

**Date and Time:** Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:19:00PM EEST

**Job Number:** 223359244

## Documents (66)

1. [Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

2. [THE IRAQ CONFLICT: NARRATIVE DAY 6 - THE LAST STAND IS A FANTASY, THE UGLY PEACE ALL TOO REAL; NARRATIVE DAY 26](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

3. [Remains of a refugee camp: What happened in Jenin](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
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4. [Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ : DAY TWO](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
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5. [Her decision to be a suicide bomber](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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6. [US blinks first in Israel stand-off; George Bush left his frustrated secretary of state, Colin Powell, with neither a carrot nor a stick in the Middle East](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**  
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7. [Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

8. [USF should hold firm to firing of Sami Al-Arian](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

9. [WORLD REPORT](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

10. [G2: 'It's gone beyond hostility': After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Washington. Here she looks back on the desperate](#)

[\*violence she has witnessed during the intifada and reflects on how both Palestinians and Israelis have been brutalised by the experience\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

11. [\*PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES; AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MATT SPETALNICK AND NIDAL AL-MUGHRABI INVESTIGATE HOW ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS COPE WITH LIVING UNDER CONSTANT THREAT AND FEAR\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

12. [\*Can a marriage born of oil be saved?\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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13. [\*CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS GENERATION MUST NOT YET AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO THE NEXT ONE\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

14. [\*The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians'\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

15. [Weekend: 'I'M NOT GOING TO RESPOND TO TERRORISM BY BECOMING A TERRORIST':](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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16. [TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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17. [Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**

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18. [Letters to the Editor](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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19. [Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber](#)

**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, 2002 to May 31, 2003

20. [A WORLD APART](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

21. [A WORLD APART](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

22. [A WORLD APART](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

23. [Just how dangerous is CONFLICT](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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24. [The Threat of Jaffar](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

25. [Letters to the Editor](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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26. [2002: It was a turbulent year: World grapples with lingering effects of Sept. 11](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
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**Narrowed by**  
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27. [MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH In Rubble of a Refugee Camp, Bitter Lessons for 2 Enemies](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

28. [Intimate enemies](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

29. [Enemy of the state?](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
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30. [The Millimeter Revolution](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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31. [Left Behind](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

32. [The Sunshine Warrior](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

33. [Complete text of Secretary of State Colin Powell's U.N. speech](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

34. [THREATS AND RESPONSES Powell's Address, Presenting 'Deeply Troubling' Evidence on Iraq](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

35. [HAMAS BOSS KILLED IN RAID](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

36. [TOP STORIES](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

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37. [Suicide volunteers](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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38. [WORLD: WEST BANK](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

39. [Bomb woman dies, kills 3](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

40. [ISRAEL LAUNCHES WEST BANK RAID](#)

**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, 2002 to May 31, 2003

41. [Israel : We're now atwar](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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News

**Narrowed by**  
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42. [Cabinet vows quick retaliation](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

43. [REFUGEE CAMP HIT BY ISRAELI MISSILES](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
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**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

44. [MIDDLE EAST SET FOR 'ALL-OUT WAR'](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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45. [Clarification](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

46. [\*Chronicle of death\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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47. [\*Easter bloodshed erupts\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

48. [\*LETTER: MIDDLE EAST SOLUTIONS\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

49. [\*5 MORE HELD IN LEICESTER\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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50. [\*COWARDS CELEBRATE CHILDREN'S SLAUGHTER\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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51. [\*Woman's suicide attack; news from Britain and around the world\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

52. [\*Middle East violence is not 'tit-for-tat'\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

53. [\*Israelis escalate Middle East conflict with botched attack: Sharon under fire as Palestinian civilians are killed in raid, writes Harvey Morris:\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

54. [\*Israel pounds Gaza again in retaliation for new rockets\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

55. [\*No Headline In Original\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

56. [\*No Headline In Original\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

57. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

58. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

59. [Tehran to discuss post-Saddam plans IRAN :](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

60. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
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61. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

62. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

63. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

64. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003

65. [SHARON OPPOSES LAWMAKER'S PLAN TO MEET PALESTINIAN COUNCIL](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

**Narrowed by:**

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66. [15 KILLED BY SUICIDE BOMBER; SHARON CUTS SHORT U.S. VISIT AFTER A MEETING WITH BUSH](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** Hamas

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

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Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2002 to May 31, 2003



## *Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up*

The New Zealand Herald

May 6, 2002 Monday

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**Section:** NEWS; World

**Length:** 2018 words

**Byline:** By ANDREW LAXON

### **Body**

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For weeks now the world has been hearing stories of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp on the West Bank, attacked by Israel last month as part of its campaign to root out Palestinian suicide bombers.

Suspensions grew last week when Israel blocked a United Nations mission from investigating the attack, which Palestinians have claimed turned into a massacre of hundreds of innocent civilians.

Now the first detailed report of the attack has emerged from the New York-based Human Rights Watch, which has carried out similar investigations in Chechnya, Kosovo and Afghanistan.

The group found no evidence of a massacre or large-scale executions. But it said Israel had a case to answer on charges of war crimes and called for an immediate extensive investigation.

The report said Israeli forces:

- \* Launched missiles from helicopters indiscriminately at civilian houses away from the fighting, killing innocent women and children.
- \* Used armoured bulldozers to demolish residents' homes, making 4000 people homeless and razing an entire district where 13 Israeli soldiers had been killed in a Palestinian ambush.
- \* Executed one unarmed civilian and a wounded, unarmed Palestinian prisoner.
- \* Used Palestinian civilians as human shields - in one case forcing a father and son to stand still for three hours as soldiers rested and fired their rifles on their shoulders.
- \* Stopped doctors and ambulances from entering the camp to care for the sick and wounded for 11 days.

The report, based on a week of interviews with more than 100 camp residents as well as aid workers, medical workers and local officials, says Israel had obligations to protect the 14,000 civilians in Jenin, despite the presence of armed Palestinian militants in the camp.

"Unfortunately, these obligations were not met ... Israeli forces committed serious violations of international humanitarian law, some amounting prima facie to war crimes."

## Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up

It says at least 52 Palestinians were killed (along with 23 Israeli soldiers). Twenty-seven were suspected members of armed Palestinian movements such as Islamic Jihad, Hamas and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades. But at least 22 were civilians, including children, the physically disabled and elderly people.

Israel has dismissed the report. Danny Ayalon, an adviser to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, said: "I flatly reject the war crimes charge. It was a war zone. It was full of booby traps and explosives."

The Israeli Army, he said, "did everything to be reasonable".

Ayalon also disputed the group's figures. "Of the 51 bodies found, 44 were of armed terrorists and seven of civilians, which we very much regret."

But Human Rights Watch argues that many of the civilian deaths amount to unlawful or wilful killings by Israeli soldiers which should be investigated further.

The report says many other deaths could have been avoided if Israel had taken proper precautions to protect civilian life, as required by international humanitarian law.

Among the civilian deaths, it says, were those of Kamal Zgheir, a 57-year-old wheelchair-bound man who was shot and run over by a tank on a major road outside the camp on April 10, even though he had a white flag attached to his wheelchair.

Then there was 58-year-old Mariam Wishahi, killed by a missile in her home on April 6 just hours after her unarmed son was shot in the street.

Jamal Fayid, a 37-year-old paralysed man, was crushed in the rubble of his home on April 7 despite his family's pleas to be allowed to remove him.

A fourth civilian death was that of Faris Zaiban, 14, killed by fire from an IDF (Israeli Defence Forces) armoured car as he went to buy groceries when the IDF-imposed curfew was temporarily lifted on April 11.

The battle of Jenin began in earnest on April 3 as the IDF launched a major military operation in the city's refugee camp. The aim was to capture or kill Palestinian militants responsible for suicide bombings and other attacks that have killed more than 70 mainly Israeli civilians since March.

The report says the first two days of the battle consisted of tank, helicopter and gun fire. To enable tanks and heavy armour to penetrate the narrow winding alleys of the camp, the IDF sent in armoured bulldozers to widen the narrow accessways by shearing off the fronts of buildings, in places several metres deep.

Once inside the walls of Jenin, IDF soldiers "mouseholed" from house to house, knocking large holes in the walls between houses to provide routes of safe passage from the outer perimeters of the camp to the centre. Often they used Palestinian civilians as human shields or to check houses for booby-traps.

On April 6, Israeli helicopters (supplied by the United States) started firing missiles into the camp, often striking civilian homes where no Palestinian fighters were present.

The missile fire, which began in the early morning hours, caught many sleeping civilians by surprise.

The chaos and destruction caused by the bombardment allowed the IDF to move closer to the centre of the camp.

On April 9, Palestinian fighters killed 13 Israeli soldiers in an ambush in the Hawashin district.

The report says Israel changed tactics after this attack. It relied more heavily on helicopter missile strikes and armoured bulldozers, which began flattening houses as well as widening narrow streets.

"The change in military strategy arguably helped to defeat the armed Palestinians in the camp," says the report.



## Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up

"But the new tactics had an unacceptable impact on the civilian population and infrastructure."

The report says camp residents described days of sustained missile fire from helicopters hitting their houses.

Some were forced to flee from house to house seeking shelter, while others were trapped by the fighting, unable to escape to safety, and were threatened by a curfew that the IDF enforced with lethal force, using sniper fire.

In some cases soldiers converted civilian houses into military positions, confining the inhabitants to a single room.

The report says Israeli attacks often failed to distinguish between civilian and military targets, especially during the helicopter missile attacks on April 6.

"One woman was killed by helicopter fire during that attack; a 4-year-old child in another part of the town was injured when a missile hit the house where she was sleeping.

"Both were buildings housing only civilians, with no fighters in the immediate vicinity."

The report says most fighting in Jenin had died down by April 10, except for isolated pockets of Palestinian militants who continued to hold out for several days.

But the armoured bulldozers continued to raze homes long afterwards, especially in Hawashin - scene of the ambush - which was completely flattened.

"The destruction extended well beyond any conceivable purpose of gaining access to fighters, and was vastly disproportionate to the military objectives pursued," says the report.

"Establishing whether this extensive destruction so exceeded military necessity as to constitute wanton destruction - or a war crime - should be one of the highest priorities for the United Nations fact-finding mission."

It says at least 140 buildings - most housing many families - were destroyed and severe damage caused to more than 200 others has rendered them uninhabitable or unsafe.

An estimated 4000 people, more than a quarter of the population of the camp, were made homeless because of this destruction.

More than 100 of the 140 destroyed buildings were in Hawashin district.

Despite multiple warnings by the Israelis, the report says, many civilians still learned of the risk only as bulldozers began to crush their houses.

Jamal Fayid, the paralysed man, was killed when the IDF bulldozed his home on top of him, refusing to allow his relatives the time to remove him from the home.

Sixty-five-year-old Muhammad Abu Saba'a had to plead with an IDF bulldozer operator to stop demolishing his home while his family remained inside.

When he returned to his half-demolished home, he was shot dead by an Israeli soldier.

Human Rights Watch claims some of the cases it discovered amount to summary executions, such as the shooting of Jamal al-Sabbagh on April 6.

The report says Israeli soldiers shot Al-Sabbagh dead as he was obeying their orders to strip off his clothes.

In at least one case, the report says, IDF soldiers unlawfully killed a wounded Palestinian, Munthir al-Haj, who was no longer carrying a weapon.

His arms were reportedly broken, and he was taking no active part in the fighting.

## Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up

Throughout the attack, IDF soldiers used Palestinian civilians to protect them from danger, deploying them as "human shields" and forcing them to perform dangerous work.

Kamal Tawalbi, the father of 14 children, described how soldiers kept him and his 14-year-old son for three hours in the line of fire, using his and his son's shoulders to rest their rifles as they fired.

IDF soldiers forced a 65-year-old woman to stand on a rooftop in front of an IDF position in the middle of a helicopter battle.

Residents say Israeli troops routinely used them to search homes, often at gunpoint. The report calls this a serious violation of the laws of war, as it exposes civilians to direct risk of death or serious injury.

Investigators found no evidence that Palestinian gunmen forced civilians to serve as human shields.

But Palestinian gunmen did endanger Palestinian civilians in the camp by using it as a base for planning and launching attacks, using indiscriminate tactics such as planting improvised explosive devices within the camp and intermingling with the civilian population during armed conflict.

The report says that during "Operation Defensive Shield", the IDF blocked the passage of emergency medical vehicles and personnel to Jenin refugee camp for 11 days, from April 4 to April 15.

During this period, injured combatants and civilians in the camp as well as the sick had no access to emergency medical treatment.

Ambulances were repeatedly fired on by IDF soldiers and Farwa Jammal, a uniformed nurse, was killed by IDF fire while treating an injured civilian.

In at least two cases, injured civilians died without access to medical treatment.

Israel's claim that the whole camp was a war zone and that many "civilians" had to be treated as potential enemies has support from some independent military experts.

Anthony Cordesman, a military analyst for ABC News in the United States, has argued against what he calls the "atrocious" theory, saying urban warfare is the most difficult and potentially bloodiest form of warfare.

"It is also the form of war that politicians, human rights activists and media are least likely to understand and most likely to condemn."

Writing before the publication of the Human Rights Watch report, Cordesman said that to avoid heavy casualties of their own, "decisive force" was the only sensible option for the Israelis - just as it could be for the United States if it decided to attack Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

"Military analysts like to avoid being frank about what this kind of urban warfare really means, but it effectively means smashing a lot of things flat, significant collateral damage and civilian casualties."

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storyarchive.cfm?reportID=56522> Feature: Middle East

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?storyID=155216&thesection=Story&thesubsection=&reportID=56522>  
Map

<http://www.nzherald.co.nz/storydisplay.cfm?thesection=news&thesubsection=&storyID=156804&reportID=56522>  
History of the conflict

<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

Signs of atrocities at Jenin refugee camp piling up

<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

<http://www.amin.org> Arabic Media Internet Network

<http://www.jpost.com> Jerusalem Post

<http://www.haaretzdaily.com> Haaretz Daily

[http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/peace\\_process.html](http://www.state.gov/www/regions/nea/peace_process.html) US Department of State - Middle East Peace Process

<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/nea/mitchell.htm> The Mitchell Plan (May 23, 2001)

<http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/mideast/mid023.htm> The Tenet Plan (June 13, 2001)

**Load-Date:** December 17, 2002

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**THE IRAQ CONFLICT: NARRATIVE DAY 6 - THE LAST STAND IS A  
FANTASY, THE UGLY PEACE ALL TOO REAL;  
NARRATIVE DAY 26**

The Independent (London)

April 15, 2003, Tuesday

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1896 words

**Byline:** PAUL VALLELY A young boy stands amid spent bullet cases, the debris of war in Baghdad. Only a small part of the city appeared to be under control yesterday Oliver Coret/In Visu; From left, US Marine L/Cpl Carey Floyd relaxes in the garden of Saddam Hussein's palace in Tikrit; the Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, speaking at a press conference in Kuwait City; Iraqi women wait for medical attention in Saddam City, a poor Shia suburb of Baghdad Reuters; AP; EPA

## **Body**

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In the end, Saddam's Last Stand in his home town of Tikrit turned out to be a chimera - as wild and fantastic as so many of the illusions on which his regime turned was founded.

On Day 26 of the war, American tanks rumbled into what was said to be the Iraqi regime's last stronghold and found that resistance was as hollow as the legs of one of Saddam Hussein's ubiquitous statues. But elsewhere, Anglo-American forces came up against the realisation that the peace may prove a more difficult struggle than the war.

Long before dawn, the US tanks began to move into the town to which many had predicted President Saddam would flee. It was the place where, during the 1991 Gulf War, he sent his family and many close relatives, back to the bosom of his Albu Nasir tribe. Some 2,500 diehards of the Republican Guard and the Fedayeen were said to be holed up in the city.

But the much-vaunted last stand of the Baathist regime failed to materialise. Coalition forces moved in past abandoned Iraqi tanks, parked in long lines, making them easy targets for the Allied bombardment, which had continued though the night. Everywhere lay military equipment jettisoned in recent days.

One Tikriti resident said of Saddam's troops: "They ran, mostly right at the beginning. And some had already fled two or three days ago," he said. "From the beginning we knew it was over and that Saddam had no chance."

Within four hours, US tanks had secured the centre of Tikrit. Sporadic resistance was experienced but no serious battle. And yet there was no sign of the jubilation seen when other Iraqi cities fell. A statue of a resplendent Saddam on horseback stood unscathed and pristine pictures of him still adorned lamp-posts. Shops were boarded up.

When the US troops moved into what had been Saddam's most fortified palace they found it deserted. It had been looted even before they got there. They moved through it, and then through the town, house by house, looking for

THE IRAQ CONFLICT: NARRATIVE DAY 6 - THE LAST STAND IS A FANTASY, THE UGLY PEACE ALL TOO REAL; NARRATIVE DAY 26

any remnants of the old guard. Some troops seemed quite frustrated. The war had ended not with a battle but with a whimper.

Elements of the Republican Guard had melted away, much as the regular army had in almost every other engagement, with no sign of the Soviet-style defence in-depth that Republican Guard divisions demonstrated in the last Gulf conflict. US sources spoke of some 20 Iraqis killed in the fighting. Talk was heard of a secret deal with Iraqi commanders. A few Fedayeen with little more than machine-guns and rocket-propelled grenades were dotted about. But even these had apparently retreated north to an army camp - which was then heavily strafed by helicopter gunships.

But, at the biggest palace, American tanks were parked outside the domed gateway and a giant bronze statue of Saddam on horseback with giant rockets at his feet looked only preposterous. The conventional war was over.

Yet still the US military spokesmen were cautious. Tikrit had fallen, and the Americans also finally took the town of Qaim on the Syrian border after fighting for it for two weeks. But the smaller towns and villages - bypassed during the rapid advance north - remained to be secured.

Of course it was far from over. But all that was left now was the messy part. In the south, it was announced, prisoners of war tried to break out of a detention camp in Umm Qasr, attacking guards with rocks; none escaped, but a number of prisoners were injured as the situation was brought under control. There were still restrictions on the movement of aid convoys further north than Nasiriyah because the risk of ambush was still high. And US Brigadier General Vincent Brooks announced that up to 80 leather "suicide vests" - complete with C4 explosives, ball bearings and detonators - were missing from a batch of about 300 found in a Baghdad school last week after forces loyal to Saddam Hussein fled.

In Najaf, the armed mob surrounding the house of the country's leading Shia cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, was disbanded by tribal leaders just hours ahead of the mob's deadline for him to leave the country; the leaders of the siege were reported to be the same group who hacked two prominent clerics to death last week inside the nation's leading Muslim shrine.

Factors were at work in the Najaf situation which hinted at the wider problems Iraq will face in the months and years to come. The mob was led by Mukkada al-Sadr, the son of Ayatollah Mohammed al-Sadr, who was murdered by the Iraqi government in 1999. One of the two leading imams murdered at the Shrine of Ali was Abdul Majid al-Khoei, who had recently returned to Iraq from 12 years exile in London calling for reconciliation. The al-Sadr family has a long-standing rivalry for influence with the al-Khoei clan.

It was but one example of the ancient tribal, ethnic and religious rivalries which Saddam's police state kept in check. Now it is gone old scores are being settled everywhere.

Yesterday in Kirkuk ethnic tensions were growing. Kurds returning to the city were trying to evict Arabs living in homes from which the Kurds had been ejected over the years by Saddam's "Arabisation" programme.

A problem of a different order assumed more menacing proportions. A top Iraqi commander, General Ali al-Jawawi, the former Republican Guard commander in Mosul, who switched sides during the war, backed Washington's claims that Syria has been giving refuge to members of Saddam's regime. Saddam's Baath party deputy, Izzat Ibrahim, and other top figures had fled to Syria shortly before Mosul fell last Friday, he said. His revelations gave added potency to claims made by President George Bush and the US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld. They accused Damascus not only of providing sanctuary to Saddam's cronies but also claimed Syria had chemical weapons.

The attack on Syria appears to have opened a fault-line between the US and UK. The British Foreign Secretary, Jack Straw, on a tour of Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, sought to downplay Syria's new status as an honorary member of the Axis of Evil. "There is much evidence of cooperation between the Syrian government and the

## THE IRAQ CONFLICT: NARRATIVE DAY 6 - THE LAST STAND IS A FANTASY, THE UGLY PEACE ALL TOO REAL; NARRATIVE DAY 26

Saddam regime in recent months," Mr Straw said. But the country was not "next on the list" of potential US targets, he said, though it clearly had some questions to answer.

The trouble is that the White House will not like the answer it gets. "We say to him," the Foreign Ministry spokeswoman in Damascus, Buthaina Shaaban, said of Mr Bush, "that Syria has no chemical weapons and that the only chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in the region are in Israel, which is threatening its neighbours and occupying their land."

Such a line is provocative considering that most analysts believe the main purpose of the threats against Syria is to put pressure on Damascus to stop aiding militant anti-Israeli groups like Hamas and Hizbollah. Machiavellian minds see this as the quid pro quo which persuaded the Israeli Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, to make some conciliatory remarks on the peace process with the Palestinians the previous day.

To further stir the pot, the Foreign Office minister Mike O'Brien held a meeting with the Syrian President, Bashar al-Assad, in Damascus and officials said afterwards that things had gone well. It may all, of course, be hard cop/soft cop. Or we may be seeing the first sign of division between the Allies' main partners.

Either way the message was being heard in other capitals. North Korea is softening its position, South Korean officials said. And in Tehran the Foreign Ministry announced that Iran will deny Iraqi leaders entry; any who entered illegally would be tried for war crimes.

In Baghdad the problems were much more micro. Hospital looting seemed to have abated. Some kiosks and food stores re-opened and traffic jams began to clog the streets. But it was clear that only a very small part of this city, perhaps as little as 20 per cent, was firmly under control of the Americans. Journalists going to most parts of the city had to travel in armoured vehicles for fear of being fired upon. The library of the Ministry of Religious Endowment - containing priceless Islamic manuscripts - also went up in flames.

Some small progress was made. US troops did find an abandoned palace that belonged to Saddam's eldest son, Uday; they found Cuban cigars, liquor, watches and pin-up pictures of cars and women - including pictures of Mr Bush's twin daughters. American Marines selected a couple of hundred men from a crowd of 2,000 Iraqi policemen who turned up at the city's police college after a plea for them to help stem looting.

The first contingent of British troops to return home - 210 Royal Marines and other troops - landed without ceremony at RAF Brize Norton as part of what the Ministry of Defence called "the initial stage of a general draw-down of forces in the Gulf".

If the battles are over, the politics are only just beginning. After the EU foreign policy chief, Javier Solana, tried to pour oil on the troubled waters around Syria, the Americans hit back. "Syria is indeed a rogue nation," said the White House spokesman Ari Fleischer.

Then Mr Rumsfeld said Syria had conducted a chemical weapons test "over the past 12 -15 months". Reports from inside the White House suggest that "there are some pretty influential voices here in Washington, who may ultimately call for action against Syria".

Saddam's delusions may be over. But the world may yet have cause to fear others from another source.

### DAY'S EVENTS

w MONDAY 3.06am BST: US tanks take up position in the main square of Tikrit.

4.45: Efforts to restore order in Baghdad are stepped up, with joint patrols by US troops and local security forces.

5.35: US sources report an attempted break-out by Iraqi prisoners of war at a detention camp in Umm Qasr.

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TOO REAL; NARRATIVE DAY 26

7.00: An armed mob surrounding the Najaf house of a Shia cleric, Grand Ayatollah Sayyid Ali al-Sistani, disbands hours ahead of a deadline given for him to leave the country.

7.10: US forces secure centre of Tikrit

8.30: Jack Straw, the Foreign Secretary, says Syria is not "next on the list" of potential US targets, but it must answer questions on possible weapons of mass destruction and providing a haven for Iraqi fugitives.

12pm: Five Iraqi police cars go on their first patrol in Baghdad, escorted by US Marine Humvees.

2pm: In a White House briefing, Ari Fleischer warns Syria against harbouring fugitive Iraqi regime members and says "Syria is a terrorist state".

2.40: Tony Blair says Saddam Hussein's army has collapsed across Iraq and remaining resistance is coming from foreign irregular forces.

2.55: Mr Blair outlines a three-point plan for Iraq's rehabilitation - which envisages full elections in a year - and says there are "no plans to invade Syria".

4.35: Donald Rumsfeld, the US Defence Secretary, accuses Syria of conducting a chemical weapons test "over the past 12, 15 months".

#### WORDS OF WAR

Syrian Foreign Ministry spokeswoman: "Syria has no chemical weapons ... the only such weapons in the region are in Israel, which is threatening its neighbours and occupying their land."

French Foreign Minister, Dominique de Villepin: "It is obvious the US has a role to play in Iraq ... It is useless to go back to what divided us ... let us turn to the future."

Hussein al-Khalidi, 58, citizen of Tikrit: "We think of ourselves as peaceful people who got stuck with a dictator."

**Load-Date:** April 15, 2003

## *Remains of a refugee camp: What happened in Jenin*

Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

April 28, 2002 Sunday Final Edition

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**Section:** Monitor; Pg. C1; Feature

**Length:** 1876 words

**Byline:** Philip Jacobson

**Dateline:** JENIN

### **Body**

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JENIN - The dozen men of Staff Sgt. Gadi Ezra's squad were hunched in their armoured troop carrier, awaiting the order to join Israel's assault on the Jenin refugee camp.

All reserve soldiers, they had been called up several days earlier to help guard Jerusalem against suicide bombers.

Now they were going into combat, some for the first time: the tanks that had been firing steadily through the previous night at suspected Palestinian strongpoints had pushed ahead to the outer perimeter but could not penetrate any deeper into the maze of narrow alleys, blind bends and enclosed courtyards.

Only infantrymen could carry the battle into the heart of the camp, a 1.3- square kilometre area where Israeli intelligence believed that up to 200 hard-core Palestinian fighters were preparing to stand and die, taking as many as possible of the attackers with them.

Gadi, 22, warned his men that this meant house-to-house fighting, an ordeal for even the best-trained troops. And to avoid causing heavy casualties among the unknown but substantial number of civilians remaining from the camp's estimated 13,000 inhabitants, there had been no advance softening up with bombing from the air.

Southam Newspapers

It would be vital, he told his squad, to keep up the momentum of their advance the moment they jumped from the armoured personnel carrier: a day earlier, on April 2, as the first wave of infantry went in, a company commander from Gadi's unit, Maj. Moshe Gertner, had been shot in the head from close range as he entered the first building to be searched.

"Fire and move, fire and move," Gadi shouted, as the rear doors of his lead vehicle sprang open.

A few seconds later, his friend Sgt. Merom Fischer was killed by a sniper concealed in a house nearby. Then the platoon leader, Lieut. Nissim, fell dead a few metres from Gadi's position.

Acting instinctively, the staff sergeant dashed out to recover the officer's body.

A soldier called Ofer was providing covering fire: "Gadi immediately caught a bullet in the throat, fell to the ground and said 'I can't feel myself.' After that his eyes closed and he mumbled 'Shema Israel' (the opening words of a prayer from the Torah that devout Jews recite every morning). He was killed by the same sniper that got Nissim," Ofer says, with a despairing gesture towards the officer's blood-stained flak jacket.



## Remains of a refugee camp: What happened in Jenin

By the end of the next day Israel had lost seven men, with a score more wounded, as soldiers encountered skillfully placed Palestinian positions or blundered into a forest of booby traps.

"We were briefed before going in that observation posts using night vision sights had watched Palestinians hanging bombs from trees and electricity cables and placing explosive charges in soft-drink cans, cars, even an abandoned fridge," one soldier from Gadi's squad tells me.

But as soon as the attack was launched, all the detailed plans began to fall apart: with casualties mounting, the Israeli advance faltered as commanders gave orders to avoid frontal attacks wherever possible. One unit, under intense gunfire and in constant fear of Palestinian fighters using their knowledge of the labyrinth of back alleys to ambush them from behind, took three days to gain 550 metres.

When darkness fell, a Hebrew-speaking muezzin (Islamic cleric) would taunt the soldiers, exulting that the only way they would return home was in an army coffin. Then a young girl's voice was heard beseeching the "heroes of the camp" to protect their people.

The Israelis had expected stiff Palestinian resistance after their decision to postpone the assault on Jenin for a week until Operation Defensive Shield had conquered other towns such as Ramallah and Nablus. However, the soldiers soon discovered that they had seriously underestimated the enemy's resolve.

Fighters from Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Fatah organization, learning fast from the lessons of two previous army operations around the fringes of the camp, had used the delay to identify likely Israeli strategic points and cleared fields of fire to defend them.

As the fighting intensified, Israeli officers began discarding their badges of rank, fearing that snipers would single them out as they pored over inadequate maps of the camp. "There were often lulls in the shooting, but you could never relax for a second," one recalls.

The threat from expertly positioned snipers -- one, on the video of a pilotless drone, caught firing from the minaret of mosques -- was ever present, despite repeated sorties by Israeli helicopter gunships, firing missiles into buildings that spotters believed contained gunmen. "They were usually able to send a rocket through a particular window but, of course, it was impossible for us to know whether anyone else was inside," the officer adds.

The Israeli troops had become extremely wary as the advance brought them increasingly into contact with Palestinian civilians who had ignored, perhaps through fright, the army's repeated warnings that were delivered in Arabic through loudspeakers, to leave their homes and head for safer ground in the adjacent town of Jenin.

"We reached one house before nightfall and called on the occupants to come outside," says Hagai Tal, who in peacetime is an executive with the Jerusalem Post newspaper group.

"They did, then a group of three men followed. We told them to lift up their shirts -- two did but a third one turned to the side and tugged a cord in order to activate explosives. We shot him. He was just four feet away from us."

In another incident reported by troops, women and children were found in a house that lay in the direct line of fire: they were shepherded into the safest room there, but one woman then shouted a warning to her husband on the floor above.

He began shooting and was immediately killed by soldiers in a building opposite. "There is no room for hesitation or second thoughts in this sort of fighting," one Israeli veteran of house-to-house combat in Gaza points out.

Yet allegations that the Israeli army had staged an indiscriminate massacre of the Jenin camp's inhabitants reverberated around the world. While prominent figures in Yasser Arafat's crumbling Palestinian Authority undoubtedly encouraged the inflation of the estimated body count, the Israeli authorities unwisely contributed to the confusion by announcing that terrorists killed in the camp were to be spirited away in refrigerated trucks for burial at a military cemetery in the remotest corner of the Jordan Valley.

## Remains of a refugee camp: What happened in Jenin

With the United Nations and international aid organizations also chipping in, the process of discovering what now lies beneath the ruins was further complicated, but one central fact is not in dispute. The sickening stench of decomposing corpses that hangs over the camp signals that while the final death toll may never be precisely established, there will be more, perhaps many more, names to add to the civilian casualty list.

Many died as a result of a change in Israeli tactics. On April 6, with only half the camp under Israeli control, Brig. Gen. Eyal Shlein, the increasingly frustrated officer running the operation, himself under heavy pressure from superiors to wrap things up swiftly, ordered the deployment of armoured bulldozers to smash down stubborn outposts of resistance and clear broader lanes that tanks could use.

The impact of this decision on Palestinian civilians as they cowered in terror was instant and brutal. Abu Raschid had stayed in his house with his family, one of whom was his 35-year-old wheelchair-bound son, Jamal.

As the bulldozers began gouging lumps of concrete from the outer wall, the panicking family rushed to their front door to tell the Israelis that they were coming out with their hands raised.

But the roar of the bulldozers drowned out their frantic cries and they were forced back inside as their home caved in around them. Jamal was buried by a collapsing ceiling and is presumed dead.

Once again, loudspeakers issued repeated warnings in Arabic about the danger of remaining inside homes, but troops on the spot acknowledged that there must have been instances when innocent people were buried in the rubble alongside gunmen choosing death.

"Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians," acknowledges Col. Miri Eisin, an intelligence specialist and the most senior **female** officer on the spot, who was never seen without an M-16 rifle slung across her back.

During the next two days, the remaining Palestinian militants, numbering perhaps 60, were slowly "condensed" into an area not much larger than a soccer pitch at the centre of the camp.

Gen. Shlein warned that there were more clashes to come, but for the first time the troops felt that the end was near.

Then on April 9, an infantry patrol was sucked into the deadliest ambush of the battle, losing 13 men to bombs and intense gunfire among the rubble of buildings destroyed earlier in the day.

David Zangan was close enough to hear the screams of the wounded (not one man in the patrol escaped unhurt) and organized their evacuation under fire as gunships swooped low to root out the ambushers. Zangan wondered whether a few targeted F-16 strikes earlier in the day -- which Israeli commanders had been actively considering as the advance stalled -- might not have saved some of the friends with whom he had served for years.

That bloody incident provoked the most intense Israeli onslaught of the operation, with fresh troops from regular army battalions pitching in alongside the exhausted, dirt-caked reservists behind bulldozers tearing down everything in their path.

There was now a raw edge of savagery to the fighting: One officer admitted to an Israeli journalist that troops had sometimes fired at Red Crescent ambulances and refused to allow Palestinian medics to treat wounded gunmen, some of whom died as a result.

Another confirmed that Palestinian civilians were occasionally used as human shields when suspect buildings were being surrounded: "If a sniper sees somebody he knows out there, maybe he won't shoot."

Palestinian families clawed through the ruins of their former homes, while aid agencies continued the grim work of wrapping decomposed bodies in white shrouds before they were loaded onto trucks and taken to the main hospital morgue to await identification.

## Remains of a refugee camp: What happened in Jenin

Bad things happen in war; but as the last Israeli troops were pulled back from Jenin to nearby positions surrounding the town on all sides, those who had been at the sharp end -- from the grieving Ofer to the steely Col. Eisin -- were adamant that even in the madness of close-quarters combat, there had been no random killing, no cold-blooded massacre of the innocent.

AFTERMATH: The UN decided to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Jenin. Israel said it intended to co-operate (the government insists it "has nothing to hide") but tried to seek changes in the probe's mandate to include a look at Palestinian suicide bombings. It also sought to add an American military expert to the core of the team.

Meanwhile, U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell says there was no evidence that Israeli troops massacred civilians, as Palestinians claim.

## Graphic

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Color Photo: Elizabeth Dalziel, Associated Press; Palestinian Ala al-Ratef, 15, whose face and right arm were blackened and burned when he opened a booby-trapped door, lies in a hospital bed in Jenin.; Color Photo: Ruth Fremson, New York Times; Palestinians bury bodies recovered from the rubble of the Jenin refugee camp. In the most ferocious fighting of Israel's biggest ground offensive in 20 years, each side would prove the other wrong. While 23 Israeli soldiers died, the offensive was disastrous for civilians who became part of the battlefield, a dense cityscape of roughly 150 metres by 200 metres. ; Map: (Jenin refugee camp); Color Photo: Ruth Fremson, New York Times; Mahmoud Rashid Fayed walks through his ravaged home in the Jenin refugee camp. It was destroyed during intense fighting, now the subject of fierce debate.

**Load-Date:** April 28, 2002

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## **Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ: DAY TWO**

The Weekend Australian

March 22, 2003 Saturday All-round Country Edition

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**Section:** WORLD-TYPE- FEATUREPHOTODIAGRAM; Pg. 10

**Length:** 2227 words

**Byline:** Peter Wilson

### **Body**

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The Americans are on their way to Baghdad, but what will happen when they get there? Peter Wilson in Kuwait explores the options

WE know this war will have an unhappy end for one man, Saddam Hussein. What we do not know is the outcome for the 200 million other people who live in Iraq and the six countries it borders.

Just as the longer-term future of Iraq and its 22 million people is unclear, so the coming days or weeks of conflict, and the subsequent imposition of a new US-friendly regime in Baghdad will wreak enormous, often uncontrollable changes throughout Iraq's neighbourhood.

Trade flows will be disrupted then reshaped, ethnic and religious tensions are likely to be strained, the regional power balance will be thrown out of kilter by the arrival of a new US favourite, and the oil industry restructured by a new surge of Iraqi supplies.

And, in perhaps the most important change of all, the US is poised to finally withdraw its traditional tolerance or outright support for dictatorships in the region, sparking bold talk of a new democratic "domino theory" in the Middle East.

MATP

Political suppression and economic mismanagement have long characterised US allies such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Kuwait, as well as Washington's opponents in the region, such as Syria and Iran.

The political changes triggered by the fall of Hussein might improve the human rights and economic conditions of many ordinary people in the region but they will almost certainly be bad news for most of their current rulers.

The knock-on effects of the upheaval in Iraq will depend on how change comes to Baghdad, with four possible scenarios most likely:

**A COUP:** Early success in the US-led military campaign could prompt one or more generals in Iraq's Republican Guard to depose Hussein, perhaps when the invaders reach the edge of Baghdad. Such an internal revolt would avoid a long siege of the capital, a city of almost 5million, and the brutal street fighting threatened by Hussein.

US commanders might negotiate a settlement with the new rulers, allowing President George W. Bush to declare the fall of Hussein and the removal of his weapons of mass destruction without creating a power vacuum in Iraq.

## Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ : DAY TWO

Some in the White House would prefer to take this "fastest and cheapest" route, which would impose the least possible change on Iraqi power structures by removing top Baath party officials but leaving much of the current administration in place.

This is also the preferred option of the governments of Turkey, Syria, Iran, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, with only Kuwait -- the smallest country bordering Iraq -- having any appetite for greater change in Baghdad because of the grudge it bears so passionately from the first Gulf War.

Foreign investment would flood into Iraq's struggling oil industry, and the end of the UN's trade sanctions would overhaul the oil and trade links that Iraq has formed with its neighbours under the decade-long sanctions. Syria's economy now relies heavily on smuggled Iraqi oil, while Jordan has been buying oil from Iraq at less than half the market rate, cosy arrangements that would die with the Hussein regime.

Turkey also has been making good money transporting Iraqi oil to the Mediterranean but, like Syria, it would hope to earn more in the longer-term future by acting as a conduit for expanded Iraqi trade and oil flows.

All the governments neighbouring Iraq would be happy to see the least-change option avert a flood of refugees to their borders, and only Turkey, the only real democracy on Iraq's borders, would like more than minimal democratic change in Iraq.

The smoothest possible regime change would also please the neighbours by reducing the chances of an increase in Kurdish autonomy in northern Iraq.

The two main Kurdish groups in Iraq already operate their own democracies and armies, and anything that remotely resembles the start of a new Kurdish state would be vigorously opposed by Turkey, Iran and to a lesser extent Syria.

**A QUICK COALITION VICTORY FOLLOWED BY STABLE DEMOCRACY:** The outcome sought by the US, Britain and Australia would cause immediate problems for all the neighbours, and serious long-term threats for the governments of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iran and, to a slightly lesser degree, Jordan.

Iraq's largest neighbours have withheld the open support they offered Washington during the first Gulf War, largely because many of their citizens see the attack as an act of US imperialism to protect US oil supplies and Israel. US allies Saudi Arabia and Jordan are afraid that Washington will expect them to introduce their own democratic reforms, while Iran is being touted as the next target on Bush's "axis of evil" list and Syria is not far behind.

If the follow-up diplomacy is handled astutely, a triumph for Bush in Iraq is likely to accelerate the recent push within Iran for political reform.

The opening up of Iraq would offer a challenge to Shi'ite clerics in Iran by freeing religious thought and allowing the Iraqi centres of Shi'ite religious learning, Najaf and Karbala, to challenge Iranian clerics.

