led military strikes, the Pakistan-based Afghan Islamic Press said.

A spokesman for the Taliban Government said the meeting also decided to reinforce military positions against the attacks.

"We will resist America as we resisted the Russians," he said, referring to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan in the 1980s. But President George W. Bush vowed no let-up in the operation to flush out bin Laden and his Taliban protectors - and told anxious Americans steps had been taken to prevent a repeat of the hijack attacks that killed about 5500 people.

"I know many Americans feel fear today," Mr Bush said, after announcing the start of at least three waves of military strikes using Tomahawk and other missiles and high altitude bombers on Kabul and other cities.

"Our Government is taking strong precautions," he added, referring to the risk of reprisals.

In Kabul, a man whose mud-brick house was destroyed said: "We were listening to the radio when we heard the roar of the plane and then a massive explosion."

While his children were unable to sleep the rest of the night, he lost only two sheep slashed apart by shrapnel. Not so fortunate, said Taliban Ambassador in Islamabad Mullah Abdul Salam Zaeef, were 20 people who died in the capital, including *women*, children and the elderly.

THE WAR BEGINS; .US, British assault on terrorist camps.; . bin Laden vows no peace for America; . Threat of reprisals puts world on alert

Mr Bush, whose attacks were backed by British submarines firing cruise missiles, said the Taliban and their military were paying the price for supporting terrorism and sheltering bin Laden.

Mr Zaeef said bin Laden and Taliban leader Mullah Omar both survived the attacks, which lasted nearly seven hours.

"We don't have any contact with (bin Laden) but he is still in Afghanistan . . . he is alive," Mr Zaeef said, describing the US-led raids as acts of terrorism.

Mr Bush said operation Enduring Freedom was initially designed to disrupt the use of Afghanistan as a base for terrorist operations and to attack the military capability of the Taliban.

In a stick-and-carrot strategy, US planes later dropped food for Afghans civilians already hungry from drought. They also dropped leaflets calling on the Taliban to end their resistance.

In neighbouring Pakistan, anti-American rioters set fire to the United Nations Childrens Fund building in Quetta yesterday as protests swept the western Pakistani city.

Chanting "death to America", angry anti-US demonstrators marched through the streets of several Pakistani cities.

A radical Muslim group in Indonesia threatened to hunt foreigners and destroy foreign targets as embassies there warned their citizens to stay inside.

The small but vocal Islamic Defenders Front demanded President Megawati Sukarnoputri cut ties with Washington and its allies and urged millions of Muslims in the world's largest Islamic nation to lay siege to the US embassy in Jakarta.

Indonesia said it was following the US strikes with "deep concern" and said they should avoid civilian casualties. Security officials met earlier to decide how to handle problems at home.

Pakistani President Pervez Musharraf, who threw his weight behind the US campaign, but whose country is the sole nation to retain ties with the Taliban, said he was sure authorities in Pakistan could cope with any protests there.

He and others did not expect a long campaign. British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw said the campaign could last weeks

Witnesses said the first US planes roared over Kabul, at 2.20am Australian time and lit up the night sky with flashes of exploding bombs and missiles. Two waves followed.

"Only God knows what happened," said one terrified Kabul resident, emerging after dawn. "I am leaving. I will sleep under the sky rather than stay in the city another night."

Shortly after the air strikes began, Afghanistan's Northern Alliance opposition forces launched a heavy barrage of shelling on Taliban positions about 65km north of Kabul.

US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld was coy about whether US ground troops were involved in the opening actions.

He denied on the CBS Early Show Taliban claims that civilians were killed.

Bin Laden, the man at the centre of the whirlwind, urged Muslims to rise up if the US attacked Afghanistan.

"Every Muslim must rise to defend his religion," bin Laden said in a pre-recorded address broadcast by an Arab television station in Qatar, an AK-47 rifle by his side. It was his first verified statement since the September 11 attacks.

THE WAR BEGINS; .US, British assault on terrorist camps.; . bin Laden vows no peace for America; . Threat of reprisals puts world on alert

He also said the US could not live in peace until the Palestinians did.

Many Western governments quickly lined up behind the US.

China offered indirect endorsement in a cautiously worded statement condemning "any form" of terrorism but calling for targeted strikes to avoid civilian casualties.

Condemnation came from Iraq, Iran and the Palestinian <u>Hamas</u> movement, which is responsible for a series of suicide bombings against Israeli civilians. Malaysia said the US-led strikes could result in a catastrophe.

Iranian Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei condemned US strikes saying the air and missile attacks would kill innocent civilians and turn thousands into refugees.

Load-Date: October 9, 2001



#### Mideast Cease-Fire: Who Will Be the First to Scrap It?

The New York Times

October 4, 2001 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 14

Length: 994 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET **Dateline:** TEL AVIV, October 3

#### **Body**

All that is sustaining the truce between the Israelis and the Palestinians -- in the view of some of the antagonists and the diplomats trying to keep them talking -- is the reluctance of each side to be the first to say it is over.

A day after President Bush sketched a long-term vision for peace here, the accumulating tally of tit-for-tat violence continued to impede his administration's attempts to carry it out.

Near midnight tonight, an Israeli man and woman were shot and injured while driving with their baby through Jerusalem. This afternoon, two Israeli <u>women</u> were wounded when Palestinian snipers fired into a crowd of thousands of Jewish worshippers at the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron.

Just after dawn today, Israeli tanks in the northern Gaza Strip bombarded the Palestinian town of Beit Lahia, while Israeli bulldozers ravaged farmland in the area, sending clouds of dust skyward. Six Palestinians were killed.

The Israeli attack was in response to a raid Tuesday night by two gunmen on the Israeli settlement of Alei Sinai, at the northern edge of the Gaza Strip. Two Israelis were shot dead and 15 more were wounded before Israeli troops killed the attackers after a three-hour standoff. This morning, exhausted Israeli troops were still hunting for unexploded grenades on the settlement's lawns, incongruously green among Gaza's dunes.

"We are back to square one," a senior Israeli official said this evening, "but we don't want to be the ones to close the door on the cease-fire."

One Western diplomat here described that attitude -- the concern of either side's being seen as obstructionist -- as a lifeline for those seeking to secure the truce.

During discussions with his cabinet this morning, Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, decided to cancel regular security meetings with the Palestinians, which began again last Friday after a month's hiatus. Also, in a display of unity rare in recent weeks, the cabinet announced that the Israeli Army would take "all necessary measures" to protect Israeli citizens.

That meant, officials said, that the government was in effect suspending an agreement made last week not to enter Palestinian-controlled territory. Israeli officials argued that Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, had not upheld his end of the bargain by providing security.

But the senior Israeli official said that the army would enter Palestinian territory only in response to an attack, not in anticipation of one, as it did before Mr. Arafat met a week ago today with Shimon Peres, the foreign minister. Left unclear, apparently deliberately so, was whether the government would resume its policy of "targeted killings" -- assassinations, the Palestinians call them.

At the same time, the government said that it remained committed to the cease-fire. "How do you combine all that?" the Israeli official asked. "Use your imagination."

In a concerted effort, American, European and United Nations diplomats pressed Mr. Arafat today to take action against those responsible for Tuesday night's attack. Mr. Arafat condemned the attack even before it was over, but he resisted the entreaties today, arguing that the Israeli reprisal this morning made it politically impossible for him to take action, the Western diplomat said.

<u>Hamas</u>, the radical Islamic group, claimed responsibility for the attack, and one of the gunmen received a hero's funeral in Gaza today. About 6,000 mourners marched in the funeral procession, some chanting "revenge," the Reuters new service reported.

Ahmed Abdul Rahman, secretary general of the Palestinian Authority's cabinet, said tonight that Israel had so inflamed the Palestinians by not easing restrictions on them that Mr. Arafat was unable to arrest militants and take other steps sought by Israel. "The Palestinian Authority cannot take any step or decision that the Palestinian people are against," Mr. Rahman said. "Israel should help the Palestinian Authority with measures on the ground."

He said that Israel's failure to relax checkpoints and withdraw troops and tanks from their positions around some Palestinian cities had undermined the Palestinian Authority's influence. "If there were Palestinian violations of the cease-fire, then Israel is responsible for that," he said.

President Bush's remarks on Tuesday shook the diplomatic ground here. While he emphasized the need to assure Israel's security, Mr. Bush also said that the United States supported the idea of the eventual creation of a Palestinian state here.

That idea is news to no one. Mr. Sharon himself said last week that "Israel wants to give the Palestinians what no one else gave them before, the possibility of forming a state."

But Tuesday was the first time the Bush administration had articulated that goal, however vaguely. And coming on the heels of the attacks on the United States, and the administration's subsequent effort to rally support among Arab nations, the comments alarmed Mr. Sharon's advisers. It was one thing for Mr. Sharon to hold out the possibility of a state eventually being formed, they said, quite another for an American president, trying to broker peace here, to leap so far out ahead of the negotiations.

For their part, Palestinians were heartened by Mr. Bush's comments. Mr. Arafat called the new initiative a cornerstone for a just peace in the Middle East, the Palestinian News Service reported.

Under the terms of the agreement reached between Mr. Peres and Mr. Arafat a week ago, Israel was to have lifted restrictions on Palestinian areas in exchange for a crackdown by the Palestinian Authority on militants.

That exchange of efforts was to have lasted 96 hours, ending on Tuesday at noon. Then the parties were to have moved on to another five-day stage, which would have ended with the Israeli troops and tanks pulled back in the positions they held on Sept. 28, 2000, before the current intifada began. The Israeli government today put that plan on hold, indefinitely.

http://www.nytimes.com

#### **Graphic**

Photo: Palestinian boys watching an Israeli tank maneuvering in the West Bank city of Hebron yesterday. (Reuters) Map of Israel highlighting Beit Lahia: Israeli tanks attacked the Palestinian town of Beit Lahia yesterday.

Load-Date: October 4, 2001



# Israelis kill radical Palestinian faction chief; Helicopter gunships fired missiles into Mustafa Zibri's office. His group had claimed responsibility for recent car bombings. Israelis kill radical Palestinian leader

The Philadelphia Inquirer
AUGUST 28, 2001 Tuesday CITY-D EDITION

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#### The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 960 words

Byline: Sudarsan Raghavan INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Dateline: RAMALLAH, West Bank

#### **Body**

Israeli forces yesterday fired two missiles to assassinate the leader of a radical Palestinian faction that had claimed responsibility for a rash of recent car bombings in Israel.

Israel also made good early today on threats to invade a key Palestinian town south of Jerusalem.

Amid fierce gun battles, Israeli tanks backed by helicopters charged into the town of Beit Jala in one of the deepest Israeli incursions yet into Palestinian territory. Israel said it acted to stop gunmen from shooting on a Jewish neighborhood south of Jerusalem and hinted it would take up permanent positions - a first in 11 months of bloodshed.

The Palestinians had opened fire in retaliation for the slaying yesterday of one of their leaders, Mustafa Zibri.

Zibri, 64, the head of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), was the highest-ranking Palestinian leader whom Israel has killed in 11 months of fighting, and his assassination provoked vows of revenge from Palestinians, condemnation from Arab leaders, and sharp criticism from the Bush administration. Zibri was one of the top five figures in the PLO.

Israeli helicopter gunships fired two American-made missiles through the windows of Zibri's third-floor office in this West Bank city, killing him instantly, Palestinian witnesses said. The pinpoint attack reduced the office to rubble but did little damage to the building's seven other apartments, inhabited by 50 Palestinians, including 22 American citizens from California, Ohio and Virginia. Three Palestinian neighbors were hurt by flying glass, including an 18-year-old woman who lived downstairs and was hospitalized with moderate injuries.

Israelis kill radical Palestinian faction chief; Helicopter gunships fired missiles into Mustafa Zibri's office. His group had claimed responsibility for recent....

Leila Daas, 10, whose family moved here from the Washington, D.C., area three years ago, was in the apartment directly below at the time of the attack. She was drawing a blue rose when her 2-year-old sister, Haneen, wanted to go to the kitchen to get a banana. As the two girls walked out of their bedroom, the missiles struck. The girls were about 12 feet below the missiles' point of impact.

"I grabbed her hand and started running with her and screaming," said Daas, who spends much of her summers in Fairfax, Va., a Washington suburb where her father owns 18 restaurants.

The attack shattered the pink-curtained windows and sent shards of glass flying onto the girls' beds and walls painted with Winnie the Pooh characters. They were not injured.

"This is very dangerous," said Nabil Abu Dneineh, a spokesman for Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat. "This policy of assassinations, which is being conducted with a green light from the United States, will push the area into a new cycle of violence and danger."

Yesterday, the U.S. ambassador to Israel, Dan Kurtzer, telephoned Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office to protest the attack. The State Department issued a stern rebuke and called on Israel to alleviate the "humiliations" of the Palestinian people. The State Department also called on the Palestinian Authority to stop terrorist attacks on Israel and to arrest those responsible.

About 13 hours after the assassination, Israeli tanks rolled into a Palestinian village on the southern outskirts of Jerusalem in response to Palestinian gunmen firing on an Israeli neighborhood. Israel's nighttime incursion into the village of Beit Jala was the latest in a series of raids into Palestinian territory after Palestinian attacks.

The move into Beit Jala came in response to renewed shooting from Beit Jala on nearby Gilo, a Jewish neighborhood built on land Israel captured in the 1967 Six-Day War.

The Israelis appeared to be carrying out a similar operation in the southern Gaza Strip. Israeli tanks and bulldozers moved into Palestinian-controlled territory at the Rafah refugee camp near the Egyptian border, Palestinian security sources said.

Israeli bulldozers tore down several structures, as Palestinian gunmen fired at them. Two Palestinian women were wounded by Israeli gunfire, the officials said. Palestinian gunmen and Israeli forces have frequently clashed in the area.

Although the Bush administration has publicly called on Israel to stop its policy of assassinating Palestinians, many Palestinians believe President Bush supports Israeli policy.

Palestinian and Arab leaders, including Arab members of the Israeli Knesset, condemned yesterday's assassination as "crossing all red lines." The Islamic militant group <u>Hamas</u>, responsible for a spate of suicide bombings, called the killing "a declaration of war."

After the Israeli attack, the PFLP claimed responsibility for the shooting death of an Israeli man as he was riding in a car near a Jewish settlement in the West Bank. The man was identified as Meir Lichsenberg, 38.

Zibri's assassination, the latest of at least three dozen such operations since last fall, comes as Arafat is trying to improve relations with Syria, the PFLP's longtime patron. The killing may have been intended not only as retaliation for terrorist attacks but also as a sharp warning to Arafat and to Syria's new president, Bashar al-Assad, not to support Palestinian terrorism.

Founded in 1967, the PFLP is the second-largest political faction in the Palestine Liberation Organization, after Arafat's Fatah party. It has refused to recognize the Oslo accords, the 1993 interim peace deal signed between Arafat and Israel, and all other agreements between the Palestinian Authority and Israel.

Israelis kill radical Palestinian faction chief; Helicopter gunships fired missiles into Mustafa Zibri's office. His group had claimed responsibility for recent....

Zibri was involved in seven bomb attacks in the last six months, including a blast last week in central Jerusalem, said retired Gen. Ephraim Sneh, Israel's transportation minister. The army said no one was killed in those attacks. Zibri, they said, was establishing "covert underground military cells."

Sudarsan Raghavan's e-mail address is sraghavan@krwashington.com.

#### **Graphic**

#### PHOTO;

MURAD SEZER, Associated Press

Palestinians hold pictures of assassinated leader Mustafa Zibri as they wave Iraqi and white liberation flags during a demonstration in Gaza City. Zibri, widely known as Abu Ali Mustafa, was the highest-ranking Palestinian leader killed in 11 months of fighting.

Load-Date: October 31, 2001



# <u>FEARS OF JEWISH TERROR CELL INFLAME TENSIONS IN HOLY CITY</u> UNDER SIEGE

Scotland on Sunday
July 22, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.

Section: Pg. 17

Length: 975 words

Byline: By Ross Dunn In Jerusalem

#### **Body**

NOAM Arnon wears the skull-cap of a religious Jew and a pistol in his belt. Like most of his fellow residents in their Jewish quarter in the divided West Bank town of Hebron, the weapon is a clear sign that he is not relying on divine intervention to stay alive.

He says he is not surprised by the slaughter of three Palestinians in an Arab village outside the town last Thursday. One of the victims was a three-month -old baby.

Arnon said such acts were the result of the failure of the Israeli government to protect Jews, who were forced to take matters into their own hands.

"The government is leading us to anarchy and this anarchy leads to all sorts of things," he said. "A government that creates a jungle reality bears responsibility for the situation." He is one of some 400 settlers who live in the centre of Hebron, surrounded by more than 100,000 Palestinians.

Israeli troops have remained in the town to protect the Jews, who say they will never leave Hebron, which they regard as their second holiest city after Jerusalem.

Hebron was the first capital of the biblical kingdom of Israel and the place David was anointed king. It is also the burial place of Abraham, the father of the Jewish people, in a shrine known as the Tomb of the Patriarchs, which is also holy to Muslims.

It was here in 1994 that Baruch Goldstein, a medical doctor from Brooklyn, gunned down 29 unsuspecting Muslims at prayer.

He was killed by a mob of enraged Palestinians and his body was laid to rest at the nearby Jewish settlement of Kiryat Arba, which has become a shrine for militant Jews in the West Bank.

The 'Committee for Road Safety' - which has allegedly claimed responsibility for last week's killing of Palestinians - was formed in Kiryat Arba by the outlawed anti-Arab Kach faction.

The revival of a Jewish underground has long been feared and could add a new element of volatility to the Palestinian uprising that has left more than 600 people dead since last September.

In fact, many fear a new massacre on either side could escalate the conflict into a regional war.

#### FEARS OF JEWISH TERROR CELL INFLAME TENSIONS IN HOLY CITY UNDER SIEGE

Avi Dichter, the head of Israel's secret police, the Shin Bet, told a parliamentary committee this week that a Jewish terror cell was operating in the West Bank. He said the cell had been responsible for at least three shootings that had killed one Palestinian and wounded four others.

Dichter said the Jewish settlers, who have been regularly targeted by Palestinian gunmen in drive-by shootings and ambushes had, until now, shown great restraint.

Thousands of Palestinians think otherwise. Many of them poured out their grief and anger at the funeral of three-month-old baby Diya' Tmeizi, the youngest victim of the Palestinian uprising.

He was wrapped in a Palestinian flag and carried through Hebron to his home village of Ithna on Friday.

His death has led to renewed calls for international observers to be sent to monitor the violence.

Many in the funeral procession called out curses against Jewish settlers and demanded revenge.

The baby and two other Palestinians died in a hail of bullets from a suspected Jewish extremist. Four others were injured.

Avni Pazner, a spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, says Israel is genuinely committed to hunting down the perpetrators and bringing them to justice.

"We strongly condemn this wanton and murderous act of terror. We send our heartfelt condolences to the family, we feel for them," he said.

"We will do whatever we can in order to find those who committed this murderous act - to find them and to bring them to justice, so that they can be punished accordingly."

Yehudit Tayar, a spokeswoman for the Jewish Settlers Council, also condemned the killing. She said her movement was against all such acts of violence.

"Whether it is Arab or Jew, we condemn any death and call on those who are supposed to bring law and order - the police, the military - to bring to justice anybody who dares murder anybody," she said.

But Palestinian officials such as cabinet minister Nabil Shaath hold Israel responsible for the attack and have stepped up calls for international observers.

"The Israeli government knows of a vast network of terrorist Israeli organisations, particularly manned by terrorists, from the settler community in the West Bank and Gaza, that has been terrorising, killing, sniping and shooting at Palestinians.

"These terrorists have been killing <u>women</u> and children, babes in their mothers' arms, while travelling on the roads," he said.

Israeli Defence Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer says there can be no justification for such acts of terror. He says the people who carried out the killings are no better than members of militant Islamic groups, who have targeted Israelis.

"What happened is the worst of the worst, a terror - terror that has been made against innocent people. A child is a child. A woman is a woman, and there is no excuse for this murderous action," said Ben-Eliezer.

"For me there are no differences between this and <u>Hamas</u> or Jihad activity." While the identity of the attackers remains unknown, Ben-Eliezer clearly pointed the finger at Jewish extremists.

He claims most Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza Strip are peace -loving people whose lives have been placed at risk by these latest killings.

#### FEARS OF JEWISH TERROR CELL INFLAME TENSIONS IN HOLY CITY UNDER SIEGE

"No doubt about it. Those who did it should know that innocent settlers, who are the majority, if not all of them, are against what happened. They are going to suffer, there is no doubt about that," he said.

At the same time, Ben-Eliezer says that such actions do not justify the Palestinian demand for international observers to be sent to the region.

The defence minister says he is against such a move. However, he adds that if outside observers are imposed on Israel, the only ones he could possibly accept are members of the United States Central Intelligence Agency.

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The Times (London)

November 24, 2000, Friday

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Section: Features
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Byline: Sam Kiley

# **Body**

Israeli analysts predict that the Middle East is one third of the way towards Armageddon. Sam Kiley reports.

Deep in the bowels of Ha Kiryah, the Israeli Ministry of Defence headquarters whose bristling antennae dominate Tel Aviv's skyline, a small and elite team of computer wizards, military analysts and political experts are playing a war game.

It could be called Doom or Armageddon. But the simulations are no fun. They are playing out the worst case scenarios of a Middle Eastern meltdown in which everyone, and they mean everyone, is a loser. The conclusions of the geeks who live in a virtual world are based on reality. About a third of the End Game scenario has already been played out. The analysts are not alone in fearing that what began as a semi-popular, semi-spontaneous uprising of Palestinians against continued Israeli occupation has already mutated into a mini-war of growing intensity which now threatens to spin out of control and suck the whole of the Middle East into its vortex.

United Nations diplomats, William Cohen, the United States defence secretary, moderate and immoderate Arab leaders, members of the Israeli cabinet and Yassir Arafat's senior advisers can agree on little. But they are unanimous in the fear that the region is teetering on the brink of an unthinkably horrible abyss.

What has brought the Middle East to the edge? What parts of the doomsday scenario have been fulfilled, and what is to come? Strap on your 3-D goggles and peer into the future. But brace yourself for the worst because by the end of the "game" you could be waddling to work wearing a chemical and biological warfare suit.

This is what the cyber-warriors have already punched into their computer model: "History is made by men with swords not bureaucrats clutching the UN Charter on Human Rights". A bit of a sweeping statement but difficult to disagree with, especially if you take a quick dip into the recent history of the Middle East and the foundation of Israel.

For seven years the conquered people have watched their leaders blast hot air around the negotiating table while what is left of the land they lost in 1967 has been steadily stolen by Jewish settlements.

Disappointed and distrusting of their own leadership the final insult came in July at Camp David, the US presidential retreat. Palestinians believe that what they were offered at the Camp David summit was nothing short of an insult - they would have been left with a bastard mutant state in five different bits still subjected to Israeli fiat.

Their own leadership, and Arafat in particular, they consider weak, corrupt, venal and incompetent. Two months ago they turned their anger on the Israelis, who still occupy more than 80 per cent of the West Bank and Gaza. The

Israeli army used live ammunition and snipers to control rioting teens. More than 70 children were killed - many of them in full view of TV cameras. Another 180 Palestinian adults, some of them innocent, some of them gunmen, were also "taken out". Meanwhile, sensing that he could either surf the popular wave or drown, Arafat slyly slipped open the doors of his jails and released scores of some of the Islamic world's most dangerous bomb makers and urban guerilla experts from <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad. Then he forged an alliance with the extremist groups and gave them seats in his decision-making bodies.

After a decade of of internecine squabbling and outright fighting, the Palestinians now stand together. Their stated goal: an independent state. Their policy: to drive the Jews out of the illegal West Bank and Gaza settlements, to kill Israeli soldiers in the Occupied Territories and force Israel to recognise past UN resolutions which, in their view, demand a complete withdrawal of Israel to behind the 1967 Green Line.

Their real aim, many Israelis believe, is to drive the Jews into the Mediterranean Sea. To rid the Middle East of the "cancer" of Zionism, scrub Israel from the map and return the land to its original Palestinian owners.

The clumsy and callous Israeli response to the al Aqsa Intifada has fanned the violence into a furnace. The Palestinians have shifted their tactics from riots and demonstrations to guerrilla warfare. And if Arafat doesn't have the mettle for this final fight, then the Palestinians will ignore his ceasefire orders.

The Israelis have reacted with "restraint" by their standards. Using helicopter gun ships and guided missiles they have "carefully" rocketed buildings used by Arafat's Fatah movement, his Preventive Security Service (secret police) and the Voice of Palestine. On Monday it was in retaliation for the Palestinian bombing of a bus load of Jewish children from a Gaza settlement. Two adults died and nine people were wounded including five youngsters. Every day the atrocities and the rage mount steadily.

Meanwhile, leaders in the Muslim world are under increasing pressure to support the Palestinians. Yemen has called on Arabs to send arms, men and ammunition. Egypt has withdrawn its ambassador to Tel Aviv.

King Abdullah of Jordan, whose wife and 60 per cent of his subjects are Palestinian, is vulnerable. His police have already had to drive thousands of Palestinians away from his borders with Israel using water cannon and tear gas. Lebanon, which hosts 250,000 Palestinian refugees and is under Syrian occupation, also hosts Hizbollah, the Party of God which is backed by Iran and Iraq.

The radical Islamic organisation has already kidnapped three Israeli soldiers and an alleged spy. This week senior members of the Israeli Prime Minister's staff said that they had intelligence that Hizbollah, which drove Israel out of Lebanon in May, was "planning something big on our side of the border".

Five different ceasefires have failed. Diplomatic initiatives keep being sabotaged by Palestinian guerrilla organisations bitterly opposed to any negotiations with the "Zionist entity". Support for <u>Hamas</u>, Islamic Jihad and other Hizbollah-like movements is growing by the day.

This feeds a deep existential terror among Israelis. If they give the Palestinians all of the West Bank and Gaza, they ask, would that be enough? Or would a Palestinian state be a Trojan horse in the vanguard of massed Arab armies bent on the destruction of the Jewish state?

So what next? A likely scenario is: in the dying days of his presidency Bill Clinton manages to call a summit with Ehud Barak and Yassir Arafat. A lull in the fighting lasts until Arafat arrives in Washington. Then Islamic guerrillas detonate three bus bombs inside Israel, killing close to 100 people including many children and deliberately blowing away any hope of a ceasefire, much less a permanent peace.

The Israelis see red. Barak orders his jets and gunships to pound Arafat's home and offices to dust. Most of the buildings used by the Palestinian National Authority are wrecked. And a stray missile kills a dozen Palestinians recovering in hospital from wounds inflicted in earlier confrontations with the Israelis.

Hizbollah hits back. Within 24 hours of the bus bombs and before Arafat can fly home, the Party of God is raining Katyusha rockets on northern Israel. Huge Islamist demonstrations of support for the Palestinians and of Hizbollah's

tactics sweep across the Arab world. Hosni Mubarak of Egypt is reluctant to upset his American backers and Saudi Arabia's royals try to keep their heads down. But Iraq and Iran send military supplies to Hizbollah via Damascus and Beirut.

Syria meanwhile sends a brigade of troops to south Lebanon as Israelis mass on their side of the border, preparing to recreate a south Lebanese "security zone" to protect the north of the country from the Islamist artillery.

US spy satellites also pick up Iraqi troop movements towards Jordan and Syria and note that Damascus has deployed its mobile Scud missile launchers.

Israel bombs Beirut after another round of Hizbollah missile attacks and hits Syrian army bases in Lebanon while commandos begin reconnaissance for the new security zone. Syrian artillery pieces open up on the Golan Heights and Israel's early warning base on the top of Mount Hermon. Israeli jets criss-cross Arab skies hunting down the artillery and Scud batteries. Israel annexes all major roads and settler towns on the West Bank, and abandons Gaza entirely.

Enraged and emboldened, 40,000 of Jordan's Palestinians decide to return and march towards the Allenby Bridge. Jordanian police cannot hold them back and are overrun. The Palestinians, some of them armed, charge the Israeli border post at Allenby killing soldiers and security personnel, many of them <u>women</u>. By the time an amateur video of the rape and torture of the Israeli <u>women</u> is aired, Israel has shelled the Palestinians and driven them back with infantry. Hundreds are killed. The Jordanian army then charges across the river and takes up "defensive positions" in the Jordan valley. Faced with the choice of fighting Israel or being deposed, King Abdullah allows Iraq to use Jordanian airbases.

Two Iraqi jets manage to get through Israeli air defences and fly themselves into Tel Aviv apartment blocks. Hundreds of Israelis are killed and right-wing groups march throughout Israel shouting "We Want War" and "Death to all the Arabs".

Israel invades south Lebanon and attacks Jordan's airfields knocking out most of the kingdom's air force. Saudi Arabia and Egypt can stay out of the conflict no longer. The Saudis send tanks to protect Jordan's borders. Egypt sends a brigade of armour to "secure Gaza". Both columns are attacked from the air but get through despite heavy casualties.

Then the CIA sends Israel an alarming message. Two Iranian submarines have been spotted off Haifa. To rub it in, a unit of 20 unknown Islamist commandos lands at a deserted north Israeli beach at night. The next morning they massacre a group of Western tourists visiting Ceasarea before vanishing.

Sensing that the murders will have driven the West firmly into Israel's camp, the Jewish State appeals to America and her Nato partners to come to her aid. Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia cut off oil to the West. The price of a barrel surges beyond \$ 100, stock exchanges start to wobble and crash as investors get out of paper and into gold and aerospace.

Syrian Scuds hit West Jerusalem. Israel responds by bombing the presidential palaces in Latakia and Damascus, hitting the Syrian Ministry of Defence and arming its long-range Jericho missiles with nuclear warheads. Unaware of the threat, Saddam Hussein cannot resist temptation. He fills the tip of a Scud with nerve gas and a cocktail of his favourite plagues, and sends it on its way to Israel. It is shot down over Syria and Israel is blamed for unleashing chemical and biological weapons against innocent Arab civilians. Meanwhile British and US warplanes attack Saddam's network of "palaces" which have doubled as bomb factories and rocket launching pads.

A cell of young British Islamic militants run by Osama bin Laden is set up by the global terrorist. He orders them to deliver a car to Birmingham which is to be used in a bank robbery. It explodes, killing its three young idealists. Its boot has been filled with Sarin gas which kills half a dozen shoppers. Two days later the city's hospital is overwhelmed by an outbreak of botulism and a flesh eating incurable e-coli infection.

Rumours spread that Saddam and his mad doctors have perfected an airborne variant of Ebola. Army surplus stores are flooded.

Panic stricken, people refuse to enter buildings with air conditioning and they walk the streets wearing World War II gas masks, fearful that their innards will be turned to mush in the name of a Free Palestine. The US and Europe can no longer tolerate the wave of Arab terrorism so...Baghdad gets nuked.

Of course, there is no real need for this awful scenario to come true. After all, it is the vision of the nutty End Timers who camp on the Mount of Olives waiting for the Messiah and have been predicting Armageddon since the turn of the millennium.

But one has to admit that the giant bomb that is the Middle East has been primed. Disposing of it means solving some tricky riddles including how to persuade Israel that the Palestinians would end all their territorial claims at the 1967 Green Line - they refused to do so at Camp David. And how can Israel be persuaded to to give back all of the West Bank and Gaza, evacuate the settlements or swap them for more land and give Arafat a country that looks like a country and not a blobby patchwork Bantustan, when Israel refuses to contemplate a Palestinian state that is beyond her control?

Meanwhile Israel's Jews would also have to be persuaded that somehow the Arab world has had a change of heart and no longer wants to annihilate the Jewish State. But the Jews know that if the Arabs said that, they would be lying.

Load-Date: November 24, 2000



Guardian Weekly November 8, 2000

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1891 words **Byline:** Linda Grant

**Highlight:** We see Palestinian children being shot by soldiers, and are outraged. Israelis don't see the children -- they see millions of Arabs, intent on their destruction. Linda Grant visited Israel five times to research her novel

When I Lived In Modern Times. Here she reveals what she learned about the Israeli psyche

## **Body**

Over the past few weeks you will probably have been looking at the murder and mayhem in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza, and asking yourselves what kind of people can behave like this. The killing of children, deliberately targeted -- what kind of a person could commit such an act? What sort of people could, for years on end, deny the basic human rights of an oppressed nation? And the answer may come to you, for want of any other: heartless monsters, that's who.