The conservative clerics who rule Tehran have a fragile power base, and the arrival of a sustainable democracy in their neighbour would hearten the Iranian reformers. Recent municipal elections showed that young, reform-minded voters are losing faith in reformist politicians, with very low turn-out allowing religious hardliners to do well.

Some analysts, such as Ali Ansari of London's Royal Institute of International Affairs, worry that heavy-handed US pressure for political change in Iran might strengthen the position of Iranian hardliners by allowing them to exploit a nationalist backlash.

The challenge, he says, is to encourage and support the democratic yearnings of many Iranians rather than uniting them behind the clerics.

Washington's most important Arab ally, Saudi Arabia, is even more worried about the prospect of an emboldened US trying to use the example of a post-Hussein Iraq to promote democratic reform in the region.

## Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ : DAY TWO

Saudi social politics are already extremely tense, with the Government struggling to suppress agents of change such as the independent-minded Al-Jazeera television news network, and many citizens openly antagonistic towards both the US and the Al-Saud regime. Given that the most dangerous time for an oppressive regime is when it starts to reform, it faces even greater danger when there are external "shocks" such as the war in Iraq at such a time.

According to analyst Mai Yamani, regime change in Baghdad will increase the pressure on the three pillars of the Saudi royal family's regime - its relationship with the country's increasingly assertive clerics, its oil wealth, and the solid support it has enjoyed from Washington.

The rebirth of Iraq's oil industry will create a potent new competitor for the region's oil producers, undercutting Saudi Arabia's influence within OPEC and reducing the income that funds the elaborate network of patronage used to buy support for the royal family.

And, as Iraq becomes the new focus of foreign investment in the region, a marginalised Saudi Arabia will be much more vulnerable to US demands that it act against extremists such as the mostly Saudi citizens who launched the September 11 attacks.

Another monarchy uncomfortable when the conversation turns to democracy is Kuwait, which still does not allow women to vote, despite its emir promising that particular reform after its liberation in 1991. The emir can sack the country's weak parliament whenever he wants, and his family holds all sensitive government ministries.

Attempts at reform in Jordan after the first Gulf War were just as unsuccessful, and both monarchies will come under pressure to make changes.

Jordan is braced for a flood of refugees, trade disruption and the loss of cheap oil from Hussein's Iraq, but in the longer term it could benefit from new investment and development in Iraq's oil industry, perhaps acting as a conduit for its export, and would be pleased to see its many Iraqi exiles going home.

Like Jordan, Syria is likely to suffer a trade jolt but could gain in the long term from trading with a stable, developing Iraqi state. Syria, the country with the longest border with Iraq, has long competed with its neighbour, backing Iran in its 1980s war with Hussein, and supporting the US coalition in 1990-91.

Its relations with Hussein quietly improved in recent years and it will now find itself almost surrounded by US allies in Israel, Turkey and Jordan.

Still listed by Washington as a sponsor of state terrorism, Syria has tried hard to improve ties with the sole superpower, most successfully by providing useful intelligence in the war on terror.

But Damascus has continued to sponsor Israel's enemies, Hamas and Hezbollah, and its standing in the US will suffer for its role on the Security Council in recent weeks, where it was an early ally of France against the US and Britain.

Turkey has also lost points in Washington because of its behaviour in recent weeks. The refusal of its parliament to host US troops to allow a "northern front" against Iraq will cost Istanbul dearly in US economic support if the lack of such a front is deemed to cost American lives.

The stand-off with the US has put enormous pressure on Istanbul's precarious economy and still fragile democracy -- the Turkish military is perfectly capable of stepping in yet again to save the nation from its elected representatives if the generals deem it necessary.

A COALITION VICTORY FOLLOWED BY FAILED TRANSITION TO AN IRAQI REGIME: This remains a strong possibility, as there is no convincing strategy for eventually handing authority to a legitimate Iraqi government.

## Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ : DAY TWO

Two Carnegie Foundation analysts, Minxin Pei and Sara Kaspar, note that the US had used military force to impose democratic rule in foreign lands 18 times last century, and yet democracy was sustained in only five of those cases -- Germany, Japan, Italy, Panama and Grenada.

Any outbreak of factional, religious or ethnic fighting while US administrators were still in control, or after they had handed power to a new regime, would be likely to lead to proxy battles involving Iraq's neighbours, and the rise of religious extremists.

No neighbour wants to see Iraq follow the path of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia by breaking up after the end of totalitarian rule.

They would prefer to see a weak, factionalised Iraq rather than the formal break-up of the nation, but a failed state is still a recipe for widespread destabilisation.

**PROTRACTED WAR:** This is the least likely outcome but still a possibility.

Apart from the danger of Hussein springing some surprise, such as a massive use of chemical weapons to halt the coalition advance, other possibilities include the US-led forces stopping on the edge of Baghdad because of a fear of massive casualties, or uprisings in the Kurdish north or Shi'ite south, with locals seizing power and refusing to cede to US authority.

The neighbours do not want to see such a messy and inconclusive extension of the war, preferring a swift conclusion to avoid large numbers of refugees.

The longer hostilities continue, the greater the chance that Iran, Saudi Arabia, Turkey or Syria could be drawn into proxy battles supporting different Iraqi groups.

Iran is an obvious protagonist but might take the opportunity to improve its relations with the US by using its influence with the Shi'ite minority in the south and Kurds in the north to become a stabilising force.

The collapse of central authority in Iraq is the worst-case option for Turkey and would cause trouble throughout the region.

A protracted conflict would damage Syria's economy and destabilise its Government, and see a rapid escalation of political tensions and anti-US feeling in Saudi Arabia.

Jordan could find itself trapped between two war zones, with Iraq burning to its east and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict raging to its west.

Israel is the random element for all of Iraq's neighbours. If Hussein were to fire chemical weapons at Israel, there is little doubt that this time, unlike in 1991, it would retaliate.

And that is when we would really find out what a troubled neighbourhood looked like.

## WHERE THE ETHNIC GROUPS LIVE

### Kurds

15-20 per cent

\* Sunni Muslims

\* Divided between Turkey, Iran, Syria, Azerbaijan and Iraq.

\* Rebelled at end of 1991 Gulf War but were thwarted by Hussein's forces, which led to about 1.5 million refugees fleeing their homes.

## Region watches the first domino - THE FUTURE - WAR ON IRAQ : DAY TWO

- \* After establishment of northern no-fly zone, were able to establish an autonomous government.
- \* Hostilities between Kurdistan Democratic Party and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan have led to a partition of the areas they control.

### Shia Arabs

45-52 per cent

- \* Dominant religious group amongst Iraqi Arabs.
- \* Excluded from power by the Sunni of the Baath Party.
- \* Rebelled after Gulf War but were quickly defeated.
- \* Fearful of their ties to the Iranian Shia regime, Hussein has environmentally devastated the marshlands in the Tigris-Euphrates delta in which they predominantly live.

### Sunni Arabs

24-30 per cent

- \* Minority of Iraqi Arab population.
- \* Wield political power through Hussein's Baath party, which has close ties to Syria and radical Muslim groups throughout Middle East.

Other groups About 5 per cent

- \* Primarily Turks, Armenians and Assyrians.

Source: CIA World Factbook 2002

- \* Within Iraq

**Load-Date:** March 21, 2003



## *Her decision to be a suicide bomber*

USA TODAY

April 22, 2002, Monday,

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NEWS;; COVER STORY

**Length:** 1872 words

**Byline:** Gregg Zoroya

**Dateline:** In the West Bank

### **Body**

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Suha has been accepted by the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade, a militant group that is part of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, as a future suicide bomber. She is barely 5 feet tall, fair-skinned and pretty, with a quick smile and handshake as she greets a visitor in the West Bank town of Tulkarem. This 30-year-old, college-educated woman in a sweater, dark jeans and clogs is one of the newest and most effective weapons in the Palestinian arsenal.

The suicide bombings that have claimed 185 Israeli lives since the Palestinian uprising began in September 2000 turned a corner in strategic expression in January. That's when Al-Aqsa sent out the first of four **female** suicide bombers.

The most recent was the deadliest. Andaleeb Takafka, a 20-year-old seamstress, blew herself up at a bus stop in Jerusalem on April 12, killing six Israelis and injuring 104.

In a gesture of defiance, an Al-Aqsa commander who trains and sends out suicide bombers -- Suha among them -- says attacks by bomb-laden recruits will continue, despite Israel's military offensive in the West Bank and Arafat's recent condemnation of terrorism.

"Once we begin to retaliate, a top priority will be sending out those suicide bombers," says Fayez Jaber, 30, who is in hiding in the West Bank. "These operations into Israel are the real operations that hurt and are painful to Israel."

The suicide bombings are the reason Israel launched Operation Defensive Shield on March 29: to hunt down terrorists. But the Israeli offensive in dozens of West Bank cities, villages and refugee camps appears to have further inflamed Palestinians. Suha says it was Israel's two-week assault on the Jenin refugee camp that led her to volunteer to become a human explosive. Palestinians say hundreds were killed in Jenin, but Israel says about 50 died. "I am prepared to sacrifice my life for the cause. This (bombing mission) is the highest level of jihad (holy war), and I hope God will give me the honor of doing it," she says.

Both Suha and Jaber surfaced for an interview this weekend in the home of a Palestinian family in the Tulkarem refugee camp, one of the many semi-permanent towns established 50 years ago after Israel became a state.

Jaber says the decision to begin using **women** was a simple change in tactics.

## Her decision to be a suicide bomber

"Women don't cause any suspicions in the way they look," he says, minutes before Suha is brought in for a brief interview. "The way they dress, it's easier . . . to carry out such missions."

They're also sending another message. With Palestinian women now taking part in these deadly missions, militants such as Jaber suggest the hatred and despair driving the 19-month intifada (Palestinian uprising) run deeper and stronger than ever. "They are asking us and pleading -- women, children -- to be trained and instructed to carry out such missions," he says. "Many people are coming, and they demand to be sent."

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade is a shadowy offshoot of Fatah, a secular militant group that is the largest faction of Arafat's Palestine Liberation Organization. Jaber says there are no religious strictures that bar women from volunteering for suicide missions. "Not every man who comes to us, or woman, we accept," Jaber says.

"There are certain criteria that we observe. People with mental or psychological problems or personal family problems -- I cannot allow myself to send such people."

He adds, "A person has to be a fully matured person, an adult, a sane person, and of course, not less than 18 years of age and fully aware of what he is about to carry out" before being accepted.

It is clear from the elaborate precautions taken before Jaber's interview that he is a hunted man. Struggling with a cold and visibly weary, he says he is always on the alert for betrayal by spies for Israel or assassination attempts. "We are constantly on the move," he says.

Though Israeli security sources confirm that Jaber is an Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade commander in Tulkarem, other Israeli officials say he is a minor player. "The war against terrorism goes on, and Jaber is a prime example why," Israeli government spokesman Daniel Seaman says. "We'll continue as long as we can until we get every last one of them, including him."

## Women's limited role

Hamas and Islamic Jihad, two extremist groups that also have claimed responsibility for suicide bombings in Israel, haven't recruited women. Both groups are driven by Islamic fundamentalism, which limits women's role in public.

Israeli officials say that after the initial shock of seeing a woman blow herself up, as 54 Palestinian men have done, they broadened the profile of potential human bombs to include women. "Right now," says Seaman, the Israeli government spokesman, "the assessment is that we are going to be seeing more female suicide bombers than male."

Boaz Ganor of the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism in Herzliya, says that beyond gender, there are few differences between a man and a woman carrying out such a mission.

"The first one may be kind of a surprise, but it does not change anything," he says. "If you analyze the motivations of the women who committed such attacks, it's the same as the men: They do believe, they are committed, patriotic, and this is combined with a religious duty."

A promise of financial payoffs to the families of bombers is another powerful incentive, Ganor says. Jaber confirms that cash payments from Iraq and other Arab countries go to these families, many in desperate need of money, after the suicide-bombing mission. Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has offered to pay \$ 25,000 to the family of each Palestinian suicide bomber as an incentive for others to volunteer for martyrdom.

"It's being paid and directly to the families," Jaber says. "These people have lost their dear, beloved loved ones. They are desperate."

Money aside, a crucial motivator is the notion that martyrdom is a ticket to everlasting happiness in the afterlife, Ganor says. Muslim men who volunteer to strap on explosives are promised unlimited sex with 72 virgins in the spirit world, he says.

## Her decision to be a suicide bomber

"Even the women believe this. Not in the 72 virgins business, but that they are going to gain their place in heaven," Ganor says. "Islamic leaders brainwash their constituency, telling them that this is a duty to God. You cannot persuade any Western-culture person to commit that act."

Echoing the belief that the bombers have been brainwashed, Raanan Gissin, spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, says, "They are mindless missiles."

Palestinian officials, such as Palestine Liberation Organization spokesman Michael Terrazi, say that far from being brainwashed, the people who commit these acts are simply full of despair and without hope. "I'm not trying to justify it. I'm not trying to condone it," Terrazi says. "(But) from their perspective -- a people that is entirely desperate, mostly refugees to begin with, impoverished and seeing no hope to the end of the (Israeli) occupation -- the strongest weapon they have is a suicide bomber."

'There's no life or future'

Whether mindless missiles or not, an arranged meeting with Suha in the modest, middle-class home of a Palestinian family in the Tulkarem refugee camp gives little indication she is not acting of her own free will.

Escorted into the room by a grim-looking bodyguard, Suha pauses to exchange giggling pleasantries with two Palestinian women who are there to greet her as she enters. Nervous about the interview and a bit self-conscious, she plops down in an overstuffed easy chair and leans forward with her elbows on her knees to begin answering questions.

She says she was born in Kuwait, but she and her family now live in the West Bank. She declines to say where. She says she is the eldest of nine children, has an undergraduate degree in social science from An-Najah University in Nablus and did clerical work for a media research company. She says she never married and has no children.

"Even if I had children, there's no life or future with the Jews," Suha says.

She says her family is unaware of what she is doing, and she intends to keep that way. Suha says she has no hesitation about blowing herself up and insists that when the time comes, she will detonate the explosives. She does not know when or where the mission will be.

The idea of becoming a suicide bomber has played on her mind for months. Beyond the violence of the recent fighting, she says, the daily humiliation of Palestinians, who must cross Israeli checkpoints to travel within the West Bank -- territory they say should be their own land -- has left her with a smoldering hatred.

The issue of how Palestinians are treated at checkpoints even elicited a rebuke from President Bush in remarks last month, when he called on Israeli forces to treat people with greater respect.

Suha describes a recent incident when she was traveling between the West Bank cities of Nablus and Ramallah. She says an Israeli soldier forced her and a man to sit in the dirt at a checkpoint for an hour. He gave no reason for the delay.

"He started verbally abusing me. The way he was looking at my ID card was humiliating, not to mention the passes (that Israeli soldiers) make at us women," she says. "Life is worth nothing when our people are being humiliated on a daily basis." This incident is one among many, she says.

Suha says she did not make a final decision to become a suicide bomber until Israeli troops moved into the West Bank three weeks ago and intense fighting reduced the Jenin refugee camp to rubble. Israeli officials say the camp was a nest of terrorists, dozens of whom were killed. United Nations officials are investigating what happened there.

Concerned that Suha could be captured in an Israeli raid, Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade gunmen say she is being kept in a "safe place" until she is sent on her suicide mission. They refuse to give further details.

## Her decision to be a suicide bomber

Suha says that, unlike previous suicide bombers, she has not completed a will or made a videotaped statement of why she has chosen to kill herself and others. She worries that this kind of evidence, if discovered, could jeopardize her mission.

"I don't want to do anything that will stop the operation," Suha says.

Attacks by women began in January

Of the 58 suicide bombings in Israel and the Palestinian territories since the start of the Palestinian uprising in September 2000, four were carried out by women:

April 12, 2002: Andaleeb Takafka, 20, a seamstress from Beit Fajar in the West Bank, detonates explosives at a bus stop on Jaffa Road in central Jerusalem. The blast kills six bystanders and injures 104. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claims responsibility.

March 29, 2002: Ayat Akhras, 18, from the Dheisheh refugee camp in the West Bank, sets off explosives at the Kiryat supermarket in Jerusalem. Two Israelis are killed and 25 are injured. The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade claims responsibility.

February 27, 2002: Dareen Abu Aisheh, 21, a student from Beit Wazan in the West Bank, sets off a bomb in a car at the Maccabin checkpoint on the Jerusalem-Modi'in road, injuring three police.

January 27, 2002: Wafa Idris, 28, a Fatah member and nurse from Amari, West Bank, detonates explosives on Jerusalem's Jaffa Road, killing one bystander and injuring 150.

## Graphic

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GRAPHIC, b/w, USA TODAY(Map); PHOTO, color, Zoom 77; PHOTO, b/w, Al-Amal TV; It's easier for a woman": A female Palestinian suicide bomber killed herself and six Israelis at a Jerusalem bus stop on April 12.<>Suicide bomber: Andaleeb Takafka, 20, appears on a vide relased after she blew herself up in Jerusalem on April 12, killing herself and six Israelis. It was the deadliest attack yet ba a female Palestinian suicide bomber.

**Load-Date:** April 22, 2002

***US blinks first in Israel stand-off;  
George Bush left his frustrated secretary of state, Colin Powell, with neither  
a carrot nor a stick in the Middle East***

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**Byline:** Marion McKeone US EDITOR

## **Body**

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'I MEANT what I said to the prime minister of Israel. I expect there to be a withdrawal without delay.' So said US president George W Bush on Wednesday. But by the weekend, in the latest in a series of stunning reversals and U-turns, his tough talk ultimatum was quietly dropped and the US's authority in the region was further eroded by another disastrous week for the Bush administration's inchoate Middle-Eastern policy.

Even before secretary of state Colin Powell embarked on his Middle-Eastern trip, few people held out hope it would reverse the bloody downward spiral both sides are locked into, least of all Powell, who conceded that he might at best secure a ceasefire.

But by the weekend, as Palestinian suicide bombs and ambushes claimed the lives of 37 more Israeli citizens and soldiers and the Israeli incursion left hundreds more Palestinians dead and wounded, even this relatively modest aim was beyond reach.

Powell's warm-up trip to Egypt, Morocco and Madrid was roundly criticised by the Arab leaders who claimed the secretary of state deliberately delayed his meeting with Sharon to give Israeli troops more time to complete their annihilation of Palestinian towns and villages before their meeting in Jerusalem.

As it transpired, aside from a few token redeployments, Sharon had no intention of ending his pursuit of suspected Palestinian terrorists. Following a four-and-a-half-hour meeting with the Israeli leader on Friday morning, Powell emerged with nothing to take to Arafat.

Instead, he smiled wanly as Sharon declared the US and Israel would be "friends forever", but for now, at least, that friendship would be on his terms. The Israeli prime minister also made it clear that while Israel hoped to withdraw "soon" it would be, to paraphrase Bush, at a time of Israel's choosing.

The White House's decision to abandon its tough stand against Sharon before Powell arrived in Israel effectively hung him out to dry.

The Arab states had insisted they would only exert pressure on Arafat to declare a ceasefire if Israel was forced to end its incursion. Bush's cave-in robbed Powell of his carrot for Arafat and his stick for Sharon.

US blinks first in Israel stand-off; George Bush left his frustrated secretary of state, Colin Powell, with neither a carrot nor a stick in the Middle East

Instead, he feebly expressed hope they could agree on a timetable for withdrawal but his frustration was obvious. "How do we get beyond just the response (to terrorist attacks)? What is the next step?" Powell asked.

Within hours, his question was answered. The next step - another suicide bombing that left six Israelis dead and 64 injured - blasted away any remaining hopes of securing a ceasefire. When the Al-Aqsa Martyrs claimed responsibility for the bombing, the third by a female suicide bomber, it appeared to represent the final nail in the coffin of Powell's doomed mission.

"If there are more victims like these, the United States government, president Bush and also Colin Powell - who want us to stop the operation - will be held responsible, " Israeli health minister Nissin Dahan warned as he surveyed the carnage at the site of the Jerusalem bombing.

On Capitol Hill, Republicans and Democrats demanded that Powell cancel his meeting with Arafat and that the US sever all contact with the Palestinian Authority. As the weekend drew to a close, there were calls to declare the PA a terrorist organisation and shut down its Washington office. Meanwhile, a succession of self-styled Middle Eastern experts from various administrations warned that for the US secretary of state to 'cut and run' would permanently undermine his authority in the region and that any peace, whether lasting or temporary, would have to involve Arafat. A rock and a very hard place loomed in front of the beleaguered secretary of state.

It's no secret that the Bush administration has been sounding out Arab leaders about cultivating an alternative to Arafat, but every leader Powell met this week reinforced the same message. For now, Arafat is the only leader within the Palestinian Authority, and certainly the only one who can deliver a ceasefire. But over the weekend Sharon's senior adviser, Daniel Ayaron, insisted Arafat was an enemy, not a partner for peace.

"We haven't written him out (of the peace process). He has written himself out, " he said echoing Sharon's oft-repeated mantra that "there can be no peace with Arafat".

Before Arafat's condemnation of terrorism yesterday, the state department spewed out missives, each one contradicting the last. Powell's meeting with Arafat would go ahead, then it was cancelled, then postponed again, then postponed indefinitely, the situation was being assessed, then reassessed. Then the spokesman said the two might meet today but there were no guarantees that this would happen. Later, defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld in a CNN interview suggested that Powell would not meet the Palestinian leader, before cheerfully admitting he didn't know what he was talking about. "I think I'll leave the Middle East to Secretary Powell, " he concluded.

Meanwhile, Bush came up with more or less the same idea. Left with a dwindling number of choices, none of them attractive, he opted for the most politically savvy by delegating the entire mess to Powell. "The president has great faith in the secretary's judgement. He (Powell) has been given maximum flexibility. The president totally supports the secretary, " a White House spokeswoman said. In much the same way as a noose supports a hanged man. By abdicating responsibility for the remainder of Powell's trip, Bush has ensured that should fresh controversy arise from a meeting with Arafat, the buck will stop with Powell.

Lest it appear inactive, the White House opted for another U-turn. Sharon was now, according to White House spokesman Ari Fleisher, "a man of peace". Questions about several unconfirmed reports that hundreds of Palestinians had been massacred in the refugee camp at Jenin were dismissed.

The Israeli army, which has overrun the camp that was home to 13,000 Palestinians, has refused to allow journalists or international observers access to the area. Peter Hansen, the head of the UN's Relief and Works Agency which is in charge of the Palestinian camps, said the situation was becoming "catastrophic" inside the Jenin camp. A spokesman added, "If field reports we are getting are accurate, we have a humanitarian disaster unseen before in the West Bank".

It is largely Bush's attempts to keep the bloody conflict at arms' length that have ensured he is now knee-deep in this bloody quagmire. "President Bush has learned to his cost that by trying to avoid this situation he has relinquished any chance of controlling it, " Nancy Soderberg, former Clinton adviser and US representative to the

US blinks first in Israel stand-off; George Bush left his frustrated secretary of state, Colin Powell, with neither a carrot nor a stick in the Middle East

UN, said. "Mitchell and Tenet are way past their sell-by dates. They may have worked a year ago, but the events of recent weeks have made them irrelevant."

Ignoring the Middle East for more than a year may with hindsight prove to have been one of the gravest errors of his presidency. Bush is being ignored by both sides: Sharon has refused to withdraw from the Palestinian cities and Arafat has refused to act against the bombers. Not only has the conflict exposed serious errors of judgement, but Sharon's blatant disregard for Bush's ultimatums has seriously dented his credibility.

In a stand-off with a leader who desperately needs Bush's support, it was Bush who blinked first.

The situation is spawning new problems daily, with worrying implications in the domestic arena. There are concerns that the volatility in the region could cause oil prices to shoot up and undermine America's economic recovery in the process. Oil prices have already increased as a result of Iraq's decision to turn off its oil spigots for a month. Tomorrow's White House brainstorming session that was to lay down a plan for toppling Saddam Hussein has been shelved;

although Saddam is still very much a target, plans to move against him have been delayed as a result of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But there is a real fear that instability in the region may spread in the meantime; moderate Arab leaders are facing down violent anti-US demonstrations daily.

While his advisers are loath to admit it, there is no doubt that his floundering over the Middle East has gone some way towards eroding Bush's image nationally and internationally as a decisive, plain-spoken leader untroubled by the dithering or hand-wringing that plagued his predecessor. "Who is running the western world, Sharon or Bush?" Hassan Abdul, Arafat's Washington representative demanded angrily while James Zogby, head of the moderate Arab American Council, suggested that the only way forward was for Bush to dust off the Clinton peace plan and sell it to both sides.

His post-11 September warnings to countries that harboured or supported terrorists seem to mock him hourly, as the Israelis constantly berate him for attempting to draw what they claim are false distinctions between al-Qaeda and groups such as Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs. The Middle East has become a vortex that has sucked in the Bush administration's global war on terrorism and its foreign policy in the region and spewed out manifold contradictions.

After berating Saddam Hussein for allegedly making payments of up to \$25,000 to the families of suicide bombers, US officials were silent when asked about a Saudi Arabian telethon on state-owned television this week which pledged the proceeds to "the families of the martyrs".

A White House spokesman said the Saudi government would ensure the money would go to "ordinary Palestinians" and refused to condemn the Saudi government for its tacit support of the terrorists, exposing the flimsy walls the Bush administration has attempted to erect between enemy states that sponsor terrorists and US allies that sponsor terrorists.

With friends like Israel, the United States certainly doesn't need any more enemies.

Former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu arrived in Capitol Hill on Wednesday where he was warmly greeted by senators and congressmen. Netanyahu, who is positioning himself to challenge Ariel Sharon for the leadership in the 2003 elections, attacked Bush for attempting to curb Sharon's offensive against Palestinian terrorists.

"Will America apply its principles consistently and win this war on terrorism or will it apply its principles selectively and lose it?" he demanded during an address at the National Press Club. If Bush embarked on the latter course, it was only a matter of time before suicide bombers set their sights on America, he warned.

Asked about the way forward, Powell responded: "We have to link the security and political process together. A political settlement that will move us in the direction of a Palestinian state".

US blinks first in Israel stand-off; George Bush left his frustrated secretary of state, Colin Powell, with neither a carrot nor a stick in the Middle East

It is now widely accepted that incrementalism won't work, that Palestine won't accept a ceasefire that doesn't include a political solution. The White House, ever adept at coining new phrases when new ideas are needed, renamed suicide bombers as homicide bombers, but it has no idea, no plan that would bring the warring sides to the table, never mind resolve the conflict.

Both sides believe they will prevail. Sharon believes his army will eventually wipe out the terrorist infrastructure and the Palestinian Authority and control the areas until a new, more biddable, Palestinian leadership emerges.

Arafat believes victory will arise from the ashes of suicide bombers and the rubble of decimated Palestinian towns. As the week drew to a close, the aim of the negotiating process seemed more elusive than ever.

But there were still some signs of dogged optimism even as the Bush administration appeared to accept that whatever the outcome of this trip, the Bush administration's involvement in the region is only starting.

## Graphic

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Colin Powell, the US secretary of state, meeting with Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon at his residence on Friday

**Load-Date:** October 22, 2002



## *Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

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### **Body**

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I greatly desire to support my nation and its leaders 100 percent, but when our national policy turns toward the bizarre, I lose confidence. What sense is there in encouraging Israel to negotiate with Yasser Arafat when the Palestinian nationalism movement he leads is blowing up Israeli children, women and seniors on a nearly daily basis?

How can the world take America seriously when it says it is against terrorism, but then rewards Palestinian terrorism by forcing Israel to treat with Arafat even as he repeatedly pulls the terrorist trigger against Israeli citizens?

What sense does it make for America to bow to pressure from Saudi Arabia and Egypt to pressure Israel to negotiate with the PLO, when Saudi Arabia and Egypt can't even tell their own citizens that the Sept. 11 attacks were wrong?

America lost Vietnam because its leaders failed the American soldiers who killed a million enemy in the field and won every significant engagement. World War I caused World War II because the leaders of the victorious nations failed to deal with the militaristic nationalism that caused both wars. For over a decade, America has been conducting military strikes in the Middle East because leaders during the Gulf War failed to cause the downfall of Saddam Hussein, even in the teeth of his total defeat.

#### LETTERS

Can we expect the "war on terrorism" to be "won," if we are among those who reward Palestinian nationalism - the oldest active terrorist organization just now reaching new heights of terrorist activity? How can our leaders believe that they are not encouraging terrorism itself with one hand, while swatting against it with the other? What do we stand for?

Doug Bevins, Dade City

U.S. must broker a peace

Re: Sharon loses again, by David Ignatius,

March 24.

Ignatius wrote a very insightful article on Ariel Sharon. When the Israeli voters selected him as their prime minister, they sent a clear message to the Palestinians that an increase in violence was forthcoming as the ultimate solution to Israel's security problems. As the voters opted for a strong, militaristic reply but of short duration, the Palestinian

## Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat

Authority had no choice but to seek military assistance from all of its people, including the fanatic branches of **Hamas** and Hezbollah.

The radical elements on both sides of this conflict are responsible for the human carnage currently in force. The Israelis have gone from a decrescendo in violence with the much respected Yitzak Rabin to a crescendo with Ariel Sharon.

An integral part of the solution to this conflict is a very painful one for the U.S. government. It requires the necessary ingredient of any world leader to be effective on the world scene, namely, impartiality. Only the Bush administration can broker a peaceful solution to the Middle East conflict. Partiality has no place in the peace process.

Arthur J. Hebert Jr., Largo

The only realistic solution

Re: This is the only way America will gain any support for Middle East policy, by Thomas L. Friedman, March 21.

Remarkable! Amazing! Incredible! Someone actually got it right! The Times is to be congratulated for publishing Friedman's column.

I wonder how many other so-called Mideast experts have arrived at the only realistic solution there is to the ongoing war between the "Israelis and the Palestinians (who) do not have the resources, or mutual trust, ever to find their way out of this problem alone - not after the collapse of (the) Oslo (accords)." If you don't think we are not becoming the world's policeman, you obviously missed the events that have unfolded since Sept. 11.

To the "worry-warts" who rail at the United States getting militarily involved, just wait! When the Israeli and the Palestinian conflict escalates to the point where the Palestinians or their supporters finally lay their hands on, and use, a weapon of mass destruction and Israel retaliates by using its nuclear arms . . . well, the proverbial you-know-what will hit the fan.

Roy Shepard, Largo

What if the situation were reversed?

There isn't a day that goes by without reading about the tragic situation in the Middle East. It is sometimes hard to comprehend that humanity is capable of such hatred. Both the Israelis and the Palestinians have become completely intractable in what they claim is their ordained existence. Both can vehemently argue their sovereign claims, and perhaps each claim is valid. But in reflecting on the Arabs' demand that Israel return all of the land won in the June 1967 Six-Day War and grant full statehood to the Palestinians, I can't help posing this question to the Arab world:

If Israel had lost the war, would there be an Israel today? And if not, would there be a world outcry to return the land that the Arabs had won to the Israelis? I think not.

W.W. Whited, Spring Hill

Columnist needs attitude adjustment

Re: America needs to change its attitude to be the best global citizen it can be, by Thomas L. Friedman, March 19.

My blood started boiling when I read the piece by Thomas L. Friedman of the New York Times suggesting that America needs to change its attitude. There is no other country in this world where the people work harder and give more to others who are less fortunate. Friedman is critical of President Bush and foreign aid even though President Bush just approved a \$ 5-billion increase in foreign aid. Friedman does not want us to have tax breaks or a missile defense system. Nor does he want drilling in the wilderness areas of Alaska. Why doesn't he poll the American

## Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat

people and see what we think? Personally, I want a tax break and a missile defense system. Why shouldn't we drill in Alaska and also encourage farmers to grow corn for making fuel?

America supports hundreds of countries in the world with our tax money and for the most part, they hate us. We don't want to be part of the Kyoto treaty because it would limit our industry in America. If we have to support all of these people in the world, of course we are going to consume 25 percent of the world's energy. I think Friedman needs an "attitude adjustment," not the American people! I am getting sick of the New York Times and the Washington Post - why can't you print pieces from some of the other reputable newspapers?

Liz Hagan, Clearwater

Guarding democracy through protest

Re: Difficulty in trying to oppose the war, March 22.

Charles Krauthammer's recent column intends to discredit any questioning of the president's war posture. Krauthammer says that we are "blessed with a cadre of thinkers" whose refusal to abjectly support this policy of open-ended conflict without questioning is "moral idiocy." He lists several examples of "liberal" protest: a questioning of why they hate us; guarding a loss of civil liberties; accounting for Afghan civilian casualties; treatment of al-Qaida prisoners; media coverage of the trials of John Walker Lindh, et al; and the questioning of the open-ended conflict of the war on terrorism.

He states (rightly so) that Afghanistan is liberated. He also asks why the Democrats have asked for an "exit strategy," when this is not a "war of choice." Whose war of choice was it for the millions who were drafted while the privileged ones stayed home? In this matter, President Bush is no different than Bill Clinton. They used different strategies for getting out of the Vietnam War, but the outcome was the same.

Bush certainly never interfered, either as a participant, or as a protester. I did both, as strongly as I served in Vietnam to do the best I could, so did I protest on my return. The president was in Texas, Alabama, and then back to school, making nary a twitter or a ripple. I should have been so lucky.

While I in no way demean his sincerity, I believe that Bush wants a blank check to continue his policies without question, from his war without end to his choices for the courts. But the system of checks and balances includes not only the executive branch, which he wants to make ever stronger; it also includes Congress, the courts and, finally, the American people.

In calling for protest to guard our own democracy, the left is not waiting "forlorn and flailing," as Krauthammer puts it. It is the way of those of us who love our country and have shown that in the past with our hearts as well as our brains.

The flag belongs to me also. I earned it and will not let Krauthammer's latest barrage against the "left" - more simplistic stereotyping that wants to imply our ineffectiveness - go unanswered.

James Willingham, St. Petersburg

To fight evil

Re: Difficulty in trying to oppose the war, by Charles Krauthammer.

I was a young woman when the U.S. Congress declared war on Japan and Germany in 1941. As a pacifist at the time, I wondered how to justify in my own mind our government's planning to kill other human beings.

I consulted a friend of mine, a highly religious, intelligent and kind older woman. I shall never forget her answer: "We have to fight evil with the weapons that evil understands."

Alean Charles, Largo

## Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat

## Choosing the easier street name

Re: Street's signs point to hollow excuses, by Elijah Gosier, March 26.

I can tell Elijah Gosier why I still refer to Ninth Street instead of Dr. M.L. King Street. One of the best things about St. Petersburg is the ease of finding my way to some place I've never been before. The grid system of numbered streets and avenues means that most of the area is easy to navigate. I know where Ninth Street is. It's between Eighth and 10th streets. I can find it. I wouldn't know where Dr. M.L. King Street would be located. It could be anywhere.

At the time the name was changed, I thought it was a mistake. It would have made more sense to change a named street. Central Avenue would have been a good choice. It is a prominent street and changing the name wouldn't have affected the grid system.

Buffalo Avenue in Tampa doesn't compare. I didn't know where Buffalo was, so changing the name didn't cause any hardship. I don't know where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard is either.

Driving in Tampa is an ordeal. Driving in St. Petersburg, for the most part (always excepting areas like Lakewood Estates, Snell Isle, Shore Acres, Coquina Key - a very small part of the city) is routine.

Another reason I don't use the name Dr. M.L. King Street: It's too long, especially for casual conversation. King Street would be better, but would undoubtedly be considered disrespectful. Ninth Street is short, easily understood and easy to say.

When I moved here in 1959, people referred to Tangerine and Lakeview avenues South. How many people now have ever heard of them? They're known as 18th and 22nd avenues S - because that makes more sense, because that's easier to find and to remember.

Mr. Gosier, not everything that's not to your liking is racist. Sometimes it's just easier.

Jeanne A. Embry, St. Petersburg

Share your opinions

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They can be sent by e-mail to [letters@sptimes.com](mailto:letters@sptimes.com) or by fax to (727) 893-8675.

They should be brief and must include the writer's name, address and phone number. Please include a handwritten signature when possible.

Letters may be edited for clarity, taste and length. We regret that not all letters can be published.

## Graphic

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CARTOON, DON ADDIS; A man utters profanities as he drives his car over a huge speed bump labeled "Gas prices".

**Load-Date:** March 29, 2002

Don't press Israel to negotiate with Arafat

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**USF should hold firm to firing of Sami Al-Arian**

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

February 05, 2002, Tuesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; LETTERS; Pg. 11A; LETTER

**Length:** 1928 words

## **Body**

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Re: Talk of censuring hangs over USF, Jan. 27.

Talk of censuring the University of South Florida by the American Association of University Professors over the possible firing of Sami Al-Arian sounds like an act of academic terrorism - one that would undermine the university's reputation, impact the careers of faculty members, affect the credibility of graduate and undergraduate degrees and lessen the university's ability to recruit top-notch faculty and students.

It seems to me that by voting for Sami Al-Arian and against the USF president, the faculty has accomplished the psychological equivalent of cutting off their respective noses to spite their respective faces.

As a Phi Beta Kappa and former college professor, I was appalled to read that PBK might withhold the granting of a chapter to USF based on the AAUP censure. The PBK decision would then be based on the justified removal of a member of the faculty who has caused uncommon dissension and bitterness in the environment of a fine university. It doesn't sound like the kind of rational and intelligent decisionmaking that we would expect from a nationally esteemed honorary society.

LETTERS

The AAUP asks whether Al-Arian has "the academic freedom to speak out on controversial topics?" Of course he has, but in his position as a university professor he also has an obligation to try to present, or at least acknowledge, both sides of the controversy. Otherwise his message is pure propaganda. As we have learned, it is possible to find individuals who will verbally defend the terrorists' right and obligation to destroy the World Trade Center and kill 3,000 innocent people. But don't we hope that someone will be present to vigorously defend an antithetical argument!

Wake up, USF faculty! This man was a close associate of the current head of the Islamic Jihad, the terrorist equivalent of the Taliban in Afghanistan and the Palestinian **Hamas**! As one who became quite familiar with the activities of Libyan fanatics in the 1980s (and subsequently wrote a novel on the subject), I urge president Genshaft to "stick to your guns!" Remove this bane from the University of South Florida. Congratulations to the student leaders who recognized this imperative, and shame on the faculty members who failed to do so.

Charles E. Gustafson, St. Petersburg

Genshaft has damaged USF

Recently, University of South Florida president Judy Genshaft sent a letter to the faculty in defense of her decision to fire Dr. Sami Al-Arian. I found it to be a post-hoc rationalization to draw attention away from the fact that her

## USF should hold firm to firing of Sami Al-Arian

decision to fire Dr. Al-Arian violated his First Amendment rights and his rights to academic freedom. She previously told us that she suspended Dr. Al-Arian, because some people had called in death threats. She claimed that he posed a danger to the safety of others and has caused a disruption to the functioning of the university. She also showed concern that important donors to the university have threatened to withhold donations if he remained employed. That a professor's unpopularity may cause certain donors to withhold funds is not "misconduct," as she claims, under our contract.

Suppose some of these important university donors informed president Genshaft that they refused to continue donating, because they felt that provost S. David Stamps, an African-American, had been hired on the basis of affirmative action and not on his merit. Would she fire provost Stamps? It is well-documented that someone left several telephone messages on the voice mail of a female professor threatening to kill her because she is a woman, and other threatening e-mails were sent to the women's studies program. Are these women in jeopardy of being excommunicated from USF? Of course not.

This demonstrates that president Genshaft has taken action against Dr. Al-Arian because of the unpopularity of his beliefs and the content of his speech, not for violating his contract or putting others in danger.

There is much animosity toward suspected terrorists for good reason. However, Dr. Al-Arian has never been officially charged with any wrongdoing. The president comments that the FBI never charged him or exonerated him. These are clear attempts to paint a perception that there might be something there, we just don't know.

This type of McCarthyism shows her lack of respect for our Constitution - that one is innocent until proven guilty.

When you deny the freedom of one to speak, no matter how offensive his or her message, you threaten the whole community's freedom. Who is next? Will it be me for writing this letter of support for Dr. Al-Arian? Will it be the United Faculty of Florida president for defending Dr. Al-Arian? President Genshaft has severely damaged USF's position in the academic community.

Based upon her violations and the serious disruption and irreparable harm her actions have caused the university, I call for her and provost Stamps to resign. I have no confidence in her as USF's president or Dr. Stamps as provost.

Marc J. Defant, professor, Tampa

Genshaft is in a no-win situation

USF's dilemma regarding Sami Al-Arian is a no-win situation for university president Judy Genshaft. Here's why. If Al-Arian is fired for insubordination there will always be the doubt that the real reason for his discharge was his religious and political views. The likelihood of a lengthy appeals process and an expensive legal dispute will test the validity of the decision.

As far as the matter of Al-Arian's academic freedom is concerned, it is a real concern. Universities need to be places where all ideas can be aired without fear of prejudice and discrimination.

I am proud to say I am a USF graduate and have enjoyed the diversity found on campus along with the international connections of its academic programs. USF is developing into a premier urban research university. Unfortunately, terminating Al-Arian appears to violate the long-standing tradition of tenure establish to preserve the integrity of the academic community. If his position is retained because of tradition, it appears at this point that the community and nation will be outraged.

Unfortunately, I believe that outrage will be justified. Al-Arian's fundamentalist views have led to his venomous diatribes that have stirred fear and hatred, particularly in Israel. His personal association with committed terrorists may be only casual, but those associations are real. The shared radical political and religious views of the Islamic extremists call not only for the death of Israel but also of all infidels. I believe that includes most Americans. I do recall that the pilots of the hijacked Sept. 11 planes lived among us while plotting our destruction. Personally, I see the firing of Al-Arian as an opportunity to send a strong message that Americans will not condone perpetrators or supporters of terrorism even if it is done in the name of religion or academic freedom.

USF should hold firm to firing of Sami Al-Arian

I would like to go on record that in discussions with a humanist group noted for its liberal and academic roots, a majority agreed Al-Arian needed to be dismissed from the USF faculty. Further, there was agreement that we still have not been fully informed of the real reasons why he is being discharged. I think the courts will provide insight into all aspects of the decision and it may be a landmark case for higher education.

Perhaps promoting a peaceful world will be more important than tenure, or perhaps freedom of speech will now include the right to incite terrorists. For president Genshaft the decision will not be easy, but, I encourage her to stand by the decision to dismiss Al-Arian.

John Powell, Ed.S. Leadership Committee, the Humanist

Association of Tampa Bay, St. Petersburg

Academic freedom needs limits

Re: USF should have better reasons for firing Al-Arian, letter, Jan. 24.

I take exception to this letter. Does the letter writer mean the concept of academic freedom has no limits? It seems he does not take into account the results of Nazi, Ku Klux Klan and anti-Semitic propaganda. Academic freedom was a concept in which people could disagree on the merits of the issues involved, and not about the name-calling and hate rhetoric the letter writer seems to want to protect. It is evident he wants it both ways.

He disagrees with the vileness of Sami Al-Arian's statements but has no problem allowing him to continue. If Arab nations are allowed to continue their invective using Nazi propaganda techniques to compound the hatred preached in their schools and media against Jews and Americans rather than the merits of the case, then another holocaust is possible - all in the name of academic freedom.

I, too, believe in academic freedom, but I believe in parameters. How many more deaths and generations must be lost if unlimited academic freedom is protected?

Sy Ginsburg, Hudson

A useful view of militant Islam

Re: Not all militant Islamic groups are out to get America, Jan. 27.

I commend Susan Taylor Martin for an excellent thought-provoking article about the nature of militant Islamic groups.

Steven Emerson and other pro-Israel writers would have us believe that there is an enormous Islamic fundamentalist movement that seeks to impose its will around the world. They see a battle looming between Western civilization and the Islamic world. And, of course, they see Israel fighting bravely beside the United States against these Islamic demons.

It would be a disaster for the United States to accept and act on this view. The interests of the United States are not identical with Israel's. It is a mistake for the United States to shape its foreign policy to accomplish Israel's objectives while giving second priority to its own interests.

Your article helps to give perspective to this debate and shows why we should be very skeptical about the "clash of civilizations" argument.

Joseph A. Mahon, St. Petersburg

How a legacy can be lost



## USF should hold firm to firing of Sami Al-Arian

I have long wondered how whole nations could, in a relatively short period of time, abandon the most basic principles upon which they were originally conceived. The answers appears to lie within the scope of two sayings of my youth: "Better safe than sorry" and "It is easier to ask forgiveness than permission."

Once adopted, a synergy develops that makes it impossible for anyone to question the actions of a government. Officials feel secure since they know that they can always ask forgiveness, confident that everyone will accept the fact they were simply acting to safeguard their citizens. It works well and creates that kind of paranoia that makes it possible to explain how good people can, in a single generation, give away a legacy that took over 200 years to build.

John H. Mason, Clearwater

Share your opinions

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## Graphic

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CARTOON, DON ADDIS; A police officer, standing behind a new computer that says "Database Passenger Profile Screening" chastises an airline passenger about personal issues in his life.

**Load-Date:** February 5, 2002

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## WORLD REPORT

Windsor Star (Ontario)

September 10, 2002 Tuesday Final Edition

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. C2; News; Brief

**Length:** 1875 words

**Dateline:** Shanghai, China; Oslo, Norway; Kathmandu; Haekstep, Egypt; Colombo, Sri Lanka; London; New York; Vienna; Colombo, Sri Lanka; Byram Township, N.J.; Karachi, Pakistan; Geneva; Vatican City

### **Body**

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Chinese forced to live in tents after typhoon hits

Shanghai, China

Thousands of people in southeastern China were living in tents Monday after typhoon Sinlaku ripped apart homes and claimed at least 24 lives.

Some 300,000 people were forced out of their homes in and around the city of Wenzhou after Sinlaku slammed into coastal Zhejiang province Saturday with winds up to 140 km an hour, said an official in the city's Disaster Relief Office.

Most had returned by Monday morning but several thousand were still in tents, said the official, who would give only his surname, Zhang. He didn't know the exact number.

High winds and landslides destroyed more than 14,000 homes, Zhang said.  
Compiled from Star News Services

Wenzhou is a prosperous city of 1.2 million people known for its shoe-export industry.

Experts feed killer whale as thousands crowd fjord

Oslo, Norway

Experts have started feeding Keiko the killer whale seven weeks after he was set free in Iceland, while local volunteers help police shield the Free Willy star from thousands of fans along a western Norway fjord, his keepers said Monday.

The roughly six-tonne whale turned up in the Skaalvik fjord just over a week ago, after swimming 1,400 km in what many saw as a search for human companionship.

Lars Olav Lilleboe, of the village of Halså with 1,750 people, said about 5,000 fans turned up during the weekend, while about 20 local volunteers fanned out to keep them at bay by explaining that the friendly whale needs to be left alone for his own good.

People had been petting Keiko, swimming with him, climbing on his back and surrounding him in boats.

## WORLD REPORT

## 57 soldiers, police killed in Nepalese rebel attack

## Kathmandu

Rebels attacked government offices and a police station in a mountain town Monday, killing at least 57 soldiers and policemen in the deadliest rebel assault since the government lifted a state of emergency two weeks ago.

Another 21 people were wounded in the attack on Sandhikhara, launched by hundreds of Maoist rebels just after midnight. The attackers also kidnapped two police officials and the town's highest-ranking government official, a spokesman said.

The assault came a day after rebels attacked a remote mountain outpost southeast of the capital, killing at least 49 police officers as part of their increasingly bloody campaign to topple Nepal's constitutional monarchy.

## Court finds 51 men guilty of founding Islamic group

## Haekstep, Egypt

An Egyptian military court, in a case given new impetus by the recent conviction of an Egyptian-Canadian man, found 51 men guilty and punished them with sentences ranging from two to 15 years in one of Egypt's biggest militancy cases in years.

When the trial began, seven were being tried in absentia. However, in June, Egyptian-Canadian Abdel Rahman Fakhri Abou el-Ila, 22, who had been charged in absentia, appeared before the military court for the first time after being extradited by Azerbaijan. His return led to new hearings in a trial that had been nearing its end.

El-Ila was convicted and sentenced to three years. In all, 94 men had been charged in the case. The main defendants were charged with founding an illegal group that planned to assassinate President Hosni Mubarak.

Others were accused of belonging to the group, possessing explosives, raising funds without authorization for Muslim rebels in Chechnya and **Hamas** militants in the Palestinian territories and receiving overseas military training without authorization.

## Men admit they smuggled people onto AirCan flights

## London

Three men who worked as security agents at Heathrow Airport pleaded guilty Monday to helping smuggle people on board Air Canada flights in return for thousands of dollars.

The three men were convicted of conspiracy to commit corruption in Isleworth Crown Court and ordered to be held in custody pending sentencing, a date for which has not been set.

Police said the three men were involved in smuggling people on board flights between July 2000 and May of 2001. They were arrested after police investigated a security breach on May 5, 2001, when three Indian men boarded a flight bound for an unspecified destination in Canada with stolen British passports.

## Black cops want Central Park rape case reopened

## New York

A group of black police officers is asking federal authorities to look into the investigation of the 1989 beating and rape of a **female** jogger in Central Park, saying police may have been "overzealous" in pinning the crime on five teenagers.

## WORLD REPORT

Police rounded up more than 30 teenagers whom they suspected had been part of a park rampage they called "wilding." Five black and Hispanic teens were tried and convicted in connection with the attack after police said they confessed.

But earlier this year the case was reopened after Matias Reyes, a 31-year-old convicted murderer and rapist, told defence investigators that he alone attacked and raped the jogger. Authorities say his DNA matches a sample found at the scene.

Lieut. Eric Adams, head of One Hundred Blacks in Law Enforcement Who Care, said he would ask the U.S. attorney's office to review the case.

Austrian chancellor calls for election to end crisis

Vienna

Chancellor Wolfgang Schuessel on Monday called for early elections to end a government crisis triggered by the resignation of four key leaders of the rightist Freedom party, the junior partner in his coalition.

Schuessel said elections should be held "as soon as possible."

"Austria needs a stable government. That is my responsibility as chancellor," Schuessel told a news conference.

Vice-Chancellor Susanne Riess-Passer, Finance Minister Karl-Heinz Grassler and the party's parliamentary speaker, Peter Westenthaler, stepped down on Sunday. Transport Minister Mathias Reichhold followed them Monday.

The four said they resigned because of a conflict with far-rightist Joerg Haider, a former party leader known for past comments defending the Hitler era. He serves as governor of the southern Carinthia province.

Would-be hijacker foiled by air crew, then arrested

Colombo, Sri Lanka

Cabin crew and passengers overpowered a knife-wielding Indian man who tried to hijack an Air Seychelles plane on a flight from the Indian city of Mumbai to the Seychelles on Monday.

The 41-year-old man, holding an Indian passport, was arrested when the plane landed at its stopover in Male, the capital of Maldives, an island about 500 km off the Indian coast.

Crew members and some passengers seized the man as he tried to enter the cockpit flashing a knife.

The plane left for the Seychelles after a delay of 40 minutes, Maldives' civil aviation chief Mohammad Razi said. The stopover time at Male is normally about seven hours.

Security breach forces delay of flights at JFK

New York

A terminal at Kennedy International Airport was evacuated and departing flights were delayed for several hours after a man breached security, authorities said.

Passengers were re-screened to enter Terminal 7 at 12:30 a.m. Monday, after police officers with dogs searched the area, said Allen Morrison, a spokesman for the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey.

The security breach happened between 7 p.m. and 7:30 p.m. Sunday, but Port Authority police were not alerted until 8:30 p.m., he said. Security at the airport is maintained by the Transportation Security Administration.

## WORLD REPORT

Terminal 7 is managed by British Airways. Other airlines using the terminal include Air Canada, United, Cathay Pacific, America West, Icelandair, Qantas and Thai Airways International.

Ring of stars Ontario pair die in crash of small plane in N.J.

Byram Township, N.J.

A former Canadian Football League player and his orthopedic surgeon wife, both of London, Ont., were killed Sunday when the small plane they were in crashed into a residential area in New Jersey and burst into flames.

Michael Kirley, 42 and Alexandra (Sandy) Crawford Kirley, 40, died in the crash, the Foreign Affairs Department in Ottawa said Monday. Their two sons were injured.

They were en route to London.

Michael Kirley was a running back with Toronto, Winnipeg and B.C. of the CFL in 1982-83. He worked for Market Force Communication and had attended University of Western Ontario. Sandy Kirley was an orthopedic surgeon in London.

No one on the ground was injured when the Piper Saratoga crashed soon after the pilot reported the plane's engine was running roughly and asked to be directed to the nearest airport, according to the FAA.

The boys, aged five and eight, were taken to Morristown Memorial Hospital with burns and other injuries, Sussex County prosecutors said.

Murder plot uncovered, bombing trial postponed

Karachi, Pakistan

Police have arrested five Islamic militants, including a naval employee, for plotting to kill President Gen. Pervez Musharraf at a public ceremony last April, investigators said Monday.

The suspects belong to the same outlawed organization as three other men accused in a separate assassination plot, who also are on trial for the bombing of the U.S. Consulate in Karachi.

The two plots were planned for two consecutive days in April, the investigators said on condition of anonymity.

The five recently arrested men were suspected of smuggling assault rifles and hand grenades to an April 27 ceremony to lay the foundation stone for the Lyari Expressway outside a naval base in Karachi. One investigator called it a suicide mission.

In a separate development, the judge in the consulate bombing trial adjourned Monday's hearing after just 15 minutes so that the chief prosecutor could be brought into the case.

Switzerland to join UN but won't change its flag

Geneva

Handing out chocolate and special-issue Swatches, the Swiss kicked off ceremonies Monday to end decades of splendid isolation and follow the rest of the world into the United Nations.

But in a final gesture of independence, they made it clear they would not change their flag.

The UN General Assembly is expected to formally admit Switzerland as its 190th member during a ceremony in New York on Tuesday. To the accompaniment of the Swiss Army Band, the country's flag -- a white cross on red background -- will then be hoisted to flutter as a lone square among the sea of rectangles.

## WORLD REPORT

After more than 50 years on the sidelines, Switzerland joined the UN Nations after voters approved the move in March by a 55 per cent majority.

Cardinal once touted as successor to Pope dead

Vatican City

Lucas Cardinal Moreira Neves of Brazil, once a top Vatican official considered a possible successor to Pope John Paul, has died, the Vatican said Monday.

Neves was 76.

He was archbishop of Sao Salvador da Bahia for 11 years until called to the Vatican in 1998, when John Paul made him prefect of the influential Congregation of Bishops and president of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America.

He stepped down from both positions in 2000 because of failing health. Vatican officials confirmed his death Sunday at a Rome clinic, where he was receiving treatment.

At one time, Neves had been considered to be "papabile" -- a possible successor to the Pope. He was a top churchman in the world's largest Roman Catholic country and was considered a moderate in a sharply divided clergy.

## Graphic

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Mom and daughter take a dip: Radmila, a five-day-old hippopotamus, swims with her mother Julka, left, in the Belgrade Zoo, Monday. The Belgrade Zoo plans to deliver the young hippopotamus as a gift to the Prague zoo, which was reopened last weekend after last month's flooding killed some animals including a hippopotamus and forced evacuation of other animals. Associated Press photo: Srdjan Ilic; Rebekah Revels, left, and Misty Clymer, right, at the beach in Ocean City, N.J., will both represent North Carolina in the Miss America pageant later this month. Revels, 24, won the crown last June but resigned after it was learned she had posed for nude photographs. Clymer, 24, who finished as first runner-up, was given the crown when Revels resigned. Revels sued to regain the title and won her legal battle last week. Associated Press photos: Brian Branch-Price.; A soldier stands guard in Karachi, Pakistan, where a trial of three Islamic militants accused of bombing the U.S. consulate began Monday. AP photo: Zia Mazhar; This image from NASA's Hubble Space Telescope captures a face-on view of the galaxy's ring of stars, revealing more detail than any existing photo of this object. The entire galaxy is about 120,000 light-years wide, which is slightly larger than our Milky Way Galaxy. The blue ring, which is dominated by clusters of young, massive stars, contrasts sharply with the yellow nucleus of mostly older stars. What appears to be a "gap" separating the two stellar populations may actually contain some star clusters that are almost too faint to see. NASA photo; Austrian right-wing politician Joerg Haider is flanked by police when leaving Vienna's Hofburg palace Monday. AP photo: Ronald Zak

**Load-Date:** September 10, 2002

**G2: 'It's gone beyond hostility': After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Washington. Here she looks back on the desperate violence she has witnessed during the intifada and reflects on how both Palestinians and Israelis have been brutalised by the experience**

The Guardian (London)

August 12, 2002

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**Section:** G2; Pg. 2

**Length:** 2049 words

**Byline:** Suzanne Goldenberg

## **Body**

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There was gunfire on the day I moved out - a crack or two, followed by a burst of automatic fire and silence before the familiar wail of the ambulances made it horribly clear that this wasn't fireworks or a car engine -backfiring. The fatal shooting - a Palestinian gunman shot dead a security guard from the telephone company before being killed himself along with a Palestinian bystander - was just around the corner at the Damascus Gate of the walled city, and sounded very loud from our front porch. The packers, strangers to Jerusalem from the relatively sleepy northern town of Atlit, were shaken. When they had walked through the door, less than three hours before, the television was showing scenes of carnage from a suicide bombing of a bus in the Galilee. Another attack? They turned on a radio to hear the latest score of death, but almost immediately resumed packing.

The moment was a last reminder of the intimacy of the violence of the past 22 months. Most Israelis - even if they and their loved ones have never been close to a Palestinian suicide attack - can identify at least with the location: their bus route, their cafe, their falafel stand. So can Palestinians, of course, with Israeli tanks thundering up and down the streets of their cities and towns in the West Bank.

Children rattle off the calibres of the various weaponry they hear and see deployed around - and far too often at them - by the Israeli army. Almost every single Palestinian I have met here can count someone within their immediate family either dead or injured by Israeli soldiers. Some poor unfortunates have been shot twice, in their own homes. All have their own stories of lesser injury: the casual brutality with which Israeli soldiers restrict normal movement at checkpoints, the mix of fury and boredom after 50 days of living by Israel's clock, under near constant curfew. But despite the proximity with which they live and die, Israelis and Palestinians, in the main, are interested in knowing only their strand of the story. And while it would seem abundantly clear to the outside world that Ariel Sharon and Yasser Arafat have brought only disaster, Israelis and Palestinians appear not to be suffering from doubts, but from certainties.

Increasingly, Israelis are resistant to hearing or seeing anything that challenges their version of events, a nationally adopted cant that basically says: "We are the victims, they are terrorists and the whole world is against us."

G2: 'It's gone beyond hostility': After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Was....

Palestinians, naturally, see themselves as universal victims as well. The competition for victimhood reached its apogee a few days after September 11, when Palestinians and Israelis held candlelight memorials with astoundingly similar placards: "We know how you feel, we are victims of terrorism too."

The sanctification of victimhood has gone further since then. Liberal Israeli commentators talk about the rise of McCarthyism. At the same time as supporters of Israel rage against the sacking of two Israeli academics from the editorial boards of obscure journals of translation in Manchester, lecturers at Israeli universities face disciplinary measures - sometimes at the instigation of their colleagues - for expressing support for the country's tiny movement of conscientious objectors in the classroom. Peace activists - and they exist only on the margins of Israel's far left nowadays - are also threatened with legal proceedings for encouraging the investigation of Israeli soldiers for war crimes. The limits of Israel's democracy are as circumscribed as they have ever been, says Jeff Halper, an American peace activist who immigrated here in 1973.

"It's gone beyond hostility. You are simply dismissed. People don't listen to you. They have no idea what in the hell you are talking about. It is so clear to people that we are the good guys, and they are terrorists that just want to kill us."

Such certainties do not exist any more in western countries. Since the Vietnam war, Americans have gazed on their military with a large dose of scepticism. Nobody seriously believes the army is always right. But despite two years of atrocity and siege, and growing criticism in Europe and even in America of Ariel Sharon's pursuit of a military solution to the conflict with the Palestinians, Israelis continue to see themselves as part of an ideal. Many believe that their country operates on a higher ethical standard than most. Phone-in callers to radio chatshows regularly congratulate themselves - with no apparent irony - on living in the best country in the world before going on to bewail the mess the Palestinians - not their own leaders - have got them into. Israeli politicians and generals are fond of describing their army as the most "moral" force in the world and its citizens generally believe them.

And so none of the Israelis I spoke to were as struck as I was at the photographs that have begun appearing in Israeli newspapers since the army reoccupied the West Bank in June. The first searing image appeared at the beginning of July: a grinning Israeli soldier looming over two Palestinian captives, kneeling in their underpants before a cache of seized weapons. Their hands were bound behind their backs, and they were blindfolded. Once fearsome Palestinian terrorists turned into human trophies of war. The photographs reminded me of the pictures taken by British souvenir hunters more than 150 years ago, after the crushing of a rebellion by Indian soldiers against the East India Company in a whirlwind of massacres and sieges in 1858. Once fearsome opponents turned into human trophies of war.

Since arriving in Jerusalem in February 2000, seven months before the eruption of the Palestinian uprising, I have lost count of the times I have heard Israelis describe Palestinians as animals, savage beasts intent on inflicting terror. Only Israelis rarely use the word Palestinian - their neighbours are much more commonly described as Arabs, part of that collection of more than 20 countries most have never seen. "Only an animal could do something like this," said a young woman at the illegal Jewish settlement of Emmanuel the day after Palestinian militants killed nine people in an ambush. "Not even animals kill just for the fun of it, like they do."

Waves of suicide bombings by Palestinian militants have done much to feed that impression, enabling Israelis to deny the Palestinian humanity. So has the footage from the West Bank and Gaza shown on Israeli television: the beaming children waving their hands in the air for the cameras in celebration of a suicide attack, the ritual of martyrs' funerals, with masked men bristling with weaponry firing guns in the air as a final send-off.

In recent weeks, a few Palestinian intellectuals have spoken out against the cult of bombers, recognising that suicide attacks are destroying their own society from within - and its image from without - at the same time as they are rendering it near impossible for activists inside Israel to mobilise greater publics in support of peace. But even these petitions and advertisements against suicide bombings are not voiced in moral terms. And they have not explicitly condemned suicide bombings - it would be seen as too confrontational - but cocooned their criticism in the phrase "attacks against civilians in Israel". A few days after one such petition was published in Israeli newspapers,



G2: 'It's gone beyond hostility': After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Was....

one of the signers, a university lecturer, told a friend in Ramallah: In her heart of hearts, she still felt that the Israelis had not absorbed their full share of suffering yet. Halper and others argue that the mutual blindness between Israelis and Palestinians is far older than the current intifada. "The problem is that Zionism never recognised that there exists a Palestinian people; in other words, a people with a distinct identity, with a distinct character, with a history of their own, with legitimate claims to the country," he says.

"I look at the intifada like a prison revolt, and the attitude of the Israelis is, 'what right do these inmates have in our country to resist our rules?' One thing that is hard to explain is this tremendous rage at the Palestinians in which you dehumanise them, in which you can just do anything to them with utter disregard to them as human beings. That rage comes because these are people that don't accept our exclusive claims to the country and therefore we have to eliminate them."

It is, of course, also true that many, many Palestinians are unwilling to admit the humanity of Israelis. The other week, I watched the funeral of 15 Palestinians - including nine children and three women - who were killed when Israel dropped a one-tonne bomb on one of the most crowded neighbourhoods of Gaza City to assassinate the man who was arguably one of its most dangerous enemies - the founder and military commander of Hamas.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians coursed down Gaza's main street, furious and vengeful. Munira Shurab, a middle-class housewife, watched them pass from her balcony. "The hate in my heart now is too big to describe to you. I never thought I was capable of hating so much but, day after day, the anger increases," she says.

I have watched a similar transformation among other acquaintances in the West Bank and Gaza: a trained Hebrew teacher, who studied in Israel, who now feels incapable of maintaining former contacts with Israeli peace activists; peace educators who now find it impossible to ring their fellow teachers in Israel - though they find themselves wondering after a bombing or a shooting if their colleagues are alive. Such sentiments cut across class and geography. The Shurabs are an ambitious family. Munira's eldest son, Amjad, has just completed the first year of a law degree. He says he wants to be a lawyer because Palestinians desperately need due process, a state based on the rule of law. He also believes that suicide bombings are perfectly defensible.

Many Palestinians have tried this argument on me. Israelis have F-16s, Apache helicopters and tanks, they say, all we have are our human bombs. A corollary goes something like this: even if Palestinian militants open fire on Jewish settlement blocs, the range of the weapons is so poor they generally miss or inflict little damage, so why does that count as violence?

At the heart of these arguments is the belief of many that in this nasty war for a state, the Palestinians can afford no distinction between civilian and soldier. "There are no civilians in Israel. All the Israelis are military, all of them," says Amjad Shurab. "They are all military and they all have weapons and guns, and the moment they are called up they are going to be using their weapons against me."

No women, no children, no ordinary people just struggling to survive an intolerable situation. Only massed ranks of soldiers, not quite human. It's a reasoning I have encountered dozens of times among Palestinians. Though Palestinians make a point of tracking political events in Israel - knowing that they contain the key to their future - their interest has been blunted over the past few months. There is no difference, they say now, between Ariel Sharon, or any other Israeli leader. None can be trusted to negotiate a just peace; at heart, all are the same.

It is a kind of thinking that has overwhelmed Israeli society. Where racist remarks were once confined to a close circle of friends - whose views were known and presumably similar - the old inhibitions have slipped away. The slow winding down of a Friday afternoon into the Jewish Sabbath is a rarefied time in Jerusalem, a few hours when the city permits itself to relax. Government offices are shut. Shops and banks close early. Errands done, people while away the afternoon in cafes, as did we last week.

They were playing Edith Piaf and conversations started easily in Hebrew, English, Russian and French - for once not on "the situation" but movies, living in America, bad driving habits. Then the man at the end of the table chimed in: "Erasure," he said, inspired by talk of an Arnold Schwarzenegger movie. "That's what Israel needs to do."

G2: 'It's gone beyond hostility': After two and a half years in Jerusalem, the Guardian's award-winning Middle East correspondent is moving to a new post in Was....

There was a moment's embarrassed silence. We were strangers after all. But he persisted. "Imagine if you could erase them all, starting from Jerusalem, Tulkaram and Ramallah."

**Load-Date:** August 12, 2002

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**PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES;  
AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE  
THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MATT  
SPETALNICK AND NIDAL AL-MUGHRABI INVESTIGATE HOW ISRAELIS  
AND PALESTINIANS COPE WITH LIVING UNDER CONSTANT THREAT AND  
FEAR**

Birmingham Post

August 20, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** COMMENT; Pg. 9

**Length:** 1997 words

**Byline:** Matt Spetalnick And Nidal Al-mughrabi Top, ultra-Orthodox jews attend the funeral of Mordechai Friedman who was killed earlier this month during a suicide bomb attack on a bus in; Meron; below, this young Palestinian boy, a relative of members of the; **Hamas** movement, cries after Israeli soldiers bulldozed his family home near; Hebron

## **Body**

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ISRAEL: The seats are stained with blood. Bits of charred bone litter the ground nearby. A child's sandal, woman's make-up kit and soldier's black beret lie scattered beneath the wheels.

These are the remains of Bus 361, the newest addition to Israel's bus graveyard, and another reminder to many Israelis of how Palestinian suicide bombings have turned their daily commute into a game of Russian roulette.

The green and white bus, its roof sheared off by a blast that killed nine people at the Meron Junction in Galilee on August 4, was towed to this obscure scrapyard in northern Israel almost as soon as the television camera lights went out.

It joined the shattered hulks of three other coaches owned by Israel's giant Egged co-operative destroyed in recent months in what Palestinian militants called the 'war of the buses'.

Mechanics assigned to strip and salvage reusable parts from the bombedout buses speak of a harrowing experience.

'Many of us know the drivers and some of the passengers on the buses that were hit,' said Yuval Shoham, manager of Egged's sprawling maintenance garage in the town of Kiryat Ata.

'It doesn't give you a good feeling to enter such vehicles,' he said as he stood in front of the Meron Junction bus. 'It's shocking - the stench and the body parts.'

Just a few metres to the right stood Bus 960, blown up by a suicide bomber outside the nearby port city of Haifa in April, killing eight Israelis.

PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES; AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MAT....

To the left lay the blackened skeleton of Bus 830, which was consumed in a fireball that killed 17 people on June 5 at Megiddo, the Hebrew name for the biblical Armageddon.

'Shit happens,' read a soiled T-shirt lying amid a pile of debris beside the Meron Junction bus.

The line of ghost buses have been kept mostly from the eyes of a public still reeling from the latest wave of Palestinian attacks from Jerusalem north almost to the Lebanon border.

Militants say they are avenging the killing of their leaders and other Palestinians by Israeli forces.

Around 90 people have been killed in more than a dozen bus bombings in Israel since the Palestinians rose against Israeli occupation in September 2000. More than half of those buses have ended up in Kiryat Ata, Shoham said. Tucked away in a fenced-in area behind the Egged garage, the wrecked buses are first scoured by police investigators and by ultra-Orthodox volunteers searching for human remains.

Only then are Egged mechanics allowed to begin stripping them for engine parts, electrical components and wheels, Shoham said. Even seats can sometimes be reupholstered and pressed back into service.

It is a vital cost saving for Egged, which has reported a significant drop in passenger volume on its network of 4,000 buses during 22 months of violence. The blood and body matter splattered inside the bombed buses make grim work, but most yield something worth salvaging.

The Megiddo bus has proved the exception. It was so badly gutted by a suicide car bomb that rammed into it that it now can only be sold as scrap metal.

Despite its role on the front line, Egged's Kiryat Ata compound is a place where Jews and Arabs work together in peace.

But Bashir Hamoudi, 25, an Israeli Arab worker, said that because of strong emotions stirred by the bombings he carefully avoids discussing the violence with Jewish co-workers.

'We are like a big family,' he said during a break. 'I feel bad for everyone.'

Whenever he walks among the charred wrecks, Shoham, who works two days a week as an Egged bus driver, is faced with a stark reminder that his next trip could be his last.

'There is always the thought that this is the day I won't make it home,' the 49-year-old Egged veteran said.

But then, staring at the remains of the Meron Junction bus, he added: 'As horrible as this is, it would be worse if we gave in to terror. We cannot let them break us.'

Omar al-Najar sat in the dirt and gazed mournfully at his grapevines, severed when Israeli army bulldozers rolled on to his ancestral land and uprooted his plants and those of his neighbours.

'Sorry, my father. I have wasted the land,' cried the Palestinian farmer, hitting his head with his both hands in sorrow over the loss of his crops on the Gaza Strip land which had been in his family for generations.

'My fields are 70 years old. Older than their fascist state,' he said bitterly, referring to Israel.

More than 1,500 Palestinians and nearly 600 Israelis have been killed in nearly two years of violence in the West Bank and Gaza Strip since the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation erupted after peace talks stalled.

Palestinian officials say life is becoming more difficult as people struggle to feed their families in an economy ravaged by conflict.

PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES; AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MAT....

World Bank figures show more than 50 per cent of Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip survive in poverty on pounds 1.50 a day.

Agriculture has been devastated. Palestinians say thousands of trees and groves have been uprooted in what the Israeli army calls 'engineering works', meant to deprive gunmen of cover.

Palestinian farmers say they are being subjected to collective punishment and are losing their livelihood founded on land passed down through generations. Recently, five Israeli armoured bulldozers entered Palestinian-ruled Sheikh Ijleen in Gaza and destroyed acres of olive trees, lemon trees and grapevines, residents said. The village is located near the Jewish settlement of Netzarim.

Netzarim is surrounded by agricultural fields, making it an easy target for gunmen and attackers, the Israeli army said.

In two years, 78 mortar shells, five anti-tank missiles, shooting, grenades and 50 explosive devices have been used to attack Netzarim, it said in a statement.

'Both civilians and soldiers have been victims of these attacks,' it said, but did not give any casualty figures.

Video footage sent by Palestinian militants to international news agencies shows fighters firing mortars from farm areas.

In Sheikh Ijleen, villagers said they did not know of any attacks launched from their village or that any of the fields had been used as cover for shooting at Netzarim.

But they still get caught in the middle. Some farmers have deserted homes and fields. Others return only occasionally.

'Sometimes we come to stay for a night or two. At other times we could only stay for a few hours,' said 65-year-old Ahmed al-Na'aizi. 'It's a place of ghosts and extreme danger.' Na'aizi said he fainted when he saw his destroyed fields. His wife, Sa'deya, said he was unable to bear the sight. 'The place used to look like a paradise,' she said.

The bulldozers also wrecked a generator during the raid. 'There is no electricity any more. Water wells were blown up some time ago and houses were demolished. They want us to leave,' said Kamal Lafi. Most of his four-room house was demolished.

More than one million Palestinians live on 60 per cent of the 140 square miles of land in the Gaza Strip among about 7,000 settlers in settlements protected by army bases.

Agriculture represented 30 per cent of Palestinian national income before the uprising against Israeli occupation began in September 2000.

Palestinians are close to their land, considering farming and ownership as conferring honour and dignity. Some say they prefer to die on their land than to abandon or sell it.

Many farmers said they have lost dozens of acres to settlements and in most cases the army handed them advance notice.

In some cases rights groups manage to procure a court order to stop army bulldozers from making more families homeless.

Na'aizi flew white flags over his house so it would be spared, but it was partly destroyed in the raid. 'Don't white flags mean peace and surrender? I don't think they understand.'

Suicide bombings since September 2000

PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES; AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MAT....

Oct 26: Suicide bomber strikes near an Israeli army post in the Gaza Strip, wounding a soldier.

2001:

March 28: Suicide bomber kills himself and two Israeli teenagers in Newe Yamin.

April 22: Suicide bomber kills doctor and wounds 41 people in rush-hour attack in Kfar Saba.

May 18: Suicide bomber kills five people and wounds about 60 at crowded Netanya shopping mall.

June 1: Twenty-two people killed in suicide bomb blast among teenagers waiting to enter Tel Aviv nightclub.

July 16: Suicide bomber from Islamic Jihad group kills two Israeli soldiers at bus stop in Binyamina.

Aug 9: Suicide bomber kills himself and 15 others in pizza restaurant in Jerusalem in revenge for Israeli missile strike.

Sept 9: Israeli Arab blows himself up at railway station in Nahariya killing three people.

Nov 29: Suicide bomber blows himself up on bus in Hadera, killing three Israelis.

Dec 1: Ten Israelis killed and more than 150 hurt in double suicide bombing and car bomb in central Jerusalem.

Dec 2: Suicide bomber kills 15 people and wounds 40 on bus in Haifa.

2002:

Jan 27: First Palestinian woman suicide bomber, Wafa Idrees, 28, from Al-Amari refugee camp, kills two people and wounds 111 on Jaffa Road in Jerusalem.

Feb 16: Suicide bomber kills himself and two Israelis and wounds 20 people in shopping centre in Jewish settlement of Karnei Shomron.

March 2: Suicide bomber kills nine people, including five children and himself, in ultra-Orthodox neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

March 5: Suicide bomber blows himself up on bus in Galilee city of Afula, killing one Israeli.

March 9: Suicide bomber kills 13 people and wounds more than 50 in crowded Moment Cafe in Jerusalem near Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's residence.

March 20: Suicide bomber kills at least seven including himself and wounds 27 on bus near Israeli Arab town of Umm al-Fahm.

March 21: Suicide bomber kills himself and three others in West Jerusalem.

March 27: Suicide bomber kills 29 people and wounds more than 100 in lobby of Park Hotel in Netanya.

March 29: Woman suicide bomber kills two people and wounds 20 at supermarket in Kiryat Yovel, Jerusalem.

March 31: Suicide bomber kills 15 people, wounds 44 in restaurant run by Israeli Arabs in Haifa. Six people are wounded at Jewish settlement of Efrat in West Bank in second suicide attack.

April 10: Suicide bomber kills eight Israelis and wounds 12 on bus near Haifa.

April 12: **Female** suicide bomber kills six people and wounds nearly 100 at Jerusalem's main outdoor Mahane Yehuda market.

PERSPECTIVE: LEGACY OF THE MOST BRUTAL OF STRUGGLES; AS THE MIDDLE EAST LURCHES TO ANOTHER UNEASY TRUCE, THE THREAT OF THE SUICIDE BOMBER STILL LOOMS LARGE. MAT....

May 8: Suicide bomber kills 15 Israelis, wounds 60 at snooker club in Rishon Letzion.

May 19: Suicide bomber blows himself up in a market in Netanya, killing three other people and wounding at least 35.

May 22: Suicide bomber kills two people, wounds 27 in Rishon Letzion.

May 27: Two people are killed, at least 50 wounded in suicide bombing outside shopping centre in Petah Tikva.

June 5: Seventeen people killed and dozens wounded at the Megiddo road junction in northern Israel when a car bomb explodes next to a passenger bus on its way to Tiberias. Islamic Jihad says it was behind the suicide bombing.

June 11: Suicide bomber kills himself and a 15-year-old girl, injuring at least eight others, at a snack shop in Herzliya.

June 17: Suicide bomber blows himself up near an Israeli border patrol unit on Israel's frontier with the West Bank, killing only himself.

June 18: Suicide bomber blows himself up on a bus packed with schoolchildren and office workers in Jerusalem, killing 19 and wounding more than 50.

June 19: Suicide bomber kills seven Israelis and wounds 35 at a Jerusalem bus stop.

July 17: Two suicide bombers kill at least three other people and wound 40 in Tel Aviv's foreign worker neighbourhood.

July 30: Police say a suicide bomber strikes at a snack bar in central Jerusalem, killing himself and injuring at least four people.

July 31: Seven people were killed and 80 injured in a bomb attack on a crowded cafeteria at Jerusalem's Hebrew University during lunchtime today.

August 4: A suicide bomber devastated a bus during the morning rush, killing himself and eight passengers on a day punctuated by violence from Galilee to Jerusalem's Old City and the Mediterranean beachfront.

**Load-Date:** August 20, 2002

## *Can a marriage born of oil be saved?*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

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**Section:** NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

**Length:** 2092 words

**Byline:** SUSAN TAYLOR MARTIN

**Dateline:** RIYADH, Saudi Arabia

### **Body**

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Last in a five-part special report.