I also watch the news, just as desperate and heart-sick, but I know exactly who is on the other side of those Israeli guns, and who is sitting at home in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv watching the events on television, and why they fail to rise up in rage against their government for perpetrating all this in their name.

I went to Israel five times in less than two years, not as a journalist or a tourist or a human rights worker, but as a novelist. I didn't go to Gaza or the West Bank, because the object of my research -- the Jewish war against the British in Tel Aviv in 1946 -- wasn't going to be found in either of those places. I didn't set out to discuss the peace process, but you can't go to Israel without getting an earful, in cafes, buses, taxis. I listened with the ear of a novelist. The psychology of the Israelis was what I wanted to understand. When you ask, "Why?" in Israel, you are asking for a political explanation, but the "why" goes far deeper -- the politics is a symptom. I was left with several strong impressions.

The first, and easiest to explain, is the mentality of the religious right. In the past month I have read time and again the assertion that the Jews stole the Palestinians' country. To Orthodox Jews the facts are the exact opposite. They have the deeds to the country. You probably have a copy in your home. Take it down from the shelf. It's the first part you want, the Old Testament, and the first chapter, Genesis, which contains the world's first recorded real estate deal: "And I will give unto thee and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession." And if you want to know where that is, here are the ground plans, the map: "Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates."

As far as Orthodox Jews are concerned they are bunkered down in a tiny portion of what is rightfully theirs. As for how they defend what they have, and get their rightful due, the God of the Old Testament who visited 10 plagues on the Egyptians, including the slaying of the first-born, is beyond the jurisdiction of Amnesty International.

How do you argue with this? You can't. To tell the Orthodox that God's covenant with the Jews, ritually re-enacted at the ceremonies of circumcision and bar mitzvah, is a fairy story, a myth, is to deprive people who have spent their entire lives studying the Torah and the Talmud, not just of their beliefs but of their very selves. Without God they are naked and shivering in the world. All you can do is marginalise them out of harm's way, as Prime Minister Ehud Barak did when he put together his first coalition.

On the first three of my visits to Israel, before last year's elections, the Orthodox were what everyone wanted to talk about. The religious right had assumed too much power and was interfering in the everyday lives of secular and moderately religious Israelis, preventing them from shopping or taking public transport on Shabbat. The Orthodox were Binyamin Netanyahu's coalition allies in blocking the peace process, and in opinion poll after opinion poll about 70% of Israelis said repeatedly that they believed there would be a Palestinian state. They didn't necessarily say they supported it, but they agreed on its inevitability.

Most Israelis have arrived at an uneasy acceptance of the proximity of yet another country full of people they regard as their enemies. This has happened partly because they have been worn down by the intifada, partly because of the success of the long campaign by the Israeli left in convincing them that they can "trust the Arabs."

And here, I came to think, was the heart of the Israeli mentality. Ordinary Israelis are sick of wars, sick of sending their teenage sons to the army, but they are deeply insecure about whether they can risk peace. It isn't the memory of the Holocaust that drives them; it is the memory of more than 50 years of Arab nations telling them they will "drive the Jews into the sea". The Israeli terror is that in delivering the justice to the Palestinians that the world demands, they may be signing their own death warrants.

"They call us colonialists," a man said, "but if we lose, where do I go? Back to Yemen, where my grand-father came from in the 1930s?" As though looking into a fairground distorting mirror, the world sees Israel as a giant, a monster -- but the Israeli sees a tiny, cowering figure, the puny kid walking to school, tormented by bullies. He needs to make himself stronger, not weaker.

When we see a Palestinian boy with a stone in his hand, we are looking at an angry child. That's not what the Israelis see. The boy is a hazy presence. They are peering past him to glimpse the shadowy figures in the windows of the block of flats, the *tanxim* -- the armed Palestinian civilian militias -- and beyond them *Hamas*, the Islamic version of the Orthodox, locked into its rejection of Israel's right to exist. And beyond *Hamas* is the figure of Saddam Hussein surrounded by the 4m Iraqis who have, in the past few weeks, volunteered to sign up to destroy Israel.

When I listened to Israelis on my visits what struck me was how little they thought about or even mentioned the Palestinians. This seems to have been true from the earliest days of Zionism. Old people, both left and right, when asked what they had thought the resident Arab population would make of the longing for a Jewish homeland, answered, on the whole: "We didn't think about them at all." They were too intent on their war with the British.

In his book The Yellow Wind the Israeli novelist David Grossman describes a journey in the occupied territories in the 80s in which he talked to Palestinians and settlers. Grossman sums up, in the mindset of a settler, what I think remains the Israeli refusal to engage with the Palestinians' anguish: "He does not want to think even for a minute about the situation of the Arabs around him, because he is caught up in a struggle with them, at war, he said, and were he to allow himself to pity, to identify, he would weaken and endanger himself."

The "tough Jew" is not a new phenomenon, it only has a new setting. In Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons And Gangster Dreams, Rich Cohen writes of the world of the American Jewish gangsters in the 20s and 30s, and what they meant to his father and to his father's best friend, Larry King, growing up as Jewish kids in Brooklyn, listening every day on the radio to bad news from Europe. He asked why his father's generation began to deny that the gangsters -- Arnold Rothstein, Meyer Lansky, Dutch Schultz -- had existed. The answer, Cohen thought, was that the Jews have always needed iconic tough guys, but after 1948 they had the Israeli army, fighters who didn't have to break the law.

Andrea Dworkin, in her book Scapegoat: The Jews, Israel And <u>Women</u>'s Liberation, describes how the ideal of the Jewish man -- bookish, gentle, family-loving -- was banished in shame after the Holocaust. They turned themselves into cartoon alpha males. A Jewish boy in a soup kitchen in Jaffa, when I asked him what a Jew was, raised a pimplesized bicep and said: "Strong."

So if the Israelis have turned themselves into tough guys, how do they see the Palestinians? If the Arabs, in particular Hizbullah and Syria, are a military threat, the Palestinians are merely an irritant. The ugly truth, I think, is that what Israelis feel for the Palestinians is contempt, that they are losers, and this instinct is built into the founding ideals of the first Zionists.

Deep in the Jewish psyche is the legacy of cutting your losses, moving on, reinventing yourself to survive. Deep in the Arab psyche is attachment to the land, to patience and endurance. A boy tells Grossman of "his" house in Jaffa. He has never seen it, but his grandfather did. What is Jaffa like, Grossman asks. A place of orchards, the boy replies. Actually it is part of the Tel Aviv-Yaffo conurbation, near the business district, circled with motorways.

Why, perplexed Israelis ask, can't the Palestinians get over the loss of their homeland, why can't they live for the future instead of the past, as the Jews did? If the Jews were such a success in 20th-century America it was in part because they left Eastern Europe, which had been their home for centuries, and never looked back.

And when they ask themselves, "Why can't the Palestinians be like us?" the only answer they can think of is that the Palestinians are losers. Whatever their strategy, it always fails. Invited by the United nations in 1947 form a country, the Jews seized the chance, and declared independence. The Palestinians rejected the opportunity to form theirs, and sat back waiting for the Arab armies to defeat the new state. They attacked and lost, and the the Palestinians were driven out or fled, washing up in camps where they remain today. When the two sides in the cold war picked their teams Israel got the United States, and the Palestinians and the Arabs got the Soviet Union. In the Gulf war the Palestinians supported Saddam Hussein. Some Palestinians have enthusiastically embraced Holocaust denial, their hero the "distinguished historian" David Irving. And all this time the Israelis, backed by the only remaining superpower, forged into the new hi-tech age, positioned themselves for globalisation.

In their own minds the Jews are better than the Arabs, and this goes further back than the consequences of the grim conditions imposed on the Palestinians by the occupation, or the restriction on the civil liberties of Arab Israelis. The earliest Zionists, coming from Russia after the failure of the 1905 revolution, saw themselves as bringing ideas of Soviet socialism to the benighted peoples of the Middle East. Later, when the Yekkes, the Jews from Germany, arrived reluctantly, torn kicking and screaming from the cafes of Berlin, they saw themselves as the Weimar Republic in exile, bringing socialism, feminism, psychoanalysis and cubism to a land slumbering in the Middle Ages.

It took the Germans until the 60s, 25 years after total military defeat, before a new generation began to throw a searchlight on the activities of its parents. In Austria, it is argued, this process hasn't even begun. What will it take to make the Israelis see the Palestinians as a wronged people in pursuit of justice, the victims of Jewish racism? Not another photo of a murdered child, nor even a whole album, but only peace itself will do it, which is why the Israeli left feels so badly let down by the new intifada. Instinctively it knows that the mass of Israelis can only begin to respect the Palestinians when the threat from them is not to their borders but to their computer industry.

When I Lived in Modern Times is published by Granta (£ 15.99hbk, £ 6.99pbk)

# Graphic

Photo, Ultra-Orthodox Jewish men watch an Israeli tank overlooking the West Bank city of Bethlehem, Eyal Warshavsky/AP; Picture, Israeli Shifra Hoffman of the rightwing Victims of Arab Terror tries out a hand gun at a Jerusalem shooting range

Load-Date: November 15, 2000



# <u>Letters, Faxes & E-Mail;</u> Tuned into homeless' needs

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

May 7, 1998, Thursday,

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**Length:** 829 words **Series:** Metro Final

#### **Body**

Remember the lesson of the emperor's new clothes? There seems to be widespread confusion about two Atlanta groups identified with downtown homelessness. One group, Progressive Redevelopment Inc., has plans for seven beds and has been promised almost \$ 2 million of taxpayer money. Meanwhile, in the real world, Atlanta's Task Force for the Homeless has a debt-free, 95,000-square-foot Homeless Resource Center at Peachtree and Pine streets where, since Nov. 3, the task force has been protecting an average of 200 people a night --- 50 percent of whom are mothers and their small children.

Homeless men, women and children in downtown Atlanta are real --- and they need real beds. GLORIA BROMELL-TINUBU and WILLIAM C. WARDLAW III Bromell-Tinubu and Wardlaw are on the board of directors of Atlanta's Task Force for the Homeless. Good deal for south DeKalb County Regarding recent news articles and letters to the editor on DeKalb County's decision to help finance the addition of a Magic Johnson Theater at South DeKalb Mall: There are many benefits to this deal. South DeKalb Mall employs more than 1,200 people. The addition of a cineplex will add 100 jobs. The theater will cost the mall \$ 13 million. The county is being asked to underwrite \$ 2.88 million of this expense, to be spread out over 10 years. With the addition of the theater, a conservative projection indicates an increase in sales tax revenue to the county of \$300,000 a year. The addition of the theater will be a catalyst in the revitalization not only of South DeKalb Mall, but also of the Candler Road corridor and South DeKalb County. WILLIAM P. CICCAGLIONE Ciccaglione is general manager of South DeKalb Mall. Tobacco profits not limited to its sale Responding to the letter from business leaders lamenting the loss of tobacco-related jobs (Friday): The writers list farming, warehousing, manufacturing, distribution and retail sales as being among the jobs at risk if the McCain tobacco settlement bill becomes law. But their list is incomplete; they also should have listed surgeons, cardiologists, oncologists, anesthesiologists and respiratory therapists. Lost revenue would include costs for oxygen equipment, tracheotomy care and home nursing care. Finally, there are the expenses of all those early funerals caused by addiction in adolescence to a carcinogenic drug. WALLACE McLEOD Atlanta Cherokee barely codes the racism I am sick and tired of the racism that occurs on a daily basis in the Atlanta area. Sometimes it is apparent; sometimes it is hidden. First it was Cobb County; now it is Cherokee County. Do not attempt to say that refusing to let MARTA in Cherokee County for Clean Commute Day has nothing to do with race. County Commissioner J.J. Biello, a former Atlanta policeman, said MARTA is too closely linked with inner-city problems such as crime and poverty. That is another way of saying that MARTA is too closely linked to African-Americans and other minorities. What's next? Are the people in Cherokee going to try to keep minorities from living and working there, too? SHERRY CAMERON Atlanta Ku Klux Klan offering no site for children I couldn't believe my eyes Monday when the "Search Me" column in the Living section pointed children to the Ku Klux Klan's Web site. The KKK couldn't have arranged a better free ad. A much more appropriate link concerning the KKK's activities is to <a href="http://www.splcenter.org">http://www.splcenter.org</a>, which points to the Southern Poverty Law Center in Alabama and its Klanwatch project.

Would "Search Me" have considered pointing children to <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah, the Khmer Rouge or other foreign terrorist groups? JEFF THOMPSON East Point Lift for humanity Thanks to Nathan Moore for his simple but profound act of heroism. His intervention on behalf of a MARTA bus driver not only saved the driver's life but also helped save our humanity. As the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. so eloquently said, cruelty to another diminishes us all, and likewise, decency to another lifts us all. JOHN GRAVES Atlanta Not all banjo music is bluegrass I was astonished when I read in the Journal-Constitution's Music Midtown Guide (May 1) that Bela Fleck was the leader of a "bluegrass band." If Fleck is "country/bluegrass," then Junior Samples was English royalty.

Choosing the banjo as his instrument of expression does not mean Fleck plays bluegrass. He plays jazz --- a very modernistic, improvisational kind of jazz.

I don't know much, but I do know bluegrass. BRADLEY LAIRD Laird plays mandolin in Atlanta's Cedar Hill, a bluegrass band that's been performing since 1976. Acting productive The headline to Maria Saporta's column on Charles Loudermilk, "At 70, Loudermilk's just not acting his age" (Tuesday) perpetuated the stereotype that older people do not accomplish anything. The reason Loudermilk does not feel 70 --- his own words --- is that he is active and involved. There is no reason that 70-year-olds cannot contribute as much as people at any age. LIBBY WARE Atlanta

#### **Graphic**

Graphic:

A homeless person sitting in a doorway. / MATT HARRINGTON / Special

Load-Date: May 8, 1998



#### ISRAELIS END GAZA INCURSION AFTER U.S. REBUKE

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Byline: Barbara Demick and Nomi Morris INQUIRER STAFF WRITERS

Dateline: BEIT HANOUN, Gaza Strip

# **Body**

Israeli troops yesterday recaptured a narrow slice of the Gaza Strip but withdrew last night amid a barrage of criticism that it was rolling back the 1993 peace deal that gave the strip to Palestinian self-rule.

Israel said the incursion was a temporary measure designed to thwart attacks such as one Monday, when Palestinians fired homemade mortars out of Gaza into the nearby Israeli town of Sderot.

"There was no reoccupation. There were a host of objectives set in this operation and once they were accomplished it was finished," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Ariel Sharon, who became Israel's prime minister last month with a promise to quash the Palestinian uprising. Gissin denied that U.S. criticism played a role in the decision to withdraw.

Earlier in the day, U.S. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell sharply criticized Israel's move. In a statement, Powell called it "excessive and disproportionate" and said Israel should respect the peace accords that gave most of Gaza to the Palestinians.

The Israeli move came a day after Israel bombed a Syrian radar station inside Lebanon, in response to an attack on Israeli forces by Lebanese Hezbollah guerrillas on Saturday. Powell said he was concerned that the "situation is threatening to escalate further, raising the risk of a broader conflict."

The territory seized by Israel was a narrow, thinly populated band of citrus and olive groves along the northeast corner of the Gaza Strip, amounting to barely two square miles of the 140-square-mile Gaza Strip. But its symbolic importance is much larger, since this is the first time that Israel had retaken what was given to the Palestinians as part of the land-for-peace deal brokered by the White House.

"It's clear that Israel has expanded the sphere of the war with the Palestinians," Palestinian negotiator Hassan Asfour contended. "It has carried out a new and dangerous step by reoccupying Palestinian areas."

#### ISRAELIS END GAZA INCURSION AFTER U.S. REBUKE

In Beit Hanoun, the closest Palestinian town to the area recaptured, residents said there were 12 Israeli tanks and three bulldozers involved in the operation, which began early yesterday. The bulldozers demolished a small Palestinian police post, a house, and acres of trees along the border that Israel said could provide cover for terrorists. A Palestinian police officer was killed in the process.

"They were shooting, shooting with tanks, and nobody could stop them," said Feria Masri, 47, a homemaker from Beit Hanoun who hid with her children in an orange grove when the Israelis moved in overnight. "We are expecting them to take all of Gaza again."

Her son, Bilal Masri, 16, said he was in geography class when an Israeli tank pulled into fields behind his school. "We all were falling over one another to get away. We were so frightened," he said.

Yesterday afternoon, bulldozers still churned at the orchards outside the town, stirring up huge clouds of dust, as Israeli combat helicopters whirred overhead providing air support for the operation. The air was punctuated by gunshots.

"Sharon is the terrorist. He wants us to surrender our rights and accept what he dictates," farmer Muad Abu Odeh, 32, said as he watched the bulldozers at work yesterday.

Late last night, Beit Hanoun residents reached by phone confirmed that the Israelis were withdrawing. Early today, the Israeli army said that it had completed its pullout and returned to its previous positions.

Earlier in the day, the Israeli Gaza commander, Gen. Yair Naveh, had said Israel could remain in the area recaptured for weeks or months.

The Israeli move was prompted by mortar attacks Monday night in Sderot, a working-class town of 24,000 about 2 1/2 miles from Gaza. Although no one was injured, it was a chilling incident that prompted Sderot residents to prepare their bomb shelters for the first time since 1973. Sderot also happens to be five miles from a sheep ranch owned by Sharon.

The Islamic militant movement <u>Hamas</u> took responsibility for the mortar attacks. But Israel said it held Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat and his self-rule authority responsible for encouraging the militants.

"Without a shadow of a doubt, Arafat and the Palestinian Authority are behind this wave of terror," asserted Uzi Landau, Israeli public security minister.

Israeli military officials said they had drawn up contingency plans for more incursions into Palestinian territory, if provoked. "There are many other plans to take bites of the Palestinian Authority," Gen. Yom Tov Samia told Israel radio yesterday.

A Palestinian police officer was killed in the Israeli incursion near Beit Hanoun, while a Palestinian teenager was reported killed in a clash in Karin in the Gaza Strip. In another incident yesterday, a Palestinian in the West Bank town of Tulkarm was shot dead after he stabbed and slightly wounded an Israeli soldier.

Also trying to prevent terrorism, Israel divided the Gaza Strip into three parts, making it almost impossible for residents to travel within. Stranded Palestinian commuters resorted to the Mediterranean beach - the only remaining passage. Young <u>women</u> in long robes and white head scarves, some carrying schoolbooks, walked along the beach, and donkey carts and tractors ferried passengers.

The government of Ehud Barak, the previous Israeli prime minister, used similar tactics of dividing Gaza and demolishing property that might harbor gunmen, but refrained from going into any area under full Palestinian sovereignty for fear of undermining the peace process.

Sharon's spokesman, Gissin, said, "They [the Palestinians] have to understand there's a new government in town and there are new rules of the game."

# **Graphic**

ADEL HANA, Associated Press - In Gaza, a Palestinian man walks with his children along the beach to bypass the road that was destroyed by bulldozers during the Israeli army's daylong operation in the Gaza Strip yesterday.

NASSER SHIYOUKHI, Associated Press - An Israeli soldier breaks up a scuffle between Palestinians and Israeli settlers. The confrontation yesterday was in Hebron, the West Bank.

Load-Date: October 31, 2001



# Palestinian intifada going mainstream

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

March 16, 2001, Friday

Copyright 2001 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 983 words

Byline: Cameron W. Barr Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: RAMALLAH, WEST BANK

Highlight: Intellectuals and professionals at protest this week reveal that more Palestinians are unwilling to endure

Israeli clampdown.

#### **Body**

A demonstration in the West Bank city of Ramallah this week presented the latest face of the Palestinian intifada: organized, nonviolent mass protest - at least at first.

Hundreds of people - including smartly clad professional <u>women</u>, well-paid physicians, and a pipe-smoking college professor - gathered to break the Israeli closure of the main road linking Ramallah with Bir Zeit University, the pinnacle of Palestinian higher education.

This protest's tony crowd illustrates one way that the Palestinian intifada is evolving - a wider cross-section of Palestinian society is joining the struggle, partly because of Israel's new hardline prime minister, Ariel Sharon.

Monday's protest was a first for Mashhour Abu Daka, an assistant professor of mechanical engineering at Bir Zeit. He said he was appalled that the Israeli road closure had temporarily cut Bir Zeit's high-speed Internet access and its water supply. So for the first time in his life he decided to demonstrate against the Israeli presence. Since its outbreak nearly six months ago, the Palestinian intifada has been different things to different people: a guerrilla war, a popular uprising, a negotiating tactic, a violent scourge.

Some have shown by their actions that they want to sharpen the movement's violent edge, even as others speak of trying to broaden and pacify the protests that register their frustration with Israel. Still others warn that the waning is really an organized lull that will end in an "eruption."

But if they are not agreed about what form their movement should take, Palestinians insist that the intifada will continue - especially in the face of an Israeli leader who strikes them as more brutal than his predecessors.

Bending over and grappling with the dirt and broken asphalt of the road - torn up by Israeli bulldozers - the protesters in Ramallah repaired the damage as best they could. As their own earthmover arrived, they paved the

#### Palestinian intifada going mainstream

way for several cars to resume using the road. Cheers turned to choking as Israeli troops fired tear gas into the crowd.

Stone-throwing youths soon confronted the Israelis, who shot dead a Palestinian security official. But organizers said they had tried to keep their more militant allies away from this particular protest.

"Many people are beginning to understand the usefulness of popular, nonviolent movements and demonstrations," says Abdul Jawad Saleh, a Palestinian Legislative Council member who was at the protest. "I hope this really will continue. It's the only way we can confront Sharon without giving him the means to hurt us."

Mr. Sharon's tough tactics in the first days of his premiership seem to have galvanized Palestinians who once stayed away from public protest. In October and November, when this intifada began, Palestinian protests included a variety of people, but demonstrations soon centered on youthful stone-throwers backed up by small numbers of gunmen.

At Monday's rally, Albert Aghazarian, a history lecturer at Bir Zeit, brought pipe tobacco, not firearms. He noted the Palestinians' adaptability to the impositions of the Israeli security presence. "We have become excellent at getting used to this," he fumed. "It's absurd; we should defy it."

Marwan Barghouti, the West Bank leader of Fatah, the main Palestinian faction, and a man who has emerged as the intifada's field general, says Sharon's policies will indeed "push new people into the intifada." But Mr. Barghouti says the point of the Palestinian struggle at this stage is not mass protest, but to show that the Israeli leader cannot deliver on his campaign promises to the Israeli people. "They elected Sharon to guarantee security; after a few weeks or maybe months the Israelis will see that Sharon cannot," he says.

If that sounds like understated endorsement of violence against Israelis, that may be because it is. "I do believe we have the right to resist occupation by all means," Barghouti adds.

One Palestinian political scientist predicts that moves toward nonviolent struggle will be shortlived. "This is not an intifada, this is an armed confrontation," he says, decling to be identified by name. "What you will see in the future is a resumption of fighting and shooting. We are awaiting an eruption."

Indeed, the militantly anti-Israeli group *Hamas* has promised a string of suicide bombings to register its opposition to Sharon; the first took place in the coastal city of Netanya on March 4, killing three Israelis and the bomber.

Arafat may need a violent eruption - and the international pressure it will likely engender - in order to justify a return to the negotiating table, especially since this time he will have to talk to an Israeli leader who many Palestinians detest.

Palestinian analysts say signs of dissension within their ranks should not be taken at face value. While it is true that leaders of the intifada - such as Fatah leader Barghouti and his cousin Mustafa, a prominent doctor and activist who runs a nongovernmental organization - espouse positions that are at odds with Arafat's, these positions may well serve the Palestinian leader's cause.

#### Palestinian intifada going mainstream

In a speech last weekend, Arafat indicated his willingness to resume peace negotiations without specifying any conditions the Israelis must meet first. But Barghouti insists there should be no talks until the Israelis agree to a timetable for their withdrawal from Palestinian areas, among other conditions. Mustafa demands that the Israelis fully "lift their siege" on Palestinian areas.

But Mr. Saleh, the legislator, says these critics provide cover for Arafat, who can point to them as evidence of popular resistance to negotiations.

"I don't think Arafat can go back to the negotiating table, with Sharon, without something huge happening and the intervention of the world," adds the political scientist who declined to be named.

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Load-Date: March 15, 2001



## Israelis, voting tomorrow, tilt toward hard line

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)
February 5, 2001, Monday

Copyright 2001 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 957 words

Byline: Nicole Gaouette Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

**Highlight:** The contest features two former generals with opposing views on the peace process.

## **Body**

Prime Minister Ehud Barak has staked his political career on pursuing negotiations with Palestinians. Opposition leader Ariel Sharon has made a career out of taking a hard line against them.

In elections tomorrow, Israelis will choose between the two men and their starkly opposing visions. Barring a sudden change, polls show voters overwhelmingly picking Mr. Sharon.

The contest between these two former army generals, say some commentators, is a choice between war and peace. Indeed, a victory by the hard-line Sharon would put the Arab world on edge, reshape Israeli-Palestinian peace talks, and could prompt another flare-up of violence in the Palestinian territories. But for Israeli voters, reeling from a string of bombings and deadly attacks, the only issue of importance is domestic security, making this election a referendum on the peace process, security, and how best to achieve it.

"People just want to feel safe in their own homes and cars," says Margot Levine, an American-Israeli supporter of Sharon standing at a rain- soaked corner in downtown Jerusalem, where competing plastic banners tout the candidates. Referring to the drive-by shooting of an Israeli doctor last week, she adds, "We have to be tough."

Across the street, Barak supporter Udi Geffen says his only disagreement with Sharon backers is over their approach. "We all want the same thing, an end to conflict, but we have different ways of getting there," he says, hunched under a blue nylon poncho. "We believe in negotiation. [Sharon supporters] want to use a clenched fist."

But it seems that Israelis are yearning for a tougher approach, with polls giving Sharon leads of 20 percent and more over Barak. Ironically, Sharon can give some thanks to Barak for his commanding advantage.

In 1999, Barak came to office promising peace and has bitterly disappointed Israelis for not coming through on that pledge. Now, instead of peace, Israelis are dealing with an uprising that has claimed 384 lives, most of them Palestinians, since Sept. 28.

"Sharon has the chance of his life to become prime minister, and that's mainly because of disappointment with Barak," says Ephraim Kam, deputy director of the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies at Tel Aviv University.

Israeli-Arabs, a minority that helped Barak in the 1999 elections, say they'll boycott the elections to protest the killing of 13 Israeli-Arabs by Israeli forces.

A recent series of deadly attacks on Israeli civilians has only hurt Barak further, as his ongoing negotiations weren't yielding enough of a reduction in violence. "If Jews are killed, no talk about trust will help Barak," says Ephraim Inbar, director of the BESA Center at Bar-Ilan University outside Tel Aviv.

Though most analysts say the intifada would have erupted at some point, the spiral into violence began with Sharon. Accompanied by a phalanx of troops at the end of September, he paid a provocative visit to the holy site known to Muslims as the Noble Sanctuary and to Jews as the Temple Mount.

Palestinians oversee the day-to-day running of the site, but Israel has sovereignty, and Sharon used his visit to underscore that point. The act was vintage Sharon, and ignited the current intifada.

The battle-hardened former army officer is known for his belief in might, his passion for the land of Israel, and his ability to get things done - sometimes by bending the rules. As defense minister in the 1980s, he planned the invasion of Lebanon and was often accused of withholding information from the prime minister about his actions there. He was later found indirectly responsible for a 1982 massacre of some 800 Palestinians - many of them **women** and children - in a refugee camp outside Beirut.

These events and others have earned Sharon the enduring enmity of the Arab world. Jordan, which has a peace treaty with Israel, has told the US that it won't be able to defend its treaty with Israel in the Arab world if Sharon is elected and does not work hard at peace.

Middle Eastern papers have been full of vitriol about him, and the feeling is reportedly mutual. "As a Cabinet minister'Ķ [Sharon] was consistent in rejecting moves toward peace because he continued to view the Arabs as enemies, or at least as hostile forces whose signature could not be trusted," writes Uzi Benziman, a columnist for the daily Ha'aretz.

SHARON'S history with Palestinians within Israel and the territories has also been troubled. As minister of housing from 1990 to 1992, Sharon oversaw the aggressive construction of settlements in the West Bank and has sharply criticized all phases of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. On the campaign trail, he has declared that he will not honor any agreements made between Barak and the Palestinian Authority. While Barak would cede 95 percent of the West Bank to Palestinians, Sharon says his figure would be 42 percent.

A Sharon election is likely to provoke an upsurge in violence in the territories, says Mr. Inbar of Bar Ilan University, who foresees attacks by the anti-peace Islamic groups Hizbullah or <u>Hamas</u>. "They'll test him immediately," he says. Yet Inbar is among the many who feel that Israel needs Sharon's hard-line stance toward Arabs and Palestinians right now. "International conduct is based on an image of the enemy, and Ariel Sharon is a more deterrent power than anyone else," says Inbar, referring to tensions with Syria along Israel's border with Lebanon.

#### Israelis, voting tomorrow, tilt toward hard line

If an agreement with Palestinians is reached, "to some extent Ariel Sharon is probably the best one to do it," he continues. "As part of the [political] right and the architect of the settlement policy, he's the only one to remove a few settlements."

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Load-Date: February 4, 2001



# PALESTINIANS SAY THEY WILL AVENGE DEATH THURSDAY'S ATTACK ON A MILITARY COMMANDER WILL NOT DETER FIGHTERS, MOURNERS SAID. INSTEAD, IT COULD ENCOURAGE THEM.

# The Philadelphia Inquirer

NOVEMBER 11, 2000 Saturday SF EDITION

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A02

Length: 931 words

Byline: Barbara Demick, INQUIRER STAFF WRITER

Dateline: BEIT SAHOUR, West Bank

## **Body**

The killing of Hussein Abayat, a baker who doubled as a Palestinian military commander, was an execution worthy of James Bond. An Israeli army helicopter stalked Abayat in his truck and killed him with lethally accurate missiles.

But the spectacular manner in which he was killed, and the deaths of two <u>female</u> bystanders, could ultimately backfire on Israel.

Palestinians at his funeral yesterday said Abayat's death would not serve as a deterrent, as Israel hopes, but would provide fuel for the uprising that has endured six weeks. Abayat was a member of Fatah, the political party of Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, and leaders vowed to avenge his death.

Five more Palestinians and an Israeli soldier were killed in clashes yesterday. The Israeli army last night blockaded the West Bank cities of Ramallah and Bethlehem, saying that residents would not be allowed to leave because of the violence.

The fresh fighting pushed even lower the dismal expectations for a meeting tomorrow between President Clinton and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak. Arafat met with Clinton on Thursday, but it appears both sides have lost any hope of rescuing the peace negotiations.

A leaflet attributed to Fatah announced a declaration of war against Israel, and Hussein Sheik, a Fatah leader on the West Bank, said followers were "free to fight by any means they chose."

"For every one that dies there will be a hundred to take his place," vowed Hassan Abu Surra, 58, one of thousands of mourners at Abayat's funeral yesterday. "There will be an escalation of the situation."

The funeral procession started in the biblical city of Bethlehem. On a stage painted with murals of angels, where Pope John Paul II delivered a Mass this year, Palestinian mourners chanted Allahu Akhbar, God is great.

# PALESTINIANS SAY THEY WILL AVENGE DEATH THURSDAY'S ATTACK ON A MILITARY COMMANDER WILL NOT DETER FIGHTERS, MOURNERS SAID. INSTEAD, IT COULD ENCOURAGE THEM.

The mourners proceeded down an unpaved road into the countryside, where they were joined by thousands more who poured over the crests of every hill on the horizon. Houses alongside the route were painted in red with graffiti of fists and guns and grenades.

Men with their faces covered in black ski masks shot guns into the air. From a rooftop, a young boy with a microphone screamed: "There should be no Jews in Palestine."

Hamid Abayat, a cousin of the deceased, sat on a rock on the stone-choked hillside, rubbing together a string of black prayer beads and reminiscing. He said his cousin Hussein had joined Fatah when he was 15 and had served five years in Israeli jails for his membership in the organization.

As a loyal Arafat follower, Hussein Abayat had believed in the peace process but quickly lost his faith, his cousin said.

"He is a hero," Hamid Abayat said. "They killed him like cowards. They did not come down to fight him face-to-face. They shot him by helicopter."

The Israeli army, which held a news conference Thursday to announce the killing, said that Abayat had been involved in a series of shootings near Bethlehem in which three Israeli soldiers were killed.