It was a marriage made not in heaven, but a hellishly hot piece of desert.

Now, 69 years after oil brought the United States and Saudi Arabia together, can a freedom-loving democracy sustain relations with a repressive autocracy that produced so many of the Sept. 11 hijackers?

Yes, most experts agree, at least in the short run. America is still smitten with cheap Saudi oil, and the Saudi royal family still depends on the United States to keep itself in power.

But in the long term, the outlook is far less certain. America's lust for Saudi petroleum could wane if the United States continues to be wooed by other producers, notably Russia, and if Americans ever get serious about conserving energy.

The pressure for divorce could be even greater on the Saudi side. Many Saudis resent, even hate, America for supporting what they consider a corrupt Saudi regime.

The United States is "in a conspiracy with the regime to loot the resources of our country and ignore 20-million Saudis and deal only with a few thousand royal family members," charges Saad Al-Fagih, a Saudi dissident now living in London.

Thus far, Saudi rulers have kept a lid on internal dissent by outlawing political parties, banning public assembly and restricting the media. While there is "huge resentment" of the royal family, Al-Fagih says, there appears to be little immediate threat of it erupting into violence and toppling the regime.

That means the Saudi government still has the time, if not necessarily the will, to make the changes needed to ensure a successful future - diversifying the economy, empowering women, and enacting political and religious reforms.

But it could well be a future in which the United States plays less of a role.

In the battle for energy dominance, Russia is emerging as Saudi Arabia's chief competitor. With little fanfare, it has increased its oil output more than any other nation in the past two years. And because of its active role in the war



### Can a marriage born of oil be saved?

on terrorism since Sept. 11, Russia stands to gain "both politically and economically" as the West looks for long-term energy sources outside the Arab world, a U.S. expert says.

Politically, "Sept. 11 made a world of difference to Russia because it enabled it to once again emerge as an international player and be seen as a major partner on global issues with Washington," says Edward Morse, a former assistant Secretary of State for energy policy.

Economically, the benefits are clear too: Before Sept. 11, the United States got practically no oil from Russia; in May, it bought 225,000 barrels a day.

Speaking to a Congressional committee this spring, former CIA director James Woolsey said the United States must maintain "cordial relations" with Saudi Arabia, especially in light of recent Saudi efforts to find a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. But, he said, America should buy as much oil as possible from Russia as a reward for President Vladimir Putin's antiterrorism efforts.

"Saudi, indeed Gulf, oil reserves will be central to the oil business as long as oil is used," Woolsey said. "But I would like for the Saudis to perceive a coordinated Western effort to shift to Russia as much of the world's oil purchases and reliance as is practical."

But the Saudis are skilled at using their own vast reserves - 25 percent of the world's total - to preserve their leadership. They have never been shy about adjusting production to raise or lower global oil prices, depending on their needs of the moment.

Eager to preserve its position as America's top crude oil supplier (1.5-million barrels a day), Saudi Arabia now accepts about \$1 a barrel less on oil it sells to the United States than on oil that goes to other nations. That amounts to a subsidy of around \$620-billion a year for U.S. consumers.

The kingdom wants to keep its share of the U.S. market to show how important Saudi oil supplies are to America, Morse says.

"The Saudi leadership can thus ensure that Washington will help defend Saudi Arabia, which means not only the defense of the kingdom's oil fields and territorial integrity but the defense of the House of Saud."

The benefits and drawbacks of this relationship were dramatically illustrated in the 1991 Persian Gulf War. To protect Saudi Arabia - and its own oil supply - the United States led a huge international coalition against Iraq and stationed a half-million troops on Saudi soil.

Many Saudis, though, were angry and humiliated that their country could not defend itself without such massive Western help. Long after the war ended, the continued presence of Western "infidels" in the birthplace of Islam prompted the bombings that killed five U.S. soldiers in Riyadh in 1995 and 19 a year later at Khobar Towers.

It was this anti-Western outrage that Osama bin Laden tapped so successfully when recruiting other Saudis for his al-Qaida network. It has also contributed to a far bigger reduction in U.S. forces in Saudi Arabia than most Saudis realize.

Although Vinnell Corp., a U.S. company, still has a multiyear, \$831-million contract to train the Saudi National Guard, the number of U.S. soldiers in the kingdom is down to just 5,100. That's barely half as many as in neighboring Kuwait.

The United States is expected to shift even more of its military resources to Qatar and other Gulf nations because of Saudi Arabia's vehement opposition to any invasion of Iraq. Since the Gulf War, relations between the former enemies have improved to the point that Saudi Arabia recently reopened a border crossing with Iraq, enabling Saudi business people to drive straight through to Baghdad.

### Can a marriage born of oil be saved?

"I don't see Iraq as a major threat anymore," said Prince Turki Bin Abdullah Al Saud, a brigadier general in the National Guard. "Obviously every military guy has to be prepared and ready for military circumstances, but from Iraq I see no threat."

Despite their governments' conflicting views on Iraq, U.S. and Saudi military people seem to work well together. "After Sept. 11, I had several Saudi officers apologize on behalf of the Muslim world," said Paul Lent, an ex-U.S. army officer who has spent several years with Vinnell training National Guardsmen.

But there is a strong feeling throughout all levels of Saudi society that the kingdom would be better off without any U.S. military presence.

"There is no Saudi who wants Americans to stay in the country - even the royal family, although it's too coward to say so," said Al-Fagih, the Saudi dissident.

Woolsey, the former CIA director, said it is also in America's interests to get its forces out of the kingdom. In his congressional testimony, he criticized the Saudis for failing to cooperate in the investigations into the Riyadh and Khobar Towers bombings.

"Not only do we not want our use of force constrained in the future by Saudi intransigence . . . but we have now seen the Saudis' lack of cooperation on two occasions when American troops have been killed by terrorists in the kingdom," Woolsey said.

"In my view, if for this reason alone, at the first appropriate opportunity we should move our forces elsewhere."

### BIN LADEN CHANGED FROM 'A CALM, PEACEFUL' MAN

The September attacks, involving so many Saudi nationals, further strained relations between the two countries. Though shocked by the hijackings, many Saudis say U.S. support for Israel was partly to blame for the attacks and continues to fuel Muslim extremism.

"The Palestinian cause is the main reason for what is happening," says Khalid Al-Malik, editor-in-chief of Al-Jazirah, a leading Saudi newspaper. "Not until this problem is solved will we be able to solve all other problems."

To show their pique over U.S. foreign policy, many Saudis who usually vacation in New York or Disney World are shunning America this summer in favor of Europe or the Persian Gulf. And some Saudi consumers are boycotting McDonald's, Starbucks and other U.S. chains that do business in Israel.

For their part, many Americans now perceive Saudi Arabia as a hotbed of Islamic fanatics bent on destroying the West.

But a top U.S. defense analyst says there is no evidence the Saudi government itself has ever directly supported terrorism or violent forms of Islamic extremism.

On the contrary, Crown Prince Abdullah, the acting ruler, "has repeatedly made public statements that terrorist actions are un-Islamic," writes Anthony Cordesman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, a Washington, D.C., think tank.

In a draft analysis of Saudi involvement in the war on terrorism, Cordesman notes that Abdullah was quick to condemn the Sept. 11 attacks and warn Muslim clerics that the Saudi government would not tolerate "even the indirect support of terrorism and extremism."

Nonetheless, the Saudi regime was by no means blameless in the circumstances that led to Sept. 11. Much like pushing down springs on one end of an old couch causes them to pop up on the other, suppressing Islamic extremism within Saudi Arabia encouraged its spread to other countries where its rise went virtually unchecked.

## Can a marriage born of oil be saved?

Saudi rulers were slow to realize that extremism had become a serious problem in Central Asia - especially Afghanistan, where many young Saudis went to fight the Soviets, and Pakistan, where Saudi-funded madrassas, or religious schools, taught students to hate non-Muslims and engage in violence.

Some senior Saudi princes admit they also ignored problems in their own education system, which "advocated extremist views of the world and contained significant anti-Christian and anti-Semitic content," Cordesman says.

The Saudi government was lax, too, in monitoring Islamic charities that funnelled millions of dollars to Hamas, al-Qaida and other terrorist groups. And it belatedly realized that one of its own citizens, Osama bin Laden, had evolved from an Islamic freedom fighter in Afghanistan into a serious threat to his own country and the entire world.

It was only when bin Laden criticized his government's decision to call in outside forces during the 1991 Gulf War that one Saudi leader noticed "radical changes" in his personality.

"He changed from a calm, peaceful and gentle man interested in helping Muslims into a person who believed he would be able to amass and command an army to liberate Kuwait," Prince Turki bin Faisal, then Saudi intelligence chief, said in an interview with Arab media. "It revealed his arrogance and haughtiness."

It was not until 1994, though, that the Saudi government revoked bin Laden's citizenship and ordered him out of the country.

Since Sept. 11, Cordesman says, Saudi rulers have been making a far greater effort to monitor Saudi involvement in extremist groups. Still, he notes, it took the government nearly four months to freeze the assets of scores of suspected terrorists. And it was not until March that it ordered all charities to report on their foreign projects and take steps to ensure the money was not going to terrorist causes.

But if Saudi Arabia contributed to the extremism that exploded on Sept. 11, "Westerners and Americans in particular need to recognize that they too bear some of the blame," Cordesman says. The West also supported Islamic fighters in Afghanistan, then did little to monitor the rise of Islamic extremism there and in other parts of Central Asia and the Balkans.

Now, as some factors pull them apart, others push the United States and Saudi Arabia together to fight the violent fanaticism each had a hand in creating.

"Extremism is rampant today," says Prince Sultan Bin Salman, a member of the Saudi ruling family. "It is the most dangerous challenge of the 21st century."

- Susan Taylor Martin can be contacted at [susan@sptimes.com](mailto:susan@sptimes.com).

### About this report

This visit to Saudi Arabia was the eighth foreign trip senior correspondent Susan Taylor Martin and photographer Jamie Francis have made as a team. They provided reports from Kosovo, Macedonia and Bosnia during the 1999 NATO war against Yugoslavia. A year later, they produced an award-winning series looking at Iraq a decade after its invasion of Kuwait. Last fall, they reported from Pakistan at the start of the U.S. military campaign against Osama bin Laden and the Taliban. They also went to the Middle East to cover the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and returned this spring when Israel invaded the West Bank.

SC: NATIONAL

The series

SUNDAY: Inside Saudi Arabia

## Can a marriage born of oil be saved?

TODAY: Target: Westerners

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THURSDAY: Can a marriage born of oil continue?

On the Web

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## Graphic

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PHOTO, Associated Press; PHOTO, JAMIE FRANCIS; PHOTO, (2); MAP, JEFF GOERTZEN; (1997) An unidentified Saudi looks at an oil well owned by Aramco, a Saudi oil company.; The appointed advisory body, the Shura Council, meets.; Khalid Al-Malik, editor-in-chief of the Al-Jazirah newspaper.; Osama bin Laden; Locates Saudi Arabia, inset; shows global position.

**Load-Date:** July 25, 2002

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**CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS  
GENERATION MUST NOT YET AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO  
THE NEXT ONE**

The Mirror

April 26, 2002, Friday

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 42,43

**Length:** 2020 words

**Byline:** Christopher Hitchens

**Highlight:** RUBBLE: The King David Hotel, Jerusalem, after an explosion caused by a Jewish Zionist; 1948; FEAR: Palestinians flee an explosion in; Jerusalem's Jewish quarter in which 51 were killed; 1996; CARNAGE: Remains of an Israeli bus in downtown Jerusalem. Police said 25 were killed; 2002;; DEVASTATION: Israeli tank advances through demolished homes in a Jenin refugee camp

## **Body**

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Why the West must face its economic and diplomatic responsibilities and find a solution to the bloody crisis which has engulfed the Middle EastTHE horrifying crisis in Israel and Palestine may not yet be, in the now-familiar and over-used phrase, a "clash of civilisations". But it is increasingly a clash about civilisation.

At one end of the Mediterranean, the inhabitants of miserable refugee camps become the victims of horrifying police-state tactics.

At the other end - in the south of France - synagogues are set alight by people who prefer to operate under cover of darkness.

To say this is not to equate one kind of violence with another, or one kind of propaganda with another. It is to emphasise that we are not faced here with any mere local or tribal or provincial dispute.

Ordinary diplomacy and phrase-mongering will not be enough. Our politicians must realise that the issues are immense - stretching from the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem to the Islamic streets of Jakarta, Indonesia - and potentially apocalyptic.

The civilised world made a decision about half a century ago that the Jewish people should forever be protected from the sort of persecution and massacre and exile that had afflicted them for so many centuries.

## CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS GENERATION MUST NOT YET AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO THE NEXT ONE

The national home that was provided for them, in Palestine, was provided on condition that the rights of the pre-existing Arab population be respected. (The first promise, by a British government in 1917, is still binding upon us in letter and in spirit. So is the second promise, made on the same conditions by the United Nations in 1947 and 1948.)

We now live with the consequences of failing to insist upon the second half of that pledge. There were always some Israelis and Zionists who wanted to annex the entire area of historic Palestine and horrible recent events have brought them to the top of the political heap.

It is absurd for Ariel Sharon to claim that he does what he does because of suicide bombings.

He has spent his entire life pursuing a vendetta against the Palestinians in whatever country he can find them and he is the leader of a political party which claims that the West Bank was given to the Jews by no less a person than God Almighty. As Palestinians enter their fourth generation of occupation and dispossession, it is too much to expect that they, especially their younger generation, will remain passive or pacifistic.

The repression under which they live has been condemned by international law, and they have a recognised legal right to resist it. However, this does not and cannot justify them in choosing any tactic.

During the struggle in the black townships of South Africa 15 years ago, mobs would sometimes capture supposed traitors or "informers" and kill them by hanging petrol-soaked car-tyres around their necks before setting them ablaze.

On one occasion, Archbishop Desmond Tutu actually waded into a crowd that was about to do this and by force of moral outrage prevented them from disfiguring their cause by such disgusting methods. Nobody will say the misery of the Palestinians is worse than that of the victims of apartheid. But there seems to be a shifty silence at best from their leaders about the deliberate targeting of civilians.

(Of course, the money for the fanatical sectarian groups like Islamic Jihad and **Hamas** comes from our old friend and ally Saudi Arabia, the patron of bin Laden and al-Qaeda - a fact that our own leaders seem somewhat shy to mention, let alone to denounce.)

Instead we have arrived at the absurd position of demanding that Yasser Arafat police his own people, while we allow the shelling and bombing of his police and administrative infrastructure.

There is something appalling about the race to the bottom of the moral scale here, with Israeli military officers and conscripts cleaning out wretched ghettos while the ghetto inhabitants look for "soft" targets in the other community.

Meanwhile, with a righteousness that it has done little to earn, the United States insists on ritual denunciations of terror from Arafat.

This is the sort of condescension that Arabs of all opinions have come to hate: no such accounting is demanded of General Sharon, who has in the past been found complicit, and by an Israeli court of inquiry, in the deliberate massacre of civilians, and who has just finished another punitive expedition against civilians which caused even President Bush to protest.

The right of self-determination is just that: a right. It is not a reward for good behaviour. (If it was, then the Zionist bombers who blew up the King David Hotel in the 1940s, and who expelled a quarter of a million Palestinian refugees, might not have carved out their own state.)

The filthy tactic of suicide-murder has made it easier for some unscrupulous Israeli spokesmen to claim that theirs is just another front against the post-September "axis of evil".

But a moment's thought will demonstrate the radical difference.

# CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS GENERATION MUST NOT YET AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO THE NEXT ONE

ISRAEL'S occupation has been condemned for decades by a sheaf of United Nations resolutions.

The installations of the Palestinian Authority, set up under the Oslo Accords, were mainly built and funded by the European Union (and have now been levelled by Israeli misuse of American military aid).

The inhabitants of Kabul and Kandahar mostly welcomed the arrival of Western troops as a deliverance from Taliban rule; hell will be an extremely cool place before a single Palestinian however "moderate" will welcome the sight of the Israeli army.

The international force in Afghanistan took extreme care to avoid civilian casualties: credible reports especially from the desolate site of Jenin suggest that something rather shameful and atrocious took place there (during a complete exclusion of the international press and of human-rights monitors) in the past two weeks.

There is another difference, so large that it can even escape attention. In Afghanistan, the United States and Britain decided not to accept any element of the old status quo.

They remade the government of the country and re-ordered international relations so as to realign their policy towards India and Pakistan, Russia, and even Iran.

In the case of Israel and Palestine, however, a curious passivity descends on the alleged superpowers. They act as if they are only present in an advisory capacity.

Yet they hold the keys to a solution, while keeping these keys in a locked safe -deposit box. The Israeli author Amos Oz put it rather well at the height of the fighting. Israel, he said, is fighting - or attempting to fight - two wars.

The first is a war for the safety of its own citizens. The second is a war for the right to occupy and dispossess non-Israeli citizens.

Not only is the second war morally incompatible with the first, it is a direct contradiction of it.

As long as Israel holds a defiant Arab underclass in its supposedly "iron fist", it will be subject to any tactic that hatred can generate. (Who believes that suicide bombing will end as a consequence of the latest in decades of repression?)

Thus, a withdrawal to the boundaries of 1967 is the only way to make the Jewish state "defensible" either ethically or militarily. The sheer common sense of this is what strikes the eye.

And how does a small Jewish population expect to hold down a Palestinian population of almost the equivalent size, while antagonising and infuriating an Arab and Muslim region of hundreds of millions of people?

Only by using the arms and money and support that comes from the United States. In other words, Washington can make all the difference by the stroke of a pen.

(Incidentally, the whole original idea of a Jewish state was of one that did not need to depend on the goodwill of non-Jews in the first place. Now the Israeli Right insists on Gentile support every minute of every day, insisting that massacre and ruin would result if this was not forthcoming. Quite an admission.)

So what is the point of being a superpower? Does America need always to ask Sharon's permission before it clears its throat? And does Tony Blair intend to do nothing with the immense credit he has earned in official American circles?

It's all very well to talk vaguely of a "viable Palestinian state", as the Prime Minister did in Houston, Texas. Everybody is in favour, in principle, of a Palestinian state. President Bush has become the first US President to employ the term. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin lost his life defending the proposition. Even General Sharon says that he can see no other outcome of the "process". But St Augustine used to pray to God to give him the virtue of chastity - only not quite yet...

## CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS GENERATION MUST NOT YET AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO THE NEXT ONE

The present agony is rather more urgent. An entire people is being humiliated in front of our eyes and it does not believe that the West is blameless.

The harvest of such neglect will be a curse to our great-grandchildren at the present rate of progress.

Meanwhile, General Sharon is lifting a corner of the curtain to show us an even more ghastly outcome than the one we currently fear.

He has invited into his Cabinet the leaders of extremist and Messianic and racist parties, who openly call for the final expulsion of all Palestinians from the territory now occupied by Israel. That would lead to a thousand-year war, even if it pulled Mr Sharon ahead of Mr Netanyahu in the Israeli opinion polls.

It would be nice if once, just once, we heard leaders in Washington and London telling him that it is also his job to discipline his extremists.

But, to the contrary, he gratifies his fanatics and religious maniacs every day: seizing the property and land of other people in order to keep his extremists on board.

AND most people are unaware that this double standard even exists. The mere use of the word "terrorism" is enough to turn the argument to stone, like the flourishing of Medusa's head.

The veteran Israel foreign minister Abba Eban used to like to shock and tease his audiences. When you look at the Israel-Palestine dispute, he would begin, the first thing that strikes you is the easiness of the solution.

Two peoples, one land, two promises made to each of them by the Great Powers. Therefore two states, based on mutual recognition and mutual respect.

There will always be those who say that some deity promised them the whole patch of earth to the exclusion of all others, but civilisation can rise above that, and even out-negotiate it.

It is now thinkable that the moment for this solution was hopelessly lost some time in the past few years, by negligent and vain careerists, and that we will only regret it and realise it when it is too late. The demon of religious absolutism has been released.

(Does Sharon ever regret his swaggering trip to the Temple Mount, undertaken as part of a jockeying for position against the even more fundamentalist Benjamin Netanyahu? Do the Christian and secular and **female** Palestinians not realise what awaits them under a future Islamic state?)

"The hour is great," said Britain's first Jewish prime minister on another occasion, "and the honourable gentlemen, I must say, are small." Benjamin Disraeli was a believer in Empire but also a believer in his way in Enlightenment and democracy.

The whole area of what was once British Mandate Palestine is extremely small. The concentrated intelligence and education of Jews and Palestinians is extremely large. But something about the mismanagement of the present crisis has made us all hostages to the smallest and most paltry leaders on both sides.

Here is an issue our own politicians cannot spin. Here is a subject too serious for posturing. Here above all is a crisis which must not be allowed to be dictated by ethnic politics or religious sloganising.

There are nuclear arsenals being assembled on both ends of this dilemma, and cynical men who will send desperate children to die and kill for them, and are willing to involve the whole of humanity in their intransigence.

A terrifying shame will descend on any leader who does not say, and mean, that this generation will not yet again bequeath the problem to the next one.

-Christopher Hitchens is a columnist for Vanity Fair.



CRISIS IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THE AGONY HERE IS URGENT AND THIS GENERATION MUST NOT YET  
AGAIN BEQUEATH THE 1946 PROBLEM TO THE NEXT ONE

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***The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry,  
but there was never any desire to harm civilians'***

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

April 21, 2002 Sunday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A8

**Length:** 2172 words

**Byline:** PHILIP JACOBSON

**Dateline:** JENIN, West Bank

## **Body**

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As the stench of bodies hung over Jenin refugee camp, the Israeli army was accused of a civilian blood bath. Many of the dead are innocent but, in a reconstruction of the campaign, Philip Jacobson of the London Daily Telegraph finds this was no indiscriminate massacre.

- - -

The dozen men of Staff Sergeant Gadi Ezra's squad were hunched in their armoured troop carrier, awaiting the order to join

Israel's assault on the Jenin refugee camp. All reserve soldiers, they had been called up several days earlier to help guard Jerusalem against suicide bombers.

Now they were going into combat, some for the first time: the tanks that had been firing through the previous night at suspected Palestinian strongpoints had pushed ahead to the outer perimeter but could not penetrate any deeper into the maze of narrow alleys, blind bends and enclosed courtyards. Only infantrymen could carry the battle into the heart of the camp, a 1.2 square-kilometre area where

The London Daily Telegraph

Israeli intelligence believed up to 200 hard-core Palestinian fighters were preparing to stand and die, taking as many as possible of the attackers with them.

Gadi, 22, warned his men this meant house-to-house fighting, an ordeal for even the best-trained troops. And to avoid causing heavy casualties among the unknown but substantial number of civilians remaining from the camp's estimated 13,000 inhabitants, there had been no advance softening-up with bombing from the air.

It would be vital, he told his squad, to keep up the momentum of their advance the moment they jumped from the armoured personnel carrier: a day earlier, on April 2, as the first wave of infantry went in, a company commander from Gadi's unit, Major Moshe Gertner, had been shot in the head from close range as he entered the first building to be searched.

"Fire and move, fire and move," Gadi shouted, as the rear doors of his lead vehicle sprang open. A few seconds later, his friend Sgt. Merom Fischer was killed by a sniper concealed in a house nearby. Then, the platoon leader,

The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians'

Lt. Nissim, fell dead a few metres from Gadi's position. Acting instinctively, the staff sergeant dashed out to recover the officer's body.

A soldier called Ofer was providing covering fire: "Gadi immediately caught a bullet in the throat, fell to the ground and said 'I can't feel myself.'

After that his eyes closed and he mumbled 'Shema Israel' " - the opening words of a prayer from the Torah that devout Jews recite every morning. "He was killed by the same sniper that got Nissim," Ofer said, with a despairing gesture toward the officer's blood-stained flak jacket.

By the end of the next day, Israel had lost seven men, with a score more wounded, as soldiers encountered skillfully placed Palestinian positions or blundered into a forest of booby traps.

"We were briefed before going in that observation posts using night-vision sights had watched Palestinians hanging bombs from trees and electricity cables and placing explosive charges in soft-drink cans, cars, even an abandoned fridge," one soldier from Gadi's squad said.

But as soon as the attack was launched, all the detailed plans began to fall apart: with casualties mounting, the Israeli advance faltered as commanders gave orders to avoid frontal attacks wherever possible. One unit, under intense gunfire and in constant fear of Palestinian fighters using their knowledge of the labyrinth of back alleys to ambush them from behind, took three days to gain 600 metres.

When darkness fell, a Hebrew-speaking muezzin (Islamic cleric) would taunt the soldiers, exulting that the only way they would return home was in an army coffin. Then, a young girl's voice was heard beseeching the "heroes of the camp" to protect their people.

The Israelis had expected stiff Palestinian resistance after their decision to postpone the assault on Jenin for a week until Operation Defensive Shield had conquered other towns such as Ramallah and Nablus. However, the soldiers soon discovered they had seriously underestimated the enemy's resolve.

Fighters from Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Fatah organization, learning fast from the lessons of two previous army operations around the fringes of the camp, had used the delay to identify likely Israeli strategic points and cleared fields of fire to defend them.

As the fighting intensified, Israeli officers began discarding the badges of rank on their uniforms, fearing snipers would single them out as they pored over inadequate maps of the camp. "There were often lulls in the shooting, but you could never relax for a second," one recalled.

The threat from expertly positioned snipers - one, on the video of a pilotless drone, caught firing from the minaret of a mosque - was ever present, despite repeated sorties by Israeli helicopter gunships, firing missiles into buildings that spotters believed contained gunmen.

"They were usually able to send a rocket through a particular window but, of course, it was impossible for us to know whether anyone else was inside," the officer said.

The Israeli troops had become extremely wary as the advance brought them increasingly into contact with Palestinian civilians who had ignored, perhaps through fright, the army's repeated warnings that were delivered in Arabic through loudspeakers, to leave their homes and head for safer ground in the adjacent town of Jenin.

"We reached one house before nightfall and called on the occupants to come outside," said Hagai Tal, who in peacetime is an executive with the Jerusalem Post newspaper group.

"They did, then a group of three men followed. We told them to lift up their shirts - two did but a third one turned to the side and tugged a cord in order to activate explosives. We shot him. He was just 4 feet away from us."

The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians'

In another incident reported by troops, women and children were found in a house that lay in the direct line of fire: they were shepherded into the safest room there, but one woman then shouted a warning to her husband on the floor above. He began shooting and was immediately killed by soldiers in a building opposite.

"There is no room for hesitation or second thoughts in this sort of fighting," one Israeli veteran of house-to-house combat in Gaza pointed out.

The senior Israeli medical officer at the battle was David Zangan, a reservist major who always stayed close behind the infantry with his team of paramedics. Zangan, a 43-year-old pediatrician, was certain the strategy adopted by the Israeli high command saved many civilian lives at a steep cost to its own soldiers. "Tell me what other democratic nation would do the same," he said.

"A couple of hours of aerial bombardment would have eliminated all resistance but would also have killed innocent Palestinians, which is not how we conduct warfare. Believe me, quite a few wives of men in the front line, my own included, were calling us on our mobile telephones to ask why the top brass was not using the F-16s - fighter jets - to do the job and spare our skins."

Zangan had previously served as a tank commander in the war in Lebanon but had experienced nothing to compare to the intensity of the first week's exchanges in the camp. "We fought door by door, floor by floor, room by room. Four of my paramedics were killed going to the aid of wounded soldiers but we also treated any Palestinians who needed help. I patched up a 22-year-old man, who had tattoos praising suicide bombers on each arm, before he was escorted to the main hospital in town."

Yet allegations last week the Israeli army had staged an indiscriminate massacre of the Jenin camp's inhabitants were reverberating around the world. While prominent figures in Yasser Arafat's crumbling Palestinian Authority undoubtedly encouraged the inflation of the estimated body count, the Israeli authorities unwisely contributed to the confusion by announcing that terrorists killed in the camp were to be spirited away in refrigerated trucks for burial at a military cemetery in the remotest corner of the Jordan Valley.

With the United Nations and international aid organizations also chipping in, the process of discovering what now lies beneath the ruins was further complicated, but one central fact is not in dispute. The sickening stench of decomposing corpses that hangs over the camp signals that while the final death toll may never be precisely established, there will be more, perhaps many more, names to add to the civilian casualty list.

Many died as a result of a change in Israeli tactics. On April 6, with only half the camp under Israeli control, Brig.-Gen. Eyal Shlein, the increasingly frustrated officer running the operation, himself under heavy pressure from superiors to wrap things up swiftly, ordered the deployment of armoured bulldozers to smash down stubborn outposts of resistance and clear broader lanes that tanks could use.

The impact of this decision on Palestinian civilians as they cowered in terror was instant and brutal. Abu Raschid had stayed in his house with his family, one of whom was his 35-year-old wheelchair-bound son, Jamal. As the bulldozers began gouging lumps of concrete from the outer wall, the panicking family rushed to their front door to tell the Israelis that they were coming out with their hands raised.

But the roar of the bulldozers drowned out their frantic cries and they were forced back inside as their home caved in around them. Jamal was buried by a collapsing ceiling and is presumed dead.

In neighbouring houses, people were desperately trying to rescue a few belongings: a reporter for the Israeli newspaper Ha'aretz was told of a distraught young girl stumbling among the wreckage of what had once been her parents' house. Nobody could tell her whether her mother and father had been inside it, if they had escaped, or where they might have been taken had they been injured. The fate of two crippled sisters who lived in what was now no more than a tall mound of debris was equally unknown.

The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians'

Once again, loudspeakers issued repeated warnings in Arabic about the danger of remaining inside homes, but troops on the spot acknowledged there must have been instances when innocent people were buried in the rubble alongside gunmen choosing death.

"Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians," acknowledged Colonel Miri Eisin, an intelligence specialist and the most senior woman officer on the spot, who was never seen without an M-16 rifle slung across her back.

During the next two days, the remaining Palestinian militants, numbering perhaps 60, were slowly "condensed" into an area not much larger than a soccer field at the centre of the camp. General Shlein warned there were more clashes to come, but for the first time the troops felt that the end was near. Then, on April 9, an infantry patrol was sucked into the deadliest ambush of the battle, losing 13 men to bombs and intense gunfire among the rubble of buildings destroyed earlier in the day.

David Zangan was close enough to hear the screams of the wounded (not one man in the patrol escaped unhurt) and organized their evacuation under fire as gunships swooped low to root out the ambushers. Zangan wondered if a few targeted F-16 strikes earlier in the day - which Israeli commanders had been actively considering as the advance stalled - might not have saved some of the friends with whom he had served for years.

That bloody incident provoked the most intense Israeli onslaught of the operation, with fresh troops from regular army battalions pitching in alongside the exhausted, dirt-caked reservists behind bulldozers tearing down everything in their path.

There was now a raw edge of savagery to the fighting: one officer admitted to an Israeli journalist troops had sometimes fired at Red Crescent ambulances and refused to allow Palestinian medics to treat wounded gunmen, some of whom died as a result. Another confirmed Palestinian civilians were occasionally used as human shields when suspect buildings were being surrounded: "If a sniper sees somebody he knows out there, maybe he won't shoot."

As the UN voted unanimously to dispatch a fact-finding mission to Jenin, a decision welcomed by the Israeli government that insisted it "has nothing to hide," hopes of discovering survivors beneath the wreckage of the camp were fading.

Palestinian families clawed through the ruins of their former homes, while aid agencies continued the grim work of wrapping decomposed bodies in white shrouds before they were loaded on to trucks and taken to the main hospital morgue to await identification.

Bad things happen in war: but as the last Israeli troops were pulled back from Jenin to nearby positions surrounding the town on all sides, those who had been at the sharp end - from the grieving Ofer to the steely Colonel Eisin - were adamant that even in the madness of close-quarters combat, there had been no random killing, no cold-blooded massacre of the innocent.

## Graphic

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Photo: ELIZABETH DALZIEL, AP; Palestinian men gather in a living room to talk as a boy carries out debris from his home in the destroyed area of the refugee camp of Jenin yesterday.

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2002

The Tragedy of Jenin: 'Bad things did happen, for which we are truly sorry, but there was never any desire to harm civilians'

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## **Weekend: 'I'M NOT GOING TO RESPOND TO TERRORISM BY BECOMING A TERRORIST':**

The Guardian (London)

February 22, 2003

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**Section:** Guardian Weekend Pages, Pg. 17

**Length:** 4353 words

**Byline:** Rachel Shabi

### **Body**

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Revenge is in the air. In the wake of September 11, President Bush declared a war on terror. In his state of the union speech in January 2002, he made plain what he meant, summoning all nations to 'eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own'. In this country, Tony Blair has heeded the call to arms. In Israel, Ariel Sharon has allied the American cause to his own. But do they speak for the people most closely affected by acts of terror around the world? Rachel Shabi talked to Americans, Palestinians, Israelis and a Kenyan. All of them have lost a loved one in the most violent circumstances. None is looking for retaliation. For them, more killing is not the answer . . .

Rita Lasar, 71 New York, USA

My brother Abe (Zelmanowitz, 55) worked in the north tower of the World Trade Centre, on the 27th floor. He could have got out, but his colleague, Ed, a quadriplegic, was trapped with him. My other brother and sister-in-law called him, begging him to leave, but he said he would wait for help to get Ed out. But help came too late.

Then Bush made his speech at the National Cathedral (September 14 2001). He mentioned my brother's heroic act, and it became immediately apparent to me that my country was going to use my brother's death to justify attacks in Afghanistan. That was as horrendous a blow to me as the actual attacks on September 11. I hoped and prayed that this country would not unleash forces in my brother's name. When it (the bombing of Afghanistan) happened, I was horrified and devastated. I felt so impotent.

Then I got a call from Global Exchange (a human rights organisation), asking me if I'd like to go to Afghanistan. What I saw there changed my life for ever. I had been a very privileged, blessed American who had only ever seen war on TV. And then I went to Afghanistan and saw the devastation and horror of what happens to innocent people when bombs fall - anyone's bombs, anywhere in the world. That my brother's name had been used to justify attacks on the people I met, became family with, cried and grieved with, brought it to a point where it was emotional and real. I found nothing but understanding, warmth, hugs - they knew all about 9/11 and they grieved for us and apologised to us. Every American should go there - because, if they did, they would stop the plans for war on Iraq immediately.

I did not pay any attention to who was to blame for 9/11 - there was no place left in my mind and heart other than the grief about my brother and the people who were going to be killed in his name. I didn't feel anger. I didn't want any other sister or mother to feel this way. It was only later that I began to think about how to bring the perpetrators to justice. I knew that bombing was not the answer. We are no safer now than when we started bombing. We are

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going to war with a country that had no connection to 9/11, our privacy and our freedom in this country are being slowly whittled away, and Muslims are afraid to go out in the street - in a city that used to welcome everybody.

Revenge for 9/11 is the excuse they are using to bomb Iraq. There are people in Iraq who are alive today and who will be dead next month if we have a war - and my country will say that they have done that to avenge my brother's death. I will not let my brother, my dear brother's death, be hypocritically used in this war - the fact that his death is being used cynically hurts me so much, I can't tell you. Imagine someone who you loved, who died violently, being used insincerely and untruthfully in a political campaign. It is an exploitation.

So I have no intention of touching the subject of revenge. If people ask me why I don't want retribution, I say that it is the natural human reaction to not seek retribution - or it should be. It cannot accomplish anything. My brother is dead. I privately mourn for him every moment. But I am not looking to atone for his death. I'm looking to prevent the death of others. I don't want to see other people die to amend a ghastly, unbelievable death. The world is larger than just me. Things don't have to be done to make up for things that have happened to me. Things have to be done to make things better in the world. I draw from my love of human beings that everyone is the same as I am. That it is possible - not in a dream, but someday - for this to be a peaceful planet. I'll fight to the day I die against this war on terror. I don't want my granddaughter to be sitting here at my age, facing the same world that I'm facing now: a world of starvation, war and inequity. Surely we can do better than this.

David Potorti, 46 North Carolina, USA

His name was Jim Potorti - he was my eldest brother, 53. Jim worked on the 95th floor of the north tower, almost directly where the plane hit.

I was surprised at my reaction at the time, which was that I didn't have a lot of anger in the way that others did. I felt sadness more than anger, because I recognised that these terrible acts were desperate acts reflecting a desperate feeling.

All the radio and TV stations were saying we should kill the people responsible for 9/11, just go and bomb people - and it made me sick in the heart to hear that. I had just lost someone and they were saying we should do the same to others. I never remember being angry at the people who did it, because it was such a political act. It wasn't like a drunk driver hitting my brother, where I would have been really angry.

I remember being angry that the bombing of Afghanistan was being carried out in my name. Yes, anger is the only word, because I think of what a nice person my brother was, how much he loved his family. I felt we were really dishonouring his memory by throwing our constitution out of the window, that if we really wanted to honour him we should hold on to our principles instead of throwing them all away. I don't think my brother died for my country, but I hope that my country doesn't die for him, by rejecting its values and principles.

The goal is always justice, but how you achieve justice is the question. We have all wanted to bring the people responsible for 9/11 to justice. And so another source of anger is that we are not doing that, we are not locating Osama bin Laden or the al-Qaida network - in fact, we are making it harder to find them. It's the exact opposite of what we should be doing. Justice for me would be a more equitable world, where people did not live in such misery that they had to hate each other. A world in which the US contributes to a sense of equality, rather than making it worse.

So the rage I felt after 9/11 was rage at the whole system, that people could be so desperate that they would do something like this. The people who flew the planes into the building are dead: what more can you do to them? But this kind of terrorism is like a cancer. The only way you stop it is to stop the cycle, by saying, "I'm not going to respond to terrorism by becoming a terrorist." If you do respond with violence, you are just promoting more and more terrorism.

I don't make any connection between Iraq and 9/11, because I've never seen any. I would only justify an attack on Iraq if the Iraqi army attacked the continental US. Not a terrorist attack, but the official Iraqi army. I got a vicious email today in which someone claimed that Saddam killed my brother. How do you respond to someone who's so



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out of touch with reality? My brother's death was a nightmare, and I feel like it just gets worse every time it's used to justify more terror and more pain. I just want this to be over. I just want people to stop being so angry. I want people to stop dying.

No one has ever asked me how I feel about anything. That's where the feeling of violation comes in - speaking for me, instead of asking me how I feel. We had a baby about a month ago, and I'm realising that she will never know my brother. How could I possibly wish that kind of loss on anyone else's brother, or daughter, or parents?

The thing to atone my brother's death would be for there to be more honesty in the world, for America to start being more honest about the repercussions of its world policy. Over the past year, I have really educated myself about foreign policy - I wanted to know why this happened. What I wish now is that people in the US would do the same. I want people to just shut their mouths and read - stop talking until they know something. We all have to do that, including me.

Marion Waithera, 26 Kilifi District, Mombasa, Kenya

My husband, Wewa Mutisya Kingole (35), died after being fatally injured in a suicide bomb explosion outside the Mombasa Paradise hotel, on November 28 2002.

The day we got the report about the bomb, we found my husband in hospital. They did their best, but he didn't make it - he died on December 16. He was lying sick in hospital, on a machine, for 19 days. He couldn't speak, he was in pain. It was so hard. We loved him. It is very bad, very bad. I try to be patient with myself. I am five months' pregnant, so I have to take courage with myself.