In the last two weeks, Fatah has switched to guerrilla-style tactics, emulating the strategy of Hezbollah, the Lebanese Islamic movement that takes credit for Israel's withdrawal from southern Lebanon in May.

From the Bethlehem area, they have been shooting almost nightly at carefully chosen targets: a nearby Israeli military base, a bypass road that leads to Israeli settlements, and at Gilo, the southernmost Jewish neighborhood of Jerusalem.

According to the Israeli army, Abayat and his followers threatened and harassed several wealthy Christians in the Bethlehem area, intimidating them into giving Fatah use of their houses for sniper nests.

If Fatah's tactics resemble those used in Lebanon, so does the Israel response. Thursday's assassination of Abayat resembles the 1992 killing of Hezbollah leader Sheik Abbas Musawi, whose car was also struck by missiles fired from a helicopter. Musawi's wife and young son were also killed in that incident.

The bystanders killed Thursday were Aziza Shaibat, 52, a mother of seven, and Rahma Shahin, 55, a widow. Like Abayat, they had been visiting Beit Sahour, a mostly Christian village next to Bethlehem, to see a house that had been shelled the night before by the Israeli army. They were standing outside the house waiting for a taxi as Abayat backed his pickup truck out of the driveway.

Aziza Eid, 63, who was also at the house, said the **women** were blown three feet in the air by the explosion when the missiles struck Abayat's truck.

"The whole town is a target," Eid said. "Anything can happen to anybody."

Even moderate Palestinian leaders are angry that Israel has not apologized for the deaths of the two <u>women</u>. Jamal Shabiki, a Fatah politician from Hebron, said: "This is state-sponsored terrorism. Israel has chosen a very serious course for the region."

Barak defended the killing yesterday during a visit to the army's West Bank headquarters. "We will continue with such operations. We will hit those who hit us," Barak told reporters.

The Israeli prime minister has been subject to strong pressure from within the army and from rival politicians on the right to respond more forcefully to Palestinian violence.

The killing of Abayat was obviously intended as a warning to more senior Fatah officials of Israel's superior firepower. But it is unclear whether it will be a deterrent or the spark for more violence. The Israelis in January 1996

PALESTINIANS SAY THEY WILL AVENGE DEATH THURSDAY'S ATTACK ON A MILITARY COMMANDER WILL NOT DETER FIGHTERS, MOURNERS SAID. INSTEAD, IT COULD ENCOURAGE THEM.

also killed a <u>Hamas</u> bomb-maker, Yehiya Ayyash, with a booby-trapped mobile telephone. The killing was followed by an unprecedented terror campaign of bus bombings against Israel.

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# **Graphic**

PHOTO;

**PHOTO** 

"I would welcome any effort to convene another summit," Yasir Arafat said.EYAL WARSHAVSKY, Associated Press Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak talks with Shaul Mofaz (left), the Israeli army chief of staff, during a visit to an army command post near Ramallah. Two bystanders also died in the attack.

Load-Date: February 5, 2002



# Sharon's way now riding high

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

December 21, 2001, Friday

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Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 1072 words

Byline: Cameron W. Barr Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

Highlight: For first time in his career, he has Arafat in a corner and broad international backing.

## **Body**

At the height of a long and controversial career as a soldier and statesman, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is enjoying his finest hour.

His longtime nemesis, Yasser Arafat, is scrambling to meet Israeli demands that he suppress Palestinian militants. Violence against Israelis has dropped dramatically this week.

While there is deep skepticism about Mr. Sharon's capacity to convert his current successes into the crystalizing achievement of peace with the Palestinians, as he says he wants to do, there is no doubt that he has a moment or two to savor.

The last time he wedged Mr. Arafat into such narrow straits - during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, which Sharon orchestrated as defense minister - tens of thousands of Israelis took to the streets to oppose him. The noted Israeli writer Abba Eban called the invasion "a dark age in the moral history of the Jewish people."

Now, Sharon heads a broad-based coalition government. There are no mass demonstrations to protest his hard-edged handling of the Palestinian uprising. His main political competitor, former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, can do little more than heckle from Op-Ed pages.

"Sharon is winning," says Palestinian political scientist Manuel Hassassian. Arafat's speech on Sunday - in which he demanded his people cease "armed activities" against Israelis - is a sign of "Sharon's victory over the Palestinians," adds Palestinian legislator Abdul Jawad Saleh.

Since assuming power in March, Sharon has insisted that Israel would not negotiate with the Palestinians under fire, demanding absolute quiet as a precondition for implementing a cease-fire or resuming discussions about a peace deal.

#### Sharon's way now riding high

In the meantime, he has fought the Palestinians by assassinating suspected militants, using fighter jets and attack helicopters to destroy sites associated with Arafat's Palestinian Authority, and maintaining a policy of "closure" on the Palestinian territories that UN officials say has created the worst socio-economic crisis for the Palestinians since the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

Once criticized - at home and abroad - as an invitation to anyone with a gun to delay peacemaking, Sharon's demand for quiet is now broadly endorsed by the US and the Europeans. Palestinian arguments that a cease-fire is untenable without tangible political gains have been dismissed.

Although Sharon has long styled himself as an enemy of terrorists, in some ways he has them to thank for his ascendancy.

A year ago, as he campaigned for the premiership, Sharon sought to portray himself as a grandfatherly warrior who could do what was necessary to protect Israelis from the Palestinians. No one doubted his resolve.

In the early days of his military career, he headed a unit formed to carry out reprisal raids following Arab attacks on Israelis. In August 1953, Unit 101 killed 20 Palestinians in a refugee camp in the Gaza Strip. In October of that year, Unit 101 killed 69 people in the Palestinian village of Kibya. In both cases, the majority of the dead were <u>women</u> and children.

Following the invasion of Lebanon, a government panel determined that Sharon bore "indirect responsibility" for the massacre of hundreds of Palestinian refugees by Lebanese Christian militiamen allied with Israel.

Many Israelis wondered whether Sharon - as prime minister - would employ these sorts of tactics in dealing with the Palestinians. He has not.

"He's much more moderate than in the past," says Avraham Diskin, a political scientist at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. "Age did something good to him."

To be sure, the Israeli military has been more aggressive under Sharon than under his predecessor, Ehud Barak. Palestinians killed in the conflict outnumber Israelis by more than 3 to 1, and many Palestinian civilians have died during Israeli attacks.

But Palestinian terrorist acts - such as suicide-bomb attacks in a crowded pizzeria and on a pedestrian mall - have always made the Israelis seem relatively less barbaric. In the high-tension aftermath of one such attack, Sharon held fire. In other cases, most of the Israeli retaliation was directed against buildings and institutions and not against people.

Events in the US have also benefited the Israeli leader. President Bush has yet to meet Arafat and has seemed much less inclined than some of his predecessors to engage in even the pretense of even-handedness in dealing with the two parties.

#### Sharon's way now riding high

Ever since Sept. 11, Sharon has sought to style the Israeli struggle against Arafat as a smaller version of the American battle against Osama bin Laden. While this approach took a few months to take hold, it now seems that the US officials view Palestinian attacks against Israel as harshly as they do the violence perpetrated against the US.

Sharon "seems to have got the [US] administration to come around to the approach he wanted to take from the beginning," says Mark Heller, a strategic analyst at the Jaffee Center for Strategic Studies in Tel Aviv.

US support has been crucial in forcing Arafat to crack down, as he is now doing in earnest. Yesterday, Palestinian police under Arafat's authority exchanged gunfire with supporters of the Islamic Resistance Movement as the police sought to arrest one of the group's leaders. Better known as <u>Hamas</u>, the organization has been responsible for a series of terrorist attacks on Israelis.

The clash is an indication that Arafat is willing to risk wrecking Palestinian unity in order to meet US and European demands that he stifle Palestinian militancy.

At home, Sharon has capitalized on the national letdown that followed the collapse of Israeli-Palestinian peace talks and the renewal of open conflict. "The pessimistic right-wing view that some people had in the past is now perceived by most people as a very realistic view," says Professor Diskin. In opinion polls, roughly three-quarters of Israelis says they approve of the job the prime minister is doing.

The only problem is answering skeptics who say that Sharon has no strategy beyond beating down the Palestinians.

"Israel still must provide some answer and outlet for the nationalist aspiration of the Palestinian people," wrote columnist Uzi Benziman in the Israeli daily Haaretz this week. "Sharon has not come across as a leader who has devised a plan that is sufficiently dynamic to alter the destructive character of Israeli-Palestinian relations."

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Load-Date: December 20, 2001



## Israel takes US line on anti-terror

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)
October 22, 2001, Monday

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Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 1058 words

Byline: Ben Lynfield Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: BETHLEHEM. WEST BANK

Highlight: Over the weekend, Israel moved its tanks into the heart of Palestinian terrority.

## **Body**

In Israel's broadest and largest military offensive since Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority was formed in 1994, Israeli tanks seized parts of Bethlehem and five other West Bank cities over the weekend. The incursions bring the military back to territory it had vacated under the 1993 Oslo self-rule agreement with the Palestinians.

While the military escalation is taking place in the biblical hilltops of the Holy Land, America's far-away war in Afghanistan is providing some of the rationale - and cover - for it.

The advance - coming on the heels of incursions last Thursday in and around the northern West Bank cities of Ramallah, Nablus, and Jenin, has left 24 Palestinians dead - most of them civilians, and more than 200 wounded, according to the Health Development and Policy Institute in Ramallah. Ten Israeli soldiers were wounded. "Are the Americans going to preach morality to us now?" a senior Israeli security official was quoted as saying in Haaretz newspaper. "We have seen how cautious they are in their war. They have bombed children and <u>women</u> in Afghanistan."

The Israeli offensive, which also included pushes into Tulkarem and Qalqilya Saturday comes in the aftermath of Wednesday's assassination by Palestinian hard-liners of Israeli Tourism Minister Rehavam Zeevi. That action prompted Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to declare that the rules had changed in Israel's conflict with the Palestinians.

"We are done with Arafat, his regime resembles the Taliban in Afghanistan," Mr. Sharon said.

The analogy was rejected by moderate Foreign Minister Shimon Peres. But its meaning was clear to right-wingers in the Cabinet and to hawkish army commanders: Just as the United States is justified in attacking the Taliban for harboring terrorists, so too is Israel for invading the Palestinian Authority areas.

#### Israel takes US line on anti-terror

An Israeli demand that the PA extradite Zeevi's killers, rebuffed by the PA, reinforced the sense that the Sharon government was trying to cast itself in the role of the Bush administration. The PA, wary of appearing to be Israeli collaborators, says that when the killers are found it will place them on trial in its territory.

Israeli tanks are now stationed in front of ministries and public buildings here and in Ramallah. Army officials say troops are "ringing" the West Bank cities, but here they are well inside the city borders, and the range of their tank cannons covers the entire city.

At one of Bethlehem's main intersections, Bab Izqaq, a five-minute drive from the Nativity Church, people were scurrying into a pharmacy yesterday for cover from machine-gun bullets. Nearby, a funeral was being held for a young woman killed on Saturday by shrapnel from a tank shell as she stood at the entrance to a friend's house.

Similar scenes were repeated all over the West Bank. In every case, Israeli troops ploughed into area A - territory governed by the Palestinian Authority under interim peace agreements.

In Manger Square, a teen-aged boy was killed by nearby Israeli troops while there was no fighting going on there, witnesses said.

The show of force clearly signaled Israeli determination following Zeevi's assassination by gunmen from the hard-line Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. But toward what end the Middle East's most powerful army shifted into full gear was far from obvious. Israel had assassinated a <u>Hamas</u> leader, Abdel -Rahman Hammad three days before Zeevi was killed, and on Thursday three militiamen belonging to Mr. Arafat's Fatah faction died in an explosion.

That broke a six-week local truce and touched off shooting against the nearby Gilo settlement and the killing of an Israeli. The army then launched the incursions into Bethlehem and Beit Jala, saying they were necessary in order to stop the shooting toward Gilo.

"The Israelis are exploiting the fact that the Americans are busy with the ground war in Afghanistan in order to reoccupy the Palestinian areas," says pharmacist Sami Ibrahim, a former Fatah activist. "The Israelis are trying to destroy the Palestinian state and the peace process. We call on America to understand what is going on. We are with the Americans in their suffering from terrorism, but we face terrorism daily. Bin Laden is terror, and what the Israelis are doing to us is terror."

The PA Information Minister, Yasser Abed Rabbo, went even further. When Israeli tanks rolled into Ramallah, he told reporters: "Ramallah is New York. And Sharon is bin Laden."

Larger agenda?

Some Israeli commentators wondered yesterday whether the stated objectives of the incursions - arresting terrorists and preventing attacks against Israeli targets - were serving a larger agenda of satiating far-right political associates of Sharon who believe military force is the way to resolve the conflict with the Palestinians.

#### Israel takes US line on anti-terror

Adding to the uncertainty was the question of how long the troops would remain in their new positions. Raanan Cohen, from the relatively moderate Labor party, said: "The conquest of the Palestinian areas is worrisome and may deteriorate into a war." He added that if things got worse, Labor would have to pull out of the national unity coalition it formed with Likud last March to confront the Palestinian uprising.

Left-wing opposition leaders compared the new military drive with the invasion of Lebanon orchestrated by then-Defense Minister Sharon in 1982, a war billed as a week-long antiterrorist operation that lasted more than 18 years and took the lives of some 18,000 Palestinians and Lebanese, and hundreds of Israeli soldiers. "Israel has no interest in staying forever in Palestinian Authority area A, and when we arrest the heads of the terrorist organizations, we will pull out," Sharon told the Cabinet.

End of diplomacy?

Gideon Samet, a Haaretz columnist, said the military activity actually reflects an aversion to diplomacy. "There is no readiness on the Israeli side to engage the Palestinians in full-fledged and serious talks," he said.

In Mr. Samet's view, the reasoning behind the incursions is "to teach Arafat a lesson" so that he will crack down against those attacking Israel. "But this is a mistake," Samet said. "It did not work in the past, it cannot work, and if you look at the history of other national movements, it never worked in those cases either."

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Load-Date: October 21, 2001



# Terror tactics of the West's own making; Voices of Scotland: Labour MP George Galloway argues that US and British policy ensures that Osama bin Laden is a martyr in the making

Morning Star
October 04, 2001

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Section: Pg. 7

Length: 1059 words

# **Body**

WHEN the "old man of the mountains" Rashid al Din Sinan, the leader of the hashashin - from which comes the English term assassins - wanted to impress visiting potentates, he would simply order two of his followers to climb to the top of the nearby cliffs and leap to their certain deaths.

The hashashin, so-called because it was felt that so breathtaking was their audacity that they must be on drugs also, introduced the first recorded chemical weapons, soaking their projectiles in poison before firing them during seiges.

For nearly two centuries during the early middle ages, this heretical Muslim sect terrorised both the oriental and occidental world.

Marco Polo wrote a profile of the "old man" who lived in the mountains north-west of the now Iranian capital Teheran in which he described the hashashin's love of the daytime "spectacular" - brazenly public massacres devised to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies, whether Muslim or Crusader.

Polo also described how the old man promised his young killers that "my angels will transport you to paradise" if they died on their mission.

The spiritual descendant of that old man of the mountains - Osama bin Laden - is, in fact, neither old nor from the mountains, he is 44 and the 26th of 52 children of the megarich bin Laden construction empire in Saudi Arabia, which is one of the most influential families in the oilrich pro-Western kingdom.

At the age of 22, he left his feather pillow and, with the blessing of his family, king and their Western protectors, went off to begin his terrorist career - although, as every Star reader knows, then he was a "freedom fighter" eulogised nightly by the likes of Sandy Gall on News at Ten.

Of course, his terror tactics then were practiced on the government in Kabul and the Red Army which sustained it.

That government presided over what every Afghan now knows was a golden age, when every child went to school, including girls, *women* went to work and the country hummed with development and modernisation.

Naturally, it had to be destroyed.

Terror tactics of the West's own making; Voices of Scotland: Labour MP George Galloway argues that US and British policy ensures that Osama bin Laden is a marty....

Bin Laden's group was guided by an M16 unit in Islamabad, trained in Scotland by SAS instructors - and based in what can only be called a terrorist training camp outside Fort William - and the missiles it will soon be firing at our soldiers were given to it by the United States and Britain.

As with Saddam Hussein before him, our leaders are now working hard to Satanise - using the language of the crusades - men who we used to bankroll and support.

We are finding, again, that genies rarely behave the way that we want them to once we let them out of the bottle - a lesson which we did not learn with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, which was invented to undermine Nasser, <u>Hamas</u> and Jihad, which was conjoured forth to undermine Arafat, and many others.

The potency of the new old man of the mountains will not be undermined by the bloodbath into which we are about to plunge - a secret war of covert forces assassinations bombings and terror - but will be strengthened.

Hundreds of millions of Muslims around the world compare a man who left the dolce vita for the bleached mountains of the Hindu Kush with the corrupt kings and presidents of the east, whose only concern is the preservation of the thrones under their ample bottoms and the crowns on their less than ample heads.

And, in the absence of any other revolutionary force worth its salt, they prefer bin Laden.

For them, he is a Muslim Che Guevara, ready to sacrifice himself - and many others - for his ideals.

Of course, for us, his obscurantist medievilism cannot be compared to the universalist progressivism of Che.

But that universalist socialist or, even, nationalist creed is not currently on offer in the Muslim world, though once it was.

The chief news correspondent of the Arab version of CNN - Al Jazeera television, an oasis of press freedom operating out of Qatar - is a twentysomething young woman called Guevara al-Budairi.

Today, the most common name for new-born sons is Osama.

Like Guevara, bin Laden's striking iconic image already adorns many an Eastern teenagers bedroom.

And, like Guevara, his death will not terminate his appeal.

We will discover I fear, that bin Laden, the prophet slain, will prove even more dangerous dead than alive.

In the Hollywood film The Dirty Dozen, Lee Marvin goes around sweeping the glass-houses of the US military picking up every murderer and assorted cut-throat he can recruit for a "special mission, " in return for which all their sins and crimes will be forgiven.

Something similar is now happening with Operation Enduring Freedom.

We meet again our old friends the Northern Alliance, in which every bar-room bore and lap-top bombardier is investing much.

No matter that these are the very cut-throats who beggared Afghanistan in the first place, enslaved <u>women</u>, hanged television sets from nooses, stoned "adultresses" to death and hanged President Najibullah from a lamppost, cutting off his penis and placing it in his mouth and sticking Russian roubles up his nostrils.

The fact is that this alliance fights most often among itself, represents mainly Uzbeks, Tajiks and other Farsi-speaking minorities - in short, everyone but the majority Pathans - and is completely unacceptable to neighbouring Pakistan.

Page 3 of 3

Terror tactics of the West's own making; Voices of Scotland: Labour MP George Galloway argues that US and British policy ensures that Osama bin Laden is a marty....

Speaking of whom, we have now begun again arms sales and piles of dollars to the military junta in Islamabad with its weapons of mass destruction and its self-appointed "president" into whose pockets most of the dollars will go.

How much "enduring freedom" can there be to go around?

Then there's General Sharon, the murderer of tens of thousands of Palestinians, the formerly "mad mullahs" in Teheran, the bastions of enduring freedom, not to mention infinite justice in the Arab world, a long miserable line, with few exceptions, of dictatorships from the Atlantic to the Gulf.

And, of course, if we began to list the crimes against freedom and justice committed by Britain and the US, this would be a pamphlet and not an article.

"My enemies' enemy is my friend" is exactly the cynical morally bankrupt policy which got us into this mess called the new world order in the first place.

Never waltz with a chimney sweep, Mr Blair, you can't come out clean.

George Galloway MP is a regular columnist with the Scottish Mail on Sunday and www. orientmagazine . com

# **Graphic**

EULOGISED: Osama bin Laden's "striking image already adorns many an Eastern teenager's bedroom."

Load-Date: October 5, 2001



## West Bank killings set stage for showdown

Sunday Times (London)
October 21, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Overseas news

Length: 1112 words

Byline: Uzi Mahnaimi in Jerusalem

## **Body**

THE Israeli army pushed into two West Bank towns yesterday, killed eight Palestinians, seized buildings and arrested suspected militants in raids that fuelled fears of the conflict degenerating rapidly into war.

The incursions into the West Bank cities of Tulkarm and Qalqilya followed similar attacks on four other Palestinianruled towns, including Bethlehem, and marked a further upsurge in tension after the assassination of Rehavam Zeevi, the Israeli tourism minister, by Palestinian radicals on Wednesday.

The first killing of a cabinet minister by Palestinians in Israel's 53-year history prompted predictions of a dark new chapter in the conflict and Ariel Sharon, the prime minister, warned of "all-out war" unless Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, hands over the assassins before a week of mourning ends on Wednesday.

According to Israeli intelligence sources, special forces have been deployed in the Palestinian-controlled territories, authorised to kidnap senior Palestinians.

Sharon gave his approval for missions by the elite Kingfisher commando unit after Palestinian officials dismissed demands that Zeevi's killers -whose identities are said to be no secret to Israeli and Palestinian intelligence - be extradited.

The murder of Zeevi, an extreme anti-Arab nationalist who favoured pushing millions of Palestinians out of Israelioccupied territories, has ominously altered the contours of a conflict that only days ago had seemed to be contained as America put pressure on both sides to maintain calm on the West Bank and Gaza Strip so as not to inflame Arab opinion during the military campaign in Afghanistan.

Israeli troops battled against Palestinian gunmen as armoured vehicles advanced several hundred yards into Tulkarm and Qalqilya yesterday. Palestinian sources said that Israeli troops had commandeered houses and destroyed a security post. Two Palestinian police officers were killed in Tulkarm, and in Qalqilya a policeman and a member of *Hamas*, the militant Islamic group, died. Four people, including two *women*, were killed in and around Bethlehem. Helicopters fired at least three missiles into a building last night, wounding eight other people.

Israeli troops moved into the Palestinian-ruled cities of Bethlehem, Ramallah, Jenin and Beit Jala last week. The Israelis said Bethlehem had been targeted in response to shooting that had erupted after the mysterious death on Thursday, in a car bombing, of a Palestinian militant at the top of Israel's "wanted" list.

Israeli officials said the man had blown himself up, but Palestinians claimed he had been assassinated in order to provoke their gunfire and give Israel the pretext it needed for invading their cities.

#### West Bank killings set stage for showdown

Whatever the case, Palestinian leaders had no doubt that the Israeli advances - as well as the killings shortly after Zeevi's murder of three Palestinian militants -were the preamble to wider retaliation.

Zeevi was a friend of Sharon and the prime minister not only vowed to avenge the death but spoke of a "new era" in the conflict and compared Arafat, privately, to a "mad dog" and, publicly, to the Taliban leaders in Afghanistan. His ultimatum to Arafat echoed that given by President George WBush to the Taliban to hand over Osama Bin Laden, yet Israel is finding it difficult to convince America that such metaphors accurately reflect the threat.

Sharon was reported to have snapped at Colin Powell, the American secretary of state, shortly after Zeevi's assassination: "You say (Arafat) is not our Bin Laden -admit at least that he's our Taliban."

Sharon was also reported to have vented his anger on the British ambassador to Israel. "You Brits had better think about what you're doing," he said, recalling photographs of Tony Blair, the British prime minister, embracing Arafat. "Blair hugs Arafat and after each hug Arafat sends another murderer against us."

Blair urged Arafat in a telephone call on Friday to bring Zeevi's killers to justice, and later briefed Sharon on his talks: the British are as eager as the Americans to prevent an explosion that could complicate their global campaign against terrorism.

Yet the main task of trying to cool Sharon's temper fell to Shimon Peres, the dovish foreign minister. Although he has backed the deployment of Israeli forces in Palestinian territories, he was said to be urging Sharon to step back from his ultimatum: the issue could end up jeopardising imminent meetings, scheduled long before, with Blair and Bush.

Few, however, are willing to bet on Peres succeeding. Silvan Shalom, Sharon's deputy and the finance minister, has bluntly declared that Arafat should be deported from the West Bank.

Arafat does not take such warnings lightly. On Friday he ordered the arrest of scores of members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, a dissident, secular group that claimed responsibility for Zeevi's killing in revenge for that of Abu Ali Mustapha, its leader, by Israeli helicopter gunships in August.

He hoped that swift action would limit the level of retaliation and preserve credit he had accumulated in Washington for other measures -including a crackdown on Islamist protests against the bombing of Afghanistan -taken to suppress Palestinian violence.

Britain welcomed the steps and Israeli hardliners watched in discomfort as Arafat toured foreign capitals to embrace the western strategy for a peaceful solution. The diplomacy left Zeevi at odds with Sharon, who he accused of bowing to American pressure.

Zeevi, who had called Arafat a "liar" and a "man of blood", was hit in the head by two bullets fired from a silenced gun in a hotel corridor on Wednesday, hours before he was to have resigned from Sharon's ruling coalition.

Even Israeli security experts acknowledged the meticulousness of the planning. "It was not like the careless suicide attacks, of which one in 10 succeed," said an intelligence official. "This was the work of professionals."

Apparently Zeevi, a former army general who had refused the protection of bodyguards, suspected he was under hostile scrutiny. Yael, his widow, recalled that he had told her over breakfast that morning: "There is an Arab here who keeps staring at me in a way I don't like." More than half the staff at the Hyatt hotel in east Jerusalem are local Palestinians.

He was shot shortly before 7am. "I was taking a shower when I heard something heavy falling," said an American in the room opposite. "Then I heard a woman shrieking," he said, referring to Zeevi's wife, who discovered the body.

Zeevi died 2A hours later in hospital. As the violence in the Middle East intensifies, some believe the prospect of peace has died with him.

# Graphic

Israel prepares for war; War on Terrorism; War on Terror

Load-Date: October 22, 2001



## Egypt's moderate militants talk

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)
October 17, 2001, Wednesday

Copyright 2001 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 6

Length: 1049 words

Byline: Ilene R. Prusher Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: CAIRO** 

Highlight: Islamist groups say US support of authoritarian regimes only feeds radical tendencies in populace.

## **Body**

Gamal Sultan's past is no secret. He used to be involved in Jihad, the same outlawed Islamic militant group whose leading members included Ayman al-Zawahiri, an Egyptian physician who went on to be one of Osama bin Laden's closest colleagues in al-Qaeda.

But Mr. Sultan recognized that the use of violence by Jihad - which considers violence a legitimate means of ridding the country of a regime corrupted by Western values - was leading nowhere. And along with other members of Jihad, Sultan left the group to form a political party that could run in national elections.

The result, in 1997, was Islah (Reform Party), one of two Islamic political parties that asked for the right to run on last November's ballot. The government responded with a resounding blow-off.

"We received detailed notice that the reason for refusal was that the party had no new principles to offer the political arena," says Sultan, sitting on the couch in his home office near Ain Shams University, where students have been holding rallies against the US-led airstrikes in Afghanistan.

"The idea was to bring together the government and the Islamic groups, because of the constant repression on the part of the government," says Sultan, "and because of this increasing political oppression, people are becoming more extreme."

Islah's prohibition from participation in Egyptian elections hardly grabbed international headlines. Today, however, the events of Sept. 11 are bringing more attention to the role regimes such as Egypt's play in keeping a lid on Islamic fundamentalists - a lid sometimes closed so tight that militants seek ever more radical outlets.

Those who have a hard time summoning sympathy for Sultan's lack of political freedoms should consider that these Islamist groups are not just frustrated with their own government, which some say is easing back on repressive tactics. They are equally irritated with US support for the Egyptian government, which paves the way - in their eyes - for continued authoritarianism.

"This is why there is animosity between Islamists and the US, because Islamists see America as the power standing behind the oppressive regimes," says Sultan, editor of an Islamic political journal called "The New Minaret."

According to one school of thought, last month's attacks on New York and Washington only give firmer ground for President Mubarak to justify his domestic policies. He sympathizes with America, he has said, because he too is fighting terrorism operating under the banner of Islam. But many Middle East observers point out that the most pro-Western regimes have kept democratization to a crawl, fueling extremism by forcing Islamists to go underground. Several of the Sept. 11 plane hijackers came from Egypt and Saudi Arabia.

"That's one of the things that drives people to extremism - that they don't have a voice," says Sharif Elmusa, director of Middle East Studies at the American University of Cairo. "Then you create an extreme fringe, similar to what we've seen in Algeria," where the government has refused to recognize Islamic gains in elections.

Sultan spent seven months in prison after the assassination of President Anwar Sadat 20 years ago as part of a series of "very public arrests," as he calls it; the brevity of his jail time suggests he had little role in Sadat's murder. But it was during that period in jail - as well as another stint in 1985 for attempting to overthrow the government - that he says he witnessed the toll torture took on other prisoners. "The real creation of terrorism," he says, "is in the jails."

As Sultan sees it, the Egyptian government has grown more oppressive in recent years. Had he been arrested under similar circumstances today, he argues, the cases would have been handed over to a military court and ended in executions.

Others, however, say that the government has made strides toward improving its relationship with the Islamists since 1997, when militants opened fire on tourists in Luxor, killing 58 people in Egypt's worst terrorist attack.

"There are no more random arrests, torture in prisons is not as bad as it used to be, and security officials have started to release people jailed for their political views - about 6,000 of them," says Montasser el Zayat, a lawyer who represents clients with connections to Islamic groups. He, too, used to be involved in Jihad, and his imprisonment after the Sadat assassination led him to pursue a career defending like-minded prisoners, often held without charges or trial. During late-night office hours, relatives of prisoners - many of them <u>women</u> sheathed in black - wait for hours for one of the few advocates in Egypt who will plead their cases.

"The doors are still closed in their faces. The government has refused the creation of any party based on religious grounds," says Mr. Zayat.

Officials, however, did let several candidates with known ties to the Muslim Brotherhood run as independents in the 2000 elections.

But the government has continued tightening its restraints on Islamic "outreach" and social services which, similar to others such as the Palestinian <u>Hamas</u> and Lebanon's Hizbullah, wins points with the underclass by providing health care, education, and the like.

#### Egypt 's moderate militants talk

"We used to be able to raise funds ... and distribute it to poor people and we used to be able to provide social services to families, and now we're not allowed to do that," says Zayat. "Some of the institutes we used to run have been taken over by the government."

Knowing the direction in which the vicious circle of extremism and authoritarianism is flowing, however, doesn't make it any easier to stop.

"The Sept. 11 events will validate the arguments of many Arab regimes in the region because they will say, 'This is what we've been telling you about, and you're pressuring us on human rights and democratization,' " says Prof. Emad Shahin, a specialist in Islamic politics at the American University here.

Sultan's appeal, as well as that of the Sharia (Islamic Law) Party, is waiting for an answer from a state court. If they lose in court, he won't try again, he says. He fears how younger Muslims will react, however. "A new generation will come up," he says, "which is much more bloody than the past generation."

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Load-Date: October 16, 2001



## What's behind Arab backlash

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

December 22, 1998, Tuesday

Copyright 1998 The Christian Science Publishing Society

Section: WORLD; Pg. 6

Length: 855 words

Byline: Scott Peterson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: BAGHDAD, IRAQ

Highlight: Some anger over US bombing of Iraq stems from domestic problems, discontent with peace process.

## **Body**

The recent fate of American flags in Gaza may best tell the story of how Arab support for military strikes against Iraq has waxed and waned.

When President Clinton made a historic visit to Palestinian territories one week ago, few commentators could resist noting the political sea change: Where once American flags were burned because of America's close ties with Israel, now they were being heralded. America's role as the "honest broker" appeared to have been reaffirmed, and Mr. Clinton was now a trusted "friend."

But just days later, as the first US missiles struck Iraq, the flag-burning scenes were back. Riots erupted in Egypt, and the US Embassy in Syria was attacked by protesters.

"It must have made a difference in [Americans'] minds," says a senior Western official here. "After being a hero in Gaza, to people stepping on portraits of Clinton. It had an impact they didn't expect."

Military attacks are rarely conducted without weighing political considerations, especially in the Middle East where one of Newton's laws of physics prevails: For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction. As the United States planned the airstrikes, potential Arab reaction was likely an important factor.

"There was little scope for diplomacy after UNSCOM [the weapons inspection program] reported noncooperation, so it was a sad day when the bombing started," says Prakash Shah, UN special representative to Iraq who was appointed after the February Iraq crisis. The Council was due to meet yesterday to consider how weapons inspections in Iraq could resume.