The story I heard is that it was the Palestinians, who are not good friends with Israel. I knew Israel had problems - I see it every day on CNN. I can't tell very well about the history of the area; all I know is that it is something about land. I don't support either side. The two countries should be good countries and understand each other - they should be considering peace, not conflict. They shouldn't be attacking innocent people in Mombasa.

I'd like justice to be taken, for people who commit these terrible acts to be found. They should be sentenced. But revenge is not a good act, also. If I give revenge back, then somebody else will be attacked. If I attack somebody, then they will feel hate and want to attack somebody else. We all pay for revenge - it just keeps repeating itself. When I get angry about what happened to my husband, I try to be courageous and pray to God. I try to cool myself, keep myself in peace, by not thinking of this so much. I try to think instead about the good things inside of me, my health, my child, my future - and I try to imagine a peaceful, quiet environment with no conflict.

I was angry, of course. I felt angry to lose my husband and be left behind alone. I felt very mad with the people who did this - it was a terrible act, not human; they shouldn't do that, whatever the reasons. They should talk in peace, sit down and think about it very carefully.

But Israel shouldn't attack back - they shouldn't go and attack the Palestinians. If they go and attack, they just kill more and more innocent people. There is no need for fighting or attack. Revenge is not good - the Bible says you shouldn't take it. I know I have a right to feel I want revenge because of what happened to my husband, but then other people will be affected. Of course I don't want other people to be affected like this. I know how bad it feels.

Subhi abu Zahra, 55

Jenin, West Bank

My eldest son, Imad, he was a journalist, he was killed trying to take a photo of Israeli tanks. There was no curfew that day - it was July 12 last year. When the soldiers inside the tank saw him, they fired at him. He was holding a camera, nothing more. He was bleeding badly but no one came to help him, and then they prevented the ambulance from coming near him. So he died. He was 35. The soldiers denied everything, they said he was shot by Palestinian fire - even though a lot of journalists reported that he was killed by Israeli fire. We told Israeli lawyers and are trying to raise a case against the soldiers - we are seeking justice. But, until now, nothing. The lawyers, anyway, told us that this case was to seek compensation, nothing more.

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So you tell me, which type of justice is this? This is tyranny, cruelty - how else can I say it? And this is everywhere - destruction is everywhere. Everywhere, every day, you hear of people being killed. And right now I worry that, under the cover of an American attack on Iraq, the Israelis will do something terrible to the Palestinians - maybe they will try to transfer us. Of course, there are kind Israelis, but the Israeli leadership is not kind.

I think if we didn't have the occupation, the Palestinians could be kind neighbours to the Israelis - this is what I hope and wish and believe. Palestinian people are not killing for the sake of killing, they are doing so because they are trying to get rid of the Israeli occupation - if we didn't have that, we would be good neighbours.

My son died for his country, this was his fate. His message was peace. As a journalist, his weapon was his camera, his pen. He was trying to show the outside world what is going on here - that was his duty, and he was killed as a result.

My feeling after this is not to seek revenge for him. This is the spirit of mine, and I think the spirit of any parents who have lost their son in this way. I feel angry, of course, and I am missing him and nobody will fill his place - all the youth of the world couldn't fill his place for me. But, believe me, I don't feel any hatred towards the Israeli soldiers who did this. I think they are cowards. They feel afraid whenever they come near the Palestinians, so they fire in fear.

I don't feel hatred towards them, but forgiveness is something different. The matter is not how to forgive a person who has killed your dearest person. Because nothing can forgive this action, nothing. If you have children, you know how dear a son is. If you read the words I wrote on his gravestone, you would understand that I cannot forgive these people who killed my son.

My son was a friend to a lot of Israelis, and a member of the peace movement in Israel. He never believed in violence as a way to solve the problem. I raised my children in this spirit - not to have any feeling of hatred towards others, to be kind to others, to behave well. I believe that this is our basic nature - we are timbered so, and nothing can affect this construction of our personalities in a negative way. So I haven't changed my nature since my son was killed.

As far as I can remember, my son was dreaming to see the Israeli and Palestinian people living in a friendly way and peacefully, the same view that I also have. I grew up in Haifa (Israel), we had Jewish neighbours and we would play together in front of our houses, go in and out of each other's houses; we were friends. I always told my children about this memory - and I feel happy when I talk about it. This is what I would like to see happen again now: that Israelis and Palestinians can live side by side, without any negative feelings, with nothing to worry about. As friends.

Dr Rihab Essawi, 53

East Jerusalem, West Bank g

In 1982, my brother Osama was killed, bombed by an aeroplane attack in Lebanon. He was 24. We still don't know what happened to his body. We tried to find him, but we couldn't - no one knew then exactly what was going on. Then, in 1991, my mother was suffocated by a tear-gas bomb that the Israeli soldiers threw into our yard. She inhaled the gas, and by the time we took her to hospital she died. She had lung failure. We were in our house watching TV, and 15 minutes later she died.

In 1995, my nephew Sadi was killed by military police, who came to our house and shot him with an exploding bullet that went into his neck. He was 17.

There is no justice in any of this. When my brother died, I had the feeling that I wanted to kill the ones who had killed my brother. That stayed in my mind for a few months, thinking how I would do it and what would I gain and lose. Then I got involved in learning about the situation politically, because now there was an interest for me - and then I realised I would gain nothing. So when my mum got killed, by then I had changed my attitude, my mind, everything.

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Now I believe there is no way but to learn how to live together. There is no way that we can push Israelis out, or that they can push Palestinians out. We are both here to stay - the leaders should understand that.

We have had enough killing and enough bloodshed. It has to stop. If I take revenge, what will it do? Just make another reason for another revenge. The ones who got killed are dead already - why kill more? If we can spare others the agony of what we went through, why not? Let what happened to us be a lesson, to save others the agony and the suffering we have experienced.

I don't care what nationality you are - I look at you as a human being who understands my problems as another human being. I don't care if you are Israeli, American, British, whatever. We have something common to talk about. When bullets kill an Israeli, the same ones killed my mother and brother. We cannot differentiate.

If these people who use my loss to justify more bloodshed, if they felt what I went through, they would never justify it the way they do. I still can't get over my mother's loss: she was special, not just to me but to the whole area. I can't come to my house and not see her there. The hardest thing you can do in your life is to talk about your loss, each time remembering exactly what happened and how you feel, but I have to.

My son is five years' old and he can see that some people, Jewish people, treat him nice, and an Israeli soldier at the checkpoint treats him bad and yet he knows they are both Jewish. So he understands that there are good and bad people on both sides. He wants to know how to say words in Hebrew now - and I like that! I don't want him to have the same brain that every stupid person wanting revenge has.

I went to the US on a talking tour, to tell other people our problems and our campaigns for peace. A lot of the time I heard people say that the Palestinian women are proud to have their children martyred. So I asked them, what mother would want her children to die? How would you choose which of your kids you want to see die first? Do you think that your God gave you a better heart or a bigger heart? I appeal to them to speak as a mother, not as a politician or an Israeli. That's nature. A mother is a mother - if you put a mother in Jerusalem or in Honolulu, they are going to feel the same way.

Yitzhak Frankental, 51

West Jerusalem, Israel

On July 7 1994, three members of Hamas murdered my son, Arik. He was a soldier and hitched a lift with them. They looked like three Israelis and were playing Israeli music in the car. They started to fight with him, and Arik got shot in the head. He was 19.

Altogether, there were five Hamas members. Three of them have been killed by Israeli security during other acts that they committed, one is still outside and the other is in prison for life.

If I could see them, I would kill them. They are my son's murderers. It doesn't bring my son back, but I would want them to be killed. But if they said tomorrow that they are going to make peace and that one of the conditions is that they release the man who murdered my son from prison, I would say yes - because the peace process is more important. If we want to live in peace and security, there is no other way. There is no question of forgiveness - if Arik's killers want me to forgive them, they should bring my son back. But I want to make reconciliation with them even though I don't forgive them and never will. What other choice do I have? To seek revenge? It will not bring my son back. Thousands and thousands have been killed in this war - and for what? The only way is to try and achieve peace. Striving for peace gives me the thought in my soul that I did my best, so that my other children will continue to live. But it will not help me to continue to live with my sorrow. Nothing will. To lose a child is to lose the future. You cannot continue to live as you did before - everything, all the proportions of life, have been changed.

I'm not looking for justice, because in our life I don't believe in justice, I believe in wise ways to live. Even in peace, there is no just peace - what is justice for the Israelis is not justice for the Palestinians. Justice is very subjective. An example is the question of Palestinian refugees: the Palestinians want all the refugees from 1948 to have the right to return to this land; for Israelis, justice means that the refugees do not come back. For the Palestinians who killed

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my son, that act was justice, because people living under occupation need to fight against the occupier. From my point of view, it is unjust to kill our children. If you are looking for justice, you will not find a solution.

The Palestinians are despairing people; they have nothing to lose. We, the Israelis, need to understand that we have to give the Palestinians hope. If we are not ready to understand, if we continue with the occupation, only bloodshed and sorrow will continue.

When I hear what is going on with the war against world terror, I cannot understand the global leaders. They are creating motivation for others to be terrorists. If you have before, say, 1,000 terrorists - during the years that you fight against terror, fighting and punishing all the society will create 10,000 new terrorists. The way to fight terror is to undo the motivation that makes people want to make terror. Bush, Sharon and these people, they create a generator to produce new terrorists.

As much as I would like to do so, I cannot say that the Palestinians are to blame for my son's death. That would be the easy way out. Arik's killers were born into an appalling occupation, into a political and ethical chaos. Had I myself been born into the chaos that is the Palestinians' daily reality, I would certainly have tried to hurt the occupier. I would have undoubtedly become a freedom fighter and would have killed as many on the other side as I possibly could. I do not absolve the Palestinians or justify attacks against Israeli civilians. No attack against civilians can be condoned. But as an occupation force, it is we who trample over human dignity, it is we who push an entire nation to crazy acts of despair.

I am a patriotic Israeli. I love my country and this is the place where I want to live. I am carrying a feeling that, as a father, I failed, because I brought my son into this world and didn't do what I could do to stop the hate, to stop the bloodshed. I've got another four wonderful kids and I want them to stay alive. So I am doing my best to achieve peace and reconciliation between these two nations.

Amiram Goldin, 49

Galilee, Israel

I lost my youngest son, Omri, in the suicide bomb at the Miron junction (Galilee) on August 4 2002. He was 20, a soldier, and was going back to the army compound after the weekend. He left home - that is Mizpe Aviv, in Galilee - with his girlfriend and caught the bus to Sfat. They sat together on the bus and, after a few minutes, went to sleep holding hands. After 15 minutes, the bus exploded - a suicide bomber dressed as a tourist got on the bus a few stops after Omri. He was killed immediately. The little comfort I have is that Omri was killed in his sleep and didn't suffer. His girlfriend was badly injured, but saved.

The easiest way to keep going on with your life is to want revenge. But all our life we have been involved with the peace camp in Israel. All our life we have gone everywhere we can to encourage and keep up the peace process - and Omri was always with us. So we didn't change our ideas. We think that peace is the only solution; we won't get anywhere with hate. All that has happened in the past year is revenge and counter-revenge - this is for killing that man, and this is for killing those people.

We think that the criminals that are involved have to pay by the law for what they did. They should be charged and tried in court - that's the justice system. A murderer is a murderer is a murderer - what the justice system is giving to other murderers, that's what my son's murderers should get. Revenge won't bring Omri back home - it will bring only more bereaved families from both sides.

We have two more children and a granddaughter now, and we are very worried about their safety. Life is cruel. It's not all the time that you are satisfied with your feelings. Even if these are hard feelings, I won't be against the peace process - or an amnesty on Palestinian prisoners - if it will save my children and other children from getting hurt. We have to think about the future.

Of course, suicide bombing is terrible and not acceptable by any means. It's confusing because this is involved in emotional feelings - so it is very difficult to think clearly.

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The Palestinian society is a desperate society - they don't have any hope in their future, and a society without hope acts like animals. They do these terrible things out of no hope, and I don't accept it and I'm against it with all my mind and heart. But I see the situation and I try to understand where it comes from and to think about ways to eliminate the reason for this behaviour - and not just fighting with the result.

I don't accept Sharon taking revenge in my name. I feel very frustrated. I can't agree with what they are doing and I can do nothing, because I have no power over them. I can cry and shout with all my might, but he has the stage, the press conferences. I just look at the TV, see what happens, and can do nothing - I can't even speak about the alternatives.

Omri was a peace soldier. He was a singer in a rock band and the songs they wrote were against the war and what is going on in Israel. He understood that the only solution to live here for a long time is to live together in peace, to have equal opportunities and equal rights, to understand and know each other, help each other - just like normal neighbours.

So we thought that it was our duty - like a will from him - to continue to be very active about peace and compensation and equal rights to all the citizens of Israel. I am even more convinced now than before. I was very active in this region before, but after Omri was killed I decided that it was not enough, that I must be even more active in making the peace happen. If it won't happen, our future here is not safe

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## TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Windsor Star (Ontario)

August 30, 2002 Friday Final Edition

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### **Body**

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Workplace quotas put merit second

Bravo! to The Windsor Star of Aug. 23 for the splendid lead editorial -- Racial Quotas, They Poison the Workplace -- and for George Jonas's column, which effectively pointed out the folly of 'racial quotas' in the work place. Our federal government will now staff its behemoth bureaucracies with visible minorities at the rate of 20 per cent.

This creeping legislation will rot to extinction our common law with guaranteed individual opportunity and equality under the law -- regardless of race, colour or religion.

This leprosy began with the social-engineering clauses 15(2) and 27 of Trudeau's Charter which was eagerly accepted and legislated by the Liberals, the federal Conservatives, the Block Quebecois and the NDP.

First came affirmative action, followed by equity employment, both geared to the employment of ethnics, francophones, women and fringe groups, culminating in the proposed Quota Bill.

Windsor Star

Such abhorrent legislation is an insult to all Canadians. It mars individuals with the tribal brush. It ignores the uniqueness, the talents and the abilities of each individual. It orders employers to consider the colour of the skin before merit.

Lord Durham wrote in his report of 1838: "Injustice is to politically institutionalize ethnic, linguistic and religious differences destroying the dignity of the individual."

If Canadians silently accept this quota employment law, they deserve to be excluded from the work force.

VICTORIA BILLINGSLEY

McGregor

Changing just the words in divorce law useless

In response to the Aug 14 article, Divorce Law Fix Requires Reforms, Change The Words, Lawyers Say:

I am writing to tell you that changing the words is not enough.

There are no winners when it comes to divorce. Mediation and counselling would be a good way to solve many of the problems that divorcing people go through. There are even courses that people can take to help them understand this new phase in their lives.

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All too often though, the one who gets custody of the child(ren) is the "winner." But after things are settled in court, the games begin. Everyone is forced to play by the rules of 'custodial guardian,' even though it is not a level playing field.

The only rule of the game that is enforced is the order of child support or spousal support. There are no sanctions in place for access or any other agreement made in a divorce judgment. If a person lies, there no penalties for perjury in family court.

Everyone knows the cards are stacked against the fathers. People are put in situations where they feel they should take the law in their own hands. How many people have to die, how many kids have to be kidnapped and how many kids have to ride their bikes across the county to bring attention to this problem?

These are symptoms of the illness that plagues our society and should not be ignored. The rules of the game should be made more fair.

There is not a quick fix. Changing words in an already useless law is a cowardly way to deal with an ugly situation and it is just sweeping the issue under the rug.

Most of the groundwork has already been done for a lot of this. Let's put it together and hopefully end the insanity for millions of people across the country. Bottom line: actions speak louder than words.

P. CHAUVIN

Windsor

Lawyers' pro bono work: a charitable donation?

Martin Cauchon, the federal minister of justice, recently admitted that legal aid plans across the country need to be reformed or totally redesigned because mounting pressures could compromise the very integrity of our justice system.

As well, Chief Justice McLaughlin of the Supreme Court of Canada has urged lawyers to volunteer their time to ease the burden of lawyerless litigants clogging the court system.

If governments are truly committed to resolving this situation, there are ways to redesign our legal aid system without making it too onerous on any provider or funder of pro bono (free) legal services.

What is the meaning of pro bono? I understand it to be the provision of legal services without charge to worthy causes.

Is the efficient functioning of our court system a worthy cause? It is certainly necessary to civilized society; but, is it worthy when compared to alleviating the plight of the homeless, efforts towards finding a cure for a disease or ameliorating the pain and despair of dying and similar causes?

Most worthy causes to which donations are made in cash, kind or services are designated as charitable.

Is our justice system a charity? If so, those who function within it are extremely well compensated compared to the staff of other charities.

But if it is, the government could assign the justice system or the various provincial legal aid plans charitable registration numbers.

Those few lawyers who accept legal aid certificates have resigned themselves to the fact they will not be paid for all the work they must perform to properly represent a legal aid client, even at legal aid rates.

That said, legal aid administrators have the potential to easily perform two significant services for the justice system as a whole:

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Firstly, they can keep track of the hours of service rendered but unpaid.

Secondly, they could issue charitable donation receipts for those unpaid hours. This would seem obvious if the pro bono work requested is a worthy charitable endeavour.

Again, the minimum yearly overhead for a law office is about \$50,000 for rent, equipment, supplies and a secretary. Another possibility is to make the first \$50,000 of legal aid fees tax free. That way, lawyers who accept legal aid cases don't have to pay for the privilege.

They also have families to support and the spiralling cost of their education to repay. As well, it would be most draining on our communities if those lawyers are required to devote even more of their volunteer time to the practice of law and less to the other community endeavours in which they are involved.

Why should the federal government not make such recognition?

Is it because such recognition of lawyers' efforts would result in fewer tax dollars due to charitable endeavour?

In summation, if pro bono efforts to relieve the court system of lawyerless litigants are truly worthy, then why can't lawyers be recognized in the same way they would by any other charity for the donation of their time on significant matters which would otherwise generate income?

GREGORY D. GOULIN

Past President

Essex Law Association

Windsor

Who allowed Anti-Israel

propaganda at library?

I have been trying to understand why the Windsor Public Library downtown branch held an anti-Israel display by the Arab Canadian Assembly this past May 9 through May 24.

It is my understanding that the display would have continued had not a courageous adult patron named Sheryl Davis videotaped the display and registered a complaint to Windsor police.

In the meanwhile, patrons were exposed to Hamas-style hate i.e., World Jewish Conspiracy themes, maps of greater Palestine devoid of Israel and handouts with unsubstantiated slogans of Ariel Sharon advocating soldier rape of Arabic girls (never documented by any group including Amnesty International). The Palestinian people's flag was displayed, contrary to city policy.

I don't know much about the politics of the Middle East, but I do know about hate and how the psychology of propaganda works. It has to do with influence, of not knowing about a subject, exposure and repetition. "Truth is the repeating of information which is most familiar," Goebbels said. How many times did children repeatedly walk by the display?

There should be an investigation into how such displays of hate appear on city property. Libraries are supposed to disseminate knowledge. If someone wants to know more about hate and the politics of the Middle East, let them be directed to a book.

STEVEN BAUM

Monroe, Mich.



## TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Chretien's crooked grin shouldn't be mocked

Re: Gord Henderson's, I'm Not Shedding Any Tears, Windsor Star, Aug. 22. It's easy to tell that Gord is not someone who worked and paid taxes in the U.S., only to have Mr. Martin tax us again on our social security cheques in Canada.

And as for Prime Minister Jean Chretien's "lopsided grin," it is a result of polio in an age when it killed and maimed many, I have a sister who had polio and was left with a disability and I would not like someone making fun of her. I wonder if Mr. Henderson regards all people he sees with disabilities in the same manner. What a cruel thing.

DELORES CONDIE

Windsor

The 'real' private sector is about layoffs, bonuses

What "real world" is Mike Graston from? If Jean Chretien were CEO of Real World Inc., he would be busy his last 18 months laying off thousands of employees and stuffing his pockets with millions in bonuses and stock options.

It's past time The Star abandoned its simplistic Private-Sector-Good, Public-Sector-Evil editorial policy.

MIKE FUERTH

Tecumseh

Anti-litter Hotline a super program

I commend the Windsor Clean City Committee and the public works department for implementing the Litter Hotline.

So often I see people tossing cigarette wrappers, butts and other litter out of their car windows. I no longer have to suffer the frustration of helplessness. We can all do something about it now and it is as simple as a telephone call.

Litterbugs should think twice before tossing that candy wrapper out of the car window, because I have the hotline number memorized and I am certainly going to be using it.

PAULA KOPPERT

Windsor

Creation and destruction is a never-ending cycle

Expanding on the evolution vs. creation debate, it would be much easier to simply believe all the wondrous stories that are the basis of religious devotion.

That need to believe however, is becoming more difficult to reconcile with the fact that the brains we have allow us to think far-ranging thoughts and the more one thinks, the harder it is, simply to believe.

For example, if our earth faced the sun, as the moon looks at us, life could only have developed on the sunny side. The relative blandness of the daytime sky would be all we knew. The mysteries of the night sky would be unknown, certainly to our ancestors. All those wondrous questions that press upon us -- especially the overpowering sense of our insignificance -- would not have been asked nor those now obviously simplistic answers given, in the name of religion.

As for the question, where did we come from, looking to a creator merely compounds the problem: how or where could such an entity itself have come from?

## TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

Our human minds are coming to see that if space is without end, time must be also and in that case, when was creation? The more we understand how the universe works, the clearer it is creation and destruction is a never-ending cycle.

Voltaire put it best: "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him."

Humans need their Gods for a variety of reasons, but that is another story, having more to do with gullibility than wonderment.

J. LUCK

Windsor

OPSEU tactic ironic but understandable

How funny it is. On the heels of a study released showing that public sector workers have the most sick time of any group of workers, OPSEU decides to take the government to court for the money they say they deserve.

Hmmm, never thought of that strategy. Perhaps I need to take more sick time before taking my employer to court for more money.

However, in defence of OPSEU workers and all public-sector workers, I suppose I shouldn't be too harsh considering they have to work for such people as Jean Chretien, Mike Harris and David Collenette.

CARLO SALVITTI

Harrow

'Christian' pastor lacks logic, human kindness

In response to Pastor Walt Bartel's Aug. 28 letter, Ignoring God Has Lead To Disastrous Results:

It scares the hell out of me that a person who is a leader in our community is taking a disease such as AIDS and using that disease to finger point -- using that disease as a reason that homosexuals are infringing on societies' rights (and should not therefore be allowed to marry).

Pastor Walt Bartel is not only an illogical man, he is also short on facts. First of all, AIDS is not a homosexual disease. It does not respect sexual orientation, race or gender. I hope Pastor Bartel writes that one down.

Secondly, why would a pastor of a supposed Christian church say such rubbish? Christ only preached love. Love the Lord your God. Love your neighbour as yourself. Not the finger pointing of Pastor Bartel. Shame on him.

He falls short of being a pastor and even shorter of a human being in the 21st century. Pastor Bartel also calls homosexuality an "unnatural lifestyle." Unnatural for whom? Him? It's not unnatural for a homosexual.

I suggest he consult his Bible for directions because I seriously doubt he gets the meaning at all.

LAKE MARKEL

Windsor

Misinformation about gays spreads intolerance

It is almost humorous to see a minister so unenlightened about important issues. The majority of HIV and AIDS cases are in the heterosexual community, not the gay community.

But to blame the high cost of health care on the homosexuals is ignorant and unfounded.

TALKING POINT A CHANCE TO HAVE YOUR SAY

The "choice" to be homosexual is ludicrous also. Pastor Bartel took it upon himself to misinform the public which promotes hatred towards gays. To quote him, "when will we acknowledge our need to consult the one who made us, to be sure we live happy and fulfilled lives?"

This is exactly what we want, to live happy and fulfilled lives. Perhaps it is time for the pastor to become educated and empathetic on such issues before he uses his position in society to spread hatred and intolerance.

KELLY CAMPEAU

Windsor

\$5-million for a lost cat? Mine's missing, too!

Re: Misplaced Cat, Draws \$5-million lawsuit.

Huh? Did I miss something? Apparently if a cat is misplaced by a major airline now, you can sue for \$5 million. Recently a Canadian couple did just that, suing Air Canada and Continental Airlines for \$5 million, because their 15-year-old cat got lost. What does a cat sell for these days anyway?

Even funnier is the fact this court case is dealing with "animal rights," or so says the couple. My guess? Just a few more people trying to find a loophole in the legal system to get rich fast.

Oh, by the way -- I seem to be missing MY cat as well!

STEPHEN CLIFFORD

Windsor

**Load-Date:** August 31, 2002

## *Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift*

Australian Financial Review

June 28, 2002 Friday

Late Edition

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**Section:** WEEKEND REVIEW; Pg. 4

**Length:** 2454 words

**Byline:** Scott Burchill Scott Burchill is a lecturer in international relations at Deakin University's School of Australian and International Studies.

### **Body**

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Scott Burchill on the unsettling silences in America's 'new' policy of pre-emptive strikes

Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of those conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; and thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception.

Mark Twain, *The Mysterious Stranger*, 1917

In the lead-up to the next US assault upon Iraq, White House spin doctors will strive to ensure that two issues are not raised in the public domain. There will be no mention of the desire of the US to take control of the world's second-largest oil reserves, thus denying commercial advantages to France and Russia. Nor will there be serious talk of a democratic transition in Iraq, which could ultimately allow the nation's Shiite majority to pursue a closer relationship with Iran. It's more likely that a dissident former general, possibly involved in war crimes against Iraq's Kurdish or Shiite communities, will be returned from exile as the "democratic opposition" to Saddam Hussein.

However, we will be hearing a great deal about Saddam's efforts to build weapons of mass destruction, his intentions of trading them to terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda, and the looming threat this poses to the civilised Western world. And yet ...

**CHEMICAL WAR** The West has not always found the use of chemical weapons in war to be morally abhorrent. In 1919 Winston Churchill, then secretary of state at the British war office, was a keen advocate of what today, when others seek to acquire them, we call weapons of mass destruction.

"I do not understand squeamishness about the use of gas," Churchill wrote. "I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes ... It is not necessary to use only the most deadly gases; gases can be used which would cause great inconvenience and would spread a lively terror and yet would leave no serious permanent effects on most of those affected."

According to Churchill, chemical weapons such as mustard gas represented "the application of Western science to modern warfare". Australia's most highly decorated immunologist shared Churchill's enthusiasm. Recently declassified government files show that in 1947, Nobel prize-winning microbiologist Macfarlane Burnet secretly

## Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift

urged Canberra to develop biological and chemical weapons for use against Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries. According to Burnet, "the most effective counter-offensive to threatened invasion by overpopulated Asiatic countries would be directed towards the destruction by biological or chemical means of tropical food crops and the dissemination of infectious

disease capable of spreading in tropical but not under Australian conditions". The use of such weapons had "the tremendous advantage of not destroying the enemy's industrial potential which can then be taken over intact", Burnet argued.

In the Vietnam war, America sprayed chemical weapons on South Vietnam in order to defoliate the countryside. Australians are aware of claims that connect herbicides such as Agent Orange with birth defects in veterans. However, we have heard very little about the terrible human toll exacted on the Vietnamese, with reports linking up to 250,000 casualties directly to the use of defoliants in the war.

Perhaps most surprising of all, Israel has been manufacturing a wide range of chemical and biological weapons at a research institute in Nes Ziona near Tel Aviv. According to military analyst Uzi Mahanaimi, Israeli F-16 aircraft can be fitted with active biological or chemical weapons within minutes of receiving the order to do so. The British Foreign Report claims that one such device was used in the failed attempt by Mossad agents to kill Hamas political bureau head Khaled Mishal in Jordan in September 1997. CONSTRUCTING PRETEXTS In a recent Wall Street Journal article, it was conceded that the Bush administration had no evidence that Baghdad was making significant progress towards weaponising nuclear material or that it was passing weapons of mass destruction to terrorist groups like Al Qaeda. However, the US has determined that Iraq will have a more compliant government and might already have had one installed had it not been for the Al Aqsa Intifada.

In the absence of a plausible casus belli connecting Iraq to the September 11 atrocities, it was inevitable that the Bush administration would invoke the threat of chemical weapons as it prepared US public opinion for the next encounter with Saddam, while simultaneously authorising the CIA to overthrow the regime. After all, Iraq cannot be singled out for attack because it breaches UN security council resolutions. So does Israel, regularly, with both impunity and Washington's blessing.

Assuming that few will question the conflation of two unrelated issues the so-called "war against terrorism" and Iraq's weapons of mass destruction Bush recently characterised Saddam as "a man who is willing to kill his own people by using chemical weapons". He has to go.

The US President is referring here to the afternoon of March 17, 1988, when Iraq's air force attacked the Kurdish city of Halabja, which is located just inside northern Iraq, on the border with Iran. Within half an hour 5,000 men, women and children were killed when chemical weapons containing mustard gas and the nerve agents sarin, tabun and VX were dropped upon them. Though few victims would have regarded themselves as Saddam's "own people", this was a horrendous crime against one of Iraq's most persecuted ethnic minorities.

In light of Bush's efforts to construct a pretext for the next US strike against the Iraqi dictator, it's worth asking how America responded at the time to this despicable act? Were there outraged denunciations of the attack and calls for a military strike against the man who, after his invasion of Kuwait in 1990, became known as the "butcher of Baghdad"? Were sanctions imposed? There was nothing of the kind.

Initially, the US blamed Iran for the attack, a particularly cynical ploy given Saddam had also used chemical weapons against Tehran's forces during their nine-year conflict in the 1980s. In fact Washington continued to treat Saddam as a favoured ally and trading partner long after the attack on Halabja was exposed as his handiwork. At the time, the Reagan administration tried to prevent criticism of Saddam's chemical attack on the Kurds in the Congress and in December 1989, George Bush's father authorised new loans to Saddam in order to achieve the "goal of increasing US exports and [putting] us in a better position to deal with Iraq regarding its human rights record". Surprisingly, the goal was never reached.

### Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift

According to the reports of a Senate Committee, the US Department of Commerce licensed the export of biological materials including a range of pathogenic agents as well as plans for chemical and biological warfare production facilities and chemical-warhead filling equipment to Iraq until December 1989, 20 months after Halabja.

Washington and its allies turned on Saddam only after he invaded Kuwait in 1990, threatening their access to reliable and cheap supplies of crude oil. This was a pretext for war, not his use of chemical weapons against a defenceless civilian population, which had failed to concern the West. As Noam Chomsky has argued, the criterion that distinguishes friend from enemy in Washington's eyes is obedience, not crime. Saddam momentarily forgot the golden rule.

If the White House was unconcerned by Saddam's use of chemical weapons in 1988, why would it be genuinely worried now?

As the next front in the "war against terrorism" is opened, we will be hearing a lot about the monster who gassed "his own people", and who therefore deserves a "pre-emptive attack". There may be good reasons for toppling the dictator in Baghdad and encouraging a transition to democracy in the country, but such action won't be based on Western moral outrage at his use of chemical weapons.

TOWARDS PRE-EMPTION No-one could accuse the Howard government of being an unfaithful ally of the US. However, when fidelity becomes obsequiousness, policy can be suddenly and inexplicably tipped off balance. Take the following examples, from our foreign and defence ministers respectively.

"... everyone would agree that it would be premature to take military action [against Iraq] at this time. The diplomatic processes would have to be exhausted before military action could reasonably be mounted and, you know, if you didn't exhaust the diplomatic options, you wouldn't get the support of countries surrounding Iraq and that would be a major diplomatic problem." (Alexander Downer, Channel Nine's Sunday, March 10, 2002.)

"[Defence minister] Senator Hill said after his speech that Australia would 'endorse the United States taking action against a threat rather than waiting to be attacked'. Asked if Australia would consider joining an assault on Iraq even if it had not struck first, the minister responded: 'Yes we are not waiting for attacks any longer. That is the lesson of September the 11th.' In his speech he endorsed what he characterised as an emerging US emphasis on 'pre-emption' over diplomacy and deterrence." (The Sydney Morning Herald, June 19, 2002.)

What happened between March and June? Beyond the desire for yet another expression of political and strategic solidarity with Washington, it's difficult to explain Canberra's sudden shift from diplomacy to support for a US pre-emptive strike against Iraq. Within the ruling coalition there has been unqualified support for the change of direction. Just as there were no protests from anti-International Criminal Court MPs about ceding economic sovereignty to the World Trade Organisation, there have been no expressions of concern about handing over Australia's strategic sovereignty to the Pentagon. Whatever the motives and reasoning, the implications of such a doctrinal change cannot be overstated.

Australia is alone in embracing what even Washington concedes is an unfinished policy and one which already concerns its European allies. Hill's statement also appears to repudiate Australia's existing strategic doctrine, as outlined in the last Defence White Paper, which he is now taking Australia "beyond". He has yet to outline the implications for weapons procurement and the Australian Defence Force's structure of a change from "continental defence" to "strategic lift". Australia now supports the idea of pre-emption "in principle", though participation in US attacks will be decided on a case-by-case basis.

Pre-emptive strikes depend on conclusive intelligence. If the intelligence is wrong as it was on August 20, 1998, when the Clinton administration attacked the El Shifa pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum, Sudan, mistakenly believing it was an Al Qaeda chemical weapons factory the results can be catastrophic for the innocent. Self-defence becomes aggression.

The US has not always supported the doctrine, even when its closest allies put it into effect. On June 7, 1981, unmarked American-built F-16 aircraft of the Israeli air force attacked and destroyed a nuclear reactor at Osirak in

## Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift

Iraq. The raid was authorised by then prime minister Menachem Begin, but had been opposed by Yitzhak Hafi, the director of Mossad, and major-general Yehoshua Saguy, chief of military intelligence, as there was no evidence that Iraq was capable of building a nuclear bomb. At the time of the attack, Israel itself had been accumulating nuclear weapons for 13 years.

In response to Israel's unprovoked pre-emptive strike, then US vice-president George Bush argued that sanctions should be imposed on Israel. The US State Department condemned the bombing for its destabilising impact, "which cannot but seriously add to the already tense situation in the area". A few days later, Reagan's White House announced that the planned delivery of four additional F-16s to Israel would be suspended in protest against the attack.

It is not clear whether Hill fully understands the precedent that would be set by endorsing pre-emptive strikes as a legitimate means of achieving global security. Or the impact that such a strategic posture would have upon the international system. Any state which even suspects it might at some point in the future be threatened by another could consider attacking first, without warning.

Following this logic, Iraq, Iran and North Korea, the so-called "axis of evil", would be justified in attacking the US given that they have been publicly threatened by the White House. India would be free to bomb Pakistan and vice versa. Is this strategic atmosphere one that Hill thinks is in our national interests?

Pre-emptive action in self-defence is permissible under international law, but it requires strong evidence and there is a heavy burden of justification. The threat to the US would have to be specific, imminent and extremely grave. George W Bush has yet to demonstrate that a threat from Iraq meets any of these criteria, which makes Hill's support for a pre-emptive strike on Baghdad very curious.

Of course no-one seriously thinks "pre-emption" is new policy. Ask the Serbs, Nicaraguans, Sudanese and Iraqis how they feel about Washington's move away from "deterrence and diplomacy". What we are witnessing is a closure of the credibility gap. Official US strategic doctrine is belatedly falling into line with the reality of its global intervention in the past half-century.

As Princeton historian Arno Mayer wrote after the September 11 attacks, "... since 1947 America has been the chief and pioneering perpetrator of 'pre-emptive' state terror, exclusively in the Third World and therefore widely dissembled. Besides the unexceptional subversion and overthrow of governments in competition with the Soviet Union during the Cold War, Washington has resorted to political assassinations, surrogate death squads and unseemly freedom fighters (eg bin Laden). It masterminded the killing of Lumumba and Allende; and it unsuccessfully tried to put to death Castro, Khadafi and Saddam Hussein ... and vetoed all efforts to rein in not only Israel's violation of international agreements and UN resolutions but also its practice of pre-emptive state terror".

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*Resurrection of Saddam Hussein*, HarperPerennial, New York, 1999.

## Graphic

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ILLUS: Most Iraqis are probably quite puzzled by US talk of moving away from diplomacy towards pre-emptive action. Picture: ENRIC MARTI/AP

## Giving US hypocrisy a strategic lift

**Load-Date:** April 4, 2012

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## Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

March 8, 2003 Saturday

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERS; Pg. 18

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### **Body**

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Little reason to celebrate

Today is International Women's Day and Australian women are still being abused and tortured in their homes and face disbelief and lack of interest when they talk about it.

Funding for women's services is falling at an alarming rate and children are being left homeless when their mothers lose their homes because of violent behaviour.

What a way to celebrate IWD. Let's stand up for our sisters living in fear and tell them that the violence will stop now.

Leisa Gibson, Randwick

Billing yardstick

The Prime Minister now believes that bulk billing is only for pensioners, the poor and people not on high incomes (Daily Telegraph, March 5).

MATP

Only recently I can recall him saying that \$70,000 a year in this day and age would not be regarded as a high income. This, I assume, will be the benchmark for bulk billing.

Ray Armstrong,

Tweed Heads

Art of deception

I have it made at last. After hearing about Shirazeh Houshiary's blank white canvas that cost the Art Gallery of NSW \$73,000 (Daily Telegraph, March 7), I bought a piece of craft-wood half a metre square for 50c and a litre of white paint at the local recycle depot for

\$3. When I paint the board, I will sell it to the gallery for the bargain price of \$25,000. I will even throw in the new bridge over the Shoalhaven River.

And they say we country bumpkins are stupid.

## Letters to the Editor

Bob Wood, Nowra

### Terror tactics

Does anybody recall Bob Carr standing up at the last election and saying "Vote for me and I promise to prune your hard-won civil rights"? Me neither. But that's what his Government did, in the form of the most draconian anti-terrorism legislation in Australia; legislation vesting the Police Minister with an extraordinary absence of accountability.

If you're not alarmed by the idea of a government that protects us from terrorists by white-anting the very freedom that terrorists hate, then fine, go ahead and vote for 'em.

Lloyd Swanton, Watsons Bay

### Conscience call

When will people learn that driving a car with a phone glued to the ear is illegal, irresponsible and dangerous?

Wake up, you lot. It's only a matter of time before some innocent person is wiped out by your negligence. Could your conscience handle that?

Brian McMullen, Dubbo

### Country gardens

should be free

The Botanic Gardens Trust controls three botanic gardens in NSW. The Royal Botanic Garden, in central Sydney, is free of entry fees. The other two gardens, Mount Annan near Camden and Mount Tomah in the Blue Mountains, charge an entry fee of \$4 a head.

The parliamentary inquiry into the fee structure agreed that this is inequitable. It recommended last October that the Minister, Bob Debus, should exempt seniors from fees and review the fee policy

for the two country gardens as soon

as possible.

It is five months since this report was handed down and still seniors have not been granted free entry.

These two gardens do not have representation on The Trust.

Betty Scott, Camden

### Send them back

Yes indeed, the East Timorese refugees should return home (Letters, March 5). It should not be forgotten that these people, understandably, fled their country during the turmoil, while their countrymen (and those of other countries) stayed behind to give their all -- in many cases their lives -- to make East Timor a free country.

After some years in the relative luxury of Australia, they owe it to their countrymen to return and help in the rebuilding of their land. They owe it especially to

the dead, martyrs for freedom. The same principle should apply to refugees from

all nations.

Patricia McPhee, Booker Bay

Let's hear it for Leicester

It is with extreme anger that I am motivated to bring to your attention an uncalled-for and unfair description of Leicester, UK. I refer to an article headed "Downer keen to quiz Khalid on Bali attack" (Daily Telegraph, March 5).

In this article, it is stated: "The supergrass behind Khalid's arrest snubbed a safe home in the US for a new life in the dreary UK town of Leicester."

How dare you. Leicester, located in the heart of England, is a vibrant and wonderful place in which to live. It offers an exciting mix of history, traditions, cultures and scenery, and is alive with a hub as complex and diverse as any city may be able to offer.

Susan Barrett, Tregear

Fight was legal

In response to your story headed "Candidate linked to illegal fight night" (Daily Telegraph, February 3), the event took place last year in the Masonic Centre in Sydney, which is also a function centre open to many organisations, but the event had no connection to Freemasonry.

The fight was not in fact "illegal". The event did not come under the auspices of an Australian governing body; it was sanctioned by an international body.

The police were in attendance before the event. After the promoters assured the police that a medical practitioner was there, our management was told by the police that the event could continue.

Department of Sport and Recreation officials told our management they would attend. They did not.

There was no octagonal cage present at the event.

The police requested that the promoters tape the fight and provide them with a copy.

The police told Masonic Centre management that they had acted within the law and consistent with the direction of the police.

A.R. Lauer, Grand Master,

NSW and ACT Freemasons

That's quite enough

Why is the management of Stiletto bordello spending all that money on invitations to attract celebrities and clients to the establishment when Sydney Confidential is already doing such a good job? You've mentioned it on at least three occasions, most recently on March 7. We know where it is if we need it, thank you.

Rod Baker, Newcastle

Islam in all its brutal inhumanity

The lashing of innocent Australian Robert Thomas in Saudi Arabia, the heartland of the Islamic religion (Daily Telegraph, March 6), shows Islam in all its brutal moral backwardness -- the perverted system of so-called justice, the inhumanity and the insistence on finding a "culprit".

This carries through to international dealings. The Saudis backed three Arab invasions of Israel and finance the **Hamas** murder operations, but blame Israel for lack of progress in making peace. It was mainly Saudis who carried out the September 11 attacks and it was undercover Saudi sources, who are only now being exposed, who helped finance al-Qaeda

## Letters to the Editor

to carry out that atrocity and also the

Bali bombing.

But it is all justified when viewed through the distorting mirror of Islam -- it is the fault of the Israelis for declining to be the victims of another Holocaust and the fault of the Americans for being there.

Perhaps our local breast-beating Islamicists and Arafat supporters could console Robert Thomas awaiting his next flogging by reminding him what a beautiful, peaceful religion Islam is.

Norman Rich, Newport

Your front-page picture of Islamic law

in action was gruesome but essential viewing, particularly for those cultural and moral relativists who are such harsh and constant critics of our own legal and social systems.

D. Cordes, Turramurra

I am sick and tired of people complaining about other countries' punishment for crimes. People who commit crimes or who are guilty under that country's law by association should accept their punishment, no matter how "barbaric" it may seem by western standards.

N. Newstead, Leichhardt

I have recently returned from Qatar where I was working as a flight attendant for Qatar Airways. Adjusting to the country's culture was always going to be somewhat different, but it was a challenge I was looking forward to.

At no stage over there did I ever feel in control of my own destiny. As a westerner, any indiscretion you may be involved in is always your fault. They take the view that if you were not in their country, it would not have happened.

This way of thinking became particularly evident when a male work colleague from the Philippines was taken out to the desert and raped by two men, only to be sacked by the company when reporting it to the Qatar Airways welfare department and sent home within days.

Matthew Lockyer, Torrens, ACT

Sliding towards savagery

I can never forget film showing German children marching in single file after being blinded by Allied bombing. Necessity justified the collateral damage, you might say.

In recent days I am haunted by the certainty of Iraqi children being afflicted in the same manner. How many children should be blinded to get Saddam Hussein, who bothers me a lot less than many other regimes? How many to make the Americans feel better about September 11?

We are sliding into savagery and, incidentally, justifying any terrorism that might be directed against us as a result. "Smart bombs" are not morally superior

to suicide bombers, they just look neater on TV.

Albert Laird, Hazelbrook

The Americans may have a lot to answer for over their interference in the policies of some countries, but anti-Americanism throughout the world is surely unwarranted. The Americans were in isolation before Pearl Harbour, and it would seem people would prefer they cower back behind their borders.

## Letters to the Editor

The US may have taken its eyes off the ball in going after Saddam Hussein instead of wiping out the scourge of the 21st century, terrorism, but the UN has proved to be an indecisive, blundering, insignificant organisation when asked to take action against rogue states.

Force is the only action the despots

of this world seem to understand and

the US is prepared to stand up and fight for what it believes is right and just,

and maybe some revenge for its second Pearl Harbour.

Robert Oswald, Millers Point

On the wrong foot as usual

Philip Micallef's piece headed "Soccer battle looms" (Daily Telegraph, March 6) provides a clear insight

as to why "soccer" faces an uphill battle to establish a stronghold in Australia.

Before even sighting the recommendations of the Crawford Inquiry, Soccer Australia's Stefan Kamasz has suggested that "stakeholders were not likely to vote for unrealistic solutions" and the Marconi Club has questioned "the competence of the people holding the inquiry".

These statements make it painfully obvious that the rampant self-indulgence and mismanagement that has stifled the game's progress in this country for so long is alive and well within the current regime.

Having over many years exhibited their inability to convert our nation's unquestionable interest in "the beautiful game" into a profitable and presentable national competition, I would think these people would be thankful for any input that may help point them in the right direction.

For starters, may I humbly suggest that this direction be forward.

Gary Mason, Concord

To the point

The world seemed a happier and more secure place when the most pressing issues the White House had to deal with were interns and dresses.

Peter Lloyd, Asquith

John Howard: saddamed if he does, saddamed if he doesn't.

Andy Murray, Kendall

I agree with Stacey Carter (Letters, March 6) that war is a "pointless, cruel and profoundly male solution to political problems". After visiting the website to which she referred, I can only assume the female solution is to lie down naked in front of the enemy, and hope. But for what?

Warren McLean, Leura

George W. Bush talks about making Baghdad a model of democracy. What example is he going to use? Florida?

Gary Frances, Bexley

Could you please pay Warren his full wage so he will stop drawing half a cartoon or at least top up his ink supply if he is concerned about running out?

## Letters to the Editor

Mark Fitzsummons, Copacabana

What's news

1 Who has been appointed as music director of Opera Australia, and who was his predecessor?

2 Name the NSW police officer who has been sentenced to 12 months' jail after pleading guilty to negligent driving causing death.

3 Which 26-year-old Australian will drive a Jaguar in the Australian Grand Prix tomorrow?

4 Name the head of the Australian Cancer Council and member of the board of the Prostate Council Foundation who has been involved in a controversy over prostate screening.

5 For the second time, a Greek court has cleared a former Sydney man of involvement in the murder at Summer Hill in 1994 of Toulia Soravia. Who is he?

### ANSWERS

1: Richard Hickox; Simone Young. 2: Greg Callander. 3: Mark Webber. 4: Alan Coates. 5: Steve Anas.

Exchange

QAs someone who is interested in the American Civil War, I want to acquire a copy of the film Gettysburg.

Bruce Taylor, Sydney

Gettysburg is available on DVD in NTSC format. It was released last September through Warner Bros. If your TV does not cater for that signal, then you will need to update your TV, if you can find a copy. The VHS video was deleted a fair while ago. I was very interested in obtaining a copy of it myself, as an ancestor of mine fought in the American Civil War. If you go to one of the big stores, you should be able to pick it up for around \$30.

Peter Foster, Kings Langley

I have a copy of the film Gettysburg and further information on the American Civil War. I can be contacted on my hotmail address [bobbybray30@hotmail.com](mailto:bobbybray30@hotmail.com).

Bob Bray, Daleys Point

In search

BOB MITCHELL

We are seeking the whereabouts of Robert Alan Mitchell, originally from Mudgee. Bob was an industrial arts teacher at Albury and North Albury high schools from 1965 to 1968, after which he was transferred to Canberra. Please contact Don Murdoch on 47748291 or Peter Schlitz on 0398781429.

AUBURN NORTH PS

Did you start school in 1941? If so, phone Elaine (Meere) Sherman, 0418685879, re get-together early April 2003.

ROBERT BAKER

I am trying to find a Mr Robert Baker (DOB unknown) who knew a Margaret Rose Pearce (Rosie) in 1963 around July-August. This may have been in the Ryde area. Please contact Elizabeth on 46772377 or e-mail [jamelisdream@ad.com](mailto:jamelisdream@ad.com)

EASTERN DORRIGO

## Letters to the Editor

Wishing to hear from anyone, including families and descendants, who have lived at some time -- even briefly -- in the Eastern Dorrigo area. A reunion will be held March 29-30, 2003. Please contact Hellen Hile, 89 Beryl St, Coffs Harbour 2450. Phone 66522375.

IRENE SENHOUSE

(nee WALLER)

I am seeking any information regarding the whereabouts of my mother, who I last saw in 1946 while living in the Edgecliff area of Sydney. My mum would now be 84 years old. If any person could help me in my search for her, I would be ever so thankful. Please contact her daughter, Margaret Rowsell, on 66287764.

ST GEORGE GIRLS' HIGH

SCHOOL, KOGARAH

Reunion of former students who started first year in 1949, finishing in 1951 or 1953, to be held in September this year. Please contact Merice, 95334007, Rhona, 47572424, or e-mail [maxrose@compassnet.com.au](mailto:maxrose@compassnet.com.au)

HUNTERS HILL ALL SAINTS

We are in search for a proposed 25-year reunion of players from the Under-14s 1978 Hunters Hill All Saints soccer team. We are looking for the following players: Tim Tebbutt, Bruce Aitken, Brad Gardiner, Tony Micic, Paul Saunders and Brian Downes. Ulla Drake, 49732813.

BROTHER JAMES' AIRE

I am searching for a tape, CD, or record of Brother James' Aire, a rendition of the 23rd Psalm sung by choristers of either King's College or Cambridge College. Dot Helm, [feh Helm@bigpond.com.au](mailto:feh Helm@bigpond.com.au)

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at [letters@dailytelegraph.com.au](mailto:letters@dailytelegraph.com.au). Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

'Let's stand up for our sisters living in fear and tell them that the violence will stop now'

'The US may have taken its eyes off the ball ... but the UN has proved to be an indecisive, blundering, insignificant organisation when asked to take action against rogue states'

-- Robert Oswald of Millers Point sees the need to deal decisively with despots

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**Load-Date:** March 7, 2003

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## *Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber*

Sunday Times (London)

March 24, 2002, Sunday

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**Section:** Overseas news

**Length:** 2499 words

**Byline:** Hala Jaber Gaza

### **Body**

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AT precisely 8pm last Saturday a battered car flashed its headlights twice as I waited on a dark and dusty road in the Gaza Strip. My journey into the world of the Palestinian suicide bombers was beginning.

After a bumpy 10-minute drive, I stepped out of the car to be greeted by a masked man I would come to know as the commander of a small cell of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a group that has claimed responsibility for nine highly publicised suicide attacks this year in which 43 people have died.

I was to spend the next four days with this cell, seeking insights into the selection and training of the suicide bombers and also into their minds and motives.

Attacks by groups such as the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades and military action by the Israelis have spiralled in recent weeks in the worst violence of the 18-month Palestinian intifada, or uprising.

While the West and Israel regard those who attack unarmed civilians as terrorists - the administration of President George W Bush announced last week it would classify the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades as a terrorist organisation - many in the Muslim world and particularly in the Palestinian territories claim they are martyrs fulfilling a religious obligation to die in the face of "oppression".

The walls of thousands of bare, concrete homes in the Gaza Strip are covered with colourful graffiti dedicated to those who have died fighting Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, in a quest to "liberate" Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza for the Palestinians.

I was about to meet two men chosen to become Al-Aqsa martyrs and to discover that they did not conform to the stereotype of poverty-stricken young militants exploited for mindless acts of terrorism.

But first their commander, who introduced himself as Abu Fatah, firmly but politely asked me to put on a blindfold and lie down in the vehicle, in the well between front and rear seats. Security was imperative, he said.

After 20 minutes our Mercedes came to a halt and I was led down a flight of steps. Removing my blindfold, I found myself in a room strewn with cushions and loosely covered sponge mattresses. Pictures of the Al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem adorned the walls and heavy floral curtains blocked any glimpse of the outside.

I faced an initial grilling in which it was established that I was Lebanese, a Muslim and author of a book about the militant group Hezbollah. In the early hours of the morning, a number of fighters began to join us. One by one they

## Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber

walked in from the darkness, all masked, dressed in military fatigues and armed with Kalashnikovs and hand grenades.

They sat on the cushions round a large oil lamp that cast shadows across the room. In the distance the sound of Israeli warplanes pierced the night, followed by machinegun fire and the thudding of home-made bombs. As I would soon realise, this was a nightly routine.

Having gained the group's confidence, I was introduced to Yunis, a 27-year-old art graduate who was preparing for a suicide mission that might be days or weeks away.

His face covered by a keffiyeh, or headdress, to conceal his identity, Yunis spoke first about the paintings of Michelangelo, da Vinci and Picasso, then abruptly changed the subject and described - with equal passion - his urge to become a martyr.

"We are educated strugglers," he said. "We are not terrorists and the world should recognise that our acts are not intended to be pure, cold-blooded murder."

The Palestinian people had sought help from Arab countries, the United States and Europe in their attempts to establish an independent state, he said, but to little or no avail.

"Finally, I searched for my God in the holy Koran and found it filled with verses and commands on how to end my oppression," he added, eyes blazing. "I discovered late that victory is only granted by God and not by (Tony) Blair or Bush. My aim is to liberate my land and to transfer the triangle of fear to (the Israeli) environment."

Delivered with emphatic gestures, this was his chilling justification for the mission he would soon undertake: "Israel attacked my honour, inflicted pain on our mothers and fathers and I have to inflict the same on them until Israeli mothers scream at their government and plead with the world to end the conflict. I will persist until they experience the same fear and pain our mothers feel daily.

"I know I cannot stand in front of a tank that would wipe me out within seconds, so I will use myself as a weapon. They call it terrorism. I say it is self-defence. When I embark on my mission I will be carrying out two obligations: one to my God and the other to defend myself and my country."

Yunis lit a cigarette and declared that life was "precious". He would rather be enjoying "normal days and nights, parties, family gatherings and seaside picnics", he said. "We are denied this as long as we are under occupation and until liberation we have no choice but to fight."

Until the day of his mission dawns, Yunis will remain engrossed in study of the Koran. He is convinced he has no choice but to follow the path assigned to him, and nothing could sway him from it. "Freedom is not handed as a gift. History is testimony to the fact that major sacrifices have to be made to attain it," he said.

"At the moment of executing my mission, it will not be purely to kill Israelis. The killing is not my ultimate goal, though it is part of the equation. My act will carry a message beyond to those responsible and the world at large that the ugliest thing is for a human being to be forced to live without freedom."

Like Yunis, Abu Fatah, his commander, is an educated man - a second-year university student of international law. He delivered a brief history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that culminated in the first intifada, starting in 1987, the Middle East peace process and the second intifada, which began in September 2000.

He railed against Israeli settlements, political detentions and restrictions on the movements of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians within and between their territories.

After "self-restraint" during the first year of the latest intifada, he explained, the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - a branch of the Fatah organisation of Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader - decided to follow the example of the more radical Islamic group, Hamas, and launch suicide attacks. It has no shortage of volunteers.

## Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber

A specialist unit is responsible for selecting candidates. Anyone under 18 is rejected; so are married men with children and anyone without a sibling who may be a family's sole breadwinner.

Those who excel militarily and show steely composure in stressful situations are most likely to be chosen. The young men must be reasonably religious, convinced of the meaning of "martyrdom and jihad (holy war)". They should also be of a build and shape that will enable them to move easily among Israelis - disguised if necessary in skull cap and wig, with ringlets down the side of the face - as they wait for the moment to strike.

The commander observes candidates over several days as they go about their routine business in public and at home. If the assessment is positive, he informs them of their selection.

An intense 20-day period of religious study and discussion ensues between the commander and each candidate. Verses from the Koran about a martyr's attainment of paradise are recited constantly.

The candidate is reminded of the good fortune that awaits him in the presence of prophets and saints, of the unimaginable beauty of the houri, or beautiful young woman, who will welcome him and of the chance he will have to intercede on behalf of 70 loved ones on doomsday. Not least, he is told of the service he will perform for his fellow countrymen with his sacrifice.

"Of course I am deeply saddened when I have to use a suicide attacker. I am very emotional and at times I cry when I say goodbye to them," the commander said softly. "These men were not found on the streets. These are educated men who under normal circumstances would have the potential of being constructive members of society. If they did not have to carry out such a mission, they could have become a doctor, a lawyer or a teacher."

Once the bomber's preparations are complete, he is collected by another member of the unit who accompanies him on the final journey to his target. It is only just before the assault that he is told the details of his operation, whether he will be a bomber or will attack with grenades and guns until he is shot dead.

Ten to 15 minutes before being dropped at the target, the bomber straps on a hand-tailored vest filled with about 10 kilos of explosive and five kilos of nails and metal. He is then given his final instructions about the precise point at which he should detonate himself.

"The later he knows the better for the martyr, since he will not have much time to think of the target nor to experience doubts," the commander said. A separate unit has the job of finding potential targets for suicide attacks.

Asked whether the recent killings of innocent young civilians by suicide bombers in cafes and restaurants could be condoned, Abu Fatah's tone hardened. "Do you think when an Israeli tank shells a house it considers whether there are children at home?" he snapped. "There are ugly consequences for both sides in a war."

Ahmad, the second suicide attacker, has no reservations. A 27-year-old student from the Gaza Strip, he carries the deeds and keys to the family house in Jaffa from which his grandmother was driven when the modern state of Israel was established as a Jewish homeland in 1948.

"My grandmother represented the history of the Palestinian people," said the quietly-spoken Ahmad, one of eight children who lives with his mother.

"She spoke to us of Jaffa, its grape vines and the seaside. She instilled in us a love for the home we did not know and over many tears recounted old stories of life once upon a time in Palestine." Ahmad said he fell in love with Jaffa through his grandmother's tales and longed for the day when he would have a chance to visit the old place. Instead, he grew up in a small concrete house allotted to the family by the United Nations.

He was 12 when the first intifada began and his anger at what he regarded as the humiliation of his family under occupation eventually made him determined to fight for "dignity".

## Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber

"I did not join Fatah to kill. My aim in joining was to try and provide security, if only to my immediate family. Were it not for the occupation, I would not have become a Fatah member in the first place. I let go of my dreams of Jaffa and of ever reclaiming my grandmother's house. I was never a person who sought to annihilate the Israelis.

"I gave them the land that originally belonged to me but instead of accepting it graciously I found them still seeking to deprive me of the right to live freely and peacefully in my tiny few square metres."

The failure of the peace process meant "having to live in an area where most of us were denied the ability to move freely", he said.

"How can I live in a state without sovereignty where I am forced to show an identity card at an Israeli checkpoint for permission to move? They control our electricity and water supply and our lives, and people still ask why we are rising up."

A band of fighters gathering around him as he spoke nodded in agreement. "I am committed to carry out a martyr's mission to show my rejection of being forced to live under this oppression," he said to cries of "Allahu akbar (God is greatest)".

"My aim is to prohibit settlers from enjoying their lives here. My aim is to force the Israeli checkpoint out of my territory. If they leave in peace, I have no intention of following them into their areas. But if they remain here then I shall use the methods at my disposal to force them out.

"I and many others like me are now prepared and waiting to carry out spectacular attacks against the enemy. We are not afraid and will not cease until they withdraw totally from our areas. You can call us terrorists all you like, but we have faith that justice is on our side and that victory will be ours."

Religion was a constant topic of conversation throughout the time I spent with the cell. They also watched videos of past "martyrs", analysing the operations carried out. Casualties were described purely in terms of numbers, without reference to the gender or age of the victims. There was little room here for sentimentality.

They recited the names of all the group's previous attackers and talked about the "courage" of Mohammed Farhat, 19, who infiltrated the Israeli settlement of Gush Katif earlier this month, killing five Israelis before he was gunned down.

A few hours before his attack, he had called his mother from his mobile phone to ask her advice. His mother, Um Nidal, told me that she had replied: "Take care my son, remember God, repeat the verses, pay attention to everything you see, concentrate on the task ahead, pick your moment. May God bless you with success and may you be granted the martyrdom you deserve.

"Be strong, my boy, in this, your first major battle, and remember Allah in every move you make. Do not hesitate, my boy, and strike as harshly as you can against the enemy." She then asked him to switch off his mobile for the last time.

Um Nidal stayed in front of her television waiting for news of her son's attack, fearful that he might be injured, arrested and denied the "martyrdom" he sought.

She knew of her son's selection for a mission a month in advance: "I cried for a whole month every time I looked at him. I would tell him not to let my tears stop him from going on his mission. I watched him like a baby that whole month."

"My heart is not made of stone," she added, but she had been "willing to sacrifice him for something more precious and sanctified than our earthly world".

Suddenly a fighter appeared in our group with "very important news". It was perhaps the most incongruous of many startling moments during my stay.

## Inside the world of the Palestinian suicide bomber

"Manchester United 5, West Ham 3," he declared, announcing the score of a match last weekend. "David Beckham two score," he informed me in English. "Very good Manchester."

The announcement was greeted with unanimous pleasure, amid further calls of "Allahu akbar".

## THE ATTACKS

January 17: Gunman opens fire at bar mitzvah in Hadera, killing six.

January 30: Wafa Idris, 27, is first **female** suicide bomber, blowing herself up on busy Jerusalem street, killing one.

March 2: Suicide attacker detonates nail bomb in a crowd of orthodox Jews in west Jerusalem, killing 10.

March 6: Gunman opens fire in Tel Aviv restaurant, killing three. Suicide bomber blows up a bus in Afula, killing one.

March 7: Gunman kills five teenage boys at seminary in Jewish settlement of Atzmona in Gaza.

March 9: Suicide bomber kills 11 in Jerusalem cafe. Two gunmen open fire in the seaside town of Netanya, killing three.

March 21: Suicide bomber detonates nail bomb in central Jerusalem, killing three.

**Load-Date:** March 25, 2002

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## **A WORLD APART**

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### **Body**

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Americans seeking to learn more about Iraq find an ancient region whose people are, in many ways, not so different from us.

TAMPA - For map salesman Mike Kline, impending war brings good business.

As tensions between the United States and Iraq have built in recent weeks, the stream of customers has grown at the store where he works, Mapsource on Waters Avenue.

Homemakers. Doctors. Lawyers. Retirees. Even officers from U.S. Central Command who are headed to their Middle Eastern headquarters in Qatar. They all want wall maps of the region.

Most Americans know very little about Iraq, Kline says. But with that country so much in the news these days, many people are plunking down \$40 to buy laminated, glossy, full-color wall maps.

"I have completely sold out of Iraq maps twice," Kline says. "I've sold 200 regional maps of the Middle East in the last two weeks."

NBC News in New York even placed a telephone order for laminated folding maps.

"When things get mentioned a lot in the news, it sparks a curiosity of where it is, what it is near," Kline says. "People want to know in relation to everything else where things are, and that brings them in the doors."

As much as a map can show about a country, it cannot reveal much about the people living within its borders.

Tarah Saadaldin, a 20-year-old University of South Florida student born in Iraq, says the biggest misconception Americans have of her birthplace is that it is a nation of terrorists.

## A WORLD APART

"By hearing the word Iraq, many people think terrorist right away," she says. "It is true they have an unfortunate leader. But you don't judge a whole country by his actions. There are a lot of innocent people in Iraq who just want to go about their lives like normal people, like me and you."

Like Americans, Iraqis love listening to music, going out to cafes, eating ice cream and using the Internet (although not all search engines are open to them). They like watching and playing soccer, going shopping and being with their families.

Iraq is a blend of ancient and modern. It has thousands of archaeological sites, such as the colossal city of Ur, identified in the Bible as Abraham's birthplace. Iraq also has modern office buildings and homes, hotels and some fine restaurants.

But on a visit to her homeland last summer, Saadaldin noticed some changes since she moved to the United States with her family at age 9.

"You see kids as young as 6 pushing vegetable carts, selling stuff," says Saadaldin, who lives in Tampa with her mother and four siblings. "For any child to have to work and worry every day about earning money to stay alive, that is really sad."

Some teenagers and college students she talked to had a sense of hopelessness, she says. An education seems pointless because the schools are so poor. Teachers are paid low wages.

"There aren't many jobs when you graduate anyway.

"Here, people can say, 'I can open my own clinic,' or whatever. How many people over there have such dreams and can fulfill them? Not many. It is a slim chance. It is live by the day."

In America, if one door closes, another usually opens up, she says.

"But there, all doors are closed to them. Little children think, 'Oh, we are going to get hit by a bomb soon. We might live, but we might not make it.' What kind of chance is that for a life?"

## (CHART) (C) IRAQ

Population

24,001,816

Official language Arabic

(Kurdish in Kurdish regions)

Government

Type: Republic

Leader: President Saddam Hussein (since July 16, 1979) Currency Iraqi dinar

Literacy 58 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

Arab 75%

Kurdish 20% Other 5%

Religion:

Muslim 97%

Other 3 %

Muslim:

Shi'a 62 %

Sunni 35 %

Cultural information

## A WORLD APART

The average Iraqi makes \$2,700 a year.

Some women wear black veils over their heads and bodies in traditional Islamic fashion, while others wear blue jeans and other western clothing.

In the afternoons, markets and shops close down from noon to 4 because of the heat and custom.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART (C) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Population

280,562,489

Official language

English

Government

Type: Federal Republic

Leader: President George W. Bush (since January 2001)

Currency: Dollar

Literacy 97 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

White 77.1 %

Black 12.9 %

Asian 4.2 %

Other \* 5.8 %

\* includes American Indian and Alaska native 1.5 %

Native Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.3%

Note: Hispanic can be of any race

Religion

Protestant 56 %

Roman Catholic 28 %

None 10 %

Other 4 %

Jewish 2 %

Cultural information

Between 1945 and 1973, all sectors of the population got richer. Since 1973, only those who finished high school continued to see their standard of living increase.

Manufacturing employment has fallen dramatically in the past 20 years.

Americans put less money in savings than many competing nations. The U.S. is the world's largest debtor nation.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART) (C) ISRAEL

Population: 6,029,529

Official Language: Hebrew

Currency: Israeli shekel

Literacy: 95 percent

Government



## A WORLD APART

Type: Parliamentary democracy

Leader: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (Since 2001)

Ethnic Makeup:

Jewish 80 percent

non-Jewish 20 percent (mostly European/American)

Religion

Jewish 80 percent

Muslim 15 percent

Christian and other 5 %

Although it is only the size of New Jersey, Israel has more museums per capita than any other nation. Most middle-class students go to college.

Israelis have been issued kits filled with gas masks and agents to counter chemical weapons. Many newer buildings have safe rooms with no windows, stocked with radios, batteries, food and water.

In Tel Aviv, Israelis love to stroll along the Mediterranean Sea's beaches and eat in outdoor cafes.

#### (CHART) (C) KUWAIT

Population: 2,111,561

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Kuwaiti dinar

Literacy: 78.6 percent

Government

Type: Nominal constitutional monarchy

Leader: Prime minister and Crown Prince Sheik Saad Al Sabah (December 1977) Ethnic Makeup:

Kuwaiti 45 percent

other Arab 35 percent

South Asian 9 percent

Other 11 percent

Religion:

Muslim 85 percent

Christian, Hindu, Parsi and other, 15 percent

**Women** in Kuwait have many of the same rights as men and are guaranteed the right to work for equal pay. But they cannot vote.

Kuwaiti families are usually large, and many families are interconnected and related to one another through ancestry and marriage.

Kuwait's terrain is almost entirely flat desert. Summer temperatures can climb to 120 degrees.

Freedom of religion is guaranteed by law.

#### (CHART) QATAR

Population: 793,341

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Qatari rial

Literacy: 79 percent

Government

Type: Traditional monarchy

## A WORLD APART

Leader : Prime Minister Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani (June 1995)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 40 percent

Pakistani 18 percent

Indian 18 percent

Iranian 10 percent

other 14 percent

Religion:

Muslim: 95 percent

Other 5 percent

U.S. Central Command established its regional headquarters here in December for an attack on Iraq.

Most Qataris are Arabs; some have Iranian or African ancestry.

Public education, even at The University of Qatar, is free. Half the students in the country are female.

Political parties are banned

No open opposition against the government is tolerated.

(CHART) (C) SYRIA

Population: 17,155,814

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Syrian pound

Literacy: 71 percent

Government:

Type: Republic under military regime (since March 1963)

Leader: President Bashar al-Asad (since July 2000)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 90 percent

Armenians and other 10 percent

Religion:

Sunni Muslim 74 percent

Muslim sects 16 percent

Christian 10 percent

Health care and education from kindergarten through college is free. Because of population increases, the state is strained and in the past two years universities have begun to charge tuition.

The state runs the media and bans access to pornographic Web sites. Some search engines, such as Yahoo, cannot be accessed.

Damascus, a modern city of 5 million, is the oldest inhabited city

(CHART) (C) IRAN

Population: 66,622,704

Official language: Farsi and Persian dialects

Currency: Iranian rial

Literacy: 72 percent

Government

## A WORLD APART

Type : Theocratic republic

Leader: Ayatollah Ali Hoseini-Khamenei (June 1989)

Ethnic Makeup:

Persian 51 percent

Azeri 24 percent

Gilaki and Mazandarani 8 percent

Kurd 7 percent

Other 10 percent

Religion

Shi'a Muslim 89 percent

Sunni Muslim 10 percent

Zoroastrian, Jewish

Christian and Baha'i 1 percent

Tehran's population grew from 200,000 before World War II to 12 million today. As a result, it has severe air pollution problems.

Cellphones in big cities are as popular as they are in the U.S.

An apartment in Tehran costs more than one in New York City. Lower-income families tend to live in substandard housing or in extended families.

American videos, rap and pizza are very popular in Iran. Some pizzarias have 24-hour delivery.

(CHART) (C) JORDAN

Population: 5,307,470

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Jordanian dinar

Literacy: 87 percent

Government

Type: Constitutional monarchy

Leader: King Abdallah II (February 1999)

Ethnic Makeup

Arab 98 percent

Circassian and Armenian 2 percent

Religion

Sunni Muslim 92 percent

Christian 6 percent

Other (Shi'a Muslim and Druzes) 2 percent

Families tend to be large and close. Religious customs are closely followed, but women can walk in knee-length skirts or without head coverings without being verbally accosted.

Life in Jordan is low-key. There are modern Internet cafes, but little nightlife.

In an attempt to straddle conservative traditions and modern progress, restaurants offer three seating options: one room only for single men, another for only single women and a third just for families.

(CHART) (C) TURKEY

Population: 67,308,928

Official language: Turkish

Currency: Turkish lira

Literacy: 85 percent

Government

Type: Republican parliamentary democracy

## A WORLD APART

Leader: Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit (January 1999)

Ethnic Makeup

Turkish 80 percent

Kurdish 20 percent

Religion:

Sunni Muslim 99.8 percent

Mostly Christian and Jewish .2 percent

Church and state are strictly divided. Traditional head scarves must be removed when entering government offices.

Customs include the sipping of a licorice-flavored vodka called raki, and playing backgammon in cafes.

Turkey is a popular spot for Europeans, who consider it similar to vacationing in Spain or Italy.

Cable TV is common, and European pop music is a favorite.

(CHART) (C) SAUDI ARABIA

Population: 23,513,330

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Saudi riyal

Literacy: 78 percent

Government:

Type: Theocratic republic

Leader: Leader of the Islamic King and Prime Minister Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al

Saud (June 1982)

Ethnic Makeup

Arab 90 percent

Afro-Asian 10 percent

Religion

Muslim, 100 percent

Respect for Islamic customs and beliefs is extremely important. The practice of other religions is not allowed.

Music and drama groups are popular on university campuses, as are clubs for opera, cinema, square-dancing and bridge playing.

In addition to the modern shopping centers, Jeddah also has many traditional local markets, where such products as fruit and vegetables, gold, textiles and antiques are sold .

(CHART) A GLOSSARY OF TERMS RELATED TO MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Here is a glossary of important terms related to Middle East history and culture:

Aba: A long cloak worn traditionally by Arab men

Abayah: A long black cloak worn traditionally by Arab women

Agal: A dark cord that holds an Arab man's kaffiyeh head scarf in place

Allah: Arabic word for God

Amir: Prince or leader, especially used to designate a military commander

Anjuman: Persian word for a society composed of Muslims, especially used in Iran

Asha: A Muslim woman's head scarf

Ayatollah: High-ranking and well-respected religious scholar and legal expert

Bedouin: A pastoral nomad

Burqa: Long garment covering the entire body, worn by extremely religious Muslim women

Canaan: A historical and biblical term used to describe the strip of land that includes most of present-day Gaza Strip and Israel and the western part of Jordan. The term was found on Egyptian writings from the 15th century B.C.

Dishdasha: The basic long garment that is part of the street wear of both sexes in more traditional Muslim societies

Druse: A secretive religion practiced by some Arabs in Syria, Lebanon and Israel

Eid: Any Muslim festival

Emirate: Territory ruled by an emir

## A WORLD APART

Effendi: It originally referred to a Turkish civil servant but is now generally used as a term of respect for an educated man or a woman who wears Western clothes

Emir: Arabic for "commander." Male members of the house of Saud are referred to as emir, meaning prince

Five Pillars of Islam: Five principles meant to guide each Muslim onto the path of right behavior; the pillars are a statement of faith, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and alms giving

Foota: Head scarf tied around the chin, worn by traditional Muslim women

Hajj: Pilgrimage to Mecca

**Hamas**: An abbreviation for the Palestinian group known in English as the Islamic Resistance Movement

Haram: Sacred enclave; holy area

Hezbollah: Arabic for "the party of God." Shiite extremist group formed in Lebanon with the original aim of ending the Israeli occupation of Lebanon

Ikhwan: A brotherhood or organization of fellow Muslim believers, found especially in Saudi Arabia and Egypt

Imam: 1) Muslim religious or political leader; 2) one of the succession of leaders, beginning with Ali, viewed by the Shia as legitimate; 3) leader in prayer; 4) may also refer to the tomb or shrine of a religious leader

Insh'allah: "As God wills." Commonly used Arabic expression. Often used to disclaim responsibility for one's mistake

Intifada: Term used to describe the Arab insurrection in modern Israel

Islam: Religion begun by Muhammad in the 610s

Jihad: Literally means "struggle"; is applied equally to internal struggle for religious improvement and piety, as well as to a holy or religious war in the defense or spread of the Islamic faith

Kaffiyeh: Arab man's head scarf held in place by length of black rope

Khan: Turkish or Mongol chieftain, prince or ruler.

Kibbutz: Hebrew word for a collective settlement or village

Koran: Central religious text for Islam; variant spellings include Q'ran and Quran

Mecca: City where Muhammad first lived and where he first began to convert his family and friends to Islam

Medina: City, also known as Yathrib, to which Muhammad and his followers went in 622 A.D. and established both his political and religious leadership.

Mosque: Religious center and building for Muslims

Muezzin: The man who calls the Muslim faithful to prayer, generally standing in one of the mosque's minarets.

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OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

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Palestine: Historical region comprising parts of modern Israel, Jordan and Egypt.

Ramadan: The ninth lunar month, during which fasting is observed.

Sabra: A native-born Israeli Jew

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Shalom: Hebrew greeting of hello and goodbye

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Shiite: A member of one of the two major sects within Islam.

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(Compiled by Jody Habayeb)

(CHART) (C) U.S. Bases

(Map of Middle East showing locations of U.S. military bases)

Army

Air Force

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IRAQ IS NEARLY THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF FLORIDA

Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq became an independent kingdom in 1932. A republic was proclaimed in 1958, but military strongmen, including Saddam Hussein, have ruled the country since then.

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Good to unsuited: Near lakes and depressions

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(See microfilm for map details)

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Based on 1987 census

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Important ancient sites in Iraq.

Niveveh

Capital of Assyrian empire, 800-619 B.C.

Nimrud

Assyria's capital, 879 B.C.

Hatra -

Fortresslike ancient trading city.

Flourished 400 B.C. to 300 A.D.

Ctesiphon - Founded by the Parthians as winter residence around 100 B.C.; Babylon

Iraq's capital, 1700 B.C.

## A WORLD APART

Known for Hanging Gardens, Tower of Babel.

Reached its peak during King Nebuchadnezzar's reign, 604-562 B.C.

Uruk

Founded about 3500 B.C.

Known as the world's first city.

First evidence of writing found nearby.

Now known as Warka.

Ur - Founded about 3000 B.C.

"Home of Abraham"

Important Sumerian city-state.

Means "a city".

Querna - "Adam's tree" is said to mark the Garden of Eden.

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## Notes

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A WORLD APART

## Graphic

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PHOTO (27C) CHART (15C)

(8C) (Flags of each county)

(8C) (photos of Kuwaiti dinar, Israeli shekel, Qatari rial, Syrian pound, Iranian rial, Jordanian dinar, Saudi riyal, Turkish lira.

(C) President George W. Bush

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A WORLD APART

(C) Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit  
The Associated Press

(C) Like many Iraqis, Maha Hamzi, left, her sister Mayada Hamzi, right, and their children enjoy outings such as a recent visit to a Baghdad pastry shop for cake.

**Load-Date:** March 17, 2003

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## **A WORLD APART**

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

March 9, 2003, Sunday,

FINAL EDITION

Copyright 2003 The Tribune Co. Publishes The Tampa Tribune

**Section:** BAYLIFE,

**Length:** 2976 words

**Byline:** KAREN HAYMON LONG , [klong@tampatrib.com](mailto:klong@tampatrib.com); Tribune graphic by MALANDA SAXTON;; Tribune research by JODY HABAYEB and KAREN HAYMON LONG;; Source: CIA World Factbook 2002 and World Reference Atlas 1998; Tribune Graphic by MALANDA SAXTON and VAUGHN HUGHES;; NOAA, Global Security, Knight Ridder/Tribune and The Associated Press.; Reporter Karen Haymon Long can be reached at (813) 259-7618.

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As tensions between the United States and Iraq have built in recent weeks, the stream of customers has grown at the store where he works, Mapsource on Waters Avenue.

Homemakers. Doctors. Lawyers. Retirees. Even officers from U.S. Central Command who are headed to their Middle Eastern headquarters in Qatar. They all want wall maps of the region.

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Tarah Saadaldin, a 20-year-old University of South Florida student born in Iraq, says the biggest misconception Americans have of her birthplace is that it is a nation of terrorists.

## A WORLD APART

"By hearing the word Iraq, many people think terrorist right away," she says. "It is true they have an unfortunate leader. But you don't judge a whole country by his actions. There are a lot of innocent people in Iraq who just want to go about their lives like normal people, like me and you."