Arabs' view of Iraqis, then and now

Iraq holds a special place in the popular Arab imagination as a country whose history is based on having the essentials of life: water, arable land, and therefore food. It is an article of faith throughout the Arab world that the

#### What's behind Arab backlash

Iraqi people have suffered mightily under eight years of United Nations sanctions, and that US and British actions have prevented them from being lifted.

In Baghdad, the result is seen as popular Arab support: "These people of Iraq are the strongest among Arabs; they are the only ones who stand up to Israel and the US," says Zaid Kamel al-Assadi, a Baghdad pharmacist.

But did street protests in the Middle East stem from concern for the people of Iraq? Or are there other underlying reasons for the outbursts?

Politically, the Wye peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians - reached only after nine days of intense US pressure on both sides - paved the way for a regional improvement of Washington's reputation.

One result came during the previous Iraq crisis in November, when in an unprecedented move Iraq was told by Syria, Egypt, and six Persian Gulf states that it bore "sole responsibility" for any US strikes. Iraq had at the time halted cooperation with UN weapons inspectors, in violation of Security Council resolutions, and even friends such as Russia voiced their disapproval.

But this time violations hinged on a negative report about Iraq's noncompliance by Richard Butler, the UN's chief weapons inspector who Arab and some Western analysts believe is too close to the Americans. This time there was no pan-Arab statement condemning Iraq, just violent street scenes.

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein portrayed the strikes - as he has done numerous times in the past - as a war against all Arabs and Muslims by non-believing Western powers. But Saddam's troubles may not have been at the top of the agenda of many who were demonstrating in Cairo, holding an anti-US rally in a country that is a longtime American ally and receives some \$ 1.8 billion in US aid a year.

Chance to attack internal situation

President Hosni Mubarak appealed to the US to stop the strikes after protests outside the US Embassy were put down by truncheon-wielding police, but he took no concrete action. "Mubarak called for an end to the strikes because he is not sure if he can control the internal situation inside Egypt," says a Western diplomat here. "It is the opposition in Egypt who have seized on this as a chance to hit at Mubarak. This is not popular support for Iraq."

The risk is the same for Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, whose US-brokered land-for-peace deal with Israel has been criticized by extremist groups. In the past, *Hamas* and Islamic Jihad have shown their ability to undermine Mr. Arafat by carrying out suicide attacks. Prior to Clinton's visit, Arafat launched a heavy-handed crackdown.

In Syria, a state that is rigidly controlled by the regime of President Hafez al-Assad, the anti-US demonstrations were even more remarkable. Syrian troops actually took part in the US-led military coalition that ousted Iraqi troops from Kuwait in 1991, and in every previous crisis with Iraq, Damascus has limited its dissent to rhetoric.

In Syria there was a genuine outpouring of anger, some say. But Arab analysts also suggest that the violence - in which protesters scaled the embassy walls and tore down and burned the American flag - was a not-so-subtle message to Washington that the moribund Syria-Israel peace track should once again receive US attention.

# **Graphic**

PHOTOS: 1) AFTER-ACTION CLEANUP IN THE PERSIAN GULF: Crewmen scrubbed the carrier USS Enterprise Sunday. The US airstrikes on Iraq have brought mixed reactions in the Arab world. BY KEVIN COOMBS/REUTERS 2) SURVEYING DAMAGE: Iraqi <u>women</u> walk by a house that was reportedly destroyed by a missile in Qorna, about 300 miles south of Baghdad. Arabs across the Mideast identify with the Iraqi people. BY MURAD SEZER/AP

Load-Date: December 21, 1998



# <u>A NATION CHALLENGED: TELEVISION; At Arab All-News Channel, Western</u> Values Prevail - Correction Appended

The New York Times
October 12, 2001 Friday
Late Edition - Final

# Correction Appended

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section B; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 7

Length: 938 words

Byline: By JOHN KIFNER

Dateline: DOHA, Qatar, Oct. 11

#### **Body**

"We are a new trend in the Arab world," Ibrahim M. Helal was saying tonight in a corner of the busy newsroom of Al Jazeera, the satellite television channel now known all over the world for broadcasting Osama bin Laden's defiant speech on Sunday. "Using the Western style, we have broken many taboos.

"Of course," added Mr. Helal, 32, the network's chief editor, "we upset most of the other Arab states."

On the back wall of the compact newsroom, a bank of 16 monitors displayed potential feeds -- a Marine general giving a briefing at the Pentagon, a Muslim cleric, an Afghan refugee on a horse riding past a ruined building with a child behind him, President Bush. The journalists at a dozen workstations, equipped with computers that display technical information and story lists in English and scripts in Arabic, included Gulf Arabs in spotless white dishdashas, a Sudanese with a distinctive loose turban, men in casual Western dress and <u>women</u> in pantsuits, their hair uncovered.

"Make sure you courtesy Jazeera," one of the <u>women</u> barked into a cell phone to a Western television network picking up footage from Jalalabad, inside Afghanistan.

Today's major exclusive was from Tayseer Allouni, the station's correspondent in Kandahar, the Taliban headquarters -- the only reporter there -- with videotape of two American warplanes in a clear blue sky bombing the center of the Taliban's operations. The videotape was later shown on CNN.

In a part of the world where news has always been the news the government wants, true or not, Al Jazeera is truly a phenomenon.

Throughout the Arab world, state television typically leads its newscast each night with the doings of the local potentate, frequently stepping off an airplane or waiting on the tarmac, embracing a fellow potentate. This is interspersed with clips of soldiers and tanks charging into mock battle as martial music plays in the background.

#### A NATION CHALLENGED: TELEVISION At Arab All- News Channel, Western Values Prevail

But Al Jazeera, whose slogan is "The opinion -- the other opinion," is something different. Its guest interviewees have ranged from the former Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, and the longtime Israeli peace advocate Shimon Peres, to the uncompromising militants Sheik Hassan Nasrullah of Hezbollah and Sheik Ahmed Yaseen of <u>Hamas</u>, and even Secretary of State Colin L. Powell.

Like the shortwave radio broadcasts of the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe that helped chip away at the Soviet empire, it is difficult to black out. Satellite dishes jump off the shelves, and even in countries like Iran that forbid them, there is a brisk business in disguising the discs as part of a garden.

The Egyptian novelist Ahdaf Soueif described the importance of Al Jazeera to the Arab world, writing in the British newspaper The Guardian, that "it is the one window through which we can breathe."

He recalled flipping through the channels in a Cairo hotel room and coming upon a station in Arabic with people speaking "in a way I had only ever heard people speak in private -- away from the censorship and the various state security services that dominate our public discourse.

"Within the Arab world, this channel has made censorship of news and opinion pointless," Mr. Soueif wrote.

Al Jazeera was founded in 1996 as the showpiece of the new emir of Qatar, Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, as a symbol of his plans to modernize.

It leaped to prominence in the last year covering the Palestinian intifada, with viewers throughout the Arab world glued to its broadcasts.

Mr. Helal, an Egyptian, who like much of his young staff grew up working for the BBC and absorbing the traditional news values of the West, said that the emir has protected Al Jazeera from political pressures. The station has 35 bureaus around the world and concentrates unabashededly on such forbidden topics as the absence of democratic institutions, the persecution of political dissidents and the inequality of <u>women</u>.

"Objectivity is our aim," Mr. Halel said.

"But in this part of the world it is very difficult. Some countries, like Egypt and Jordan, that are considered very advanced, the authorities are trying to enforce their point of view. Even receiving reports from Syria or Iraq is almost impossible.

In 1997, when Hafez al-Assad of Syria was elected for the fourth time in an a election in which he won by an official count of 99.9 percent, the station refused to accept the Syrian government's own text. "No way," Mr. Halel said. "Even our own correspondent, she couldn't touch the story. We did it in the studio.

"I mean, he had his negatives," Mr. Halel said of the Syrian ruler. "He lost the Golan Heights and he killed 20,000 people in one of his own cities."

In situations like these, he said, the technique was to protect the reporter in the field by not pressing hostile questions, but rather by restoring balance through narrative in the studio or by presenting critical guests, a strategy often used by mainstream Western news media.

Responding to criticism by Secretary of State Powell that Al Jazeera was broadcasting propaganda, Mr. Halel said: "We learned free speech in America. How can you ask us to hinder it? If we interfere between information and our audience, it is the start of our end."

Asked about Mr. bin Laden's dramatic appearance on Sunday, Mr. Halel first noted that Al Jazeera, alone among Arab stations, had earlier broadcast interviews with Ahmed Shah Massoud, a bin Laden rival. Massoud of the rebel Northern Alliance, was assassinated shortly before the attacks on the United States.

"It was very important to see his account of Sept. 11," Mr. Halel said of Mr. bin Laden's statement. "It was his firstever comment."

#### http://www.nytimes.com

#### Correction

An article yesterday about Al Jazeera, the Arab all-news satellite television channel, referred incorrectly to an Egyptian novelist who described its importance in the Arab world. The novelist, Ahdaf Soueif, is a woman.

Correction-Date: October 13, 2001

# **Graphic**

Photo: The newsroom at Al Jazeera, the satellite news channel based in Doha, Qatar. Its uncensored reports make it a respected voice in the Arab world. (Agence France-Presse)

Load-Date: October 12, 2001



#### <u>Letters</u>

Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)
October 07, 2001, Sunday

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Section: Opine; Pg. F-9

Length: 1091 words

## **Body**

Concealed-carriers more law-abiding than most

Charles Milner's spurious dismissal of the new concealed carry law is a perfect example of the hypocrisy of the "antigunner."

Northern New Mexico is infamous for its rate of crimes against <u>women</u>, ranking quite high in its per-capita rate of rape and sexual assault -- hardly the minor annoyances Milner implies. <u>Women</u> in carry states are regularly successful in defending their lives; why should New Mexico <u>women</u> remain victimized?

According to figures from Texas, less than one-tenth of one percent of all license holders are ever cited for improper behavior and the overwhelming majority of these cases are simple errors, such as a woman who forgot her gun was in her purse trying to board an airplane at Dallas/Fort Worth airport.

This makes those of us who choose to carry far more law-abiding and responsible than the average citizen.

Jay Winton

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Unable to control

I would like to correct some misleading words in William Stewart's column (Sept. 2). Stewart (talks about) Israel unilaterally withdrawing from the occupied territories. Unilateral withdrawal will not secure peace and security. Barak already offered 90 percent of the territory to Arafat, who rejected it. People should know as they read those words that there are *Hamas*, jihad and Hizballa groups, which are completely dedicated to the destruction of Israel regardless of territories and the status of Jerusalem.

Arafat is unable to control the different groups and fractions among his people, so negotiation with Arafat and granting some of his wishes will not necessarily bring peace and security.

Moshe Levi

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Letters

Down the hole

Michele Nations, who sprained her ankle five years ago when she tripped in a hole at a municipal park in Tucson,

has now been awarded \$ 450,000 by a local jury. (April 19: "Gopher hole may cost city \$ 450K," Arizona Daily Star.) Private developers required to dig holes and move prairie dogs might be committing a tort if someone is harmed by this action. Municipal governments are also liable if they dig a hole in which my horse (or kid) breaks his leg.
Edward Holman
Santa Fe
via e-mail
Trail's a ball!
The Dale Ball trail system is a fantastic gift to all of us living in Santa Fe. The trailheads are easily accessible from town and the system stretches all the way from north of the parking lot on Cerro del Norte (off Hyde Park Road) to the top of Atalaya. A new parking lot is under construction at the far end of Upper Canyon. The trails have many junctions making it possible to explore a different route each trip. They wind quietly through pinon forests, every once in a while arriving at a scenic view point. Thank you to the city and Dale Ball for preserving this open space and making it accessible to all of us.
Irene Yesley
Santa Fe
via e-mail
Politics at worst
By allowing Jimmie Martinez to hand-pick his successor, Donita Sena and Martin Lujan totally abdicated their responsibilities as elected officials. That vote was an example of Santa Fe patron politics at its worst we can only guess what promises and deals lay behind it. And the decision to "eventually come up with a policy" on how to deal with vacancies? The policy should be obvious: Invite applications, consider them and select the most qualified applicant. The children of our district deserve better; Sena and Lujan should be recalled.
Bruce Herr
Santa Fe
via e-mail
Simple solution
Regarding the highly-questionable decision by the Santa Fe School Board to allow Jimmie Martinez to choose his own replacement for the board, let me make a suggestion that would save us all lots of money, time and effort: Perhaps the school board, the city council and the county commission need never again go to the trouble and expense of holding fair and open elections. Instead, we'll just let the all-powerful Martinez decide who will hold any and all public offices.
Thomas Alesi
Santa Fe

Negative message

via e-mail

#### Letters

The two members of the Santa Fe Board of Education who voted to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Jimmie Martinez without opening the seat to other applicants send a negative message about the democratic process to the youth they have been elected to serve and breach the trust of the public which elected them.

Peggy Hemmendinger

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Give 'em chance

I am so heartsick over the way we treat drug and alcohol addicts. We treat our pets 10 times better. When did we lose our compassion?

Drugs are as much a part of our world as alcohol. If we could teach young addicts to be responsible adults, half of our welfare problems and half of our overcrowded jail problems would be eliminated.

Give these poor souls a chance. Treat them with dignity and give them a healthy environment in which to learn. Teach them trades and give them the medical attention they need. Stop pretending they do not exist. They are our brothers and sisters and, like it or not, we have all helped in contributing to their condition.

G. Frazier

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Facts first

According to your Sept. 4 piece (on the Glorieta battlefield), historians write that Union forces "stumbled" on the Confederate supply wagons. Really? Then why did Col. Chavez spend much of the night before leading a party of Chivington's men over the Glorieta cuesta, men who lowered themselves by rope to the valley floor at the opening to Apache Canyon, ran the guards off, dispatched the draft animals and burned the supply wagons? Dumb luck, I guess. That simple act -- along with the "skirmishes" at Pidgeon's Ranch, Las Cruces, Valverde and Albuquerque -- helped to finish the tyrannical and callous Sibley and any serious Confederate push in the west.

The editorial mentioned nothing about where a bypass might be. Where are the arguments, the alternatives? Let's have the facts before we write this off.

R.M. Lienau

Pecos

via e-mail

Hitting the mark?

Your paper of Sept. 7 reads "The State Department of Public Safety has scaled-back firearms training requirements for obtaining concealed-carry handgun permits in New Mexico." Public Safety Secretary Nick Bakas goes on to explain that too many supporters of the concealed-carry law criticized the state's plan to have gunslingers prove they could actually hit a target 80 percent of the time. As a result, the department no longer requires a written exam or a set score on the firing range for handing out a permit to carry a concealed handgun.

Makes you wonder if the same people were responsible for having our schools' test-score requirements lowered.

Chuck Wooldridge

#### Letters

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Load-Date: October 9, 2001



## What's behind Arab backlash

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

December 22, 1998, Tuesday

Copyright 1998 The Christian Science Publishing Society **Section:** INTERNATIONAL; WORLD; Pg. 6

Length: 849 words

Byline: Scott Peterson, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: BAGHDAD, IRAQ

Highlight: Some anger over US bombing of Iraq stems from domestic problems, discontent with peace process.

## **Body**

The recent fate of American flags in Gaza may best tell the story of how

Arab support for military strikes against Iraq has waxed and waned.

When President Clinton made a historic visit to Palestinian territories one

week ago, few commentators could resist noting the political sea change:

Where once American flags were burned because of America's close ties with

Israel, now they were being heralded. America's role as the "honest broker"

appeared to have been reaffirmed, and Mr. Clinton was now a trusted

"friend."

But just days later, as the first US missiles struck Iraq, the flag-burning

scenes were back. Riots erupted in Egypt, and the US Embassy in Syria was attacked by protesters.

"It must have made a difference in [Americans'] minds," says a senior

Western official here. "After being a hero in Gaza, to people stepping on

portraits of Clinton. It had an impact they didn't expect."

Military attacks are rarely conducted without weighing political considerations, especially in the Middle East where one of Newton's laws of physics prevails: For every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction. As the United States planned the airstrikes, potential Arab reaction was likely an important factor.

"There was little scope for diplomacy after UNSCOM [the weapons inspection program] reported noncooperation, so it was a sad day when the bombing started," says Prakash Shah, UN special representative to Iraq who was appointed after the February Iraq crisis. The Council was due to meet yesterday to consider how weapons inspections in Iraq could resume.

Arabs' view of Iraqis, then and now
Iraq holds a special place in the popular Arab imagination as a country whose history is based on having the essentials of life: water, arable land, and therefore food. It is an article of faith throughout the Arab world that the Iraqi people have suffered mightily under eight years of United Nations sanctions, and that US and British actions have prevented them from being lifted.

In Baghdad, the result is seen as popular Arab support: "These people of

Iraq are the strongest among Arabs; they are the only ones who stand up to Israel and the US," says Zaid Kamel al-Assadi, a Baghdad pharmacist.

But did street protests in the Middle East stem from concern for the people of Iraq? Or are there other underlying reasons for the outbursts?

Politically, the Wye peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians -

What's behind Arab backlash

reached only after nine days of intense US pressure on both sides - paved the way for a regional improvement of Washington's reputation.

One result came during the previous Iraq crisis in November, when in an unprecedented move Iraq was told by Syria, Egypt, and six Persian Gulf states that it bore "sole responsibility" for any US strikes. Iraq had at the time halted cooperation with UN weapons inspectors, in violation of Security Council resolutions, and even friends such as Russia voiced their disapproval.

But this time violations hinged on a negative report about Iraq's noncompliance by Richard Butler, the UN's chief weapons inspector who Arab and some Western analysts believe is too close to the Americans. This time there was no pan-Arab statement condemning Iraq, just violent street scenes.

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein portrayed the strikes - as he has done numerous times in the past - as a war against all Arabs and Muslims by non-believing Western powers. But Saddam's troubles may not have been at the top of the agenda of many who were demonstrating in Cairo, holding an anti-US rally in a country that is a longtime American ally and receives some \$ 1.8 billion in US aid a year.

Chance to attack internal situation

President Hosni Mubarak appealed to the US to stop the strikes after protests outside the US Embassy were put down by truncheon-wielding police, but he took no concrete action. "Mubarak called for an end to the strikes

because he is not sure if he can control the internal situation inside

Egypt," says a Western diplomat here. "It is the opposition in Egypt who

have seized on this as a chance to hit at Mubarak. This is not popular

support for Iraq."

The risk is the same for Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, whose

US-brokered land-for-peace deal with Israel has been criticized by

extremist groups. In the past, *Hamas* and Islamic Jihad have shown their

ability to undermine Mr. Arafat by carrying out suicide attacks. Prior to

Clinton's visit, Arafat launched a heavy-handed crackdown.

In Syria, a state that is rigidly controlled by the regime of President

Hafez al-Assad, the anti-US demonstrations were even more remarkable.

Syrian troops actually took part in the US-led military coalition that

ousted Iraqi troops from Kuwait in 1991, and in every previous crisis with

Iraq, Damascus has limited its dissent to rhetoric.

In Syria there was a genuine outpouring of anger, some say. But Arab

analysts also suggest that the violence - in which protesters scaled the

embassy walls and tore down and burned the American flag - was a

not-so-subtle message to Washington that the moribund Syria-Israel peace

track should once again receive US attention.

# **Graphic**

PHOTO: SURVEYING DAMAGE: Iraqi <u>women</u> walk by a house that was reportedly destroyed by a missile in Qorna, about 300 miles south of Baghdad. Arabs across the Mideast identify with the Iraqi people. BY MURAD SEZER/AP

Load-Date: December 22, 1998



## Inside the mind of a Palestinian suicide bomber

The New Zealand Herald August 13, 2001 Monday

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Section: NEWS; World

Length: 1072 words

Byline: By ROBERT FISK

## **Body**

JERUSALEM - I once asked the head of the Lebanese Hizbollah if he could explain to me how the mind of a suicide bomber worked.

Sayed Hassan Nasrallah was dressed in his black turban and robes. He had formerly been the Hizbollah's military commander in southern Lebanon and from his legions had emerged the first Arab suicide bombers who would sap the morale of Israel's retreating Army.

Explain to me as a Westerner, I urged Nasrallah, how a man could immolate himself.

"Imagine you are in a sauna," he said. "It is very hot but you know that in the next room there is air-conditioning, an armchair, classical music and a cocktail."

There was a pause as the Hizbollah leader moved his hand swiftly upwards, as if opening a door. "So you pass easily into the next room." I will not forget the smile he then gave me. "That," he said, "is how I would explain the mind of the martyr to a Westerner."

Nasrallah enjoyed metaphors, similes; like the Hizbollah's "martyr" posters which so often show the dead in paradise, surrounded by rivers and tulips and weeping willows. Is that where the suicide bombers really believe they are going, I used to ask myself? To the rivers of honey and the trees and - yes, of course - the virgins?

The idea that sacrifice is a noble ideal - and let us, for a moment, put aside the iniquity of murdering children in a Jerusalem pizzeria - is common to Western as well as Eastern society.

First World War Calvaries in France are covered with commemorations to men who supposedly "laid down their lives" for their country - even though most died in appalling agony, praying only that they would live.

When, years after our conversation, Nasrallah's son was killed in a suicidal assault on an Israeli Army position in southern Lebanon, the Hizbollah leader insisted that he receive not condolences but congratulations.

If the idea of self-sacrifice is comprehensible, it is clearly not a natural phenomenon. In a normal society, in a community whose people feel they are treated equally and with justice, we regard suicide as a tragic aberration, a death produced - in the coroner's eloquent lexicon - when "the balance of the mind is disturbed".

But what happens when the balance of a whole society's mind has been disturbed? Walking through the wreckage of the Sabra and Chatila Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut a few weeks ago - the same camps in which up to

#### Inside the mind of a Palestinian suicide bomber

2000 civilians were massacred in 1982 - I could only wonder at the stability of the survivors who still lived there amid the concrete huts, the rubbish and the football-sized rats. If I lived here, I remember thinking, I would commit suicide.

And that is the point. When a society is dispossessed, when the injustices thrust upon it appear insoluble, when the "enemy" is all-powerful, when one's own people are bestialised as insects, cockroaches, "two-legged beasts", then the mind moves beyond reason.

It becomes fascinated in two senses - with the idea of an afterlife and with the possibility that this belief will provide a weapon of more than nuclear potential.

I spent months studying the suiciders of Lebanon. They were mostly single men, occasionally <u>women</u>, often the victims of Israeli torture or the relatives of family members who had been killed in battle with Israel.

They would often receive their orders at prayer in the "masjid" or mosque. The imam would be told to use a certain phrase in his sermon - a reference to roses or gardens or water or a kind of tree. The cleric would not understand the purpose of this but in his congregation a young man would know that his day of "martyrdom" had arrived.

In Gaza, even before the 1993 Oslo agreement, I discovered an almost identical phenomenon.

As in Lebanon, the would-be "martyr" would spend his last night reading the Koran.

He would never say goodbye to his parents. But he would embrace them and tell them not to cry if he were one day to die. Then he would set off to collect his explosives.

Five minutes before he set off from the West Bank town of Tulkarem, a young <u>Hamas</u> member went through this ritual. Five minutes later, an Israeli missile struck the car he was driving. But a week later another suicider reached the doors of the pizzeria on the corner of Jaffa St and King George's St in West Jerusalem.

There is a terrible difference with the suicide bombers of Palestine.

The Japanese "kamikaze" pilots attacked battleships and aircraft carriers, not hospitals.

The Lebanese largely followed this pattern and went for military targets. But more and more, the Palestinian suicide bombers have targeted Israeli civilians.

A battleship or an Israeli tank is one thing - a 3-year-old waiting for his mother to cut his pizza for him is quite another.

I called a Palestinian friend to ask about this, to ask how young Palestinian men - in Lebanon as well as Ramallah - could rejoice in the streets at the pizzeria massacre.

She expressed her abhorrence at what happened - she was genuine in this - but tried to explain that the Palestinians had suffered so many civilian casualties since the "intifada" began that Palestinians found joy in any suffering inflicted on their enemy. There was a feeling that "they should suffer too".

But I go back to my own first reaction when I reached the Sbarro pizza house. Unforgivable. What did that eyeless, dead Israeli child ever do to the Palestinians? Could not the Palestinian bomber, in his last moments on Earth, recognise this child as his daughter, his baby sister, his youngest cousin?

Alas, no. He was too far down the road to his own death, too buried in his own people's tragedy. The pressure cooker of the West Bank was his sauna. And he passed through the door.

- <u>http://www.independent.co.uk</u> INDEPENDENT

#### Inside the mind of a Palestinian suicide bomber

http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?storyID=155216&thesection=Story&thesubsection=&reportID=56522 Map

http://domino.un.org/UNISPAL.NSF UN: Information on the Question of Palestine

http://www.israel-un.org/ Israel's Permanent Mission to the UN

http://www.palestine-un.org/ Palestine's Permanent Observer Mission to the UN

http://www.middleeastdaily.com Middle East Daily

http://www.arabicnews.com/ansub/index.html Arabic News

<u>http://www.amin.org</u> Arabic Media Internet Network

http://www.jpost.com Jerusalem Post

http://www.israelwire.com/su1.html Israel Wire

http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/peace\_process.html US Department of State - Middle East Peace Process

Load-Date: December 17, 2002



## In Mideast, women win small battles on rights

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

March 8, 2000, Wednesday

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Section: WORLD; Pg. 1

Length: 955 words

Byline: Ilene Prusher, Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Dateline: GAZA CITY, GAZA STRIP

#### **Body**

Amal Sayam plies the slums of Gaza with a revolutionary message: Don't marry early.

One 15-year-old, already engaged, was swayed. But when the high school student tried to discuss this change of mind with her parents, she found that it was too late. In Islamic courts, an engagement contract is as binding as marriage. To get out of it, she would need to be granted a divorce. That unlikely feat would probably limit her remarriage prospects.

Ms. Sayam and a consortium of Palestinian <u>women</u>'s groups are drafting a "personal status law" which would raise the minimum age for marriage to 18 and give <u>women</u> equal rights in divorce and inheritance.

Advocates like Sayam don't want to leave the futures of young girls up to parents who, driven by tradition or economic

Muslim <u>women</u> in Gaza march for marital reforms on International <u>Women</u>'s Day. pressures, offer their daughters in marriage - sometimes unbeknownst to the bride-to-be - at such young ages.

The proposed status law is seen by proponents as key in ensuring that <u>women</u>'s rights are an integral part of the nation-building process taking place in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Today, <u>women</u> are planning to demand the law's passage in a march at the Gaza City parliament building to mark International <u>Women</u>'s Day. Palestinian <u>women</u> are encouraged by last week's ruling in neighboring Egypt that allows <u>women</u> to initiate divorce. The law is the first of its kind in the region (with the exception of Tunisia, with liberal laws since the 1950s).

The <u>women</u> hope they can shape their legal status while new laws are under consideration to replace the hodge-podge of old ones left over from British, Egyptian, Israeli, and Jordanian rule.

Religious conservatives, however, stand fundamentally opposed to anything seen as tinkering with sharia, or Islamic law, which applies to the vast majority of Palestinians. Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian President, has

#### In Mideast, women win small battles on rights

appointed a committee of political and religious officials to come up with their own draft law to be presented to the parliament. But the committee includes no <u>women</u> or known progressives. It is headed by the Jerusalem mufti, or preeminent Islamic official - leading rights' groups to fear their demands could be ignored.

Ayam, one of nine children, married late by Gaza standards, waiting until the age of 25. A study by the <u>Women</u>'s Affairs Center here found that in 42 percent of recent Gaza marriages, the bride was under the age of 17. While the minimum age for marriage here is 15 for girls and 16 for boys, local leaders who preside over marriages are authorized to make exceptions. They often approve unions with brides as young as nine and grooms as young as 12.

In this part of the world, teen pregnancy isn't a stigma - it's part of the norm. While some parents want daughters to marry early to preserve family honor - which rules out dating - girls are often attracted by the promise of a big party and the jewelry and clothing included in their dowries.

"It's fun to have all this gold and presents, so it's attractive," says Sayam, who lectures both young girls and male village elders - separately, of course - on what she says are the detriments of early marriage. These include low educational levels, health problems, early divorce, and large family size, which contributes to Gaza's soaring birthrate.

"Once we talk to the students at the schools, they're against marrying early, but they find it's not their decision to make," adds Sayam. Her hair is snugly wrapped in a scarf of shiny white satin, a nod to the belief that there is room in Islamic observance to expand **women**'s rights.

Indeed, much as in Egypt, the <u>women</u>'s movement is trying to work within Islam, but provide an alternative interpretation of it. Marwa Qassem, the director of Mashriqiyat, the <u>women</u>'s organization spearheading the campaign for the new law, says letting marriage and divorce be governed by civil laws would be a failure.

"Almost everything we argue comes from traditional and customary law," says Ms. Qassem. "We say, yes, Islamic sharia, but which Islamic sharia? It's our argument that there isn't one Islam."

For example, the local interpretation of Islam stipulates certain reasons a woman can ask for a divorce. Proving that her husband physically abused her, was absent for a year, or could not support her are all grounds for divorce.

"The problem is that no woman can provide enough proof for any of that," says Afaf Adwan,of the *Women*'s Affairs Center.

In most cases, the husband can ask a judge to impose "house obedience," requiring the wife to come home and try to work out their differences. If she refuses, she forfeits all rights to custody of her children or a request for alimony.

Islamists, however, say that any wrong done to **women** can be righted on the basis of what is to be found in the Koran.

#### In Mideast, women win small battles on rights

"We Muslims believe that Islamic law contains all the rights <u>women</u> need," says Ismail Abu Shenab, a senior official in the Islamic fundamentalist group <u>Hamas</u>. "If <u>women</u> are given the ability to divorce, it will be destructive for the family," opening the door to sexual promiscuity.

That argument wins many <u>women</u> as well. Canvassing Gaza to collect signatures in support of the personal status law -25,000 so far - Ms. Qassem found that many <u>women</u> were too "worried" to rock the boat and agreed with the status quo

Halla Mustafa of the Al-Ahram Center in Cairo, says that this is evolutionary rather than radical change. She doesn't expect a major overhaul of *women*'s rights following the change in Egyptian divorce law.

"It's still using sharia ... not secular or civil law," she says. "You can take it as a sign of reform within the system."

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## DEATH BY REMOTE CONTROL AS HIT SQUADS RETURN

The Independent (London)

April 13, 2001, Friday

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Section: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 15

Length: 956 words

Byline: Robert Fisk In Gaza

## **Body**

WHEN THE Israelis came for Abu Jihad exactly 13 years ago, they employed up to 4,000 men for his assassination. There was an Awacs plane over Tunis, a squadron of jets to protect the Awacs, two warships in the Mediterranean, a submarine to guard the warships, a 707 refuelling aircraft, 40 men to go ashore and surround the home of Yasser Arafat's PLO deputy commander, and four men and an officer to murder their victim.

Abu Jihad's son Jihad al-Wazzir recalls: "First they killed the bodyguard who was asleep in the car outside. Then they killed the gardener and the second bodyguard ... My dad was writing in his office and went into the hall with a pistol. He got off one shot before he was hit. My mother remembers how each of the four men would step forward and empty an entire clip of bullets from an automatic weapon into my dad - like it was a kind of ritual. Then an officer in a black mask stepped forward and shot him in the head, just to make sure."

Today, Israel's murder squads come cheaper: a computer chip that activates a bomb in a mobile telephone, a family collaborator, or even a splash of ultra -violet paint on the roof of a car to alert an Israeli Apache helicopter pilot to fire a Hellfire missile into the Palestinian's vehicle.

It's long-range assassination. But some things don't change. Palestinians have long believed - and Jihad al-Wazzir Jnr is convinced - that the Israeli who delivered the coup de grace to his father on 16 April 1988 was an intelligence officer called Moshe Yalon. And today, one of the principal instigators behind the policy of murdering Israel's Palestinian military opponents is the deputy chief of staff, a certain major general called Moshe Yalon.

It's a cruel, vicious, internationally illegal war in which the Palestinians have themselves been guilty in the past. Back in the Seventies, Israeli and PLO agents murdered each other in Europe in a policy of retaliation and counter-retaliation that drove European security forces insane with anger. "In the end, these murders led to a ceasefire," Mr al-Wazzir explains. "The whole thing ended."

It continued, however, in Beirut where two of the men involved in murdering PLO leaders were called Ehud Barak and Amnon Shahak. Shahak would later become the Israeli military commander in Lebanon in 1982. And it was Mr Barak who as Prime Minister last year relaunched Israel's murder squads.