Like Americans, Iraqis love listening to music, going out to cafes, eating ice cream and using the Internet (although not all search engines are open to them). They like watching and playing soccer, going shopping and being with their families.

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"There aren't many jobs when you graduate anyway.

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"But there, all doors are closed to them. Little children think, 'Oh, we are going to get hit by a bomb soon. We might live, but we might not make it.' What kind of chance is that for a life?"

## (CHART) (C) IRAQ

Population: 24,001,816

Official language: Arabic (Kurdish in Kurdish regions)

Government Type: Republic

Leader: President Saddam Hussein (since July 16, 1979)

Currency: Iraqi dinar

Literacy: 58 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

Arab 75%

Kurdish 20% Other 5%

Religion:

Muslim 97%

Other 3 %

Muslim:

Shi'a 62 %

Sunni 35 %

Cultural information

## A WORLD APART

The average Iraqi makes \$2,700 a year.

Some women wear black veils over their heads and bodies in traditional Islamic fashion, while others wear blue jeans and other western clothing.

In the afternoons, markets and shops close down from noon to 4 because of the heat and custom.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART (C) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Population: 280,562,489

Official language: English

Government Type: Federal Republic

Leader: President George W. Bush (since January 2001)

Currency: Dollar

Literacy: 97 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

White 77.1 %

Black 12.9 %

Asian 4.2 %

Other \* 5.8 %

\* includes American Indian and Alaska native 1.5 %

Native Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.3%

Note: Hispanic can be of any race

Religion

Protestant 56 %

Roman Catholic 28 %

None 10 %

Other 4 %

Jewish 2 %

Cultural information

Between 1945 and 1973, all sectors of the population got richer. Since 1973, only those who finished high school continued to see their standard of living increase.

Manufacturing employment has fallen dramatically in the past 20 years.

Americans put less money in savings than many competing nations. The U.S. is the world's largest debtor nation.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART) (C) ISRAEL

Population: 6,029,529

Official Language: Hebrew

## A WORLD APART

Currency: Israeli shekel

Literacy: 95 percent

Government Type: Parliamentary democracy

Leader: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (Since 2001)

Ethnic Makeup:

Jewish 80 percent

non-Jewish 20 percent (mostly European/American)

Religion

Jewish 80 percent

Muslim 15 percent

Christian and other 5 %

Although it is only the size of New Jersey, Israel has more museums per capita than any other nation. Most middle-class students go to college.

Israelis have been issued kits filled with gas masks and agents to counter chemical weapons. Many newer buildings have safe rooms with no windows, stocked with radios, batteries, food and water.

In Tel Aviv, Israelis love to stroll along the Mediterranean Sea's beaches and eat in outdoor cafes.

(CHART) (C) KUWAIT

Population: 2,111,561

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Kuwaiti dinar

Literacy: 78.6 percent

Government Type: Nominal constitutional monarchy

Leader: Prime minister and Crown Prince Sheik Saad Al Sabah (December 1977) Ethnic Makeup:

Kuwaiti 45 percent

other Arab 35 percent

South Asian 9 percent

Other 11 percent

Religion:

Muslim 85 percent

Christian, Hindu, Parsi and other, 15 percent

**Women** in Kuwait have many of the same rights as men and are guaranteed the right to work for equal pay. But they cannot vote.

Kuwaiti families are usually large, and many families are interconnected and related to one another through ancestry and marriage.

Kuwait's terrain is almost entirely flat desert. Summer temperatures can climb to 120 degrees.

## A WORLD APART

Freedom of religion is guaranteed by law.

## (CHART) QATAR

Population: 793,341

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Qatari rial

Literacy: 79 percent

Government Type: Traditional monarchy

Leader : Prime Minister Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani (June 1995)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 40 percent

Pakistani 18 percent

Indian 18 percent

Iranian 10 percent

other 14 percent

Religion:

Muslim 95 percent

Other 5 percent

U.S. Central Command established its regional headquarters here in December for an attack on Iraq.

Most Qataris are Arabs; some have Iranian or African ancestry.

Public education, even at The University of Qatar, is free. Half the students in the country are female.

Political parties are banned

No open opposition against the government is tolerated.

## (CHART) (C) SYRIA

Population: 17,155,814

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Syrian pound

Literacy: 71 percent

Government: Type: Republic under military regime (since March 1963)

Leader: President Bashar al-Asad (since July 2000)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 90 percent

Armenians and other 10 percent

Religion:

Sunni Muslim 74 percent

## A WORLD APART

Muslim sects 16 percent

Christian 10 percent

Health care and education from kindergarten through college is free. Because of population increases, the state is strained and in the past two years universities have begun to charge tuition.

The state runs the media and bans access to pornographic Web sites. Some search engines, such as Yahoo, cannot be accessed.

Damascus, a modern city of 5 million, is the oldest inhabited city

(CHART) (C) IRAN

Population: 66,622,704

Official language: Farsi and Persian dialects

Currency: Iranian rial

Literacy: 72 percent

Government Type : Theocratic republic

Leader: Ayatollah Ali Hoseini-Khamenei (June 1989)

Ethnic Makeup:

Persian 51 percent

Azeri 24 percent

Gilaki and Mazandarani 8 percent

Kurd 7 percent

Other 10 percent

Religion

Shi'a Muslim 89 percent

Sunni Muslim 10 percent

Zoroastrian, Jewish Christian and Baha'i 1 percent

Tehran's population grew from 200,000 before World War II to 12 million today. As a result, it has severe air pollution problems.

Cellphones in big cities are as popular as they are in the U.S.

An apartment in Tehran costs more than one in New York City. Lower-income families tend to live in substandard housing or in extended families.

American videos, rap and pizza are very popular in Iran. Some pizzarias have 24-hour delivery.

(CHART) (C) JORDAN

Population: 5,307,470

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Jordanian dinar

Literacy: 87 percent

Government Type: Constitutional monarchy

Leader: King Abdallah II (February 1999)

## A WORLD APART

## Ethnic Makeup

Arab 98 percent

Circassian and Armenian 2 percent

## Religion

Sunni Muslim 92 percent

Christian 6 percent

Other (Shi'a Muslim and Druzes) 2 percent

Families tend to be large and close. Religious customs are closely followed, but women can walk in knee-length skirts or without head coverings without being verbally accosted.

Life in Jordan is low-key. There are modern Internet cafes, but little nightlife.

In an attempt to straddle conservative traditions and modern progress, restaurants offer three seating options: one room only for single men, another for only single women and a third just for families.

## (CHART) (C) TURKEY

Population: 67,308,928

Official language: Turkish

Currency: Turkish lira

Literacy: 85 percent

Government Type: Republican parliamentary democracy

Leader: Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit (January 1999)

## Ethnic Makeup

Turkish 80 percent

Kurdish 20 percent

## Religion:

Sunni Muslim 99.8 percent

Mostly Christian and Jewish .2 percent

Church and state are strictly divided. Traditional head scarves must be removed when entering government offices.

Customs include the sipping of a licorice-flavored vodka called raki, and playing backgammon in cafes.

Turkey is a popular spot for Europeans, who consider it similar to vacationing in Spain or Italy.

Cable TV is common, and European pop music is a favorite.

## (CHART) (C) SAUDI ARABIA

Population: 23,513,330

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Saudi riyal

Literacy: 78 percent

Government: Type: Theocratic republic

Leader: Leader of the Islamic King and Prime Minister Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al Saud (June 1982)

## A WORLD APART

## Ethnic Makeup

Arab 90 percent

Afro-Asian 10 percent

## Religion

Muslim, 100 percent

Respect for Islamic customs and beliefs is extremely important. The practice of other religions is not allowed.

Music and drama groups are popular on university campuses, as are clubs for opera, cinema, square-dancing and bridge playing.

In addition to the modern shopping centers, Jeddah also has many traditional local markets, where such products as fruit and vegetables, gold, textiles and antiques are sold .

## (CHART) A GLOSSARY OF TERMS RELATED TO MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Here is a glossary of important terms related to Middle East history and culture:

Aba: A long cloak worn traditionally by Arab men

Abayah: A long black cloak worn traditionally by Arab women

Agal: A dark cord that holds an Arab man's kaffiyeh head scarf in place

Allah: Arabic word for God

Amir: Prince or leader, especially used to designate a military commander

Anjuman: Persian word for a society composed of Muslims, especially used in Iran

Asha: A Muslim woman's head scarf

Ayatollah: High-ranking and well-respected religious scholar and legal expert

Bedouin: A pastoral nomad

Burqa: Long garment covering the entire body, worn by extremely religious Muslim women

Canaan: A historical and biblical term used to describe the strip of land that includes most of present-day Gaza Strip and Israel and the western part of Jordan. The term was found on Egyptian writings from the 15th century B.C.

Dishdasha: The basic long garment that is part of the street wear of both sexes in more traditional Muslim societies

Druse: A secretive religion practiced by some Arabs in Syria, Lebanon and Israel

Eid: Any Muslim festival

Emirate: Territory ruled by an emir

Effendi: It originally referred to a Turkish civil servant but is now generally used as a term of respect for an educated man or a woman who wears Western clothes

Emir: Arabic for "commander." Male members of the house of Saud are referred to as emir, meaning prince

Five Pillars of Islam: Five principles meant to guide each Muslim onto the path of right behavior; the pillars are a statement of faith, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and alms giving



## A WORLD APART

Foota: Head scarf tied around the chin, worn by traditional Muslim women

Hajj: Pilgrimage to Mecca

**Hamas**: An abbreviation for the Palestinian group known in English as the Islamic Resistance Movement

Haram: Sacred enclave; holy area

Hezbollah: Arabic for "the party of God." Shiite extremist group formed in Lebanon with the original aim of ending the Israeli occupation of Lebanon

Ikhwan: A brotherhood or organization of fellow Muslim believers, found especially in Saudi Arabia and Egypt

Imam: 1) Muslim religious or political leader; 2) one of the succession of leaders, beginning with Ali, viewed by the Shia as legitimate; 3) leader in prayer; 4) may also refer to the tomb or shrine of a religious leader

Insh'allah: "As God wills." Commonly used Arabic expression. Often used to disclaim responsibility for one's mistake

Intifada: Term used to describe the Arab insurrection in modern Israel

Islam: Religion begun by Muhammad in the 610s

Jihad: Literally means "struggle"; is applied equally to internal struggle for religious improvement and piety, as well as to a holy or religious war in the defense or spread of the Islamic faith

Kaffiyeh: Arab man's head scarf held in place by length of black rope

Khan: Turkish or Mongol chieftain, prince or ruler.

Kibbutz: Hebrew word for a collective settlement or village

Koran: Central religious text for Islam; variant spellings include Q'ran and Quran

Mecca: City where Muhammad first lived and where he first began to convert his family and friends to Islam

Medina: City, also known as Yathrib, to which Muhammad and his followers went in 622 A.D. and established both his political and religious leadership.

Mosque: Religious center and building for Muslims

Muezzin: The man who calls the Muslim faithful to prayer, generally standing in one of the mosque's minarets.

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A WORLD APART

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The Associated Press

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**Load-Date:** April 9, 2003

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Government

Type: Republic

Leader: President Saddam Hussein (since July 16, 1979) Currency Iraqi dinar

Literacy 58 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

Arab 75%

Kurdish 20% Other 3%

Religion:

Muslim 97%

Other 3 %

Muslim:

Shi'a 62 %

Sunni 35 %

Cultural information

## A WORLD APART

The average Iraqi makes \$2,700 a year.

Some women wear black veils over their heads and bodies in traditional Islamic fashion, while others wear blue jeans and other western clothing.

In the afternoons, markets and shops close down from noon to 4 because of the heat and custom.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART (C) UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Population

280,562,489

Official language

English

Government

Federal Republic

Leader: President George W. Bush (since January 2001)

Currency: Dollar

Literacy 97 % of adult population is literate

Ethnic makeup

White 77.1 %

Black 12.9 %

Asian 4.2 %

Other \* 5.8 %

\* includes American Indian and Alaska native 1.5 %

Native Hawaiian and other Pacific islander 0.3%

Note: Hispanic can be of any race

Religion

Protestant 56 %

Roman Catholic 28 %

None 10 %

Other 4 %

Jewish 2 %

Cultural information

Between 1945 and 1973, all sectors of the population got richer. Since 1973, only those who finished high school continued to see their standard of living increase.

Manufacturing employment has fallen dramatically in the past 20 years.

Americans put less money in savings than many competing nations. The U.S. is the world's largest debtor nation.

Tribune graphic

## (CHART) (C) ISRAEL

Population: 6,029,529

Official Language: Hebrew

Currency: Israeli shekel

Literacy: 95 percent

Government

## A WORLD APART

Type: Parliamentary democracy

Leader: Prime Minister Ariel Sharon (Since 2001)

Ethnic Makeup:

Jewish 80 percent

non-Jewish 20 percent (mostly European/American)

Religion

Jewish 80 percent

Muslim 15 percent

Christian and other 5 %

Although it is only the size of New Jersey, Israel has more museums per capita than any other nation. Most middle-class students go to college.

Israelis have been issued kits filled with gas masks and agents to counter chemical weapons. Many newer buildings have safe rooms with no windows, stocked with radios, batteries, food and water.

In Tel Aviv, Israelis love to stroll along the Mediterranean Sea's beaches and eat in outdoor cafes.

#### (CHART) (C) KUWAIT

Population: 2,111,561

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Kuwaiti dinar

Literacy: 78.6 percent

Government

Type: Nominal constitutional monarchy

Leader: Prime minister and Crown Prince Sheik Saad Al Sabah (December 1977) Ethnic Makeup:

Kuwaiti 45 percent

other Arab 35 percent

South Asian 9 percent

Other 11 percent

Religion:

Muslim 85 percent

Christian, Hindu, Parsi and other, 15 percent

**Women** in Kuwait have many of the same rights as men and are guaranteed the right to work for equal pay. But they cannot vote.

Kuwaiti families are usually large, and many families are interconnected and related to one another through ancestry and marriage.

Kuwait's terrain is almost entirely flat desert. Summer temperatures can climb to 120 degrees.

Freedom of religion is guaranteed by law.

#### (CHART) QATAR

Population: 793,341

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Qatari rial

Literacy: 79 percent

Government

Type: Traditional monarchy



## A WORLD APART

Leader : Prime Minister Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani (June 1995)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 40 percent

Pakistani 18 percent

Indian 18 percent

Iranian 10 percent

other 14 percent

Religion:

Muslim: 95 percent

Other 5 percent

U.S. Central Command established its regional headquarters here in December for an attack on Iraq.

Most Qataris are Arabs; some have Iranian or African ancestry.

Public education, even at The University of Qatar, is free. Half the students in the country are female.

Political parties are banned and no open opposition against the government is tolerated.

(CHART) (C) SYRIA

Population: 17,155,814

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Syrian pound

Literacy: 71 percent

Government:

Type: Republic under military regime (since March 1963)

Leader: President Bashar al-Asad (since July 2000)

Ethnic Makeup:

Arab 90 percent

Armenians and other 10 percent

Religion:

Sunni Muslim 74 percent

Muslim sects 16 percent

Christian 10 percent

Health care and education from kindergarten through college is free. Although, because of population increases, the state is strained and in the past two years universities have begun to charge tuition.

The state runs the media and bans access to pornographic Web sites. Some search engines, such as Yahoo, cannot be accessed.

Damascus, a modern city of 5 million, is the oldest inhabited city

(CHART) (C) IRAN

Population: 66,622,704

Official language: Farsi and Persian dialects

Currency: Iranian rial

Literacy: 72 percent

Government

Type : Theocratic republic

## A WORLD APART

Leader: Ayatollah Ali Hoseini-Khamenei (June 1989)

Ethnic Makeup:

Persian 51 percent

Azeri 24 percent

Gilaki and Mazandarani 8 percent

Kurd 7 percent

Other 10 percent

Religion

Shi'a Muslim 89 percent

Sunni Muslim 10 percent

Zoroastrian, Jewish

Christian and Baha'i 1 percent

Tehran's population grew from 200,000 before World War II to 12 million today. As a result, it has severe air pollution problems.

Cell phones in big cities are as popular as they are in the U.S. Many Iranians, especially young people, use the Internet.

A decent apartment in Tehran costs more than one in New York City. Lower-income families tend to live in substandard housing or in extended families.

American videos, rap and pizza are very popular in Iran. Some pizzarias have 24-hour pizza delivery.

(CHART) (C) JORDAN

Population: 5,307,470

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Jordanian dinar

Literacy: 87 percent

Government

Type: Constitutional monarchy

Leader: King Abdallah II (February 1999)

Ethnic Makeup

Arab 98 percent

Circassian and Armenian 1 percent

Religion

Sunni Muslim 92 percent

Christian 6 percent

Other (Shi'a Muslim and Druzes) 2 percent

Families tend to be large and close. Religious customs are closely followed, but women on streets can walk in knee-length skirts or without head coverings without being verbally accosted.

Life in Jordan is low-key. There are modern Internet cafes, but little nightlife.

In an attempt to straddle conservative traditions and modern progress, restaurants offer three seating options: one room only for single men, another for only single women and a third just for families.

(CHART) (C) TURKEY

Population: 67,308,928

Official language: Turkish

Currency: Turkish lira

Literacy: 85 percent

Government

Type: Republican parliamentary democracy

## A WORLD APART

Leader: Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit (January 1999)

Ethnic Makeup

Turkish 80 percent

Kurdish 20 percent

Religion:

Sunni Muslim 99.8 percent

Mostly Christian and Jewish .2 percent

Church and state are strictly divided. Traditional head scarves must be removed when entering government offices.

Customs include the sipping of a licorice-flavored vodka called raki, and playing backgammon in cafes.

Turkey is a popular spot for Europeans, who consider it similar to vacationing in Spain or Italy.

Cable TV is common, and European pop music is a favorite.

(CHART) (C) SAUDI ARABIA

Population: 23,513,330

Official language: Arabic

Currency: Saudi riyal

Literacy: 78 percent

Government:

Type: Theocratic republic

Leader: Leader of the Islamic King and Prime Minister Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al

Saud (June 1982)

Ethnic Makeup

Arab 90 percent

Afro-Asian 10 percent

Religion

Muslim, 100 percent

Respect for Islamic customs and beliefs is extremely important. The practice of other religions is not allowed.

Music and drama groups are popular on university campuses, as are clubs for opera, cinema, square-dancing and bridge playing.

In addition to the modern shopping centers, Jeddah also has many traditional local markets, where such products as fruit and vegetables, gold, textiles and antiques are sold .

(CHART) A GLOSSARY OF TERMS RELATED TO MIDDLE EASTERN HISTORY AND CULTURE

Here is a glossary of important terms related to Middle East history and culture:

Aba: A long cloak worn traditionally by Arab men

Abayah: A long black cloak worn traditionally by Arab women

Agal: A dark cord that holds an Arab man's kaffiyeh head scarf in place

Allah: Arabic word for God

Amir: Prince or leader, especially used to designate a military commander

Anjuman: Persian word for a society composed of Muslims, especially used in Iran

Asha: A Muslim woman's head scarf

Ayatollah: High-ranking and well-respected religious scholar and legal expert

Bedouin: A pastoral nomad

Burqa: Long garment covering the entire body, worn by extremely religious Muslim women

Canaan: A historical and biblical term used to describe the strip of land that includes most of present-day Gaza Strip and Israel and the western part of Jordan. The term was found on Egyptian writings from the 15th century B.C.

Dishdasha: The basic long garment that is part of the street wear of both sexes in more traditional Muslim societies

Druse: A secretive religion practiced by some Arabs in Syria, Lebanon and Israel

Eid: Any Muslim festival

Emirate: Territory ruled by an emir

## A WORLD APART

Effendi: It originally referred to a Turkish civil servant but is now generally used as a term of respect for an educated man or a woman who wears Western clothes

Emir: Arabic for "commander." Male members of the house of Saud are referred to as emir, meaning prince

Five Pillars of Islam: Five principles meant to guide each Muslim onto the path of right behavior; the pillars are a statement of faith, prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and alms giving

Foota: Head scarf tied around the chin, worn by traditional Muslim women

Hajj: Pilgrimage to Mecca

**Hamas**: An abbreviation for the Palestinian group known in English as the Islamic Resistance Movement

Haram: Sacred enclave; holy area

Hezbollah: Arabic for "the party of God." Shiite extremist group formed in Lebanon with the original aim of ending the Israeli occupation of Lebanon

Ikhwan: A brotherhood or organization of fellow Muslim believers, found especially in Saudi Arabia and Egypt

Imam: 1) Muslim religious or political leader; 2) one of the succession of leaders, beginning with Ali, viewed by the Shia as legitimate; 3) leader in prayer; 4) may also refer to the tomb or shrine of a religious leader

Insh'allah: "As God wills." Commonly used Arabic expression. Often used to disclaim responsibility for one's mistake

Intifada: Term used to describe the Arab insurrection in modern Israel

Islam: Religion begun by Muhammad in the 610s

Jihad: Literally means "struggle"; is applied equally to internal struggle for religious improvement and piety, as well as to a holy or religious war in the defense or spread of the Islamic faith

Kaffiyeh: Arab man's head scarf held in place by length of black rope

Khan: Turkish or Mongol chieftain, prince or ruler.

Kibbutz: Hebrew word for a collective settlement or village

Koran: Central religious text for Islam; variant spellings include Q'ran and Quran

Mecca: City where Muhammad first lived and where he first began to convert his family and friends to Islam

Medina: City, also known as Yathrib, to which Muhammad and his followers went in 622 A.D. and established both his political and religious leadership.

Mosque: Religious center and building for Muslims

Muezzin: The man who calls the Muslim faithful to prayer, generally standing in one of the mosque's minarets.

Muslim: A follower of Islam

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

PLO: Palestine Liberation Organization

Palestine: Historical region comprising parts of modern Israel, Jordan and Egypt.

Ramadan: The ninth lunar month, during which fasting is observed.

Sabra: A native-born Israeli Jew

Salaam: Traditional Arabian greeting that means "Peace be upon you."

Shalom: Hebrew greeting of hello and goodbye

Shariah: The holy law of Islam; also the "right path"

Shiite: A member of one of the two major sects within Islam.

Sunnite: A member of the other major sect within Islam

Souk or Souq: Arabic word for market

Strait of Hormuz: The narrows at the mouth of the Persian Gulf. Strategically important to naval warfare

Suez Canal: A canal extending from the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea to the Red Sea. It enables large ships to avoid the long trip around Africa.

Talmud: Either of two collections of Jewish legal precedents

Ulema: Religious scholars. In modern Saudi Arabia, they meet weekly with the king and regulate religious life

Ummah: The community of Muslim believers.

Zakat: A tax imposed upon Muslims for the government in turn to give to charities; one of the Five Pillars of Islam

Zionism: Jewish nationalism that first developed in the late 19th century

## A WORLD APART

Fisher and Ochsenswald, "Middle East: A History" (5th edition); e-history.com. For more on Middle Eastern countries, visit [www.cia.factbooks.com](http://www.cia.factbooks.com)

(Compiled by Jody Habayeb)

(CHART) (C) U.S. Bases

(Map of Middle East showing locations of U.S. military bases)

Army

Air Force

Navy

(CHART) (C) INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT IRAQ

IRAQ IS NEARLY THREE TIMES THE SIZE OF FLORIDA

Formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, Iraq became an independent kingdom in 1932. A republic was proclaimed in 1958, but military strongmen, including Saddam Hussein, have ruled the country since then.

Iraq 168,869 square miles

Florida 58,560 square miles

FIGHTING TERRAIN

Good: Flat to rolling plains

Good to poor: Flat to rolling plains, wet soils

Good to unsuited: Near lakes and depressions

Good to unsuited: Plains with hills and mountains

Unsuited: Severely dissected plains

Unsuited: Plains with canals, high water table

Unsuited: Mountainous terrain

(See microfilm for map details)

POPULATION

Based on 1987 census

People per square mile

0 to 65

66 to 129

130 to 194

195 to 453

13,566

(See microfilm for details)

ETHNIC RELIGIOUS

Sunni Kurd

Sunni Arab/Kurd

Sunni Arab

Shiite Arab

Shiite/Suni Arab

(See microfilm for details)

(CHART) (C) THE CRADLE OF CIVILIZATION

Important ancient sites in Iraq.

Niveveh

Capital of Assyrian empire, 800-619 B.C.

Nimrud

Assyria's capital, 879 B.C.

Hatra -

Fortresslike ancient trading city.

Flourished 400 B.C. to 300 A.D.

Ctesiphon - Founded by the Parthians as winter residence around 100 B.C.; Babylon

Iraq's capital, 1700 B.C.

## A WORLD APART

Known for Hanging Gardens, Tower of Babel.

Reached its peak during King Nebuchadnezzar's reign, 604-562 B.C.

Uruk

Founded about 3500 B.C.

Known as the world's first city.

First evidence of writing found nearby.

Now known as Warka.

Ur - Founded about 3000 B.C.

"Home of Abraham"

Important Sumerian city-state.

Means "a city".

Querna - "Adam's tree" is said to mark the Garden of Eden.

(See microfilm for map details)

(CHART) (C) When it's noon in Tampa, it's 8 p.m. in Iraq. (Map depicts different times in different cities).

Tampa noon EST

Washington D.C. noon

London 5 p.m.

Paris 6 p.m.

Moscow 8 p.m.

Bagdad 8 p.m.

Cairo 7 p.m.

Tehran 8:30 p.m.

Kuwait City 8 p.m.

Note: Iraq does not observe daylight-saving time.

## Notes

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A WORLD APART

## Graphic

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PHOTO (27C) CHART (15C)

(8C) (Flags of each county)

(8C) (photos of Kuwaiti dinar, Israeli shekel, Qatari rial, Syrian pound, Iranian rial, Jordanian dinar, Saudi riyal, Turkish lira.

(C) President George W. Bush

(C) President Saddam Hussein

(C) Prime Minister and Crown Prince Sheik Saad Al Sabah

(C) Prime Minister Hamad bin Khalifa Al Thani (June 1995)

(C) Prime Minister Ariel Sharon

(C) President Bashar Al-Asad

(C) Ayatollah Ali Hoseini-Khamenei

(C) King Abdallah II

(C) Leader of the Islamic King and Prime Minister Fahd bin Abd al-Aziz Al

A WORLD APART

(C) Prime Minister Bulent Ecevit  
The Associated Press

(C) Like many Iraqis, Maha Hamzi, left, her sister Mayada Hamzi, right, and their children enjoy outings such as a recent visit to a Baghdad pastry shop for cake.

**Load-Date:** March 12, 2003

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End of Document

**Just how dangerous is; CONFLICT**

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

April 6, 2002 Saturday

Late Edition

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**Section:** GOOD WEEKEND; Pg. 33

**Length:** 3134 words

**Byline:** Andrew Marshall

## **Body**

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He wants a fundamentalist Islamic republic on Australia's doorstep, trains fanatical soldiers to terrorise Christians and questions whether Osama bin Laden is "truly anti-American". Andrew Marshall meets Indonesia's crusading zealot Jaffar Umar Thalib.

When religious violence first erupted in the Poso region of north-eastern Indonesia - when burning churches lit up the tropical night and corpses began to clog the Islamic school floors - the Reverend Marson L. Moganti made a solemn vow to himself.

"I hate conflict," he says. "I've seen too much of it. So I swore not to cut my hair until the violence in Poso stopped."

That was more than two years ago. Today, Moganti stands in the doorway of his burnt-out church, gazing out upon his village of Sanginora. It is a wasteland of charred wood and twisted metal. His dazed parishioners pick through what is left of their incinerated homes. Graffiti on the wall of one gutted house translates as "this is the fate of the Christians of Sanginora". Moganti sighs and unties his ponytail - his long black hair cascades around his shoulders.

Sanginora is - was - a sizeable village in the turbulent Poso region of Central Sulawesi. Since December 1998, pitched battles between Poso's Muslim and Christian communities have left hundreds dead and thousands homeless. But the Muslim force which, in

a matter of days, flattened Sanginora and four neighbouring Christian villages, brought a new kind of terror to Poso.

The attack began about noon on November 29, during the Muslim holy month of Ramadan. The attackers arrived in their hundreds, dressed in black uniforms and ski-masks. With cries of "God is Great!" they ripped through the village, hurling grenades and petrol bombs, and spraying the houses with semi-automatic weapons.

"There were explosions and constant gunfire," says Moganti. "Soon I saw houses on fire and knew the church would be burned next."

Moganti and his flock escaped into the jungle with what possessions they could carry. One terrified women, who was eight months pregnant, paused to give birth beneath a banana tree. Back at the village, Sanginora's attackers began a five-hour orgy of destruction. By one report, petrol trucks were brought in to douse houses and crops, while bulldozers levelled what remained.



## Just how dangerous is CONFLICT

Spotted amid the chaos were bearded men in long, Afghan-style shirts and white head-dresses, coolly dispatching orders to their black-clad gunmen. Instantly recognisable in their Arabic clothing, these were the field commanders of Laskar Jihad, a Muslim paramilitary group from Indonesia's main island of Java, renowned for its fanaticism and brutality. Rallying under a fearsome insignia of two medieval scimitars crossed over the Koran, its holy warriors are well-drilled, heavily armed and ferociously loyal to one man. He is a 40-year-old Indonesian cleric named Jaffar Umar Thalib - the most militant Muslim in the world's most populous Islamic nation.

Jaffar didn't really blip on American radar screens until after the September 11 terror attacks. Only then did global attention focus upon the potential threat posed by Muslim extremists in Indonesia and upon what role they might play in al-Qaeda's network in South-East Asia.

A plethora of radical Islamic groups have formed in Indonesia since the three-decade dictatorship of Soeharto collapsed in 1998, but Laskar Jihad - which boasts between 3,000 and 10,000 members - stands out for its track record in blood and mayhem. In Indonesia's Maluku islands, once famed for the spice trade, the arrival of 1,500 of Jaffar's holy warriors escalated a religious conflict which has now killed more than 5,000 people. Last July, Jaffar dispatched 750 troops to Poso and similar carnage ensued.

"They've got real organisation and they've got reasonably capable people," says Australian academic and Indonesian expert Dr Harold Crouch of the International Crisis Group (ICG) in Jakarta. ICG conducts field research to help the international community anticipate, understand and contain or prevent conflicts. "You might find an airline pilot or two in Laskar Jihad," explains Crouch, "but in the others, I doubt it very much."

According to international press reports, hundreds of non-Indonesian Muslims - including some al-Qaeda operatives - have trained at Laskar Jihad camps in the jungles of Sulawesi, and US officials are convinced that al-Qaeda "sleeper cells" still exist there.

Jaffar fought alongside the anti-Soviet mujahideen in Afghanistan, and met Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. While he now openly scorns bin Laden, experts say there is little difference between the two.

"He claims to be ideologically opposed to Osama, but his ideology is parallel," says Rohan Gunaratna, a researcher at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. "They both believe in using violence to achieve their political goals."

Jaffar has described the US as "the biggest enemy of the Islamic people," and in the wake of the September 11 attacks - which he publicly cheered - he threatened to declare war on all American facilities in Indonesia.

Jaffar oversees a network of pesantren, or Koranic boarding schools, that produce young militants educated in jihad. He preaches that democracy is "incompatible with Islam" and that Indonesia's 210 million people should be governed under strict Islamic law. And he practises what he preaches, too: last year, he presided over a makeshift Islamic court in Maluku that passed judgment on an alleged adulterer, who was then stoned to death by a mob. Jaffar was arrested but never prosecuted for the murder, and squads of his long-robed devotees still patrol Indonesian cities, raiding alcohol shops and suspected brothels.

"All of these factors have led US policy-makers to conclude that Jaffar is a radical demagogue infused with a worldwide Islamic credo," says Peter Chalk, an analyst with the Rand Corporation in Washington. Furthermore, he says, Laskar Jihad is seen as one group that might be prepared to aid "the logistical relocation of al-Qaeda forces, post-Taliban". Adds Larry Johnson, a former State Department counter-terrorism official, "It's about potential. If these groups are allowed to grow unchecked by local authorities, they could pose a threat."

Even its leader's name seems custom-made to jangle Western nerves: Jaffar, the evil sorcerer who deceived Aladdin; Thalib, as in "Taliban," from the Arabic for "religious student". With the Taliban routed and Osama on the run, the question is: Just how dangerous is Jaffar?

## Just how dangerous is CONFLICT

Laskar Jihad's headquarters are located in a pesantren, a huddle of ramshackle buildings reached by a rutted back road and guarded by sentries in black commando outfits. I am met by Eri Ziyad Abu Zaki, the group's public relations officer, a shyly grinning young man in a knee-length tunic.

The holy warriors are part of the "human resources division," Eri Ziyad tells me, and all new recruits are expected to undergo military training at several "secret places" in Java.

He also shows me the group's twice-monthly tabloid, called Bulletin Laskar Jihad. It is

well-written, slickly produced and very anti-American. "America Starts Digging Its Own Grave," states one front-page headline, referring to the Afghan campaign. "You're Dead, America," says another.

Laskar Jihad also runs a Web site, in both Indonesian and English, that makes pleas for donations. The tabloid publishes no pictures of humans or animals. Like the Taliban, Laskar Jihad considers re-creating images of living beings a blasphemy against God. Flipping through back issues, the only "human" form I could find was a picture of the Statue of Liberty - decapitated.

About 400 men, women and children stay on the compound, where the usual vices - alcohol, gambling - are banned. So are television and music. "Music is a distraction from God," Eri Ziyad says. The group imposes Taliban-like restrictions on its women, who must cover their faces with veils and remain largely housebound. Jaffar himself has four wives, the maximum Islam allows, and 11 children.

Eri Ziyad leads the way to a modest house near the mosque and knocks on the door. We are ushered into a sparsely furnished anteroom by a beaming Jaffar.

He is tall and certainly plumper than his reputation as an ascetic would suggest. He wears a white skullcap, a crisp, checked sarong and a long, diaphanous cream shirt with embroidered pink trim. Beneath it is a white T-shirt bearing what appears to be Laskar Jihad's clashing scimitars logo. He is pale-skinned, with dark-brown eyes, and when he smiles (which is often), he is disarmingly handsome. His moustache is neatly trimmed, and he has a straggly, greying beard.

Jaffar's warm welcome is unexpected, since he claims the international media is "controlled by Jews and Christians" bent on discrediting Laskar Jihad. But he obviously enjoys the attention he has received since September 11.

"We heard that when Megawati visited the US, George Walker Bush warned her to be careful of Laskar Jihad," he says, referring to the Indonesian president, Megawati Sukarnoputri. "He called us 'jihad forces'. Also, Colin Powell called us an organ of the

al-Qaeda network. And then Robert Gelbard, the US ambassador in Indonesia, made a statement saying that Jaffar Umar Thalib was" - and here Jaffar speaks mockingly in English - " 'a quite dangerous man'."

Our meeting took place the day after Afghanistan's interim government was sworn in. Jaffar has a predictably low opinion of it. "It is a puppet government established to abolish so-called Islamic radicalism," he says. "It will only prolong the suffering of the Afghan people. I believe the war will continue. All the anti-American powers are still united, are still strong. They are rebuilding their power outside Afghanistan, particularly along the Pakistani border."

"So the Taliban aren't finished yet?"

"No, in my opinion they are still a big threat to the US," he replies. "George Walker Bush said it himself after September 11: this is a crusade. The US has since tried to withdraw this statement and express friendship to Muslim people. But it has not been forgotten by the mujahideen." He leans back and interlocks his fingers, then cracks them extravagantly. "I hope the Americans share the same fate as the Soviets."

Afghanistan is very close to Jaffar's heart. He earned his warrior credentials there along with hundreds of other Indonesian Muslims who fought with the mujahideen. For Jaffar, then in his mid-twenties, Afghanistan was a

## Just how dangerous is CONFLICT

liberation. Until that point, he had spent his life in the suffocating environs of various Islamic schools. He was born in 1961, the seventh of eight children, in east Java. His formidable father, Umar Thalib, was a veteran of Indonesia's independence war who later ran a pesantren with the same martial ferocity, beating a religious education into his son with a rattan stick. "Learning Arabic from my father was like learning boxing," Jaffar has said.

At age 19, in an apparent act of filial rebellion, he left his father's pesantren to study Arabic at a Jakarta institute, but failed to complete the course due to a disagreement

with a teacher. In 1987, for similar reasons, he dropped out of another Islamic college in Lahore, Pakistan. He spent the next two years with Afghan mujahideen and recalls the period with obvious affection.

"We were not there to learn," he says, "but to fight." But actually he did learn: he learned how nasty little wars are waged and he learned that superpowers could be super-vulnerable. "From my two-year experience in Afghanistan, I concluded that the whole concept of a superpower was only created by the mass media," he says. "It did not fit with reality at all."

Another Muslim who was reaching much the same conclusion was Osama bin Laden. Jaffar met him in 1987 in Peshawar, a Pakistani town near the Afghan border. His recollection of the encounter is prefaced by a deep, resonant belch. "At that time, he still shaved his beard," Jaffar says. "He was a spiritually empty man. He had no religious knowledge at all." He adds that bin Laden was an arrogant man who poured scorn on Saudi Arabia, which Jaffar regards as a model Islamic state. "Because of this, we distanced ourselves from him," Jaffar says. "We only knew of the al-Qaeda network after the September 11 attack."

Is this true? While it is hard to find concrete evidence of collaboration between Laskar Jihad and al-Qaeda, either before or after September 11, suspicions linger. Apparent confirmation of a link came in early December, when the head of Indonesia's National Intelligence Agency publicly acknowledged that al-Qaeda members had trained in Poso. But a few days later he retracted this statement. Then there is Laskar Jihad's Web site, which once featured links to Web sites of other radical organisations. These included Lashkar-e-Taiba, a Pakistan-based outfit accused by India of the assault on the New Delhi Parliament, as well as Hezbollah, **Hamas** and groups in Bosnia and Chechnya. These links no longer appear on the site.

Still, none of this adds up to an indictment, and Jaffar knows it. He happily admits that in the weeks preceding September 11, "someone close to Osama bin Laden" visited Laskar Jihad's offices in Maluku to offer financial help. Bin Laden's offer was not only rejected, Jaffar insists, but his emissary was threatened with death should he ever set foot on Maluku again.

Gunaratna, the terrorism researcher, believes Jaffar's open contempt for bin Laden is disingenuous. "Publicly, he's against Osama," Gunaratna says, "but privately he has told Muslim leaders that he's willing to send fighters to Afghanistan if Osama requested." Jaffar told me that a unit of 10 Laskar Jihad "observers" was currently stationed in Afghanistan, although he wouldn't elaborate on their activities there.

Even if Jaffar's contempt for al-Qaeda's mastermind is genuine, how reassuring is that? If the world's most wanted man is, as Jaffar suggests, a lightweight - at one point in our interview he even questions whether Osama bin Laden is "truly anti-American" - what does this say about the quality of Jaffar's radicalism? His views on the September 11 terror attacks provide a clue. While refusing to name suspects (he is clearly reluctant to feed the Osama legend), Jaffar praises the perpetrators.

"Of course, I feel sad that there were so many Muslim victims," he says. (An estimated 800 Muslims died in the World Trade Centre.) But he is heartened that the anti-Islamic stance of America got a "hard slap".

"When we see the global impact of the attack, of course we support it." Jaffar chuckles to himself. "In fact, we offer our applause."