Historians will one day debate the worth of such killings. <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad, after all, have their own murderers - though their suicide bombs slaughter civilians as well as soldiers, hitherto unknown victims rather than individual Israeli intelligence officers.

#### DEATH BY REMOTE CONTROL AS HIT SQUADS RETURN

But Israel's killers take innocent lives too. An Apache helicopter attack on a Palestinian militant tore two middle-aged Palestinian <u>women</u> to pieces; the Israelis did not apologise. The nephew of a man murdered by the Israelis in Nablus later admitted to the Palestinian Authority that he had given his uncle's location to the Israelis. He told his interrogators: "They said they were only going to arrest him. Then they killed him."

If it's a dirty war - which it is - it's also a developing one. Mr al- Wazzir, now an economic analyst in Gaza, explains: "It's small-scale now and in known locations. People who did not think of themselves as targets are killed. There's a network of Israeli army intelligence and air force intelligence, and Mossad and Shin Bet that works together, feeding each other information.

"They can cross the lines between Area C (under Israeli control) and Area B (shared control) in the occupied territories. They can penetrate these borders. Usually, they carry out operations when the IDF (Israeli Defence Force) morale is low. When they killed my father, the IDF was in very low spirits because of the first intifada. So they go for a 'spectacular' to show what great warriors they are. Now the IDF morale is low again because of the second intifada."

Palestinian security officers in Gaza have been intrigued at the logic behind the Israeli killings. One of the Palestinian officials says: "Our guys meet their guys and we know their officers and operatives. I tell you this frankly - they are as corrupt and indisciplined as we are. And as ruthless.

"After they (the Israelis) targeted Mohamed Dahlan's convoy when he was coming back from security talks, Dahlan (the head of Palestinian 'preventive security' in Gaza) talked to (the Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon) Peres. 'Look what you guys are doing to us,' Dahlan told Peres. 'Don't you realise it was me who took Sharon's son to meet Arafat?'"

Was this a threat? Mr al-Wazzir understands some of the death squad logic. "It has some effect because we Palestinians are a paternalistic society," he says. "We believe in the idea of a father figure. But when they assassinated my dad, the intifada didn't stop. It was affected but all the political objectives failed; rather than demoralising the Palestinians, the assassination fuelled the intifada.

"They say there's a list now of 100 Palestinians on the murder list. No, I don't think the Palestinians will adopt the same type of killings against Israeli intelligence. An army is an institution, a system. Murdering an officer just results in him being replaced."

The Israelis have murdered up to 20 Palestinians they claim to be "terrorists" - with no concrete evidence and no court hearings. It's a practice they honed in Lebanon where guerrilla leaders were blown up by hidden bombs or shot in the back by Shin Bet execution squads, often - as in the case of an Amal leader in the village of Bidias - after interrogation. All this was, and still is, in the name of "security". And that is something the murders have clearly not produced.

# Graphic

Israel used a helicopter gunship, top, to kill Mohammed Abdelal, an; Islamic Jihad activist, in his car in Gaza earlier this month. The country's policy of assassination, used in the Eighties to get rid of Abu; Jihad, right, Yasser Arafat's PLO deputy commander in Tunis, has been reintroduced since the start of the second intifada

Load-Date: April 13, 2001



## MICROCHIP MURDER SQUADS DO ISRAEL'S DIRTY WORK

The Independent (London)

April 13, 2001, Friday

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Section: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 15

Length: 957 words

Byline: Robert Fisk In Gaza

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#### MICROCHIP MURDER SQUADS DO ISRAEL 'S DIRTY WORK

If it is a dirty war - which it is - it is also a developing one. Mr al-Wazzir, now an economic analyst in Gaza, explains: "It's small-scale now and in known locations. People who did not think of themselves as targets are killed. There's a network of Israeli army intelligence and air force intelligence, and Mossad and Shin Bet that works together, feeding each other information.

"They can cross the lines between Area C (under Israeli control) and Area B (shared control) in the occupied territories. They can penetrate these borders. Usually, they carry out operations when the IDF (Israeli Defence Force) morale is low," he said.

"When they killed my father, the IDF was in very low spirits because of the first intifada. So they go for a 'spectacular' to show what great warriors they are. Now the IDF morale is low again because of the second intifada."

Palestinian security officers in Gaza have been intrigued at the logic behind the Israeli killings. One of the Palestinian officials says: "Our guys meet their guys and we know their officers and operatives. I tell you this frankly - they are as corrupt and indisciplined as we are. And as ruthless.

"After they (the Israelis) targeted Mohamed Dahlan's convoy when he was coming back from security talks, Dahlan (the head of Palestinian 'preventive security' in Gaza) talked to (the Israeli Foreign Minister, Shimon) Peres. 'Look what you guys are doing to us,' Dahlan told Peres. 'Don't you realise it was me who took Sharon's son to meet Arafat?'"

Was this a threat? Mr al-Wazzir understands some of the death squad logic. "It has some effect because we Palestinians are a paternalistic society," he says. "We believe in the idea of a father figure. But when they assassinated my dad, the intifada didn't stop. It was affected but all the political objectives failed; rather than demoralising the Palestinians, the assassination fuelled the intifada.

"They say there's a list now of 100 Palestinians on the murder list. No, I don't think the Palestinians will adopt the same type of killings against Israeli intelligence. An army is an institution, a system. Murdering an officer just results in him being replaced."

The Israelis have murdered up to 20 Palestinians they claim to be "terrorists" - with no concrete evidence and no court hearings. It's a practice they honed in Lebanon where guerrilla leaders were blown up by hidden bombs or shot in the back by Shin Bet execution squads, often - as in the case of an Amal leader in the village of Bidias - after interrogation. All this was, and still is, in the name of "security". And that is something the murders have clearly not produced.

#### www.independent.co.uk

Our special Middle East collection contains links to the sites of all the major political players, go to: <a href="https://www.independent.co.uk/links">www.independent.co.uk/links</a>

# **Graphic**

Israel used a helicopter gunship, top, to kill Mohammed Abdelal, an; Islamic Jihad activist, in his car in Gaza earlier this month. The country's policy of assassination, used in the Eighties to get rid of Abu; Jihad, right, Yasser Arafat's PLO deputy commander in Tunis, has been reintroduced since the start of the second intifada

Load-Date: April 13, 2001



## Tel Aviv Journal; New Conflict Begets Culture War by Israeli Artists

The New York Times

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Late Edition - Final

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Length: 1014 words

Byline: By DEBORAH SONTAG

Dateline: TEL AVIV, Jan. 15

# **Body**

Far from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the artwork of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. And far from the checkpoint closings imposed by Israel are the exhibit openings imposed by artists who shun khaki for leather and guns for glue sticks.

Internationally televised images make it seem as if all Israelis are soldiers or settlers, directly immersed in the daily violence. But of course that is to ignore those who wear nose rings and buff their shaved pates and strive to express their horror and to critique their government with lithographs and manifestoes and fur replicas of the Dome of the Rock.

Tamar Getter, one curator of a new exhibition that opened tonight in a funky old industrial district of Tel Aviv, looked around herself at the end of a very successful evening.

Her own art played a prominent role, including the video in which she and a colleague read aloud the name, age, village and manner of death of every Palestinian killed so far in the violence that erupted in late September. It takes 40 minutes.

"It's pathetic, the entire show," Ms. Getter said, exhausted by the effort of mounting the exhibit and clearly somewhat proud despite her words. "What is it finally? It's not much. The lawyers are doing important work; the physicians are doing important work. Artists are very weak in such moments."

Twelve years after Israeli artists banded together during the first Palestinian uprising for a show lamenting the 21st year of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, they have joined forces to denounce the 33rd.

The exhibit, "Artists Against a Strong Hand," is at Beit Haam, a loftlike space in Tel Aviv's would-be Tribeca, and features the work of 70 artists who were asked to produce something specifically related to the political situation. The works will be sold to benefit Palestinian medical clinics.

Aim Deuelle Luski, 50, a photographer and curator, said he was very happy to include artists born after the occupation began, who are "less heavy than we are, more playful and more cynical." He pointed out one example of the work of the younger generation. It was a miniature Israeli Parliament building made of Lego blocks.

#### Tel Aviv Journal New Conflict Begets Culture War by Israeli Artists

The creator, Joshua Simon, who is 21, explained: "It's very small. It's like child's play." Beneath his oversized black glasses, Mr. Simon was very tongue-in-cheek.

Asked if he worked only in Lego, he said: "Mostly, but not only. I also make films. I now have one called 'The Radical,' about people who go to make graffiti on the Wailing Wall. It's about transgression. It's very Godard-influenced."

Ms. Getter, a well-established Israeli artist, talked while down on her knees as she picked up another artist's plaster sharks -- labeled P.L.O., *Hamas*, Hezbollah -- which people kept kicking over.

Early this fall, she said, she was urged to "shake it up" by a friend abroad to whom she had confessed her depression when the uprising began. So she convened a meeting of artists in her yard in Tel Aviv and urged them to formulate a position paper about Israeli policy and to think about an exhibit.

Israeli artists are usually reluctant to get politically involved, for fear that their artwork will be used as political propaganda and, Ro'ee Rosen, an artist, said, for "fear of being banal or cliched."

Indeed, Israeli political expression is not very subtle, and that lack of subtlety could be detected in the exhibition. One poster showed a bouquet of penises under the title, "Enough With the Generals." It made some people laugh aloud, as did a "Jerusalem uber Alles" poster.

"I think the premise gave people license to step out of their skin," Mr. Rosen said. "The show seems so vivid. It doesn't seem glum."

Behind him a videotape loop ran on a television, repeatedly showing a slow-motion scene of Israeli soldiers clubbing Palestinians in a crowd.

Irus -- "like virus, but without the v" -- Nachmias, a young photographer with long, curly hair and a red leather coat, said the eruption of the conflict made her feel like running away from Israel. Her photograph in the show featured an Israeli Arab girl wearing a blindfold, actually during a game, but given what is going on now, the murky context appeared ominous.

"In Tel Aviv they are like this girl," she said. "They are covering their eyes. That's why a show like this is a good thing. It makes people look, and hopefully it makes them see."

A veteran of the Israeli left, Uri Avnery, who wore the Israeli and Palestinian flags entwined on his lapel, studied a house of cards built from the work permits of Palestinians. "This speaks volumes," he said.

The curators' manifesto is intellectual and proudly radical, calling for Israel to end a "50-year monologue" and stop trying to "dictate" a peace agreement to the Palestinians. It urges Israel to "bid farewell to the territories," immediately withdrawing all forces and evacuating all settlements. It calls for Israel to pull out of East Jerusalem.

It asks that Israel strive to become a state of all its citizens by reconsidering the law of return, which guarantees citizenship to all Jews. And it suggests a genuine debate about the Palestinians' demand for the right of return of their refugees.

In the last few months, Ms. Getter said, she turned away from the installation work that she usually does to work with an image that she could not get out of her mind.

It is a news photograph of a Palestinian man rolling a burning tire, which she considered an "icon of the uprising." She has reworked the image in many different posters. In one, she shows the man with a Jewish settler who has a tire over his head, inside a decorative frame that looks like a prayer rug.

"His burning tire is not your halo," the title reads.

As the opening drew to a close, two young <u>women</u> engaged in what appeared to be an impassioned critique in rapid-fire Hebrew of a painting of a sabra cactus. Asked what so intrigued them, Meirav Levy said sheepishly that they were not really talking about the art.

"I was really excited to see that she had finally gotten her belly button pierced," Ms. Levy said of her friend.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photos: Among the artworks on display at an exhibition in Tel Aviv is an Israeli flag with a design resembling a sailboat where the Star of David would be. The works deal with the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times)

Load-Date: January 18, 2001



## PEACE IN SHAMBLES Clinton must forget a Mideast deal

Daily News (New York)
January 14, 2001, Sunday
SPORTS FINAL EDITION

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Byline: By MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN

## **Body**

WE ARE looking at the ashes of hope. Nothing will come of President Clinton's near-midnight schemes for a Mideast settlement. And nothing should.

There can be no peace with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat. He does not want it. He wants Israel.

Five times, from Oslo I and II through Wye to Camp David, he has promised to renounce terrorism, and five times he has met Israel's olive branches with gunfire, rocks and firebombs, and the release of dozens of <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad terrorists.

It is a horrendous history, and a well-meaning American administration has been complicit in the disaster. The conclusion must be that the 100-year conflict between the Palestinians and the Israelis cannot be solved, only managed.

But it will not even be managed effectively without a clear sense of what has gone on in the seven years since Oslo. The accords lit up the world with a great illusion that Arafat was ready to lead the Palestinian people in a final compromise peace with Israel in return for the West Bank, Gaza and some parts of Jerusalem.

The Palestinian leader's true intentions were exposed, finally, by Camp David. There, Arafat was confronted with an Israeli so dedicated to peace that he offered a package so generous it appalled even Leah Rabin, widow of assassinated Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Arafat demanded Israel's near-total withdrawal from the territories, the uprooting of dozens of settlements and the redivision of Jerusalem.

Prime Minister Ehud Barak's reward for his part at Camp David was to be branded a Nazi in the Arab world and to return home to an orchestration of violence. It was not spontaneous. As the Palestinian minister of communications, Imad Al Falouji, made explicit, the rioting was planned by Arafat to excite the Arab world and invite the sympathy of a credulous West.

Nothing was left to chance. Arafat's militias led more than 3,000 clashes with Israelis. But that only begins to limn his outrageousness.

Most horrible is the Palestinian practice of employing children as human shields for gunmen, typically stationed at the rear of a mob. Why? Because children provide news pictures that journalists will not pass up. A picture of a wounded child is worth a million words when the media fail to ask how the child came to be placed in harm's way.

#### PEACE IN SHAMBLES Clinton must forget a Mideast deal

You don't have to be an Israeli to be enraged by this. A Palestinian <u>women</u>'s group, the Tulkarm <u>Women</u>'s Union, wrote to Arafat: "Our children are being sent into the streets to face heavily armed Israeli soldiers. We urge you to issue instructions to the police force to stop sending innocent children to their death. When school finishes, Palestinian Authority security guards go around collecting children from the streets and sending them to the killing fields."

What other country with such overwhelming might would restrain itself to the degree Israel has? Alas, its major ally, Washington, has pressured Israel to endure.

The Clinton administration has failed to meet its promises to enhance Israel's military edge and provide long-term military commitments to Israel; instead, it supports a fact-finding mission to determine whether Israel used excessive force. While failing to veto a one-sided United Nations Security Council resolution against Israel, it has consistently permitted Arafat to cover for his violations and still negotiates as if Arafat's signature was worth something.

Under American pressure, Israel has given more and more land in exchange for failed Palestinian promises. Now Clinton offers Arafat sovereignty over the Temple Mount, the holiest of Jewish holy places. This was the stumbling block at Camp David.

There is never, it seems, enough concession. Arab neighborhoods in East Jerusalem were not enough; Arafat wants contiguity. Transferring the Jordan Valley to the new Palestinian state was not enough; Palestinians reject the period that Israel may remain there.

The list goes on: Arafat continues to insist on a right of return to Israel by 3.5 million Palestinian refugees - a condition that undermines the central tenet of Oslo that there would be two states for two peoples. The right of return, as most Palestinians surely know, is tantamount to the destruction of the Jewish state.

Given all this, why rush into an eleventh-hour deal? Washington's proposals are opposed by more than 60% of Israelis and would almost certainly be rejected in the upcoming election. The consequences would be appalling for Israel's political standing in the world, for its relations with the United States, for its consequences in the Arab world. Arab governments would have an excuse to break relations with Israel, the Palestinians and their terrorist minions would justify launching attacks.

What, then, can be done? First, recognize the reality that Arafat has not been a true partner for peace with Israel. And make the world realize that.

What must be done to shore up American interest in the Middle East is to pause in this madcap flight to revive a failed peace process. The parties must be encouraged to minimize their opportunities for conflict, if necessary through dividing the Jewish and Arab areas, including, where possible, in Jerusalem, leaving final borders to be determined when the conditions for peace, on sustainable terms, might exist. In the meantime, we must make it clear that there should be no American mediation while there is violence.

Difficult tasks all, now made more difficult by the failed Clinton policy.

By failing to demand that the Palestinian Authority live up to its five written agreements, we have convinced them that they can undertake any commitment without having to deliver. By raising Palestinian expectations of what they might obtain from the Israelis, Washington has hardened positions on both sides. By rewarding violence with new concessions, we have ensured that violence will be resorted to again by the Palestinians if they are unhappy with any provision of any agreement they may sign.

American interests lie in preventing radical Muslim forces in the Middle East from flourishing. To accomplish this, these radicals will have to believe that the U.S. stands with its allies, and the U.S. has been identified for decades with Israel. So the weaker Israel looks, and the more pliable America looks in response to violence, the more the radical Arab Muslims will press to fulfill their ambitions to reject Western influence. This will encourage the likes of

#### PEACE IN SHAMBLES Clinton must forget a Mideast deal

Saddam Hussein and the Iranians, while encouraging European countries like France to rush in to play a larger role in the Middle East.

Thus, the Clinton administration's desperate desire for a Mideast settlement poses a great risk that might well erode America's standing and do great harm to an unshakable American ally. This, sadly, may well be the Clinton administration's true legacy.

# **Graphic**

**ILLUSTRATION ROMAN GENN** 

Load-Date: January 14, 2001



# **MIDEAST FOES TO MEET**

The Toronto Star

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Section: NEWS

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Byline: Sandro Contenta

# **Body**

RAMALLAH, West Bank - The main adversaries in a prelude to war will meet to see if they can once again become partners for peace.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak have agreed to a summit tomorrow with U.S. President Bill Clinton and Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Sharm el-Sheikh.

Saudi airliner hijacked, A8

Richard Gwyn's view, A13

Haroon Siddiqui's view, A13

Clash of nationalisms, B1

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, King Abdullah II of Jordan and a senior European Union representative will also attend.

The summit's immediate goal is to put an end to 17 days of hostilities that killed at least 99 people, almost all of them Palestinians. Its ultimate aim is to revive a peace process that was deadlocked before violence broke out, and buried during the conflict.

"We should be under no illusions," Clinton said in Washington, while announcing the summit.

"The good news is the parties have agreed to meet and the situation appears to be calmer," he said. "But the path ahead is difficult. After the terrible events of the past few days, the situation is still quite tense."

The summit comes with ominous signs that the longer the Palestinian-Israeli conflict persists, the more the violence spreads throughout the Middle East.

Yesterday, a Saudi Arabian airliner with more than 100 aboard was hijacked on its way from Jeddah, Saudi Arabia, to London. The hijackers forced it to fly to Baghdad, where the two men were arrested. All on board were released unharmed. It was not clear if the incident was linked to the Israeli- Palestinian fighting.

#### MIDEAST FOES TO MEET

On Thursday, a suicide-bomb attack against a U.S. warship docked at the port of Aden in Yemen left 17 American sailors dead. Eleven days ago, Lebanese- based Hezbollah (Party of God) kidnapped three Israeli soldiers - a move that saw Israel mass troops and tanks at its border with Lebanon.

Annan, who helped persuade the battling parties to attend the summit, said a minimum objective would be a ceasefire before and during the summit, leading to a permanent truce, so that negotiations on an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal could resume.

"You make peace not with friends but with enemies. Sooner or later you have to talk," said Annan, who has been trying to ease tensions in the region for several days.

The violence has dropped significantly since Israel's bombing of Palestinian territories Thursday. But both Arafat and Barak are facing distrust and hatred running high after the worst hostilities between the two sides in decades. Their challenge is to strike a ceasefire and come away looking like neither gave an inch.

Palestinians and Israelis are in no mood for compromise after the death of more than 90 Palestinians, the slaying of two Israeli soldiers by a Palestinian mob, and Israel's bombing of sites in the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and coastal Gaza Strip.

On the streets of the West Bank and Gaza yesterday, Palestinians urged Arafat not to call off the intifadah, or uprising, until Israel ends its occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

"The people need to see changes on the ground," said Abu Hussein, 42, who runs a dry-cleaning store directly in front of the Ramallah police station where the two Israeli soldiers were beaten to death by a Palestinian mob.

Palestinian analyst Mustafa Barghouti said Arafat risks losing the trust of Palestinians if he calls for an end to the violence without getting something from Israel in return.

Barghouti, a member of the Palestinian team that first discussed peace with Israel in the early 1990s, has headed a 7,000-name petition that calls on Arafat to continue the revolt until Israel ends its occupation.

In Gaza, demonstrators took to the streets to demand that Arafat stay away from the summit.

Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, spiritual leader of the militant <u>Hamas</u> movement, whose members have conducted suicide-bomb attacks against Israel, denounced the summit.

In the West Bank town of Hebron, some 7,000 mourners buried a man shot during clashes with Israeli troops the day before.

Gunmen fired into the air and the crowd chanted, "Revenge, revenge," and " Down with the olive branch, long live the rifle."

A spokesperson for the Israeli government said Barak will attend the summit to demand that Arafat put an end to the violence, but will refuse to discuss ways of resuming the peace process.

"We have to first stop the violence," Nachman Shai told a press conference.

Peace negotiations during the summit are also out of the question because Barak is trying to create a unity government with hawkish opposition leader Ariel Sharon, Shai said.

Barak, who has seen his public support drop dramatically during the crisis, was to meet Sharon late last night to talk about joining forces - a move Palestinians say would seal the end of the peace process.

Sharon, a former general and currently leader of the right-wing Likud party, is blamed by Palestinians for triggering the cycle of violence with a visit to a disputed Jerusalem holy site Sept. 28.

#### MIDEAST FOES TO MEET

Sharon is firmly opposed to concessions Barak was prepared to make to at last July's Camp David summit, which ended without a peace deal.

The Likud also condemns Barak's decision to attend the summit. Clinton and other foreign leaders are sure to try to pressure Barak into resuming peace talks, Likud MP Rubin Rivlin told the Voice of Israel radio last night. If Barak agrees, Likud will not participate in a unity government, Rivlin added.

At the summit, Palestinians will demand an international inquiry into the violence - a demand Israel rejects.

Israel has proposed a fact-finding mission made up of Israeli, Palestinian and U.S. representatives. Israel also wants the summit to strike a deal on how the ceasefire should be monitored and maintained.

Barak will also demand that Arafat round up prisoners found guilty of terror acts against Israel, whom Arafat released during the Israeli bombing, Shai said.

In the West Bank town of Nablus, Palestinian security officials were already moving to reimprison Islamic militants.

For his part, Arafat will insist at the summit that Israel pull back its tanks and troops from the edge of Palestinian-controlled towns.

# **Graphic**

#### NASSER ISHTAYEH/AP

STARTING YOUNG:

Gunman Majed Bazbaz, 26, of the PLO's Fatah faction, teaches two of his children how to fire an M-16 as part of a training course on the outskirts of the Balata refugee camp near Nablus in the West Bank. ENRIC MARTI/AP REBELS HONOURED:

Palestinian women walk yesterday along a wall in Gaza that celebrates fighters.

Load-Date: October 15, 2000



# World Briefing - Correction Appended

The New York Times

# Correction Appended

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Byline: Compiled by Terence Neilan

Compiled by Terence Neilan

## **Body**

### **EUROPE**

BRITAIN: PINOCHET HEARINGS END -- The House of Lords concluded 12 days of hearings to determine whether Gen. Augusto Pinochet, the former Chilean dictator, is immune from arrest and extradition to Spain on charges of torture, kidnapping and murder. Lord Browne-Wilkinson, chairman of the seven-member Law Lords, Britain's highest court, gave no clear indication of when a decision would be announced. Alan Cowell (NYT)

RUSSIA: INQUIRY ON TYCOON WIDENS -- An investigation of the financier Boris A. Berezovsky has been widened to include Aeroflot, in which he had a stake. Those being questioned include the former Defense Minister Yevgeny Shaposhnikov; when he was head of Aeroflot, he directed the airline to channel hard-currency earnings to a Swiss company half-owned by Mr. Berezovsky, the newspaper Moskovsky Komsomolets reported. Celestine Bohlen (NYT)

RUSSIA: ISLAMIC LAW IN CHECHNYA -- Meeting a key demand of his opponents, Aslan Maskhadov, left, the president of Chechnya, ordered the establishment of Islamic law in the breakaway republic, sharply curtailing legislators' powers and ordering that an Islamic constitution be written. Chechens have traditionally practiced a moderate version of Islam, but a militant group has grown in influence recently. (AP)

UZBEKISTAN, RUSSIA: DROPPING OUT -- Uzbekistan is leaving the mutual-defense treaty of the Commonwealth of Independent States, the confederation of nations that once made up the Soviet Union. The Uzbek Foreign Ministry said its decision was based on opposition to Russia's call for closer ties among members and Russia's stationing of troops in some nations. The defense pact expires in May. Michael Wines (NYT)

VATICAN CITY: TALKS ON FEMINISM AND HOMOSEXUALITY -- The Pope's top theologian, Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, is to hold a conference in San Francisco next week to "better understand the reality of the religious situation in North America and Oceania." He is expected to discuss feminism and homosexuality with bishops from

#### World Briefing

the United States, Canada and Australia, where Catholics often disagree with church teachings on such issues. Alessandra Stanley (NYT)

#### THE AMERICAS

CANADA: MORE SENSITIVE PEACEKEEPERS -- A joint project with the United States project to provide sensitivity training for mixed male-<u>female</u> peacekeeping forces from both countries has been blocked by Senator Jesse Helms. Mr. Helms, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said he considered the \$200,000 that was to be provided to Canada for the project a form of foreign aid. Anthony DePalma (NYT)

MEXICO: OPPOSITION TO PRIVATIZATION -- Mexico's largest leftist party said it would organize protests against a proposal by President Ernesto Zedillo to open the state-run electricity sector to private investment. Several labor unions also announced their opposition, suggesting a prolonged political battle. Sam Dillon (NYT)

ARGENTINA: PERONISTS REBOUND -- The governing Peronists have staged a big recovery in popularity in the run-up to the presidential election, which is expected in October. In a Gallup poll of 1,506 voters, 32 percent said they would vote for the Peronists, putting them in a statistical tie with the center-left Alliance. In December the Peronists trailed by 12 points. The report, in La Nacion, did not include a margin of error. (Reuters)

## **ASIA**

CAMBODIA: KILLINGS CALLED 'HISTORICAL MISTAKES' -- A leading Khmer Rouge defector, leng Sary, has conceded that "historical mistakes" were made when more than a million people died under Khmer Rouge rule in the late 1970's. But "a tribunal to prosecute this or that person is not a solution," he said, adding that foreign powers were pressing for a trial in an attempt to destabilize Cambodia. Seth Mydans (NYT)

INDONESIA: SUHARTO'S DAUGHTER IS INTERROGATED -- State prosecutors questioned the eldest daughter of the former President Suharto as they continued an investigation into corruption by his family before his forced resignation in May. The daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, denied any wrongdoing as she emerged from six hours of questioning. Mr. Suharto was questioned in December. Seth Mydans (NYT)

PHILIPPINES: CEASE-FIRE IN THE SOUTH -- After two weeks of clashes that threatened to spread into all-out fighting, Government officials and secessionist Muslim rebels in the southern Philippines have signed a temporary cease-fire, with both sides saying they hope to end nearly 30 years of fighting. Talks will be held next week on a formal peace accord. (AP)

CHINA: NORTH KOREAN REFUGEES -- China is fighting a rising tide of North Korean refugees streaming across its border to escape famine and fuel shortages. But officials played down the threat of a mass migration, saying the situation was under control and had improved since last year. Floods and drought have devastated North Korean agriculture since 1995. (AP)

#### **AFRICA**

DJIBOUTI: PRESIDENT STEPPING DOWN -- President Hassan Gouled Aptidon, 83, said he would resign in April after leading his nation, on the Horn of Africa, since its independence from France in 1977. Mr. Hassan Gouled's party, the Popular Rally for Progress, nominated his chief of staff, Ismael Omar Guelleh, who is 54, as its official candidate for elections on April 9. (Agence France-Presse)

World Briefing

MIDDLE EAST

ISRAEL: ARABS MAY BE PARDONED, TOO -- A day after ordering reductions in sentences for eight Jews convicted of murdering or attempted murder of Arabs, President Ezer Weizman's office said he is considering pardoning or reducing the sentences of 30 Arabs convicted of anti-Israeli acts. (AP)

GAZA: PALESTINIANS ARREST 40 -- The Palestinian police arrested 40 people they described as Islamic militants planning Iranian-financed attacks against Jewish settlers in the Gaza Strip. An officer said the police also seized arms and explosives collected by the 40 members of Al Qassam, the underground military wing of <u>Hamas</u>, which denies and links to Iran. (Reuters)

Compiled by Terence Neilan

http://www.nytimes.com

## Correction

Because of an editing error, a report in the World Briefing column yesterday about a police investigation in Russia described it imprecisely. The subject is the business empire of the powerful financier Boris A. Berezovsky, not Mr. Berezovsky himself.

Correction-Date: February 6, 1999, Saturday

# **Graphic**

**Photos** 

Load-Date: February 5, 1999



# ISRAEL: WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

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Byline: JOSEPH CONTRERAS AND RUSSELL WATSON, NEWSWEEK

# **Body**

They are the faces of Israel Past and Israel Present, and they could hardly be more different.

When the Jewish state proclaimed its independence 50 years ago, its leader and first prime minister was Polishborn David Ben-Gurion, a white-haired, secular patriarch who intended to create a distinctively Israeli Jew. His vision: a thoroughly Westernized democrat who speaks Hebrew, embraces socialism and respects religion, while accepting without question the supremacy of a secular state.

Now the liberal, European-descended elites who founded the nation have been displaced by a right-wing prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, a slick, native-born politician who speaks American-accented English and presides over an assertive coalition of Russian immigrants, religious Zionists, ultra-Orthodox rabbis and working-class Sephardic Jews of Middle Eastern origin.

The fractious Israeli Parliament now consists of 13 political parties, most of them representing narrow religious or ethnic constituencies. Instead of Ben-Gurion's melting pot, Israel has become a mosaic whose pieces don't fit.

The astonishing diversity of Israel's 5 million Jews is a source of both strength and weakness for the nation. Populated by waves of immigrants who helped wrest the land from the Arabs, Israel is the only fully functioning democracy in the Middle East, with the only successful economy that doesn't depend on sucking oil out of the sand.

"I think Israel is the most spectacular achievement of the 20th century," Netanyahu boasted last week.

Secular and religious Israelis have always had differences, but now they are more potent than ever. As religion seeps deeper and deeper into politics, the consensus that shaped Israel's early years has been replaced by bitter tribal clashes. Israelis cannot even agree on what constitutes Jewishness, a determination now divisively entrusted, for the purposes of conversion, to Orthodox rabbis.

Other social contrasts are deepening: Sephardic Jews vs. the Ashkenazi of European origin, a growing middle class vs. thousands of immigrants still trapped in poverty, thriving capitalists vs. poor but zealous settlers in the occupied territories, the hedonism of Tel Aviv vs. the rigorous piety of Jerusalem.

# ISRAEL : WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

"The founding fathers' illusion of creating a monolithic type of Israeli has failed," says historian Shlomo Ben-Ami."

The nation no longer faces an overwhelming military threat from neighboring Arab countries. But individual Israelis are still haunted by the haphazard risk of terrorist attack.

Most recently, <u>Hamas</u>, the Islamic resistance movement, promised to "bring sadness and horror into the heart and home of every Zionist" in retaliation for the mysterious murder of one of its bomb makers.

Hard-line Israelis prepared provocations of their own. Thousands of Jews attended a "feast of freedom" in the divided West Bank city of Hebron. The occasion - which coincided with Orthodox Easter Sunday - was the 30th anniversary of a settlement that re-established a Jewish presence in the city of Abraham for the first time since 1936.

In the swaggering spirit of the Netanyahu era, organizers provided a full day of festivities sure to arouse the resentment of the Palestinians. Some dovish Israelis held counterdemonstrations.

The fragmenting of Israeli society achieved its ultimate expression in the 1995 assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. His murderer was a fellow Israeli, a right-wing religious student of Yemenite descent who opposed Rabin's efforts to reach a settlement with the Palestinians under the Oslo accords.

The next year, with Israeli nerves badly frayed by a <u>Hamas</u> suicide-bombing campaign, Netanyahu was elected prime minister. Parties representing religious minorities increased their presence in the Knesset by nearly 50 percent.

As one result, the peace process turned into a gnawing stalemate. There is strong public support for a settlement with Yasser Arafat - more than might have been thought possible a generation ago.

But Netanyahu and the religious parties that provide his margin in Parliament have dug in their heels over the terms, leaving most Israelis with a case of battle fatigue. Despite the remarkable achievements of the past half century, they are nagged by a sense of drift and uncertainty.

Perhaps Ben-Gurion's dream of a cohesive secular society was unattainable from the beginning. Israel has always lived up to the fundamental ideal expressed in its Law of Return: that any Jew can come to live in Israel.

In its first 50 years, the nation received huge waves of immigrants from Jewish communities in the Arab world and the former Soviet Union, who brought their own particular cultures with them. Israel's cohesiveness is further strained by the presence of 1 million Arab citizens, who still feel relegated to second-class status.

No group has deviated more sharply from Ben-Gurion's model than the ultra-Orthodox. They account for no more than 15 percent of the country's Jewish population, and they are only junior partners in Netanyahu's coalition. But with their high birth rate and their high voter turnout, they are virtually guaranteed an important role in any conceivable coalition government.

"We are taking over," says Baruch Gurfein, a 23-year-old ultra-Orthodox resident of Betar, a West Bank settlement outside Jerusalem that averages three births a day among its 2,500 families. "Religious people are moving to Israel (while) nonreligious people are leaving. If they have a problem with that," he says, "they can bring their people here and vote for their beliefs."

The ultra-Orthodox generally do not pay taxes or serve in the Army; they believe the Jewish state has no right to exist until the Messiah comes to proclaim it. Secular Israelis often denounce them as parasites living off the taxes and valor of their countrymen.

Rabbi Yehoshua Mann disagrees. He and his wife, Sima, came to Israel from the United States in the late 1970s and now live, with their nine children, far out on the West Bank in a settlement called Metzad (from the Hebrew word for stronghold).

# ISRAEL : WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

It is 15 minutes by car to the next Jewish community, and the buses that carry the settlement's children to school in Jerusalem each morning are equipped with armor plate and bulletproof glass.

"By living here, we are making a statement that we are willing to put our families on the line," says the rabbi.

Some other minority groups do not have the same sense of hope or purpose. Many Sephardic Jews, whose families lived in the Arab world for centuries, suffer from both ethnic and class discrimination. Now their enduring sense of grievance has changed Israeli politics. It is the driving force behind the rise of Shas, a party founded in 1983 by ultra-Orthodox Sephardic Jews.

Two years ago, Shas won the third largest number of seats in Parliament, behind Netanyahu's Likud and the opposition Laborites. Some Israeli pundits think Shas could eventually overtake Likud as the leading voice of the right.

Many recent Russian immigrants also feel alienated. Olga Yusupov, 36, a widow with three children, moved to Israel in 1993, at the tag end of the massive immigration from the former Soviet Union. Her husband, an electrician, soon died of a heart attack.

Olga has learned adequate Hebrew, but she is unemployed and trapped on welfare, which makes her feel depressed and alienated. Her children, a teen-age son and two younger daughters, are rapidly becoming assimilated.

"I'm real happy for them," she says. "But I still don't think I'm Israeli."

Other immigrants and their children have adjusted to the customs and needs of a modernizing society. A young man who calls himself Patrick - from a religious family of Moroccan origin - has a job that was unheard of in Israel only a few years ago: male stripper.

Tall and muscular, his body beefed up through exercise and steroids, he performs every week at The Bourse, a glitzy club in Tel Aviv

"Women here want to have fun," he says. "I'm here to give it to them."

His parents don't know exactly what he does for a living - and wouldn't approve if they did know. But hedonism has become a growth industry in a once conservative country.

"It shows our society is becoming more normal," a 26-year-old named Sarah says after watching Patrick strip to a G-string. "We have McDonald's now; why not strippers as well?"

In the secular realm, Israel is becoming a prosperous country. An economic boom in the 1990s - the gross domestic product grew from \$ 17 billion in 1979 to \$ 90.6 billion in 1996 - has reduced its dependence on financial help from abroad. The \$ 4 billion a year Israel receives in U.S. foreign aid and donations from world Jewry now amounts to less than 7 percent of the national budget, compared to an estimated 17 percent in 1985.

"I'm proud to be part of the change that is happening in the economy," says Benny Levin, 47, a former military intelligence officer who became a millionaire by founding a company called NICE Systems Ltd., which makes voice-recording systems.

"The image of the Israeli used to be a guy who lived on a kibbutz and rode around on a camel," he says. "Now it's the second Silicon Valley."

Although they still constitute a majority of the population, secular Jews increasingly find themselves on the defensive. Their rear-guard battles are fought on fields as mundane as Neve Rotem, which looks like an American suburb plunked down on Israel's coastal plain.

# ISRAEL : WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

Shimrit Orr, 52, and her husband bought a home there two years ago. Then, last year, the neighborhood began to change. An ultra-Orthodox rabbi signed leases on 15 houses, and observant families moved in. One house was turned into a synagogue overnight, and billboards went up proclaiming Neve Rotem a community of religious Jews. A silent invasion was under way by men in black.

"We don't want them here," says Orr. "They hate us. They don't think we're Jews."

The counterattack was swift and sometimes ugly. Signs were posted identifying Neve Rotem as a "secular neighborhood." Residents blared rock music out of their windows on Saturday afternoons to disturb the Sabbath. They went to court to close down the synagogue and an unauthorized elementary school for children of observant families. Vandals threw Molotov cocktails into the school's makeshift classrooms one night.

Now the tide seems to be turning in Neve Rotem; some of the observant families have moved out. But Shimrit Orr expects more assaults in the years ahead from one hard-line group or another.

"I don't know which tribe will rule," she says. "But we're losing. Israel is going to become a religious country."

By the time of its next major anniversary - say, at 75 - Israel may be as different from the country of today as it is now from the fragile Jewish homeland founded, amid so many hopes and fears, a half century ago.

Landmarks in Israeli history

1897 First World Zionist Congress, led by journalist Theodor Herzl, endorses proposals for a 'national home' for Jews

May 14, 1948 Jewish Agency chairman David Ben-Gurion declares Israeli independence and become the new nation's first prime minister. Arab countries declare war, and tens of thousands of Palestinians flee.

June 1967 Israel strikes against Egypt. Syria and Jordan enter the conflict. The Six Day War ends with Israeli occupation of Sinai, Golan Heights, Gaza Strip, West Bank.

October 1973 Egypt and Syria launch a surprise attack against Israeli forces in Sinai and the Golan Heights. The Yom Kippur War is won by Israel.

1977 Egypt's Anwar Sadat offers full peace in exchange for Israeli withdrawal from Sinai. He is assassinated in 1981.

June 1982 Israel invades Lebanon to stop Palestinian terrorist attacks staged from Lebanese territory

1985 Israel unilaterally withdraws from most of Lebanon but later establishes a buffer zone along its northern border to deter attacks against northern Israeli communities

December 1987 Riots erupt in Gaza as stone-throwing Palestinian protesters clash with Israeli soldiers. The intifada quickly spreads.

1993 In Washington, Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin signs the Oslo peace plan with Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat

November 1995 Yeshiva student Yigal Amir assassinates Rabin as he leaves a peace rally in Tel Aviv

April-May 1998 Israel observes its 50th anniversary as Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu prepares to meet Yassar Arafat in London to salvage the faltering Oslo peace process.

Mark Dennis of Newsweek also contributed to this story.

Page 5 of 5

ISRAEL : WORK IN PROGRESS; DURING A HALF-CENTURY, JEWISH STATE HAS EVOLVED INTO A DIVERSE SOCIETY

Coming in the PG

-- Tomorrow: As Israel observes its 50th anniversary this week,

Palestinians mark the "catastrophe," when tens of thousands fled

their homes, never to return, during Israel's war for independence.

-- The Daily Magazine interviews Theodore Bikel, who is in town to

perform a concert for Israel with the Pittsburgh Symphony. The

magazine also lists local activities related to Israel's birthday.

-- Later this week: Post-Gazette Staff Writer Steve Levin and Block

News Alliance Photographer Larry Roberts provide coverage from

Israel of anniversary observances and reflections.

Israel uses the Jewish calendar and observes its anniversary this

Thursday and Friday, April 30 and May 1. These dates correspond to

May 14 and 15 on the standard Western calendar this year.

**Graphic** 

INFORMATIONAL GRAPHIC, PHOTO (5), PHOTO: Victorious soldiers during Israel's war for independence.; PHOTO: Moshe Dayan and military leaders walk through captured Old City of; Jerusalem during the Six Day War.; PHOTO: The signing of the Israel-Egypt peace agreement.; PHOTO: Israeli commander weeps about army abuses during Lebanon operation.; PHOTO: Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and his wife Sarah during a visit to; Poland this week.; INFORMATIONAL GRAPHIC: Post-Gazette: (Landmarks in Israeli history)

Load-Date: April 30, 1998



What lies beneath: We see angry Palestinian children being shot by soldiers and are outraged. The Israelis don't see the children - they see millions of Arabs, intent on their destruction. Linda Grant visited Israel five times to research her Orange Prize-winning book, When I Lived in Modern Times. Here she reveals what she learned about the inner workings of the Israeli psyche

The Guardian (London)
October 24, 2000

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Section: Guardian Features Pages, Pg. 2

**Length:** 2121 words **Byline:** Linda Grant

# **Body**

Over the past month you will probably have been looking at the murder and mayhem in Israel, the West Bank and Gaza and asking yourselves what kind of people can behave like this? The killing of children, deliberately targeted what kind of a person could commit such an act? What sort of people could, for years on end, deny the basic human rights of an oppressed nation? And the answer might come to you, for want of any other: heartless, monsters, that's who.

I also watch the news, just as desperate and heart-sick, but I do, however, know exactly who is on the other side of those guns, and who is sitting at home in Jerusalem or Tel Aviv watching the events on Israeli television - and why they fail to rise up in rage against their government for perpetrating all this in their name.

I went to Israel five times in less than two years, not as a journalist or a tourist or a human rights worker but as a novelist. I didn't go to Gaza or the West Bank because the object of my research - the Jewish war against the British in Tel Aviv in 1946 - wasn't going to be found in either of those places. I didn't set out to discuss the then peace process, but you can't go to Israel without getting an earful, in cafes, buses, taxis. I listened with the ear of a novelist. The psychology of the Israelis was what I wanted to understand.

When you ask, why, in Israel, you are asking for a political explanation but the why goes far deeper - the politics is a symptom. I was left with three strong impressions.

The first, and easiest to explain, is the mentality of the religious right. In the past month I have read time and again the statement, "The Jews stole the Palestinians' country, it's as simple as that." To the Orthodox however, the facts are the exact opposite. They have the deeds to the country. You probably have a copy, as it happens, in your own home. Take it down from the shelf. It's the first part you want, the Old Testament, and the first chapter, Genesis, which contains the world's first recorded real-estate deal: "And I will give to thee and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein you are a stranger, all the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession." And if you want to know where that is, here are the ground plans, the map: "Unto this seed I have given this land, from the river of Egypt, unto the great river, the river Euphrates."

What lies beneath: We see angry Palestinian children being shot by soldiers and are outraged. The Israelis don't see the children - they see millions of Arabs, ....

As far as the Orthodox are concerned, they are bunkered down in a tiny portion of what is rightfully theirs. As for how they defend what they have and get their rightful due, the God of the Old Testament who visited 12 plagues on the Egyptians including the slaying of the first-born, is beyond the jurisdiction of Amnesty International. How do you argue with this? You can't. To tell the Orthodox that God's covenant with the Jews, ritually re-enacted at the ceremonies of circumcision and Bar Mitzvah is a fairy story, a myth, is to deprive people who have spent their entire lives locked up in yeshivas, studying the Torah and the Talmud, not just of their beliefs but of their very selves. Without God they are naked and shivering in the world. All you can do is marginalise them out of harm's way, as Barak did when he put together his first coalition.

On the first three of my visits to Israel, which were before the 1999 elections, the Orthodox were what everyone wanted to talk about. The religious right had assumed too much power and were interfering in the everyday lives of secular and moderately religious Israelis, preventing them from shopping or taking public transport on Shabbat. The Orthodox were driving people nuts. They were Netanyahu's coalition allies in blocking the peace process and in opinion poll after opinion poll around 70% of the population repeatedly said that they believed there would be a Palestinian state. They didn't necessarily say they supported it, but they agreed on its inevitability.

The majority of Israelis have arrived at an uneasy acceptance of the proximity of yet another country full of people they regard as their enemies. This has happened partly because they have been worn down by the intifada, partly because of the success of the long campaign by the Israeli Left in convincing them that they can "trust the Arabs" as they put it. And here, I came to think, was the heart of the Israeli mentality. Ordinary Israelis are sick of wars, they are sick of sending their teenage sons to the army, but they are deeply insecure about whether they can risk peace. It isn't the memory of the Holocaust that drives them; it is the memory of over 50 years of Arab nations telling them that they will "drive the Jews into the sea". The Israeli terror is that in delivering the justice to the Palestinians that the world demands, they may be signing their own death warrants. "They call us colonialists," a man said to me, "but if we lose, where do I go? Back to Yemen where my grandfather came from in the 1930s?" Like fairground distorting mirrors, the world looks at the Israelis and sees a giant, a monster, but the Israeli looks and sees a tiny, cowering figure, the puny kid walking to school, tormented by bullies. He needs a Charles Atlas course. He needs to make himself stronger, not weaker.

When the cameras report from Gaza and we see a boy, not unlike a boy we have ourselves at home perhaps, but with a stone in his hands, we are looking at an angry child. That's not what the Israelis see. The boy is a hazy presence, ill-defined. They are peering past him to glimpse the shadowy figures in the windows of the apartment building, the Tanzim, the armed civilian militias and beyond them <u>Hamas</u>, who are the Islamic version of the Orthodox, locked into their rejection of Israel's right to exist. And beyond <u>Hamas</u> is the figure of Sadaam Hussein surrounded by the four million Iraqis who have, in the past few weeks, volunteered to sign up to destroy Israel.

When I listened to Israelis on my visits what struck me was how very little they thought about or even mentioned the Palestinians, and this seems to have been true from the earliest days of Zionism. Asking old people, both left and right, what they thought the resident Arab population would make of the longing for a Jewish homeland, they answered, on the whole, "We didn't think about them at all." They were too intent on their war with the British. In his book The Yellow Wind, the Israeli novelist David Grossman, an opponent of Occupation, describes a journey in the occupied territories in the 1980s in which he talked to Palestinians and settlers. Grossman summed up in the mindset of a settler what I think remains today the Israeli refusal to engage with the Palestinians' anguish: "He does not want to think even for a minute about the situation of the Arabs around him, because he is caught up in a struggle with them, at war, he said, and were he to allow himself to pity, to identify, he would weaken and endanger himself."

The "tough Jew" is not a new phenomenon, it only has a new setting. In another book Tough Jews: Fathers, Sons and Gangster Dreams, the author, Rich Cohen, writes of the world of the American Jewish gangsters in the 1920s and 1930s and what they meant to his father and to his father's best friend, Larry King, growing up as Jewish kids in Brooklyn, listening every day on the radio to bad news from Europe. He asked why his father's generation began to even deny that the gangsters - Arnold Rothstein, Meyer Lansky, Dutch Schultz - had ever existed. The answer, Cohen thought, was that the Jews have always needed iconic tough guys and have always had them, but after

What lies beneath: We see angry Palestinian children being shot by soldiers and are outraged. The Israelis don't see the children - they see millions of Arabs, ....

1948 they had the Israeli army, fighters who were legit, who didn't have to break the law. Andrea Dworkin, in her recently published book Scapegoat: The Jews, Israel and <u>Women</u>'s Liberation, describes how the ideal of the Jewish man - bookish, gentle, family-loving - was banished in shame after the Holocaust. They turned themselves into cartoon alpha males. A Jewish boy in a soup kitchen in Jaffa, when I asked him what a Jew was, raised a pimple-sized bicep and said: "Strong".

So if the Israelis have turned themselves into tough guys, how do they see the Palestinians? If the Arabs - in particular Hezbollah and Syria - are a military threat then the Palestinians are merely an irritant. The ugly truth, I think, is that what they feel for the Palestinians is contempt, that they are losers, and this instinct is built into the founding ideals of the first Zionists. In a refugee camp, David Grossman asks a woman who has lived for 40 years in the same United Nation refugee house if she would be happy if she was given "a dunam . . . of land in a nice place, with light in the open air. 'Yes, yes - she laughs - of course, but only on my own land'". Then Grossman remembers, "how many times Palestinian leaders missed opportunities to gain themselves a homeland: there was the partition proposal of 1936 and the second proposal of 1947, and maybe there were other chances. They - in their blindness - rejected them all".

Deep in the Jewish psyche is the legacy of cutting your losses, moving on, reinventing yourself in order to survive. Deep in the Arab psyche is the attachment to the land, to patience and endurance. A boy tells Grossman of "his" house in Jaffa. He has never seen it but his grandfather did. What is Jaffa like, Grossman asks? A place of orchards, the boy replies. Actually it is part of the conurbation Tel Aviv-Yaffo, near the business district, circled with motorways. Why, the Israelis ask, perplexed, can't the Palestinians get over the loss of their homeland, why can't they live for the future instead of the past, like the Jews did? If the Jews have been such a roaring success in 20th-century America it has been, in part, because they left Eastern Europe, which had, after all been their home for centuries and never once looked back.

And when they ask themselves this question - why can't the Palestinians be like us? - the only answer they can think of is that the Palestinians are losers. Whatever their strategy it always fails. Invited by the UN in 1947 to form a country, the Jews seized the chance, and declared independence. The Palestinians rejected the opportunity to form theirs and sat back waiting for the Arab armies to defeat the new state. They attacked and lost and the result was that the Palestinians were driven out or fled, washing up in camps where they remain today. When the two sides in the cold war picked their teams, Israel got the US and the Palestinians and the Arabs got the Soviet Union. The latter no longer exists to back them. In the Gulf War the Palestinians supported Sadaam Hussein, currently the world's pariah leader. Some Palestinians have enthusiastically embraced Holocaust denial, their hero the "distinguished historian" David Irving. And all this time the Israelis, backed by the only remaining superpower, forged into the new hi-tech age, positioned themselves for globalisation.

In their own minds the Jews are better than the Arabs, and this goes further back than the consequences of the grim conditions imposed on the Palestinians by the occupation or the restriction on the civil liberties of the Arab Israelis. The earliest Zionists, coming from Russia after the failure of the 1905 revolution, saw themselves as bringing ideas of soviet socialism to the benighted peoples of the Middle East. Later, when the Yekkes, the Jews from Germany reluctantly arrived, torn away kicking and screaming from the cafes of Berlin, they saw themselves as the Weimar Republic in exile, bringing socialism, feminism, psychoanalysis and cubism to a land slumbering in the Middle Ages. It was another form of colonialism, of course, but a cultural one.

How do the mentalities of nations change? Not quickly. Here in Britain we are still dealing with the vestiges of the anger that many feel because we are no longer an empire. It took the Germans until the 1960s, 25 years after total military defeat, before a new generation even began to throw a searchlight on the activities of their own parents. In Austria, it is argued, this process hasn't even begun. What will it take to make the Israelis see the Palestinians as a wronged people in pursuit of justice, the victims of Jewish racism? Not yet another photo of a murdered child, nor even a whole album, but only peace itself will do it, which is why the Israeli left felt so badly let down by the new intifada. Instinctively, they knew that the mass of Israelis can only begin to respect the Palestinians when the threat from them is not to their borders but to their computer industry.

What lies beneath: We see angry Palestinian children being shot by soldiers and are outraged. The Israelis don't see the children - they see millions of Arabs, ....

When I Lived in Modern Times, is published by Granta. It will be serialised on Radio Four's Book at Bedtime from Monday 30 October.

Load-Date: October 24, 2000



# Letters, Faxes & E-Mail; Keys to effective teaching largely a mystery

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

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Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. 08A

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## **Body**

As a teacher with more than 25 years of service in Georgia, I extend to the Journal-Constitution my appreciation for its explicit recognition of a dozen teachers (as winners of Honor Teacher Awards) and the implicit recognition of the many, many other Georgia teachers who do their jobs and do them well.

Just how much do we know about these effective teachers? What does the educational research database say about effective teachers? How much empirical --- and the key term is "empirical," not "subjective" --- work regarding the characteristics of such teachers is contained there? As a career teacher, I'm appalled by what I think you'll find --- or, worse yet, not find. D.C. SPINKS, Augusta Israel only asks for reciprocity The Tuesday editorial "End talks with the Mideast" reached a correct conclusion, albeit by a circuitous and naive route. Many uncomplimentary things can be said of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. One thing, however, is clear: Israel is a democracy. Netanyahu was elected on a platform of peace with security, demanding reciprocity from the Palestinians in adherence to the Oslo Accords.

Twenty-seven percent of the West Bank was transferred to Palestinian rule in return for cracking down on terrorists, arresting terrorist suspects, etc. The Palestinians kept the land; the Israelis saw their <u>women</u> and children blown up on buses. Netanyahu gave back most of Hebron in return for more security against terrorists, arresting suspects, etc. The Palestinians continue to hold Hebron; <u>Hamas</u> terrorists march openly in the streets of Nablus. Now the United States is pressuring Israel to turn over more territory in return for the same promises that have been repeatedly made and broken since September 1993. How many times do the Palestinians think they can sell the same goods?

Security and peace must be built on mutual trust. That does not yet exist. External pressure to force one side or the other into an untenable agreement is a guaranteed recipe for failure --- and war. WILLIAM BILEK, Atlanta Siren system keeps Cobb safe Our local communities have taken a beating from the storms of El Nino during the past few months. It is remarkable that we have not had more deaths or injuries. We are especially lucky in Cobb County because of the foresightedness of our county commissioners and Cobb County Fire and Emergency Services. The siren system that has been maintained (and frequently used) in this county has no doubt been responsible for reducing injuries and deaths from severe weather. It is an efficient and effective means of notifying a large population of impending danger. The system is trusted and valued.

Public health's primary concern is prevention, and this system is an example of how everyone can play a part. We thank our county leaders for keeping us safe. VIRGINIA G. GALVIN Dr. Galvin is director of the Cobb County Board of Health. 'Seinfeld' pals exposed Midway through the last episode of "Seinfeld," I began to feel like I needed to take a shower. Of course, I've always known that the show was about obnoxious, amoral, completely self-centered 30-something adolescents, and that was the basis for the humor. But seeing scene after scene of the show's most grotesque moments, I began to realize what a bunch of sick puppies its fans are (myself included) to laud this mean-spiritedness as a cultural icon. Since this last hurrah seemed designed to make viewers squirm rather than laugh, perhaps the cast and writers were having a last laugh at us. BELINDA SAWYER, Stone Mountain Berliners will never forget airlift The article "Not chocolate, but hope" (Local News, Thursday) reminded me of my own airlift experience in Berlin. When the announcement of the airlift came in June 1948, we were skeptical that such an undertaking could succeed, even for a short time. American planes did indeed transport coal and fuel, but it was barely enough, and power could be supplied only two to three hours per day. We had no fuel to heat residences, and the winter of 1949 was beastly cold.

Whenever the roar from the planes stopped, we would shiver with anxiety. Were the "Amis" giving us up? Our food rations were meager. Americans flew in white bread, powdered milk, dehydrated foods and yellow cornmeal, which we thought was animal feed. Americans stationed there had to show us how to use it. All those items required long cooking, for which we had no fuel. We coped by partially cooking food and then quickly putting the pots into our feather bedding, where the cooking process continued.

I never experienced chocolate boxes parachuting from the sky, as Thursday's article mentioned. But I do know that the airlift forged a strong bond between Berliners and the United States. Those who lived through it will never forget it. WALDTRAUT SEIFERT LAVROFF, Atlanta White House safer As I have watched, read and listened to the reports about U.S. Rep. Cynthia McKinney's (D-Ga.) reaction to the security procedures at the White House, I am reminded of my own experiences. As the wife of a congressman, I have taken many constituents to visit the White House over the past few years. I recall the first visit I made to the White House after the Oklahoma bombing --- and all visits since then. I arrived at the gate, with three constituents, in our car with the appropriate congressional license, wearing the appropriate congressional spouse's pin to identify me. Unlike previous visits, when guards just waved me onto the grounds, they stopped and asked me to open my trunk, walked bomb-sniffing dogs around my car, and looked under the car with big mirrors. Unlike McKinney, though, I am grateful that aggressive measures are being taken to protect not only the president, but my guests and I as well. JERI BARR Barr is married to U.S. Rep. Bob Barr, a Republican from Marietta.

# **Graphic**

Graphic:

Jew extending an oive branch to an Arab against the background of the Israeli flag./ BOB NEWMAN / Special

Photo:

Cast of "Seinfeld" / Special

Load-Date: May 19, 1998



# CHECHEN REFUGEES FLEE RUSSIAN AIR-ATTACKS

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)
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Byline: WILL ENGLUND, THE BALTIMORE SUN

**Dateline: MOSCOW** 

# **Body**

Tens of thousands of refugees clogged the road from Chechnya to the neighboring Russian region of Ingushetia yesterday, as Russian warplanes continued their strikes against Chechen industrial and military targets.

Moscow's strategy in its budding war with Chechnya was starting to become clear - mass troops at the border, bomb from the air and wait for the "bandits" to give up. The Russians say they are only attacking legitimate targets, such as oil refineries, communications facilities and weapons depots.

The Chechen government says 300 civilians, mostly <u>women</u> and children, have been killed. And between 50,000 and 100,000 people, not so trusting in Russian intentions, have fled for their lives.

The government of Ingushetia, a constituent part of the Russian federation, yesterday appealed to the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees for help in dealing with the flow of people, the Itar Tass agency reported. Ingush Vice Premier Zakre Sultygov said authorities there were incapable of providing shelter, food and clothing for so many.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin ordered his military's border guards to seal off entry into Chechnya and to prevent separatist guerrillas from getting out. If carried through, this will force thousands of refugees back into the breakaway republic, victims of a war in which Russia talks about going after bandit formations but increasingly seem to have all of Chechnya in their sights.

In Moscow, the government is considering whether to cut off electricity to Chechnya and decided yesterday to suspend pension payments to elderly people there who are, technically, Russian citizens.

Over the weekend, Defense Minister Igor Sergeyev said Moscow would not rule out a ground invasion. But at the same time Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, in an interview published yesterday in Vremya, said the Russians had no intention of sending troops in as long as warplanes were able to reach their targets. Putin said Moscow had learned its lessons from the disastrous Chechen war of 1994-96, which cost about 80,000 lives.

"The difference is that this time we will not thoughtlessly send our boys to absorb hostile fire," he said.

Putin did say "special troops" will be used to "clean up territories," lending credence to speculation that the Russian government forces intend at some point to invade Chechnya but to seize only the northern portion of the republic, perhaps setting up a border along the Terek River.

#### CHECHEN REFUGEES FLEE RUSSIAN AIR-ATTACKS

No one can tell what will become of the thousands of refugees. The Russian strategy of patient aerial bombardment seems to presume a defensive reaction by the Chechen fighters, but they have a penchant for daring raids and unexpected strikes that could easily throw Russia off balance.

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#### Extremists attack

Extremists attack Iran student play TEHRAN, Iran - In the latest in a series of condemnations, hard-liners closed Tehran's main bazaar for two hours yesterday to protest a student play deemed insulting to Islam. One police official vowed to personally execute the satire's authors.

Iran's moderate President Mohammed Khatami joined the conservatives in denouncing the play as blasphemous. But he also criticized the hard-liners for spreading the "blasphemous insult" by making such a public issue out of it. The play appeared in a campus journal that prints only about 150 copies.

The coeditors of the tiny campus journal "Mowj," or Wave, at Amir Kabir Technical University were arrested last week for publishing the satirical play. Officials have said the text involved the theme of faking religious convictions to make political gains. The banned play also defamed the 12th Imam, one of the holiest figures for Iran's majority Shiite Muslim population.

The satire has become a rallying point for the hard-liners. They have felt pushed aside recently by efforts to grant greater press freedoms and ease some social restrictions, such as allowing unmarried couples to walk hand in hand.

#### MORE KASHMIR CLASHES

SRINAGAR, India - Eight people were killed in separate gunbattles between guerrillas and security forces in the restive Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, police said vesterday.

They said Indian soldiers shot dead two militants in a clash at Brengam village in Anantnag district, 34 miles south of Srinagar, the state's summer capital.

Police said suspected separatist guerrillas shot dead one civilian at Bijbehara area in another clash in the same district.

On Sunday, security forces killed three militants at Sunderbani area of Rajouri district, 279 miles southwest of Srinagar. Security forces also shot dead two militants in Kupwara district, 54 miles northwest of Srinagar.

S. Africa crash kills 26<' JOHANNESBURG - At least 26 elderly British tourists died yesterday when the brakes of their tour bus failed as it descended a steep mountain pass in South Africa, police said.

However, the death toll seemed set to climb higher, as reports came in from the remote region near the Kruger National Park wildlife reserve that more of the injured had died in the hospital. Lydenburg News said that 26 died on the spot and that three died later in hospital.

Police said the bus skidded off the road and overturned in a mountainous region about three miles from the eastern highland town of Lydenburg.

## U.S. musicians beaten

BERLIN - Five U.S. Army musicians were beaten up by a group of suspected neo-Nazi youths after a concert in the eastern German town of Prenzlau, authorities said yesterday.

A U.S. army spokesman said the musicians, members of the 1st Infantry Division's touring big band, were approached by a youth who addressed them in broken English as they walked through the town Saturday.

### CHECHEN REFUGEES FLEE RUSSIAN AIR-ATTACKS

"He then made the 'Sieg Heil' salute at which point four other assailants rushed out of an alley and starting beating the musicians with sticks," the spokesman said. The attackers fled after a scuffle that left the victims with slight injuries, mainly bruises, he said.

Also in the world . . .

A Palestinian court ordered the release yesterday of a top member of the Islamic militant group <u>Hamas</u>. The court ordered police to free Abdel Aziz Rantisi, arrested a month ago during a crackdown on Islamic militants . . . Three years after sweeping to power in Afghanistan, the Taliban movement protested to the United Nations yesterday for failing to recognize its Islamic government, which controls about 90 percent of the war-ravaged country . . . Tuberculosis, cholera and other diseases once thought almost eradicated in the Americas have developed drugresistant strains and again threaten millions, a leading health official said yesterday.

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# **Body**

League is opposed to hatred, oversimplifying

These are anxious times, stalked by terrorism and violence across the globe. Unfortunately some people, looking for answers, turn to blame -- Arabs in general, or Arab Americans, or Muslims, or the nation of Israel. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) fights the defamation of any and all groups -- national, racial, ethnic or religious. That is what the ADL is for.

Some people seem all too ready to blame America itself for the crimes committed against it. We oppose that, too.

Some people would blame Israel alone for the conflict between that nation and its Palestinian neighbors -- and blame that conflict for Arab hatred of America. ADL opposes that simplistic view of a complex world.

In our view, that conflict displays the ultimate futility of defamation and hatred. Fifty years of organized terrorism and three Arab wars against Israel demonstrate that Israel is not about to submit to extermination and Palestinian aspirations are not going to vanish into thin air. Someday the violence and terrorism that has long plagued the Middle East will finally stop.

We call on our leaders to continue seeking a just solution to this dangerous and tragic conflict. The ADL endorses fully the policies set forth by Secretary Colin Powell and President Bush in regard to these matters, calling for a peaceful Palestinian state with secure borders and freedom from terror in Israel. After all, more than a million Arabs live in Israel as peaceful citizens.

Let us, thrust into the midst of new forms of war and conflict, resist the temptation to play the blame or defamation game. Let us fight with vigor when we must, sorrowing for our fallen heroes and with pity for the fallen enemy as well.

Never forget: "Blessed are the peacemakers."

John H. Rubel

chair

New Mexico Anti-Defamation League

Tesuque

Stop madness

The madness in the Middle East must be stopped. The United States must lead, not veto, intervention through the United Nations Security Council to protect the rights of the people of Israel as well as those of Palestine.

Israel is being terrorized, and the Palestinian people are being brutalized by retaliation. The conflict has degenerated into a battle between extremists who have no common ground.

The winners are the radical groups -- <u>Hamas</u>, the Islamic Jihad, the Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Hezbollah -- who do not want the State of Israel. The losers are the Israeli and Palestinian people and the U.S. effort to eliminate terrorism and its roots in Islam and the underdeveloped world.

This dilemma of major historic and moral proportions for the free world cries for leadership to achieve a just outcome. If not resolved, the United States will pay the bill economically, with its credibility and with the security of its people and businesses in an increasingly integrated world.

Do we have the sense of history and the will to take action before it is too late?

Fred Bender

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Feeding the hungry

In spite of all the trying events of the last few months and the economic uncertainties during these holiday times, we must still remember those most needy.

U.S. Rep. Tom Udall has done so by sponsoring the "Hunger to Harvest" resolution in Congress, which will help those most in need in Africa. In addition to this program, we need to support legislation that will help domestic programs -- such as the food-stamps program -- which are needed more than ever.

**Brother Jim Brown** 

College of Santa Fe

Santa Fe

No respect

It did not take courage for Tom Udall to vote against the "PATRIOT Act" because that's exactly what the Democratic Party leadership wanted him to do. You show courage when you take a position that could cost you something, so real courage would have been to vote with the huge majority of other lawmakers and against his powerbrokers.

If we are to believe the polls (and we know how important the Democratic "leadership" thinks the polls are), most of Udall's constituents would have wanted him to vote otherwise. Unfortunately, the Democratic Party is not ruled by its members but by its leadership -- which cares less about the plight of its members.

The Democratic Party has continued to move away from most of its loyal but unappreciated (and disrespected) members who, amazingly, continue to support it -- but for how long?

Tom Chrisman

Santa Fe

via e-mail

No 'trickle-down'

Frank Lombardo's letter (Dec. 17) stated that tax reductions are ethical because they return wealth to its rightful owners -- those who created it. By that same logic, those who create no wealth (and by inference own none) should pay all the taxes. Now that's ethical!

Returning to huge and wealthy corporations retroactively the minimal taxes they've paid for the last five years is a travesty and a slap in the face to all hard-working, tax-paying Americans.

Those individuals and corporations most able to pay should pay the lion's-share of taxes -- period. "Trickle-down" economics didn't work for Ronnie, and it won't work now.

**Brian Martinson** 

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Response to Salaz

Ruben Salaz's letter of Dec. 16 attempts to keep alive the "Cyber Arte" controversy. I can only wonder if Salaz formed his viewpoint without seeing the exhibit. Otherwise, he would have seen the adjacent exhibit on Familia y Fe, which, for more than 10 years, has displayed Hispanic religious art. Last year the "Cyber Arte" curator had an excellent exhibit, Sin Nombre, on Hispanic New Deal artists who had received essentially no recognition for their work -- particularly the Hispanic *female* artists.

For almost 100 years, the Palace of the Governors has displayed the history of New Mexico with emphasis on the Spanish and Mexican periods.

Viewers of art are entitled to their own opinion of a particular work. Those who do not like a particular artist or work of art can avoid the exhibit, museum or gallery. However, many could benefit from exposure to new ideas or interpretations.

If only art that was accepted by everyone were displayed, there would be no art on display anywhere.

Paul Andrews

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Can do better

On Dec. 14 you ran a story about the Osama bin Laden tape. The story did not tell us where the tape was found, how it had been translated or what local speakers of Arabic thought of it. It did, however, give us the opinions of an 18-year-old fast-food service worker, a 23-year-old bar patron or worker, a recently arrived 22-year-old and a 23-year-old waitress plus -- finally -- the opinions of some local lawmakers who might or might not have been better informed on the subject.

If we had had the opinions of local speakers of Arabic or any speaker of Arabic, the first half of the article might have been news. What four young people think of this tape is not news; it is blather. "Man on the street" articles are usually blather since the average "man" on the street knows little or nothing about recent and immediate happenings of any complexity.

We depend upon our news media to inform us about those complexities. The Santa Fe New Mexican can and should do better.

Anna Orde

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Load-Date: December 31, 2001



The Independent (London)
May 27, 2000, Saturday

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Section: COMMENT; Pg. 6

Length: 2471 words

Byline: Research By Sean O'Grady

# **Body**

A baby in Downing Street

THE BLAIR BABY

The British press greet the arrival of Leo Blair, the first baby

to be born to a serving prime minister in 150 years

Daily Mail

THE BLAIRS will not be alone in rejoicing at their happy event. Millions will share the couple's happiness. <u>Women</u> especially will be filled with admiration for the qualities that the tired but joyful mother showed throughout the final stages of her pregnancy. In opting for a natural birth, when a caesarean might have seemed safer and easier for a woman of 45, Cherie Blair confirmed that she is a woman of deeply held principles and firm resolve. That she has become a role model for so many others seeking to balance a full domestic life and a demanding and successful job is hardly surprising. But although the Blairs, quite rightly, seek to protect the privacy of all their children, they will have to recognise that - given the couple's role on the national stage - decisions they take concerning Leo's life will inevitably be a subject of intense public interest.

The Sunday Times

THE BLAIRS' image as a thriving, church-going married couple with four seemingly contented children makes them almost unconventional in top-level British politics. William Hague, the Tory leader, is married but childless. Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrat leader, is unmarried, as is Gordon Brown, the Chancellor. The rest of the Cabinet is liberally sprinkled with ministers who are either divorced, married to a divorcee, living with someone or gay. None of this, of course, diminishes their authority. It does, however, give the Prime Minister's position as the head of a conventional family - and, despite increasing rates of family breakdown, 70 per cent of children are still brought up by their natural, married parents - added importance in shaping family policy.

The Sun

WHATEVER THEY pretend, they're going to exploit the hell out of this bay-bee, while at the same time jealously guarding their family's privacy, of course. They've been planning it for months. Even if the bay-bee itself was an accident, nothing else is being left to chance. They've got a meticulous schedule for releasing the pictures, naming the godparents, right up to the christening and beyond. They've probably already got his name down for the London Oratory. He must think we're all mugs. (Richard Littlejohn)

#### The Express

IT'S UNLIKELY I know, but wouldn't it be wonderful if the extraordinary Cherie were to agree to be photographed feeding little Leo. I've always been convinced that Breast is Best and wondered whether fewer <u>women</u> would claim to have difficulties if they weren't made to feel that it's a form of indecent exposure. Go on Cherie, I dare you. (Jenni Murray)

#### Birmingham Post

WHEN 17 per cent of all British births are by caesarean section, Cherie did it all with gas and air. Apparently some members of the obstetrics team were nervous about her giving birth naturally, but Cherie trusted herself and her body more. Hooray for Cherie Blair! (Jo Ind)

#### **News Letter**

### **Belfast**

NOT SINCE the angel Gabriel shocked the Virgin Mary with his news, has an infant arrival been so eagerly awaited. What's with everyone these days? We have an obsession with famous babes and their famous parents seem all too happy to oblige. Everywhere you look, entertainers and sports people are shoving their sprogs in front of television cameras. Mark my words, some day soon, the Prime Minister will carry him in, in matching miniature suit and tie, to the dispatch box for a crucial Prime Minister's Questions. Love me, love my baby. (Donna Carton)

#### New Statesman

SO WELCOME, Leo: what better way to fix the fixers' image than to produce a baby? Who can say Papa's a superficial lightweight who dances now to Alastair Campbell's tune, now to Mandy's, when here you are, proof of his deep commitment to the family and the future? And who would believe in a control freak when here he stands, surrounded by the spewing, screaming mess that is you? Your first lesson learnt, then, Leo: the hinterland is key. Those who have it, flaunt it; those who don't, fail. (Cristina Odone)

#### The People

HOW CLEVER of Cherie Blair to give birth when the Sun was in the final, most significant degree of Taurus. Leo Blair will be special. People born just before the Sun changes signs come into the world with a tremendous sense of purpose and ability to get things done. Taurus is the "in" sign of the moment. His chart contains planets in Taurus and Gemini, giving him the steady hand of the bull and the dazzling mental hula hoops of the twins. Ideal careers when he grows up will be in finance or business. When it comes to love, Leo will be a one-woman man who is very intense. (Debbie Franks - Princess Diana's astrologer)

## ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON

Comment on the end of Israel's occupation of Lebanon and its implications for the Middle East peace process

## Jordan Times

ONE OF the most pointed questions that has arisen after the forced Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon is whether this will encourage militant Palestinians. Right-wing Israelis who are opposed to the withdrawal from Lebanon have expressed their concern that Palestinians will want to follow the example of Hizbollah. *Hamas*, the Palestinian

Islamic resistance movement, made a public statement expressing just that sentiment. <u>Hamas</u> called on Palestinians to use the armed struggle to liberate Palestine. What's more, however, the sentiment was not restricted to radical Palestinians and Israelis.

Jerusalem Post

REGARDLESS OF who is to blame for the SLA's swift collapse and lack of preparation for it, the fact remains that thousands have fled to Israel, and thousands more of Israel's allies may be in danger in Lebanon. As head of the Northern Command, Maj-Gen Gabi Ashkenazi pointed out, Israeli soldiers came home while SLA soldiers have been forced to abandon their homeland. Israel cannot treat the SLA only as refugees who should be grateful for being accommodated in makeshift camps; they are brothers who risked their lives with us and deserve our best treatment in return. The people of Israel, not just the government, have a role to play in helping to provide for families who have lost everything but their lives because of their connection to us.

The Oklahoman

US

SYRIA HAS said the withdrawal proved Israel's occupation was a failure and that there would be no peace until all Arab land captured in recent wars was surrendered. And so it goes. Land for peace is met with demands for more land and there is very little peace in the meantime. This, the late prime minister Menachem Begin, knew very well. Former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu, whom Ehud Barak defeated a year ago, also knew it, but was under constant pressure from the Clinton administration to make land concessions, which helped convince many Israelis that their leader was an impediment to peace. Unfortunately, Barak's concessions are bringing only additional demands, and so it appears Israel soon may once again be fending off radical guerrilla elements from Lebanon, as Syria looks on, approvingly.

Daily Star

Lebanon

AT LONG last, the Israelis are very nearly gone, and most of the young draftees manning their outposts are probably just as happy to be leaving as we will be to watch them go. We can take great pride in a resistance movement that learned through trial and error how it could outlast an enemy with vastly superior technology, resources, and firepower. The key will be to keep short-term and/or localised conflagrations from degenerating into new long-term and/or wide-ranging ones. This is a delicate business at the best of times, and the power vacuum that will exist in the south in the immediate aftermath of the pullout will confound even those who are most dedicated to containing the inevitable flare-ups. Cooler heads must now be allowed to prevail.

Khaleej Times

UAE

FOR THE Israelis and the Arab world, the consequences of the Israeli withdrawal are of great import. The Hizbollah attacks on the Shebaa region in the south-east - Israelis claim it is Syrian territory they captured in 1967, but by Syrian and Lebanese definition it is Lebanese - are a reminder of the problems that will arise. Kofi Annan has recommended an increased UN force to oversee the withdrawal, but the Security Council is wary of being sucked into a new confrontation. It is ironic that Israel is acting on an old UN resolution to suit its own objectives while expecting the world organisation to jump to attention.

The Irish Times

HIZBOLLAH IS the great uncertainty in the military equation. Following their victorious resistance to Israel, it is not at all clear that they will agree to disarm and disband rather than keep up attacks on Israeli targets. If they follow the latter course, it would be especially dangerous for the region, since Israel has threatened to retaliate. Irish thoughts

will be very much with Unifil and its Irish contingent in coming days, as they deal with these events and receive reinforcements.

#### OXBRIDGE ADMISSIONS

Opinion on Oxbridge admissions policies, after Laura Spence, an aspiring medical student, was rejected by Oxford University

The Journal

Newcastle

STATISTICS SHOW that both Oxford and Cambridge take far fewer students from the North East than they do from London and the South East. Why this should be so is far from clear, but knowing the archaic manner in which admissions to Oxbridge still work, we suspect that those from favoured schools - most of which are in the South and the Midlands - with long- established links to certain colleges have a decided advantage. We accept that, to an extent, Oxbridge's hands are tied by government quotas for certain popular subjects like medicine. But we must take a very close look at what is going on. British youngsters who go overseas to learn can all too easily decide to stay. We cannot afford to lose such brains.

The Daily Telegraph

ON THE issue of whether the ancient universities are prejudiced against state school pupils, there is at least as strong a case to be made on the other side. These days, pupils from independent schools are frequently rejected by Oxford and Cambridge colleges in favour of applicants from state schools who have poorer exam results. With no offence to Miss Spence, it should also be pointed out that it has become by no means unusual for university applicants to attain straight A\* grades in their GCSEs. Admissions tutors have a much more difficult job to decide between them than in the days when an A\* was a rarity.

Evening

Standard

WHATEVER THE facts behind the case of Laura Spence, the incident highlights a depressingly familiar problem: the severe imbalance between admissions to Oxbridge from state and private schools. If snobbery and an anti-comprehensive bias were the explanations, that would be unforgiveable, but things are far more complex. A surprisingly low ratio of state school pupils even attempt to get into Oxbridge, either because they feel they will not make the grade, or because they are encouraged to think of them as elitist places. Current admission arrangements do indeed favour the private sector, whose candidates are likely to have benefited from better teaching in smaller classes, and who tend to be more confident and articulate in interviews. The fact that Laura Spence was snapped up by Harvard is not accidental: Harvard has an admissions staff of 50 dedicated to recruiting the brightest students. The universities must widen the criteria against which applicants are judged.

### CRISIS AT THE DOME

Verdicts on the further subsidy of pounds 29m of lottery funds

to be spent on the Millennium Dome at Greenwich

The Economist

THE NATIONAL Audit Office is to hold an inquiry into why the Government is forking out yet more money to keep the Millennium Dome going. Quite right: the total subsidy of pounds 538m is a scandal. The New Millenium Experience Company and the Millenium Commission are keen to emphasise that polls show a high level of

satisfaction among visitors to the Dome. With a subsidy of around pounds 90 per paying visitor you would certainly hope so.

Financial

Times

THE BEST way to deal with a financial disaster is to admit the mistake and cut your losses. But the Millennium Dome has turned into a political as well as a financial embarassment. The Dome has failed to catch the public imagination as in different ways the giant ferris wheel and the Tate Modern gallery have done. All that remains is for the public sector to pull out as quickly and cheaply as possible. The Dome should not have been given the latest handout. It should be sold with minimum fuss to the highest bidder.

The Guardian

THE DOME was yesterday. Just another blip in the awkward lives of politicians committed to national renewal. But it wasn't. It was an avoidable idiocy, which leaves Britain looking like a nation led astray by profligate, self regarding philistines. (Hugo Young)

Daily Record

AS YET another chunk of our hard-earned disappears down the black hole known as the Millennium Dome, it might be time to pause for a little simple arithmetic. Latest attendance figures show that the Dome will have cost more than pounds 100 for every visitor it attracts. Or, more pertinently, pounds 10 from every poor sucker who didn't fancy going or couldn't afford it. And the London establishment still wonder why they are held in such contempt anywhere north of Watford. Dare we suggest the Dome board makes a public apology to that annoying little bit of the country that lies outside the M25 ring road.

SIR JOHN GIELGUD

Appreciations of the theatrical knight,

who died at the age of 96

The Stage

PERHAPS THE most influential theatrical leader of his time, at heart Gielgud was a modest, even diffident man. A fine-balanced production meant more to him than a virtuoso display. As a player, he worked always to reach maturer depths. He went beyond the make-belief side of acting and his romantic heroes, to found his performances on a personal self-revelation. A truthful imagination led to his discovery of the humanity in Shakespeare's progs and tyrants. As well, he developed into a most winning comic actor. It is clear why he survived the rise of working-class actors in later years, and the radical drama of the avant-garde. The new generation recognised and needed the integrity of an artist who had remained at the top of his profession. (John Barber)

Times of India

THERE ARE certain names that go hand in hand with the archaically fraught poetry of Shakespeare; Laurence Olivier springs to mind, not to mention the hard-drinking yet brilliant Richard Burton. But there were two more; Ralph Richardson was one, and the other was probably the greatest Shakespearean translator ever - Sir John Gielgud. On Sunday he slipped away into legend and maybe in the future, myth.

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# Heightened dangers lurk all around us

The Australian

December 10, 2001, Monday

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# **Body**

Indeed, these groups may take the face of human rights groups [and] community organisations

Australia has become increasingly vulnerable to international terrorism, argues Rohan Gunaratna

INDIAN terrorist suspect Mohammed Afroz may or may not have planned airborne attacks in Australia. But one thing is clear: the threat of international terrorism against Australia and New Zealand has been enhanced since al-Qa'ida's multiple attacks against the US on Sept-

ember 11.

After all, Canberra has openly identified with the anti-terrorist US-led multinational coalition. By nature, terrorist groups are vengeful and retaliatory. So it's not surprising that Australia has earned the wrath of al-Qa'ida and its affiliates.

**MATP** 

Then there are al-Qa'ida support and operational networks in North America and western Europe that are increasingly under pressure. The steadfast arrests are forcing al-Qa'ida to advance and execute its impending operations or shift its infrastructures to less alert, more conducive environments. In the Asia-Pacific, Australia and New Zealand are the only two liberal democracies where terrorist groups could operate with relative ease.

What's more, Australia is already the home of eight fledgling terrorist support networks: <u>Hamas</u> (Palestine), Hezbollah (Lebanon), Chechen mujaheddin (Russia), Kurdish Workers Party (Turkey), Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (Spain), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka), Babbar Khalsa International (India) and International Sikh Youth Federation (India). These groups disseminate terrorist propaganda, recruit, raise funds and procure technologies from Australia. Some have ideological, training and operational links with al-Qa'ida.

Another reason the terrorist threat is rising in Australia is that several terrorist groups in the immediate neighbourhood -- notably in The Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia -- have stepped up their activities at home and abroad. In addition to a dozen groups that have benefited from al-Qa'ida training and financial infrastructure in Afghanistan, two groups -- the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Abu Sayyaf in Mindanao, The Philippines -- work closely with al-Qa'ida. With the operational reach of these groups increasing, the threat facing Australia and New Zealand has changed.

Indeed, during the past decade the face of terrorism has changed. The most profound impact of this change that affects Australian security comes from the shift in the geography of terrorism. Since the Oslo accords in 1993, the

### Heightened dangers lurk all around us

gravity of terrorism has shifted from the Middle East to Asia. Today, Asia is witnessing the largest number of terrorist attacks in the world, followed by Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, the former USSR and the West.

With the exception of the Oklahoma attack, all the significant terrorist attacks or attempts against Western targets have been conducted by people using the cover of diaspora and migrant communities. The geographic isolation of Australia won't make it immune from the new wave of terrorism that actively uses such cover to gather intelligence, support action cells and strike targets.

Six of the eight groups mentioned have conducted suicide terrorist attacks similar to al-Qa'ida. Only a small faction of their diaspora and migrant communities voluntarily support terrorism. But the fact that Australia has failed to control the support activities of terrorist groups on Australian soil suggests that these groups have expanded their range of functions from propaganda, recruitment and fundraising to procurement. Although the primary function of these cells in Australia is to support terrorist activities overseas, support cells have mutated into operational cells and conducted terrorist attacks on host soil in the past.

WHY has Australia been complacent about the rising terrorist threat? Well, unless there is a direct threat from a terrorist group, most countries are hesitant to act against the concerned group. So far, the terrorist groups operating in Australia have posed a threat primarily to a few foreign countries, mostly located in Asia and in the Middle East. Canberra has been tolerant and reluctant to act against these groups active on Australian soil.

What's more, Australia has experienced very few terrorist attacks. So, again, it's not surprising that Australian governments have failed to address and combat terrorism.

Several million US dollars are raised every year by the groups operating in Australia in support of terrorist activities overseas. It is not a criminal offence for a terrorist group to disseminate propaganda, raise funds, or procure supplies. Similarly, the Australian Federal Police has no separate anti-terrorism branch.

Tacitly, Australia has permitted the formation and function of foreign terrorist support networks on its soil. Indeed, these groups operating through front, cover and sympathetic organisations may take the face of human rights and humanitarian groups as well as community organisations.

Is Australia a safe haven for international terrorist groups? The short answer is yes. The traditional response of the Western intelligence community and those agencies trained by Britain and the US is to watch rather than attrite the personnel and infrastructure of these groups. It is a legacy the intelligence community inherited from the Cold War days of monitoring

spies. Fighting terrorism is different.

Unlike the Cold War spies who recruited agents or stole state secrets, terrorists are a dangerous breed. As the al-Qa'ida strikes in the US demonstrated, intelligence agencies think they are monitoring these groups, but they are not. As terrorist support cells are permitted to operate, they will generate funds for killing civilians irrespective of country or community. Liberal democracies have been notorious in this regard.

More than US\$50 million (\$97 million) has been seized in Western Europe and North America since September 11. As demonstrated in the US, you cannot appease terrorists. The only way to protect Australia and to contribute to international peace and security is to come into contact with these cells by a process of attrition. By targeting terrorist cells -- support or operational -- intelligence agencies can develop a better understanding of terrorist activities.

Al-Qa'ida attacks against US targets should be a wake-up call for Australia and New Zealand. Irrespective of whether it is a state or a group, if it engages in attacking civilians to advance a political goal, it is engaging in terrorism. Australia must seriously and sincerely join the global fight against terrorism. The first step should be to clean up its back garden. Without being an exception to the counter measures developed by two other Western liberal democracies, it must develop the legal framework to criminalise and then begin the slow process of attriting the existing terrorist support infrastructures on Australian soil.

### Heightened dangers lurk all around us

All the eight terrorist groups mentioned have misused and abused Australian soil. All these groups have raised funds in Australia to support terrorist operations (attacking civilian targets that kill men, <u>women</u> and children) overseas. By responding decisively, Australia should be able to set an example to the rest of Asia, including to New Zealand. As its gateway, Australia must ensure that New Zealand too develops similar legislation. When the US criminalised the operation of 29 foreign terrorist groups in October 1997, most of the groups moved their infrastructures to Canada and Europe.

Similarly, when Britain criminalised 21 foreign terrorist groups in February 2000, they moved their infrastructures to continental Europe. Today, terrorist groups continue to operate in the US and Britain by using neighbouring countries that are yet to crack down on foreign terrorist support networks. To prevent terrorist displacement, Australian and New Zealand initiatives must be simultaneous and co-ordinated.

If Australia and New Zealand deny these groups an active presence, these countries will not only enhance their security but also reduce the suffering of several other countries affected by protracted terrorist campaigns.

Rohan Gunaratna, a former principal investigator for the UN Terrorism Prevention Branch, is a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St Andrew's University in Scotland

Load-Date: December 9, 2001



# <u>Israel brings West into midst of Arabs Mideast assassins once fueled by</u> faked paradise

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

October 29, 2001, Monday

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**Length:** 1189 words **Byline:** John Warner

# **Body**

I TEACH a course titled "Arabs and the Middle East." I started teaching that course after the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations sent me and another Gazette columnist, Jerry Beller, to the Middle East in the summer of 1987.

Jerry and I were sent to the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, although other college professors that summer went to Yemen, Egypt, Tunisia, Palestine and elsewhere.

In Jordan, Jerry and I visited universities and the military academy, Crusader castles and the ruins of Petra. I swam in the Dead Sea and in the Gulf of Aqaba. We met King Hussein and Queen Noor and many leaders of that small Arab nation. We also met leaders of the Palestine National Council - the guiding force behind the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Because Gazette readers have a renewed interest in the Middle East today, I wanted to write this one small story.

Today more than 1 billion people on this Earth claim Islam as their faith. These are the followers of a charismatic religious prophet named Mohammed.

Mohammed was born in about 570 A.D. and died in 632 A.D. In the first hundred years after his death, Islam burst across the globe from Morocco to Indonesia, into Spain and threatening Europe until the Battle of Tours in 732 A.D.

The people of Islam are divided into two major sects. Ninety percent are Sunni, the more traditional form of Islam, and about 10 percent are Shi'ite.

Only in Iran, known as Persia before 1935, do the Shi'ites hold the upper hand in government and society. The shah of Iran, and later the Ayatollah Khomeini, represented the Shi'ite tradition. Leaders of most other Middle Eastern nations are usually Sunni. King Abdullah of Jordan is Sunni. The PLO is Sunni. Osama bin Laden and the Taliban are Sunni.

Of course, there are many divisions within those two very large sects of Islam. One of the groups within the Shi'ite tradition is known as the Ismaili sect.

I will tell one story related to the Ismaili sect. This story reveals a great deal about the world we live in today.

Our word "assassin" derives from a Shi'ite Ismaili Islamic sect having its origins in the 11th century A.D.

Israel brings West into midst of Arabs Mideast assassins once fueled by faked paradise

Remember Omar Khayyam? He wrote the beautiful poetry known as the Rubayat. One of Omar's Persian classmates was Hasan al Sabbah.

Hasan converted to the Ismaili faith at the age of 17 and became a powerful charismatic Ismaili preacher - loved and hated. With a small band of followers in 1090 A.D., he retreated into an impregnable fortress at Alamut in the Elburz Mountains, just south of the Caspian Sea. Later Marco Polo visited Alamut en route to China.

Hasan preached a doctrine of blind obedience. His disciples were willing to obey his commands and to die for their faith. First, he took revenge on those who had opposed him in the streets of Persia. He trained his disciples in the arts of assassination and sent them on suicide missions. Each traveled alone and carried only a short dagger. None expected to escape alive, but each believed that he would enter Paradise immediately upon his sacrificial death.

So skilled did they become that Hasan sold his assassins out to the highest bidder, and he built a small but frightening empire off the backs of his suicide killers. Sound familiar? This is really true! Or at least so it is told in our history books - and by Marco Polo.

Hasan began to use poppy seeds to develop his program. Each young recruit was brought up to the mountain and given a dose of hashish. While unconscious, he was carried off to a garden filled with fruit and flowers and awakened, surrounded by servants and beautiful young <u>women</u>. His every desire was sated. Truly, this was beyond his wildest dreams. After a few days, he was drugged again and returned to the spot where he had first fallen asleep.

"You have visited Paradise," he was told. "And when you die - on a suicide mission - you will be transported immediately to Paradise again."

He could hardly wait.

Hasan, now known as the "Old Man of the Mountain," sold his disciples to emirs and princes, to anyone willing to pay his price. They attacked the Christian Crusaders. Throughout the Middle East, the wealthy and the powerful eliminated enemies and competitors with Hasan's servants.

Hasan's empire grew in wealth and in power, and soon they controlled a network of fortresses throughout the mountains of Syria and Persia.

Assassins were hired from as far away as European kingdoms. Emirs and princes also fell to these fedayi, for that is what they were called. Fedayi means "one who sacrifices himself." The plural is fedayeen. Later they became known for the drug they took, the hashishiin - assassins.

It took the Mongols nearly three years - from 1254 to 1256 - to defeat and dislodge the assassins from their mountain lairs, but some will argue that this brand of Ismaili Islam was never fully eliminated.

When the United Nations voted in 1947 to partition Palestine and give a piece of Arab land to the Jewish people, the Palestinians did everything in their power to prevent the establishment of the state of Israel. Israel was an uninvited guest and brought the West once more into the midst of the Arab people.

In the war that followed, the Arabs lost more land than they had by partition. And they lost even more land in the wars of 1967 and 1973.

Unsuccessful in traditional warfare, the Palestinians have chosen another means by which to remove the uninvited guests. Fedayeen! Hashishiin!

For years suicide bombers have plagued the people of Israel. They have killed pedestrians at bus stops, teen-agers at a disco and children on school buses. These missions have not achieved their purpose. Indeed, in the face of these fedayeen, the Israeli government has encroached more and more onto the land promised to the Palestinians by U.N. Resolutions 242 and 338.

Israel brings West into midst of Arabs Mideast assassins once fueled by faked paradise

Israel has continued to build apartments and Jewish villages in Palestinian lands. This is an "in your face" policy of the bully on the playground.

Hatred has turned into rage. That rage has infected many people in the Middle East, many who are not Palestinian. This rage is responsible for terrorist organizations, such as Hisbollah, *Hamas*, Islamic Jihad, and al Qaeda.

Although our own government has since 1948 opposed Israeli policies toward the Palestinians, we have supported and protected Israel and have not demanded an end to this theft of land. And as the one great superpower of the world, we are seen as the ultimate force behind the Israeli invasion.

And that, dear friends, is what Osama bin Laden is all about.

We, in this, our beloved USA, will now suffer continual fedayeen and hashishiin from Sept. 11 until the moment the bully on the block pulls back the carpenters, the backhoes and the jackhammers and returns legitimate Palestinian lands to the Palestinians.

Get ready for more anthrax, for another World Trade Center-type attack, more hijackings and who knows what.

The tradition of the "Old Man of the Mountain" will survive unabated until Israel gets out of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. It is our choice.

Warner, an ordained Methodist minister and a professor at West Virginia Wesleyan College, is one of the Gazette's contributing columnists.

Load-Date: October 30, 2001



## TERROR IN AMERICA: ACT RASHLY, AND OUR CHILDREN WILL SUFFER IN YEARS TO COME

The Independent (London)
September 14, 2001, Friday

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Length: 1181 words

Byline: David Aaronovitch

## **Body**

WE'VE HAD the shocked silence, we've had the period of reflection (an amazing 36 hours), and we've heard as many narratives as we need to reach our judgements. On both sides of the Atlantic, opinion is beginning to elbow reportage from the airwaves and to fight for its share of newsprint. The Hawks and Doves - who we thought had become as scarce as the sparrows - have come fluttering and swooping out of their various nests and eyries. Michael Howard thinks we should go in hard, Paddy Ashdown thinks we should be careful, Henry Kissinger says ... Well. I'll come to HK in a moment.

The finger is being pointed generally at the Middle East, of course, but after that, jabs frenetically at different places on the map. It's Iraq says Israel. It's Afghanistan where Mr bin Laden is a hero to the Taliban (did he blow up their enemy, General Masud, last week?) It's a whole load of places, says Henry Kissinger. But we'll return to him later. In any case, it's all the fault of domestic liberals, who've wanted to play everything by the book, and respect international law and other such wussy things. There's a bin Laden mole in the White House right now, says respected US columnist William Safire. In any case, the need is for America to strike and to strike hard and to strike widely.

Rising to meet the old hawks are the old anti-Americans, for whom nothing has changed since Vietnam. Some seem to believe that the United States actually deserves to be bombed by religious nutters (as long as said nutters are from the authentic Third World). "Now they know how the Iraqis feel," one correspondent to The Guardian yesterday wrote fatuously from her safe home in Bedale in Yorkshire. Perhaps in her next, longer letter she could enlighten her fellows as to the last time that the US deliberately shot down four civilian airliners and immolated up to 10,000 people of all nationalities in a building that had no military significance whatsoever.

I am paying too much attention to these Bourbons of either side but - as Tim Garton Ash said in these pages yesterday - what is done now could well determine the circumstances under which our children are forced to live and fight. We need to do the right things, the intelligent things, the things that we are not bitterly regretting in 10 years' time.

You only have to look at Afghanistan. Until the mid-70s, this mountainous state was ruled by a king and suffered bandits and poverty. Its descent into becoming a society where men are forced by law to grow beards and shave their armpits and <u>women</u> to be illiterate, run by a coalition of religious Pol Pots was not inevitable nor inherent. A softish communist government overthrew the king, a hard-line communist coup then overthrew that. And the Russians came in. Never mind what the Afghans wanted. So the West armed and trained insurgents, including

#### TERROR IN AMERICA: ACT RASHLY, AND OUR CHILDREN WILL SUFFER IN YEARS TO COME

religious hard-liners based in Pakistan. Mr bin Laden was involved in all this. This was the era of proxies, the geostrategic era where - from Africa to the Caribbean - our people fought their people over the corpses of other people.

Understanding this is part of an important antidote to the despair and pessimism that many intelligent people feel right now. "It (the bin Laden group) has at its command an ideology shared by hundreds of millions that the West is evil", wrote one serious (if ill-informed) British commentator this week. Yesterday morning, a friend whose opinions and erudition I respect enormously formulated the question in this way. "What if it is intractable?" What if nothing we do can ever assuage the atavistic demands of these people (i.e. millions of Muslims) for an eventual settlement in the Middle East to be based on the abolition of Israel and the spread of theocracy? What if they really are different to us? "Some problems," he added, "cannot be solved".

It's possible. I was sent a book this week entitled Why The West Has Won?, written by an American Professor of Classics, Victor David Hanson, in which he "reveals the connection between the military superiority of the West and its rise to global dominance." Now imagine what a man from Islamabad or a woman from Damascus makes of that. Perhaps they'll just hate us forever for the loss of the Persian Empire and the colonisation of the Indian subcontinent. If so, do as Israel does under Sharon. Close the borders, bulldoze the houses and send the plenty of rockets fizzing through the windows.

But hold on a second. The fact is that, at Oslo, the Palestinians did recognise the right of Israel to exist, and during that time - though the fundamentalists hated it - the impetus was on the side of those seeking compromise. If all kinds of people had just behaved a little differently, if Rabin had been wearing a bulletproof vest, if some of the settlements had been removed, we might now not be talking about irreconcilable differences. And in Iran, over the years, the reformers and democrats have gradually edged out the hardliners - not least because theocracies are uncomfortable places to live.

The wily old Hungarian communist, Janos Kadar, took a maxim of the old Stalin days and reversed it. "He who is not against me," he said, "is with me." This has now got to be our motto.

As far as I am concerned, the Americans are morally entitled to take measures to destroy those who committed the massacres of 11 September and to act to ensure that there is no repetition. It is right that Nato should support such action, not just because the US is our ally, but also so that we are in some way consulted. This matters to us partly because, as Britons, we have lost more dead than were killed in all the IRA outrages on the "mainland" put together, and partly because, without the US, Slobodan Milosevic would still be king of Serbia.

But the "what" is all-important. Bush has stated that "we will make no distinction between the terrorists who committed these acts and those who harbour them". The conservative commentator, Bill Buckley, wrote this week that this meant Afghanistan. Then added, "it is hardly obvious what it is we are in a position to do. But our movement against Taliban has to come quickly, and has to be viewed as massive and irreconcilable." Henry Kissinger called for "a systematic response that, one hopes, will end ... with the destruction of system that is responsible on it. That system is a network of terrorist organisations sheltered in the capitals of certain countries."

There is another way of looking at this. As Tom Friedman wrote in the New York Times yesterday, experience, not least in the Palestinian areas themselves suggests that the best policing of groups like <u>Hamas</u> and Islamic Jihad would come from within the society from which they originate. This may not work in Afghanistan, true, but it is likely to be the case elsewhere in the region.

If we respond as though we were riding to the defence of Western civilisation in turning back the Eastern tide, we may lose forever the best practical weapons for defeating the terrorists themselves. Our kids will curse us.

David.Aaronovitch@btinternet.com

Load-Date: September 14, 2001



# <u>AIR STRIKES ON AFGHANISTAN: THE MILITANTS - EGYPT, THE BREEDING</u> GROUND FOR ISLAMIC TERRORISM

The Independent (London)
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Byline: Phil Reeves In Jerusalem Egyptians Ayman al-Zawahiri (left) and Mohammed Atef both have close ties to

Osama bin Laden

### **Body**

ANYONE LABOURING under the illusion that Egypt is - as the tourist brochures suggest - a land of quivering <u>female</u> bellies, vast pyramids and gin-drenched Nile boat trips need only glance at the FBI's files to set the record straight.

These cliches have always been only one side of this large Muslim country's spilt personality, and the facts emerging in the aftermath of the US atrocities provide a telling insight into the other. No fewer than a third of the men on the FBI's just-released list of "most wanted terrorists" are Egyptians.

Far from mere spear-carriers, living in the shadow of bin Laden - widely portrayed in the West as the single evil genius behind the US outrages - this group includes some serious heavyweights from the world of Islamic militancy.

They are men of such apparent influence that it is possible to argue that the roots of the organisation that massacred more than 6,000 people in America one month ago lie not in the jagged mountains of Afghanistan, but in the helter -skelter, down-at-heel yet infinitely more familiar and Westernised streets of Cairo.

They include Saif al-Adel, who is believed to be al-Qaida's highest ranking member, and its second-in-command, Mohammed Atef, a former Egyptian policeman. Atef is a particularly intriguing figure in the FBI's "dramatis personae".

An associate of Mr bin Laden's for more than a decade, the Americans accuse him of commanding the 1998 US embassy bombings in Dar es Salaam and Nairobi, in which more than 200 people died.

He also has personal ties with Mr bin Laden: in January, his daughter married one of Mr bin Laden's sons. American prosecutors also allege that Atef, who is in his late 50s, sits on al-Qa'ida's military committee and is in charge of training new recruits in the Afghanistan camps that the Allied forces are now trying to demolish.

The indictment in the US embassy bombings said that he travelled several times to Somalia in the early 1990s to provide "military training and assistance to Somali tribes" opposed to US intervention.

But the most important name on the list seems to be Ayman al-Zawahiri, Mr bin Laden's right-hand man - literally, for he is the figure you see standing with the Saudi dissident in his videotape appearances - and personal physician.

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More than anyone else, the soft-spoken 50-year-old doctor seems to be pivotal.

Western intelligence believes he played a leading role in forging the bridge linking these two distant worlds, by bringing violent Islamic militancy from Egypt - where it existed under permanent threat from President Hosni Mubarak's ruthless security forces - to take root in the stark but easier environment of Afghanistan.

An urbane man, of upper middle-class stock, he has been high on Egypt's wanted list for years - a fact that grates heavily with Egypt's security forces who wonder why the doctor was allowed to go on a fund-raising tour across the US in 1991.

By then, he had amassed a long rap sheet, stretching back beyond the 1981 assassination of the Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, who was despised by the Islamic radicals for being the first Arab leader to make peace with Israel. At the time of Sadat's death, Dr Zawahiri was in command of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad, the authors of the president's murder.

He was jailed for three years, although only on the technicality of illegal possession of a pistol. When he left prison, his ties with Afghanistan began to evolve in earnest. He moved to Saudi Arabia and then to Pakistan, joining thousands of other Arabs who went to the region to help the Afghani mujahedin (including Mohammed Atef) - then secretly backed by the CIA - fight the USSR after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Years later, the same veterans of the Soviet conflict - having by now identified the world's only remaining superpower, the US, as their Satan- in -Chief - would stand shoulder-to-shoulder again. In February 1998, Dr Zawahiri is thought to have joined forces with al-Qaida, becoming the closest confidente of Mr bin Laden.

They were united under the aegis of a broad new organisation, the International Front for Fighting Jews and Crusaders, whose followers include an assorted list of Muslim hard nuts ranging from Chechens - radicalised by years of seeing their people subjected to murderous abuse at the hands of the Russians, while the US turned the other way - to Afghans, Saudis, to Palestinian, Jordanians and Egyptians.

By now, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad had stopped attacking targets on its home turf, although it bombed the Egyptian embassy in Pakistan and tried to bomb the US embassy in Albania. Their mission was no longer primarily confined to nationalist issues - unlike the Palestinian groups, <u>Hamas</u> and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, who carried on sending out suicide bombers in the name of freeing the Palestinians from Israel, but kept their operations to the neighbourhood.

It had become a sophisticated global enterprise, whose goals were conceived by articulate men whose apocalyptic vision owed nothing to a lack of formal education or brains.

Dr Zawahiri has both. He is a graduate of Cairo University, a master of disguise - he has reportedly used false passports, changed his appearance, and posed as an Arab of Swiss origin - and the son of well-to-do members of the Egyptian professional classes. The same is true of Mohammed Atta, the man behind the controls of one of the aircraft that slammed into the World Trade Centre. He was also Egyptian.

The Islamic Jihad is not the only Egyptian group of its kind to decide to take their war directly on to American soil. If the FBI is to be believed, Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman's plot to attack New York was as audacious and murderous as Mr bin Laden's. The blind cleric - spiritual leader of the Egyptian Gama'a al-Islamiya (Islamic Group) - has been serving a life sentence in the US since 1995 for planning to blow up a number of the city's landmarks.

After gaining further notoriety in 1997 by killing 58 tourists in the Egyptian resort of Luxor, Gama'a al-Islamiya declared a ceasefire two years later. But this was later renounced by the sheikh from his cell.

There have been some intriguing warning signs of trouble brewing. At a Cairo press conference this year, the group's spokesman said the US would "reap a bitter harvest if it continues humiliating (the sheikh)", adding that this could result in a "explosion of events targeted against US interests". The spokesman added ominously: "Sheikh Omar has many followers."

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Some of these are to be found in Mr bin Laden's entourage. According to The Washington Post, the cleric's two sons joined forces with Mr bin Laden several years ago - although they are not directly accused of the 11 September attacks - bringing with them other members of Gama'a al-Islamiya.

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# A NATION CHALLENGED: THE ROLE OF RELIGION; Scholars Call Attacks A Distortion of Islam

The New York Times
September 30, 2001 Sunday
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**Byline:** By LAURIE GOODSTEIN

### **Body**

With evidence that Muslim militants were responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, prominent Islamic scholars and theologians in the West say unequivocally that nothing in Islam countenances the Sept. 11 actions. But in interviews, they explained that certain scriptural passages are distorted by Islamic extremists like Osama bin Laden.

In his office in Leesburg, Va., Taha Jabir Alalwani, the chairman of a council that issues Islamic legal opinions for Muslims in North America, opened a copy of the Koran to Page 1,732 and read aloud in Arabic a verse that lays out the rules of when a Muslim may fight.

"The verse says you have a right to fight those people who try to force you to adopt another religion or to leave your home," said Dr. Taha, a Muslim judge who founded a graduate school in Leesburg to teach Islam to Westerners and Western values to Muslims. "But America didn't ask you to abandon your religion. America didn't deport you, or tell you to leave your homes."

Questions about the role of religion in justifying the attacks have taken on fresh urgency with the discovery of letters that the Justice Department believes belonged to the hijackers. The letters cited from the Koran and reminded the hijackers that they were on a holy mission that would lead them to "eternal paradise with all righteous and martyrs."

The scholars said they had not had time to judge the letters' authenticity, but, as far as the attacks themselves, they said that such atrocities violated the ethics of battle spelled out by the prophet Muhammad.

In part because of this conviction, the scholars -- educated intellectuals who teach in Western institutions -- remain unconvinced that Muslims, even radical militants, were behind the attacks.

Some of them even said that with the release of the letters by the Justice Department on Friday, it appeared that Muslims were being framed. The attack, they said, could have been the work of an American militia group, a religious cult like Aum Shinrikyo in Japan, or even the Israeli government.

Dr. Taha said he was skeptical that Muslims were involved "based on who is the beneficiary of the crime," adding: "The Arabs, they lost a lot. A lot was jeopardized, even their relationship with the U.S."

#### A NATION CHALLENGED: THE ROLE OF RELIGION Scholars Call Attacks A Distortion of Islam

The scholars said that the terrorist acts clearly violated the ethics of battle spelled out by Muhammad. The Koran, which Muslims believe was revealed by God to Muhammad at a time of vicious conflict between Arab tribes in the early seventh century, includes verses that prescribe the rules of war.

Like scriptures of every faith, the Koran is open to interpretation and has been twisted to justify the actions of extremists, the scholars said.

Mahmoud Ayoub, a professor of Islamic studies and comparative religion at Temple University, said: "The Bible has descriptions of the peaceable kingdom, where the lamb and the lion lay down together, but it also has the Book of Joshua about the bloody conquest of Canaan. Likewise, the Koran has plenty of verses that talk about peace, even with Muhammad's enemies, if they are inclined toward peace. But then there are also verses that advocate war. And so, we have to make choices."

War has defined limits, said Sheikh Hamza Yusuf, a Muslim scholar who is founder and director of the Zaytuna Institute, an Islamic study center in Hayward, Calif.

"The prophet clearly prohibited killing noncombatants, <u>women</u> and children," he said. "The prophet prohibited poisoning wells, which I think can be applied to biological warfare. The prophet prohibited using fire as a means to kill another being, because only the Lord of fire can punish with fire. And the destruction of property is prohibited. Even in war, you can't destroy other people's property."

The Koran specified a grisly punishment for those who destroy themselves, said Zaki Badawi, principal of the Muslim College, in London.

"God will punish him by making him commit the same act of suicide, the same cycle of torture, on the day of judgment," Dr. Badawi said. "If he kills himself with a dagger, his punishment is to sink the dagger in his heart again and again."

Most of the Koran and the Hadith, the sayings of Muhammad, have nothing to do with war or violence, and their rules for battle bear little relation to the lives of most Muslims.

Even the term jihad, which means struggle and is associated in the West with radical Islam, means something different to most Muslims. To them, it can refer to an individual's internal spiritual struggle, for example, and opposition to bad morals in a culture, as well as to armed conflict. But jihad is not among the five pillars required of Muslims (affirming that God is one, performing prayer, giving charity, fasting during Ramadan and making pilgrimage to Mecca).

But while the rules of war are irrelevant to most Muslims, extremists are likely to be aware of the Koran's strict rules for engagement, the scholars said. That is why they said they did not believe that Muslims could have been the attackers. Adding to the scholars' skepticism is an expectation of racial profiling by American authorities, and their memory of Muslims being wrongly blamed for the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City.

The rules of evidence spelled out by the Koran also play a role in these scholars' skepticism. Under Muslim law, two witnesses or a confession are necessary for a murder conviction, said Dr. Taha, who is chairman of the 12-member Council of Islamic Jurisprudence of North America.

Circumstantial evidence, said Dr. Badawi in Britain, is not sufficient because "it can lead to miscarriage of justice." Dr. Badawi said it had not been proved that Muslims flew the planes.

In twisting the Koran, the Palestinian group <u>Hamas</u> never refers to its operatives as "suicide bombers" but as "martyrs,"the scholars said. Martyrdom is permissible on the battlefield, Dr. Ayoub said. Israel is clearly a battlefield, the scholars all said, because Israeli troops have evicted Palestinians from their homes and shot at children. Attacking Israelis is self-defense, which, according to the Koran, is the only acceptable justification for fighting.

#### A NATION CHALLENGED: THE ROLE OF RELIGION Scholars Call Attacks A Distortion of Islam

This helps explain why the same Muslim leaders who denounced the attacks on the United States have long refused to condemn the terrorism directed at Israel. Even the prohibition against killing noncombatants does not apply to Israel, where, the scholars said, civilians and settlers have attacked Muslims and taken their land.

But Osama bin Laden's approach is beyond the pale, they said. Bin Laden, in two fatwas, nonbinding pronouncements issued in 1996 and 1998, justified attacking American targets. He redefined the United States itself as a battleground because of its support for Israel, its occupation of Saudi Arabia's holy ground and the war and blockade against Iraq, Dr. Ayoub said.

In modern Islam, there is no religious hierarchy, no Vatican to excommunicate heretics. Islam is more akin to Judaism, where ultimate authority lies in scriptures.

Fatwas were once issued primarily by recognized religious authorities of a country or Islamic university, said Shaykh Hamza in California, but "now, every Tom, Dick and Abdullah gives fatwa."

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## In support of Palestine:; The frustration that fuels Palestinian rage

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Byline: Muhanned Tull

## **Body**

It was a normal family conversation; my wife was talking about her brother who lives in the Netherlands, and how happy he was, and our six-year-old daughter interrupted. "Let us go visit him," she said. She thought for a moment, though, and added casually: "But we can't, the road is closed."

There was no tone of sadness or disappointment in the child's voice. To her, this is normal. All through the summer holidays we have been repeating "the road is closed" to our two daughters to explain to them why we are not taking them anywhere this year. The swimming pool, their grandfather's house, the Netherlands, the moon are all equally out of reach.

Arram. West Bank

She and her little sister accept this without question -- and that is painful to me. Occupation, soldiers, checkpoints, restrictions, dominate their lives. This is the that CNN does not convey when it shows the tragedy of a suicide bombing: We have become a people with so little freedom and so little hope that suicide seems a reasonable weapon.

The restrictions were harsh enough before the bombing of the discotheque in Tel Aviv on June 1. Since then, however, 3 million Palestinians have been besieged within their own communities. Our cities and villages are prisons with blocked entrances guarded by armed soldiers in armoured personnel carriers. Israeli troops have made it almost impossible for people to carry on their everyday lives -- to get to work, to buy food, to see a doctor, to visit a friend in a neighbouring town.

And Israelis wonder why we are so angry. What do they expect? Listen: I live just eight kilometres from Ramallah, the city at the centre of Palestinian life and culture these days. The only road on which a Palestinian is permitted to drive into the city is blocked by a checkpoint. Every car is stopped. We line up by the hundreds and are let through one at a time. Passing takes between two and three hours. So my round trip to the city, which used to take 25 minutes, now takes four to six hours. I can hardly bring myself to speak to the soldiers when they approach my car window.

They might ask you where are you from, where are you going, what you do, and after they take a look at your ID, they let you go. That is it. Ninety per cent of the time your ID is not checked against any list of wanted people, your car is not searched, and in many cases they don't even ask the stupid questions. Do you understand how infuriating that is? It shows that roadblocks and checkpoints are not intended as a security measure at all. They are just punishment and humiliation of a whole population.

#### In support of Palestine :; The frustration that fuels Palestinian rage

Nowadays the best option is to leave your car somewhere before the checkpoint and to walk across. Then the only risk you take is being subjected to tear gas and stun grenades.

The road from Ramallah to Bir Zeit, home of Palestine's most respected university, can't be driven at all: It is permanently barricaded by concrete blocks and earthworks and guarded by an Israeli APC. So students and others who need to get back and forth do so in stages: They drive or ride out to the barricades and get out of their cars; then they walk, about a kilometre, to the other side; then they get another ride.

The road to Nablus is passable by car, but Palestinians aren't permitted to take it, whether driving or on foot. At this checkpoint, the soldiers don't just block your passage. They keep you waiting for several hours -- standing in the sun, and sometimes, if you are a man, you have to keep your hands on top of your head -- before they turn you back. They don't want you to try to pass again, and most of us do not.

For the past six months I have worked in Salfeet, about 40 kilometers from my home. To reach my workplace I have to cross at least three Israeli army checkpoints; how the trip goes is largely dependent on the soldiers' moods. Sometimes one lets me through only for the next to deny me access. But I usually get to work -- after all, I get special treatment because USAID gave me an ID card. That's not true for other Palestinians who dare to travel between cities.

And these are not criminals. They are just the thousands of Palestinians who were born here, lived here all their lives, and are just trying to lead a normal life: going to work in the morning and coming home in the afternoon, going to the best hospital or the most experienced doctor for treatment, distributing goods or shipping materials from one town to another to make a living.

Apart from the hardships and humiliations, there is actual fear. Dozens of Palestinians, including <u>women</u> and children, have been killed or injured as a result of the Israeli army's "accurate" operations against suspected terrorists.

In Nablus two children were killed when Israeli helicopters targeted the offices of a newspaper in the centre of the city. Israel said that the people inside were <u>Hamas</u> leaders planning a terror attack. The two dead children are, according to Israel, acceptable collateral damage. In Gaza, a four-month-old infant was killed when an Israeli tank shelled a residential neighbourhood. Also in Gaza, three Bedouin <u>women</u> were killed when their tent was shelled by an Israeli tank. In Beit Sahour, two Palestinian <u>women</u> were killed when Israeli helicopters assassinated a local leader of Fatah.

All that happens, and much of the world remains silent. Western media in general and American media in particular have even helped Israel to cover up all its crimes against Palestinians. In the eyes of CNN, all Palestinians killed are terrorists, or terrorists to be -- or, of course, acceptable collateral damage. Israel is only practicing legitimate self-defense. It is as if the whole thing is happening in a vacuum, stripped of any historical reference, as if we were soccer hooligans. It is as if all reporters have forgotten the basic issue: Israel is an occupying power and the Palestinians are a people under occupation.

The reason behind this world silence and one-sided media coverage is of course suicide bombers -- a phenomenon that worries me as a Palestinian. This level of desperation among my people frightens me. I cannot even start to think of the impact it will have not only on innocent Israelis but also on our own society when young people actually believe that death is a better option than the lives they are leading.

Into what kind of world are we bringing our children? What ways are left for Palestinians to change the world we live in? Or will we all need to kill ourselves before the world understands the justice of a people's cry for freedom?

Muhanned Tull works for World Vision, a Christian humanitarian organization, as manager of a USAID-funded rural-development program in the West Bank. This article was first published in The Washington Post.

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### **Body**

President Bush yesterday ordered an immediate freeze of all assets in the United States of suspected Islamic terrorist groups and individuals. He also gave the Treasury secretary broad new powers to halt transactions with banks around the world that do not cooperate in cutting off the flow of money to terrorists.

The move is an effort to choke off financial support for Osama bin Laden, whom the United States considers the prime suspect in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Among the 27 individuals and organizations named in a list attached to Bush's orders were three charities that the government believes knowingly or unwittingly channeled money to bin Laden and his al-Qaeda network.

"Money is the lifeblood of terrorist operations," Bush said in an announcement in the Rose Garden.

Bush said yesterday's list was based on "clear evidence, much of which is classified," so he declined to discuss details. "We will not make the war more difficult to win by publicly disclosing classified information."

Previous efforts to cut off bin Laden from funds have been unsuccessful, including steps by the United States and the United Nations in 1998 to freeze his assets after the U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa. Bin Laden, an exile from Saudi Arabia, has a personal fortune estimated at \$300 million.

White House officials acknowledged that they did not believe bin Laden maintained any significant assets in the United States and that they did not have a clear idea how his activities were financed.

But Bush reached beyond American borders, threatening any foreign banks that fail to cooperate with American investigators with a stiff financial sanction. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill now is empowered, Bush said, to bar such banks from doing business in the United States.

That threat, if acted upon, could set up a conflict between Washington and countries - from Switzerland to the Cayman Islands to many other offshore banking centers - whose secrecy laws have long given cover to terrorist groups and crime syndicates.

The president said he recognized that some European countries probably would need to rewrite their own laws to meet America's conditions. He said the administration would respond on a case-by-case basis in determining compliance.

It is unclear how much money Bush's order will affect, and the Treasury offered no estimates. In all likelihood, bin Laden's organization has kept its money in places that are as difficult to find as the reclusive suspect himself.

But with yesterday's order, financial experts said, it will be far more difficult for people or groups associated with bin Laden to conduct ordinary commercial transactions, assuming that banks around the world are aware of their true identities and willing to respect the ban.

As for the frozen assets, Bush's list names 12 individuals, including bin Laden and an Egyptian militant suspected to be his top deputy, Ayman al-Zawahri. It also includes 11 organizations, including the al-Qaeda network, plus three charities and one business. The charities were identified as Makhtab al-Khidamat, Wafa Humanitarian Organization and the Al Rashid Trust. The business is Mamoun Darkazanli Import-Export Co.

Missing from the list are <u>Hamas</u>, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah, militant groups that are on the State Department's roster of terrorists but that some Arab nations see as legitimate fighters against Israel. Their absence showed the delicate path Bush must walk in trying to enlist support from Arab and Islamic states.

In other developments:

MEETINGS - Bush met privately with about 50 relatives of the passengers and crew of United Flight 93, the hijacked plane that crashed in Pennsylvania. He also convened another session of a special White House committee dealing with the aftermath of the terrorist strike.

DIPLOMACY - Bush plans to meet today with congressional leaders as well as Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, a key to his anti-terrorism coalition. On Thursday, he will meet with Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, whose country holds the European Union presidency. The next day, he will meet King Abdullah II of Jordan.

FREE TRADE - The administration began a new drive to persuade Congress to grant Bush the authority to negotiate trade agreements, telling lawmakers passage would help the fight against global terrorism.

U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick said supporters of legislation to let the president negotiate a hemispherewide free trade agreement and a new round of global trade talks should know within two weeks whether the votes are there for passage in the House.

HOME LOANS - Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and Housing Secretary Mel Martinez announced interest rate reductions for all members of the Reserves and National Guard who are called to active duty and who have home mortgages with Federal Housing Authority-approved lenders.

By invoking the 1940 Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, the government is requiring lenders to cut their rates to a maximum of 6 percent for one year. It also gives these military members more protection against foreclosure on their home loans, and renters more protection against eviction.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development will have a toll-free number (1-888-297-8685) for servicemen and <u>women</u> who have questions about their mortgages.

THE GROUPS

The Associated Press

The list of organizations to which President Bush's executive order applies:

Al-Qaeda/Islamic Army, Osama bin Laden's organization.

Abu Sayyaf Group, identified by the Congressional Research Service as a terrorist organization with Islamic and Filipino elements.

Armed Islamic Group, Algerian and Islamic, a bin Laden-connected group that hijacked an Air France plane in Algeria in 1994.

Harakat ul-Mujahidin, Pakistan-based, accused of terrorist activities in Kashmir; leaders closely linked to Afghanistan's ruling Taliban.

Al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad), blamed for the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, another bin Laden arm that was added a year ago to the State Department's list of terrorist organizations, accused of various criminal activities including kidnaping of four American mountain climbers.

Asbat al-Ansar.

Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), especially active in Algeria.

Libyan Islamic Fighting Group.

Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya (AIAI).

Islamic Army of Aden, another bin Laden arm.

Osama bin Laden, identified by U.S. authorities as the mastermind of the Sept. 11 attacks and of the bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Muhammad Atif (aka Sobhi al-Sitta, Abu Hafas al-Masri), commander of the Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Sites, which claimed responsibility for the bombing of U.S. embassies.

Sayf al-Adl.

Shaykh Saiid (aka Mustafa Muhammad Ahmad).

Abu Hafs the Mauritanian (aka Mahfouz Ould al-Walid, Khalid Al-Shanqiti).

Ibn Al-Shaykh al-Libi.

Abu Zubaydah (aka Zayn al-Abidin Muhammad Husayn, Tariq).

Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi (aka, Abu Abdallah).

Ayman al-Zawahri, bin Laden's chief deputy, an Egyptian surgeon and a leader of Jihad.

Thirwat Salah Shihata.

Tariq Anwar Al-Sayyid Ahmad (aka Fathi, Amr al-Fatih).

Muhammad Salah (aka Nasr Fahmi Nasr Hasanayn).

Makhtab Al-Khidamat/Al Kifah.

Wafa Humanitarian Organization, a Saudi group whose operations include food distribution and construction of a clinic in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Al Rashid Trust, based in Pakistan, is a charitable group espousing the brand of Islam enforced by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Mamoun Darkazanli Import-Export Co.

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# The enforcer takes on a high-flying dove: Today, Israel's Labour party is voting for a new leader

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### **Body**

For Avraham Burg, the Speaker of Israel's parliament, the choice in today's Labour leadership contest is clear-cut: the party can become a "cheap imitation" of the rightwing Likud, or it can remain true to its peacemaking past.

"It is a very simple vote between yesterday and tomorrow, between more of the same and new hope for the future," Mr Burg told the Guardian. "It's a vote between a Labour that will allow Israel to exercise all its options, and a Labour party that wants to be a second Likud."

Today's contest, to be decided by 120,000 Labour members, pits Mr Burg, a leading dove, against Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the stocky former brigadier who is the defence minister in the national unity government of Ariel Sharon. It could also determine whether there is a credible voice for peace within the government.

Against Mr Burg's polish, and his appeal as a religiously observant Jew to religious voters as well as to Labour's secular supporters, Mr Ben-Eliezer - who is universally known as Fuad - is the tough-talking enforcer.

His bulky figure is a daily fixture on Israeli television, as he endorses the use of F-16s to drop one-ton bombs on Palestinian police compounds, and guided missiles to assassinate <u>Hamas</u> leaders. His campaign slogan says: "Fuad will do the work", and he has told Israeli interviewers: "Terror has only one real answer - terror".

After a year of suicide bombings and drive-by shootings, such tough talk has an immense appeal for Israelis, for whom the over-arching issue is security. Mr Ben-Eliezer, as defence minister - and army chief - has driven Israel's policy of relying on military might to crush a Palestinian uprising. "I will fight terror, and no one in the world has the moral right to demand that I do nothing after getting a report that terrorists are on the way to murder our children," Mr Ben-Eliezer told the magazine Jerusalem Report.

Mr Burg says the invasions, assassinations and missile strikes are closing off the prospects for a negotiated peace for another generation. He wants Labour to push harder for talks with the Palestinians.

But, with Israelis united in their distrust of Yasser Arafat, others in Labour fear that Mr Burg's approach would cast the party outside the shrinking ground of the political cen tre. Israel's wholesale shift to the right could prove his undoing in today's vote. The enforcer takes on a high-flying dove: Today, Israel 's Labour party is voting for a new leader

At a community centre in Tel Aviv's roughest neighbourhood, Mr Burg setout his stall for middle-aged <u>women</u> - one of his sectors of support. The <u>women</u> were impressed by his oratory, his erudition, his good manners, and rarely for a Labour politician, the needlework kippa on his head.

Then a woman pipes up: "But what about security?" A social worker shushes her, but the woman will not be quiet. "First, there has to be security. We have no security," she said. "If he becomes head of the country, then the first thing he will do is meet Yasser Arafat."

The same line has been voiced by Labour's last prime minister, Ehud Barak, whose election rout last February has left the party dispirited. Last month, Mr Barak made a rare public appearance to declare: "Fuad represents the central path, and at this time he is the man I support to head the party."

In Mr Barak's view, men like Mr Burg are dangerous leftwingers who would sacrifice Israel's security for a shaky promise from Mr Arafat. Mr Ben-Eliezer does not say he would never talk to Mr Arafat, and said last week that he would not try to unseat the Palestinian leader or consider him a target for assassination. But like Mr Sharon, he is in no hurry to begin talks, and has given little support to the efforts of the foreign minister, Shimon Peres, to do so.

Supporters of Mr Ben-Eliezer accuse Mr Burg of plotting to pull Labour out of the coalition as he seeks to put his imprint on the party. Given the overwhelming Israeli popular support for a national unity government, Mr Burg is careful to rule that idea - but only in the short term.

"We have to continue participating in a national unity government because it's a public need," he said. But he wants to increase Mr Peres's leverage, and accuses Mr Sharon and Mr Ben-Eliezer of freezing him out. "If Mr Sharon ignores Shimon Peres and all his wisdom it is as if he is saying no to a partnership with Shimon Peres."

Mr Burg further accuses the present government - and by extension Mr Ben-Eliezer - of having no coherent policy for ending the Palestinian intifada. Others on the left wing of Labour say the defence minister's elevation could provoke a leftwing exodus.

"The campaign of Ben-Eliezer which really warns the voters from turning to the left, and says left is bad, and left is small, and left is dangerous is really saying to people like myself we need a new party and we would rather it be without you," said Yael Dayan, a Labour MP active on peace and <u>women</u>'s issues.

Once the natural party of government, Labour is at a historic low. Mr Sharon appears firmly ensconced as prime minister, and elections are not due until 2003, an eternity in Israeli politics.

The natural successors to Mr Barak stayed out of the race, leaving the field for the relatively untested Mr Burg and Mr Ben-Eliezer, who was once written off as a party hack. Senior statesmen, including Mr Peres, have also failed to endorse a candidate.

Labour officials do not expect a high turnout. The result will depend on whether Mr Burg can coax out supporters from the kibbutzim - who are traditionally on the left wing of Labour - and Israeli Arab voters. Mr Ben-Eliezer, in contrast, is Labour's craftiest political operator with a proven expertise in getting the voters out on polling day.

For Ms Dayan and other insiders, the choice today is less about anointed potential prime minister than about choosing the man who can best chart them out of the mess Mr Barak left them in.

On that calculation, Mr Burg has the edge for his relative youth, and for his intellect. As defence minister, Mr Ben-Eliezer will also have relatively little time to devote to the monumental task of rebuilding the party.

"The party does not exist at the moment. It exists as a coalition of individual factions, but it does not function as a party," Mr Burg said.

Binyamin Ben-Eliezer

The enforcer takes on a high-flying dove: Today, Israel 's Labour party is voting for a new leader

Born in Iraq - hence the nickname Fuad - Ben-Eliezer was smuggled to Israel at the age of 13. He spent 30 years in military uniform, and joined Labour after spells in two smaller parties, which makes him suspect to some members. He also has scores to settle with Shimon Peres.

Aged 65, the survivor of two heart attacks and seven war wounds, he is seen as a skilled operator rather than a thinker. Has served as housing and communications minister

#### Avraham Burg

Son of a long-serving cabinet minister in the National Religious party, Burg, 46, is a product of the European-dominated elite.

After army service as a paratrooper he became a leading protester against the war in Lebanon. He has also worked for religious tolerance among Jews.

An MP from 1992 to 1995, he stepped down to chair the Jewish Agency. Returned to politics in 1999 but has never held cabinet rank

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