A red curtain in the corner of the room parts slightly and a disembodied **female** hand extends a tray of glasses filled with a sweet cordial. Jaffar takes a glass and, with an expansive gesture, encourages his guests to do the same. I

## Just how dangerous is CONFLICT

ask him if the killing of innocents is ever justified, and Jaffar responds with another question: were the victims of September 11 really innocent to begin with?

"The policy of any government," he explains, "especially a democratically elected government like the US, is also the responsibility of all the people who supported it. The people run the risk of the results of those policies."

Furthermore, he says, "economic facilities" like the World Trade Centre are legitimate targets according to the Koran and the Hadith, the sayings of the Prophet Mohammed. And if there are civilians in those facilities? "If there are civilians," Jaffar says, "even Muslim civilians ... well, that is the risk of war."

And yet for all his talk, Jaffar may not be the international threat that he's cracked up to be. ICG's Harold Crouch insists that the dangers posed by Laskar Jihad beyond Indonesia are overblown. "They've got no interest internationally," he says. "In fact, they're very nationalistic. They're certainly anti-American, but that's the rhetoric of all radical Muslim groups."

Jaffar's avowed goal is the establishment of an Islamic government in Indonesia, although many believe his true agenda is more personal. "Part of him wants fame, respect and influence," says Jacqui Baker of the Australian National University, who spent three months interviewing Jaffar and his followers. "Although Jaffar rejects overt politics, he still wants to be a prominent figure on the Indonesian political landscape."

Since December, Singapore and Malaysia have arrested dozens of Muslim radicals

with apparent links to al-Qaeda, while the Philippines has asked for US troops to help wipe out Abu Sayyaf, another militant outfit with possible al-Qaeda ties. So far, Indonesia has done nothing, apart from question another well-known Muslim cleric called Abu Bakar Baasyir, whom the Singaporean government claims is running an al-Qaeda-linked terror group. (Baasyir denies this.)

Meanwhile, Jaffar and his ultraviolent followers continue to operate with impunity. Jaffar, unlike Baasyir, "is not an international jihadist, but could graduate into one," Rohan Gunaratna says. "There is a pattern with these groups. They start nationally, go regional, then go international, which is precisely why they must be stopped while they're still small." Laskar Jihad has already rapidly grown into what Gunaratna believes is a military outfit with the capability to conduct terrorist activities. "If the Indonesians don't crack down, it will become a large group with real political force," he predicts.

Washington has warned that Indonesia could become a target in the war on terror, a prospect that "scares the shit out of the Indonesian government," as one Western diplomat inelegantly puts it. It also frightens the Howard government, whose support for the American campaign in Asia might well conflict with Australia's ongoing struggle to rebuild relations with Indonesia after three chilly years. Buoyed by a resurgence of popular fundamentalism and protected by sympathetic political and military figures, Jaffar has become a symbol of Indonesia's inability to confront the threat from home-grown militancy. No-one, apparently, has the power or inclination to rid Indonesia of its most turbulent priest.

Jaffar glances at his gold wristwatch and makes apologies. It is almost time for prayers at the compound's mosque, and Jaffar plans to deliver the sermon.

"I don't want to get carried away with this issue of anti-Americanism," he says, almost as an afterthought. "That would be wrong. We oppose the policies of the US government, not the people themselves." He thinks for a moment. "Because some Americans are Muslims, too."

Then he stands up and stretches, and for the first time the logo on his shirt is clearly visible. It is not, as I had thought, the clashing sabers of Laskar Jihad. It is a Playboy bunny.

## Graphic

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## Just how dangerous is CONFLICT

FOUR ILLUS: "All the anti-American powers are still united, still strong": Jaffar Umar Thalib (above right), commander of Indonesia's militant Laskar Jihad; (above) armed Muslim gang members watch as Christian homes burn in Poso in Central Sulawesi. AP; REUTERS In the name of God: dressed in traditional prayer clothing, members of Laskar Jihad at a stadium in Jakarta pledge to wage a holy war in the Moluccas. GETTY IMAGES Witnesses to the persecution: two young Christian girls walk through the remains of burnt-out Muslim shops in Tentena, near Poso. FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY

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## *The Threat of Jaffar - Correction Appended*

The New York Times  
March 10, 2002 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

### **Correction Appended**

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**Section:** Section 6; Column 1; Magazine Desk; Pg. 45

**Length:** 3195 words

**Byline:** By Andrew Marshall; Andrew Marshall, who writes frequently about war and politics in Asia, is the author of "The Trouser People," a book about contemporary Myanmar, to be published this month by Counterpoint.

## **Body**

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Late last summer, Indonesia's newly elected vice president, Hamzah Haz, welcomed a string of guests into his official residence, only a short walk from the sprawling American Embassy compound in downtown Jakarta. Among the academics and politicians he greeted was a 40-year-old Muslim cleric named Jaffar Umar Thalib. A photograph in a local newspaper the next day showed him and the vice president locked in a warm embrace. Outside Indonesia, however, this visit by Jaffar -- who was, even then, arguably the most feared Islamic militant in the most populous Muslim nation on earth and who would soon be mentioned in the same breath as Osama bin Laden -- went largely unreported.

In fact, Jaffar Umar Thalib didn't really blip on Washington radar screens until after the terror attacks. Only then did global attention focus upon the potential threat posed by Muslim extremists in Indonesia -- a sprawling and practically lawless country with porous borders and a thriving black market in weapons and explosives - and upon what role they might play in Al Qaeda's network in Southeast Asia.

Jaffar is the commander of Laskar Jihad, a Muslim paramilitary group renowned for its fanaticism and brutality. His followers, who number between 3,000 and 10,000, are well drilled, heavily armed and ferociously loyal. Among the plethora of radical Islamic groups that have formed in Indonesia since the three-decade dictatorship of Suharto collapsed in 1998, Laskar Jihad stands out.

"They've got real organization and they've got reasonably capable people," says Harold Crouch, an Indonesia expert with the Australian National University. "You might find an airline pilot or two in Laskar Jihad, but in the others, I doubt it very much." According to persistent reports, hundreds of non-Indonesian Muslims -- including, it is believed, Al Qaeda operatives -- have trained at camps run by Laskar Jihad in the jungles of Sulawesi, and American officials are convinced that Al Qaeda "sleeping cells" still exist there.

Jaffar got his start in jihad fighting alongside the anti-Soviet mujahideen in Afghanistan in the late 1980's; around the same time, he met Osama bin Laden in Pakistan. While Jaffar now openly scorns bin Laden as a misguided lightweight, experts say there is little difference between the two. "He claims to be ideologically opposed to Osama, but his ideology is parallel," says Rohan Gunaratna, a researcher at the Center for the Study of Terrorism and

## The Threat of Jaffar

Political Violence at the University of St Andrews, Scotland. "They both believe in using violence to achieve their political goals."

In late December, in an effort to gauge the threat posed by Jaffar, I traveled to Java and made the hour's drive north from Jogjakarta, Indonesia's cultural capital, to Laskar Jihad's headquarters. What I found was less than reassuring. Sounding very much like bin Laden, Jaffar -- who elsewhere has described the United States as "the biggest enemy of the Islamic people" -- said that he is convinced there is a global conspiracy of American-led Jews and Christians to destroy Islam and all Muslims. In the wake of the Sept. 11 attacks, which he publicly cheered, he had threatened to declare war on all American facilities in Indonesia.

Jaffar, who oversees a network of pesantren -- Koranic schools that, like the madrassas of Pakistan, produce countless young militants schooled in jihad -- preaches that democracy is "incompatible with Islam" and that Indonesia's 210 million people should be governed under strict Islamic law. He practices what he preaches too: last year, he presided over a makeshift Islamic court in Maluku that passed judgment on an adulterer. The 30-year-old man was buried up to his waist in the ground and stoned to death by a mob. Jaffar was arrested but never prosecuted for the murder.

"All of these factors have led U.S. policy makers to conclude that Jaffar is a radical demagogue infused with a worldwide Islamic credo," says Peter Chalk, an analyst with the RAND Corporation in Washington. Furthermore, he adds, Laskar Jihad is seen as one group that might be prepared to aid "the logistical relocation of Al Qaeda forces, post-Taliban." Even the name his father bestowed on him seems custom-made to jangle Western nerves: Jaffar, the evil sorcerer who deceived Aladdin; Thalib, as in "Taliban," from the Arabic for "religious student."

Jaffar is by no means the only worrisome figure in Indonesia. For example, the police there recently questioned Abu Bakar Baasyir, another well-known Muslim cleric. Baasyir, who has hailed Osama bin Laden as "a true Islamic warrior," is suspected of leading Jemaah Islamiyah, a Qaeda-linked terror group in Southeast Asia. (Baasyir denies any links to terrorism.) While his group is smaller and more secretive than Laskar Jihad, it apparently has stronger ties to the global jihad movement.

But Jaffar, whose violent activities have so far been confined to the domestic sphere, heads a much larger organization whose members operate openly and with virtual impunity. "It's about potential," says Larry Johnson, a former State Department counterterrorism official. "If these groups are allowed to grow, unchecked by local authorities, they could pose a threat."

Laskar Jihad's headquarters are located in a pesantren, a huddle of ramshackle buildings reached by a rutted back road and guarded by sentries in black commando outfits.

I am met there by Eri Ziyad Abu Zaki, the group's public-relations officer, a shyly grinning young man in a knee-length tunic. The holy warriors are part of the "human resources division," Eri Ziyad tells me, and all new recruits are expected to undergo military training at several "secret places" in Java. He also shows me the group's twice-monthly tabloid, called Bulletin Laskar Jihad. It is well written, slickly produced and venomously anti-American. "America Starts Digging Its Own Grave," screams one front-page headline (in Indonesian), referring to the Afghan campaign. "You're Dead, America," howls another.

Laskar Jihad also runs a Web site, in both Indonesian and English, that makes pleas for donations and describes its work in sometimes erratic English ("Jihad Troopers at Glance"). The tabloid publishes no pictures of humans or animals. Like the Taliban, Laskar Jihad considers recreating images of living beings a blasphemy against God. Flipping through back issues, the only human form I could find was a picture of the Statue of Liberty -- decapitated, naturally.

About 400 men, women and children stay on the compound, where the usual vices -- alcohol, gambling -- are banned. So are television and music. "Music is a distraction from God," Eri Ziyad says. The group imposes Taliban-like restrictions on its women, who must cover their faces with Saudi-style veils and remain largely housebound. Jaffar himself has four wives -- the maximum Islam allows -- and 11 children.

## The Threat of Jaffar

Eri Ziyad leads the way to a modest house near the mosque and knocks on the door. We are ushered into a sparsely furnished anteroom by a beaming Jaffar Umar Thalib himself.

He is tall and certainly plumper than his reputation as an ascetic would suggest. He wears a white skullcap, a crisp, checked sarong and a long, diaphanous cream shirt with embroidered pink trim. Beneath it is a white T-shirt bearing what looks like Laskar Jihad's clashing scimitars logo. He is pale-skinned, with dark brown eyes, and when he smiles (which is often), he is disarmingly handsome. His mustache is neatly trimmed, and he has a straggly, graying beard, which he constantly combs between his thumb and forefinger, like a pantomime villain.

Jaffar is tired. He returned late the previous evening from the eastern Javanese city of Surabaya, where the police arrested 102 Laskar Jihad members for trashing gambling clubs in December. Squads of Jaffar's long-robed followers regularly patrol Indonesian cities, raiding liquor stores and suspected brothels. "The idea behind this action is to clear up all the vice, especially during Ramadan -- the gambling, the prostitution, the drinking," he says. "We are not the only group doing this. But when we do it, the authorities always overreact. It is one of the many attempts being made to discredit us."

Also out to discredit Laskar Jihad is the international media, which Jaffar says he believes is "controlled by Jews and Christians." But he obviously enjoys the attention he has received since Sept. 11. "We heard that when Megawati visited the U.S., George Walker Bush warned her to be careful of Laskar Jihad," he says, referring to the Indonesian president, Megawati Sukarnoputri. "He called us 'jihad forces.' Also, Colin Powell called us an organ of the Qaeda network. And then Robert Gelbard, the U.S. ambassador in Indonesia, made a statement saying that Jaffar Umar Thalib was" -- and here Jaffar speaks mockingly in English -- "a quite dangerous man." Eri Ziyad, who is sitting nearby taking notes, guffaws dutifully.

Our meeting took place the day after Afghanistan's interim government was sworn in. Jaffar has a predictably low opinion of it. "It is a puppet government established to abolish so-called Islamic radicalism," he says. "It will only prolong the suffering of the Afghan people. I believe the war will continue. All the anti-American powers are still united, are still strong. They are rebuilding their power outside Afghanistan, particularly along the Pakistani border."

"So the Taliban aren't finished yet?"

"No, in my opinion they are still a big threat to the U.S.," he replies. "George Walker Bush said it himself after Sept. 11: this is a crusade. The U.S. has since tried to withdraw this statement and express friendship to Muslim people. But it has not been forgotten by the mujahedeen."

He leans back and interlocks his fingers, then cracks them extravagantly. "I hope the Americans share the same fate as the Soviets."

Afghanistan is very close to Jaffar's heart. He earned his warrior credentials there along with hundreds of other Indonesian Muslims who fought with the mujahedeen. According to Laskar Jihad lore, Jaffar once shot down five Soviet helicopters in the Lowgar valley south of Kabul with a single rocket-propelled grenade. "With the help of God, I got one of the helicopters from quite close range, and it exploded. At the same time, the other four tried to escape and in their panic crashed into each other." He throws up his hands in mock incredulity. "All of them -- destroyed!"

For Jaffar, then in his mid-20's, Afghanistan was a liberation. To that point, he had spent his entire life in the suffocating environs of various Islamic schools. He was born in 1961, the seventh of eight children, in east Java. His formidable father, Umar Thalib, was a veteran of Indonesia's independence war who later ran a pesantren with the same martial ferocity, beating a religious education into his son with a rattan stick. "Learning Arabic from my father was like learning boxing," Jaffar has said.

At age 19, in an apparent act of filial rebellion, he left his father's pesantren to study Arabic at a Jakarta institute but failed to complete the course because of a disagreement with a teacher. In 1987, for similar reasons, he dropped out of another Islamic college in Lahore, Pakistan. He spent the next two years with Afghan mujahedeen and recalls the period with obvious affection.



## The Threat of Jaffar

"We were not there to learn," he says, "but to fight." But actually he did learn: he learned how nasty little wars are waged and he learned that superpowers could be vulnerable. "From my two-year experience in Afghanistan, I concluded that the whole concept of a superpower was only created by the mass media," he says. "It did not fit with reality at all."

Another Muslim who was reaching much the same conclusion was Osama bin Laden. Jaffar met him in 1987 in Peshawar, the Pakistani town near the Afghan border. His recollection of the encounter is prefaced by a deep, resonant belch. "At that time, he still shaved his beard," Jaffar says. "He was a spiritually empty man. He had no religious knowledge at all." He adds that bin Laden was an arrogant fellow who poured scorn on Saudi Arabia, which Jaffar regards as a model Islamic state. "Because of this, we distanced ourselves from him," Jaffar says. "We only knew of the Qaeda network after the Sept. 11 attack."

Is this true? While it is hard to find concrete proof of meaningful collaboration between Laskar Jihad and Al Qaeda, either before or after Sept. 11, strong suspicions linger. Apparent confirmation of a link came in mid-December, when the head of Indonesia's National Intelligence Agency publicly acknowledged that Al Qaeda members had probably trained in Poso, a district in central Sulawesi. But a few days later he retracted this statement, almost certainly under pressure from Indonesia's radical Muslim lobby. Then there is Laskar Jihad's Web site, which once featured links to Web sites of other radical organizations. These included Lashkar-e-Taiba, the Pakistan-based outfit accused by India of participating in the assault on the New Delhi Parliament, as well as Hezbollah, **Hamas** and groups in Bosnia and Chechnya. These links no longer appear on Laskar Jihad's Web site.

Still, none of this adds up to an indictment, and Jaffar knows it. He happily admits that in the weeks preceding Sept. 11, "someone close to Osama bin Laden" visited Laskar Jihad's offices in Maluku to offer financial help. Bin Laden's offer was not only rejected, Jaffar insists, but his emissary was threatened with death should he ever set foot on Maluku again.

Gunaratna, the terrorism expert, says he believes Jaffar's open contempt for bin Laden is disingenuous. "Publicly, he's against Osama," Gunaratna says, "but privately he has told Muslim leaders that he's willing to send fighters to Afghanistan if Osama requested." Jaffar told me that a unit of 10 Laskar Jihad "observers" was currently stationed in Afghanistan, although he wouldn't elaborate on their activities there.

Even if Jaffar's contempt for Al Qaeda's mastermind is genuine, how reassuring is that? If the world's most wanted man is, as Jaffar suggests, a lightweight -- at one point in our interview he even questions whether Osama bin Laden is "truly anti-American" -- what does this say about the quality of Jaffar's radicalism?

His views on the Sept. 11 terror attacks provide a clue. While refusing to name suspects (he is clearly reluctant to feed the Osama legend), Jaffar heaps praise upon the perpetrators.

"Of course, I feel sad that there were so many Muslim victims," he says. (An estimated 800 Muslims died in the World Trade Center.) But he is heartened that the anti-Islamic stance of America got a "hard slap."

"When we see the global impact of the attack, of course we support it," Jaffar chuckles to himself. "In fact, we offer our applause."

A red curtain in the corner of the room parts slightly and a disembodied **female** hand extends a tray of glasses filled with a sweet cordial. Jaffar takes a glass and with an expansive gesture encourages his guests to do the same. I ask him if the killing of innocents is ever justified, and Jaffar responds with another question: were the victims of Sept. 11 really innocent to begin with?

"The policy of any government," he explains, "especially a democratically elected government like the U.S., is also the responsibility of all the people who supported it. The people run the risk of the results of those policies." Furthermore, he says, "economic facilities" like the World Trade Center are legitimate targets according to the Koran and the Hadith, the sayings of the Prophet Muhammed.

## The Threat of Jaffar

And if there are civilians in those facilities? "If there are civilians," Jaffar says, "even Muslim civilians . . . well, that is the risk of war."

And yet for all his talk about America's "parasitic" Jewish lobby and Washington's support of "Zionist terrorism" and his labeling of Americans as "belligerent infidels" whose deaths are justified by divine imperative, Jaffar may not be quite the threat he cracks himself up to be. Harold Crouch insists that the dangers posed by Laskar Jihad beyond Indonesia's borders is overblown.

"They've got no interest internationally," he says. "They're certainly anti-American, but that's the rhetoric of all radical Muslim groups." Jaffar is a vocal opponent of his country's various armed separatist movements. Recent reports suggest that he is training about 100 fighters in Papua, an independence-minded province in easternmost Indonesia.

Jaffar's avowed goal is the establishment of an Islamic government in Indonesia, although many believe his true agenda is more personal. "Part of him wants fame, respect and influence," says Jacqui Baker of the Australian National University, who spent three months studying Jaffar and his followers. "Although Jaffar rejects overt politics, he still wants to be a prominent figure on the Indonesian political landscape."

Since December, Singapore and Malaysia have arrested dozens of Muslim radicals with apparent links to Al Qaeda, while the Philippines has invited American troops to come in and help wipe out Abu Sayyaf, another militant outfit with possible Al Qaeda ties. So far, Indonesia has done little, apart from question Abu Bakar Baasyir, the cleric suspected of running a Qaeda-linked terror group.

Meanwhile, Jaffar and his ultraviolent followers continue to operate with impunity. Jaffar, unlike Baasyir, "is not an international jihadist, but could graduate into one," Gunaratna says. "There is a pattern with these groups. They start nationally, go regional, then go international, which is precisely why they must be stopped while they're still small." Laskar Jihad has already rapidly grown into what Gunaratna believes is a military outfit with definite capability to conduct terrorist activities. "If the Indonesians don't crack down, it will become a large group with real political force," he predicts.

Washington has warned that Indonesia could become a target in the war on terror, a prospect that "scares the heck out of the Indonesian government," as a Western diplomat puts it. For now, however, it seems that Jaffar scares the Indonesian government more. Buoyed by a resurgence of popular fundamentalism and protected by sympathetic political and military figures, he has become a striking symbol of Indonesia's inability to confront the threat from home-grown militancy. No one, apparently, has the power or inclination to rid Indonesia of its most turbulent priest.

Jaffar glances at his gold wristwatch and makes apologies. It is almost time for prayers at the compound's mosque, and Jaffar plans to deliver the sermon. The amplified drone of a muezzin's call soon fills the room.

"I don't want to get carried away with this issue of anti-Americanism," he says, almost as an afterthought. "That would be wrong. We oppose the policies of the U.S. government, not the people themselves." He thinks for a moment. "Because some Americans are Muslims, too."

Then he stands up and stretches, and for the first time the logo on his undershirt is clearly visible. It is not, as I had initially thought, the clashing sabers of Laskar Jihad. It is a Playboy bunny.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Correction

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## The Threat of Jaffar

An article on March 10 about Jaffar Umar Thalib, a militant Muslim cleric in Indonesia, referred incorrectly to the number of Muslims killed in the attack on the World Trade Center. It was not 800. There has so far been no official count of Muslims who were among the 2,830 dead or missing confirmed as of March 21.

**Correction-Date:** March 31, 2002

## Graphic

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Photos: Jaffar's followers demonstrating outside Parliament in April 2000. (Kemal Jufri/Imaji Press)

**Load-Date:** March 10, 2002

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## Letters to the Editor

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

October 29, 2002, Tuesday

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERSPHOTO; Pg. 18

**Length:** 3406 words

### **Body**

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Outdoor protest is outrageous

As a resident of the Macquarie St, Bennelong apartments near the Sydney Opera House, I have witnessed recent moves by the management of the building, as well as the apartment residents, to start a campaign to prevent outdoor entertainment on the steps of the Opera House.

I would like to state that not all residents of this building are opposed to this great initiative of providing this amazing city with quality musical entertainment at such a famous landmark.

As a resident of the apartments, I endorse this concept in its entirety and will support the concerts all the way.

We should be proud and feel so fortunate that our lifestyle here can allow such entertainment to be presented in such a breathtaking setting.

It angers me that so many residents in this apartment building either believe they are above everyone else in society and due to their self-righteous selfishness, feel they have a right to stop the opportunity to enjoy first-class outdoor entertainment.

MATP

Scott Thomas, City

Waugh dealt low blow

Congratulations to chairman of selectors Trevor Hohns who has successfully won the award for Most Hated Man in Australia for the second year running.

Thanks for taking away the chance for all Australians to farewell the Waughes together at Sydney in the final Test.

Neil Ryan,

Wollongong

Mark Waugh has averaged 40.43 this millennium and he is dropped by selectors.

I believe newspapers such as The Daily Telegraph, which have been critical of Waugh, are to blame.

## Letters to the Editor

How can selectors drop a player who has averaged more than 40 in the past three years and averages 50.90 against England?

How can he then be replaced with a player who averages 28.50 in Test cricket, who has not played a Test this millennium and who averages 12.25 against England?

Not just that, he scored 45 and seven on a flat Adelaide Oval last weekend after having been dropped no less than three times.

This is not a changing of the guard or an attempt to blood a younger player, it is total disrespect for an Australian icon. This is an example of our selectors' ineptness. They should watch more cricket and read less newspapers.

Steve Williams,

Thornleigh

It is always a sad day when a cricket legend hangs up his bat. For Mark Waugh, however, the honour of saluting the crowd, shaking hands with his fans, and the customary pat on the back for a job well done have been denied him.

His last Test match memories will be of a few hundred people in Sharjah against Pakistan, which is a long way from the MCG or the SCG.

Mark has been a doyen of the game since his debut century at the Adelaide Oval and to see a champion treated with such contempt is disgraceful.

Trevor Hohns and the other members of the ACB selection committee, should hang their heads in shame.

Eddie Fricska,

Arndell Park

One can only imagine the emptiness Mark Waugh must be feeling. Sport fans know this time is inevitable at some stage of their career, but this ranks as one of the most inglorious dumpings of a true champion.

Waugh is a far greater cricketer than any member of this current English touring party.

I am sure everyone must be happy for Darren Lehman, however, questions still need to be asked of the selectors.

Kevin Ryan,

Penshurst

Well, Mark Waugh is gone. I cannot believe the selectors have done this. I know his form has not been great over the past 18 months, but why change a winning team? This is the old enemy -- the Poms -- and Junior does his best work against England.

I thought he at least deserved a chance for a Test match or two, but the selectors obviously decided before the weekend as Darren Lehmann did nothing in the Pura Cup match against NSW.

I hope Waugh pummels the other state sides while batting for NSW and shows the selectors he still has what it takes at Test level.

Chad Smith,

Heathcote

Why has the ACB not replaced Trevor Hohns as chairman of selectors?

# Letters to the Editor

It seems ridiculous that a man who played only a handful of Test matches is the head selector when we have Allan Border at our disposal.

Mitchell Beston,

Woy Woy

Opportunistic attack

Mike O'Shaughnessy's letter (Daily Telegraph, October 25) is offensive. To use the Bali catastrophe as a vehicle to air his republic mania is reprehensible and unforgivable.

Likewise his comments criticising the Prime Minister and "the failings of his government in their identification and protection of the bodies of their loved ones" are politically opportunistic.

As for Mr O'Shaughnessy's snide remarks directed at the Governor-General for arriving "late" in Bali, he deliberately made no mention of the fact that Peter Hollingworth was undertaking a most important task at El Alamein, which was to be a voice for the returned World War II veterans who were there with him.

As Churchill said: "Up until El Alamein, the Germans and the Italians had had no defeats; after El Alamein, they had no victories".

It was a turning point, and is a vital part of our history.

More than 1200 young Australians and 1100 New Zealanders lie buried in those desert sands far from home; they died in violence just as did the Australians at Bali.

That such a moving ceremony -- attended by New Zealand Prime Minister Helen Clark -- was made so little of in all media outlets is a matter of great shame.

F.M. Pearson,

Forestville

Students' folly

The National Union of Students' attempt to blame the tragic shooting at Monash University on the Howard Government's policies has left it looking foolish.

I am sure John Howard gets a great deal of satisfaction from infuriating society's self-proclaimed intellectuals who view his government as illegitimate because it does not enjoy their support.

Philip Niddrie,

New Lambton

Speedy cash cow

The NRMA recommended the Government forgo revenue from motorists exceeding the speed limit by less than 15km/h and use the points system instead.

The Government's refusal has revealed the NSW road safety policy as a revenue policy. NSW has a similar policy on public education. Closing and selling public schools on prime real estate is another grab for cash.

Allan Pryor, Figtree

Duffy all at sea

## Letters to the Editor

Michael Duffy's comment (Daily Telegraph, October 26) that "many supporters of John Howard are indifferent to the affair because they do not care if kids were thrown over board or not" was way over the top. It was intemperate and grossly offensive.

When the asylum seeker vessel was subsequently scuttled, depositing all aboard in the water, it was spurious to beat up a storm about whether or not children had been thrown overboard. The issue had become irrelevant.

There are those among us who believe the subsequent witch-hunt was nothing but political expediency and opportunism at its worst.

Mr Duffy obviously does not think so. It is hard to believe he could be so gullible.

Ron Elphick, Buff Point

## Blurred vision

Mark Day speaks of vision in his column (Daily Telegraph, October 23), comments of our Prime Minister's lack of same, and then suggests this is the remedy for the Labor to get back into power federally.

He then puts forward Bob Carr who has turned this state into one giant national park, no doubt he would do the same with the nation, and close down all commerce and industry.

Barry Gralton,

Mount St Thomas

## Litigation just plain ludicrous

Like most Australians I am sick to death with what I call lunatic litigation. You may or may not be aware of the judgment against Port Stephens Council for failing to warn the developers of a so-called resort of aircraft noise.

To put it into perspective, it is as stupid as building a home under the flight path of Kingsford Smith and then taking the relevant council to court.

About 99.99 per cent of the population are aware of aircraft noise and we, the ratepayers and thus shareholders of Port Stephens, are united against them.

I live but a few kilometres from RAAF William Town and when I moved here just over three months ago I was fully aware of the very minor inconvenience of aircraft noise.

In fact, I welcome the noise, for these are the young warriors we rely on to protect us in this very unsettled world.

James Fordham, Medowie

## Negotiation's not an option

It has become blatantly obvious that the reason mass terror attacks are increasing in frequency is that, quite simply, they work.

After every mass annihilation of innocent civilians in Israel by so-called Palestinian martyrs, the world reacts by trying to understand their reasons and demands that Israel not only not retaliate, but sit down and negotiate with the terrorists themselves.

In the current post-September 11 and October 12 climate, the civilised world turns on its own leaders as the catalysts for these atrocities, and looks to appeasement as the solution to this problem.

Negotiation is not an option. How many more will be murdered before we realise that the war we fear we may start, has already been declared on us by these extremists?

## Letters to the Editor

Simon Benstock, Bondi

The dreadful carnage in Bali has shocked Australians into the realisation that no Westerner is safe from Muslim fundamentalism.

The payment by Saddam Hussein to the families of Palestinian suicide murderers, together with his use of chemical weapons on Kurdish villagers in the '80s, show that he and the terrorists are graduates of the same academy of torture.

What better pawn for Saddam to arm with a suitcase nuke or a flask of ebola than a zealot with a vision of 72 virgins awaiting him in paradise?

Meanwhile, we stand by while the only nation that can deal with this deadly threat wastes precious months crawling through the obstacle course erected by the United Nations -- an obstacle course almost guaranteed by the fact that one of the most repressive regimes in the world, China, has the power to veto any resolution.

Let us not be distracted a moment longer by the hollow idea of multi-lateralism, which is no more than a multi-lateral indifference to the safety of the citizens of civilised nations.

We must urge Prime Minister John Howard to prevail upon America to lead the campaign immediately to overthrow the terrorist-supporting regimes, starting with Iraq.

Nigel Richards, Hornsby

The cliched line we have been fed since September 11 that Islam is a peaceful and tolerant religion is just a straight-out lie.

The fact is Islam has committed more acts of terrorism on Western society than any other group and by more than one man (al Qaeda, Hezbollah, **Hamas**, Islamic Jihad, PFLP, Jemaah Islamiyah).

Islam will never win a war (jihad) waged upon the West.

Terrorist acts like September 11, Palestinian suicide bombers, Bali bombings, Moscow siege, Washington sniper and attacks on US embassies in Africa only strengthens our resolve and shows up the barbarism of Islamic philosophy.

Lee Leverington, Canberra

John Howard has pledged \$10 million to Indonesia over the next four years for improving its counter-terrorism capabilities and bolstering its customs surveillance.

All very good, but who is going to administer this money? Will it go to where it is intended? Indonesia's customs officials are corrupt. When I went through their airport with a disabled person's scooter, the official told us we had to pay him \$1500 to get it through.

My husband told him I needed it to get around. The official took him to his office, and for 45 minutes, kept saying we could not get it through.

He brought the price down to \$400, but when my husband said he would get in touch with the Australian Embassy and started to walk out, the official decided to let us through. I can only hope Australian officials administer this \$10 million handout.

Judith Storm,

Lakehaven

Marry and multiply



## Letters to the Editor

I could not agree more with Penny Gregory, "Pouring scorn on married bliss" (Letters, October 28).

I, too, am surprised at the negativity displayed by people when you mention you are getting married, or even contemplating it.

The union of marriage is a beautiful thing and should not be discouraged. I am soon to propose to my girlfriend of 18 months and despite what everyone else is telling me, I know we are doing the right thing.

We have been so very happy together since the day we met, so why shouldn't we get married? In a country of falling marriage and fertility rates, and an ever increasing divorce rate, surely the marriage of happy couples makes sense?

People are giving less and less thought towards family and more and more thought towards personal wealth.

This psyche must change if Australia wants to be able to support itself in the future.

As citizens of Australia, I believe we have a social responsibility to improve our ever increasing divorce rates and our falling birth rates.

Consider this. For the population to replace itself, couples on average need to have 2.1 children. The fertility rate, 3.6 in 1961, is now 1.7.

Marry and multiply indeed. Here, here, Malcolm Turnbull!

Glen Camenzuli,

Kingsgrove

Livid over fiasco

Having been to many a festival over the past decade, I must say Sydney Livid was the worst. After the recent tragic events in Bali I was looking forward to spending a great day out with my friends, instead I entered into a disorganised mess.

To say there were teething problems is an understatement. Hopefully it will be improved next year, but I won't be forking out \$100 to find out.

L. Clarke,

Cronulla

To the point

Maybe the day will come when a 71-year-old female newsreader makes her own decision to retire at that age, although I am not holding my breath. The glass ceiling is alive and well when it comes to women staying as news readers once youthful looks start to fade.

Joan Shaw, Croydon

The answer to the road toll is to re-introduce the T-model Ford and limit it to 60km/h maximum speed.

Andy Ferguson, Kurri Kurri

I think it may be Karl Killian who is lost ("Lost in Translation", Letters, October 25). He was right on one point: "The virgin birth of Jesus was as natural as any other birth of children." It was the conception that the Bible tells us was supernatural. And, yes, the Hebrew word "almah" does mean a young woman -- a young unmarried woman. In Hebrew culture that meant a virgin.

## Letters to the Editor

Stephen Fry, Cootamundra

Kind words

On the last day of term 3, 2002, Berala Public School in the Granville district held a mufti day to raise funds for students at Tullibigeal Central School, who are affected by the drought in the west of NSW. This was the idea of the SRC and the project was co-ordinated by Mrs Johns.

The idea behind this wonderful gesture by the children in Sydney was to cheer up the country students who are experiencing drought. The total raised was \$360 -- and this will be spent on a barbecue or a disco for the students. The 93 students and 17 staff at Tullibigeal Central School are delighted to know that the 1000 students and 113 staff at Berala Public School care about the effect the drought is having on them.

Thank you to the Berala Public School community for thinking of our students. Thank you to Mr John Warren (principal), SRC members, Mrs Johns, students and staff from Tullibigeal Central School.

Angela Mackin, Executive Teacher,

Tullibigeal Central School

In search

#### CASULA HIGH SCHOOL

Class of 1982-84, Years 10 and 12, 20-year reunion. This is the final call for all former students and teachers of Casula High to attend a reunion to be held on November 2. If you would like to join us, e-mail [marie@pubtrek.com](mailto:marie@pubtrek.com), [kerstin4reunion@yahoo.com](mailto:kerstin4reunion@yahoo.com), phone 0421442529 or visit [www.schoolfriends.com.au](http://www.schoolfriends.com.au).

#### JOHN McHALE

I am searching for a former workmate by the name of John McHale, formerly of Bankstown, who worked at J.T. Jay's foundry at Lidcombe in the late 1950s and early '60s. Please contact K. Jones on 66866923 evenings.

#### MAROUBRA HIGH SCHOOL

Maroubra High School closure gala evening and memorabilia exhibition, November 30. Tickets \$35 (over-18s only). Phone 93493719 or 93494325 or apply at school office.

#### TERRIGAL HIGH SCHOOL

Terrigal High School, Year 1982, 20-year reunion will be held on Friday, November 29 at Woodport Inn, Erina. Please contact Kim Humphries on 0415672671. PO Box 284, Terrigal.

#### RICHARD TURNER

I am seeking information on the family of Richard Turner b. 1883, m. Ethel Handley at Narrabri in 1902. Their children were Valerie (m. Harry Sessions); Elma (m. Allan Dunne); Vanessie (m. John Richardson); Percival (m. Rita Hancock); Ella (m. Keith Cleary). I would love to hear from any descendants. Please phone Lorraine on 65687266 or e-mail at [lorrainesquire@bigpond.com](mailto:lorrainesquire@bigpond.com).

GWYNETH TRENCHARD Would anyone knowing the whereabouts of Gwyneth Mildred Trenchard, born circa 1932, daughter of Reginald Gordon Trenchard, or descendants, contact Wendy on 0741230043. Half-brother and sister seeking contact.

KIM MARION QUINNI am seeking contact with my sister who was known in 1957 as Kim Marion Quinn. I am her brother who was known in 1957 as John Wright Braden Quinn. Our mother, Victoria Grace Quinn, died December 3, 1958, and we were separated. I believe Kim was adopted and I have not been able to access information on her

## Letters to the Editor

adoptive parents or any information about Kim since 1958. My name is now Gregory Rex MacFadyen. I was a state ward, given to foster parents in 1959. My phone number is 95002560. I hope to contact Kim, if she desires.

## CLIVE WOOD

I am wishing to contact Clive Wood of Sydney, or his relatives, re family history. Clive's father was Clive Stirling Wood, his mother was Mary E. Wood (Brooks). His aunt was Vera Casson West (Wood), who had three daughters: Alma, Iris and Joyce. Please contact Helen Knudsen on 44231169 or e-mail [squib@shoal.net.au](mailto:squib@shoal.net.au).

## MAYFAIR THEATRE

Would former usherettes, working between 1955 and 1957, please contact Margaret Grumley on 63441973 or [partice@optusnet.com.au](mailto:partice@optusnet.com.au).

## ADELONG SHOW SOCIETY

The society turns 100 next year. We are trying to contact descendants of John Dowling Brown, manager of the Bank of NSW Adelong 1903-1916. He was transferred to Bank of NSW Richmond in 1916. Records show he died at Roseville on January 5, 1927 and was buried at Waverley. Mr Brown was president of the Adelong Show Society and we are hoping a descendant of Mr Brown's can be found to open our show. Please contact the secretary, Jenni Tiyce, on 69462627 or e-mail at [cjtiyce@dragnet.com.au](mailto:cjtiyce@dragnet.com.au).

RUTH HUCKERIn relation to family history medical research, we are trying to contact a Ruth Hucker. She was nursing at the time of her marriage. We do not know her married name but her father was Percy Hucker, mother Doreen (nee Popperwell) from Kingsgrove in Sydney. Any information can be sent to [irenebuckley@hotmail.com](mailto:irenebuckley@hotmail.com) or by phoning 43651383.

## 7 ELIZABETH ST, SYDNEY

This block of bachelor apartments was built just before World War II. Seeking information on the building and its tenants, particularly during the war years. Contact Carolynne at 95505892 or [cbruyn@ihug.com.au](mailto:cbruyn@ihug.com.au) or PO Box 21, St Peters, NSW, 2044.

WILLIAM GAZZARDI am searching for descendants or relatives of William Gazzard, d. 1919, and Jessie Robertson Milne married 1889 Sydney. Their children were David William Gazzard (b. 1890 m. Clara Smith in Newtown in 1916) and Jessie A. Gazzard (b. 1892 m. George Baldick in Marrickville in 1917). This is for family history purposes and I would love to hear from anyone connected to this family. E-mail [pjpurcell@iprimus.com.au](mailto:pjpurcell@iprimus.com.au) or phone 47573814, 0418199952.

RALPH/HOLLIERJohn Ralph born 1835 England married Hannah Hollier (born 1837, England) in 1857 in Prospect, NSW. John died in 1916 and Hannah in 1910 at Parramatta. Children from the marriage: George (b. 1857, m. Fortune in 1881, Parramatta); Samuel (b. 1864, m. Hilda in 1883 at Penrith); Albert (b. 1866 in Parramatta, d. 1897, Parramatta); Walter (b. 1870, Parramatta, d. 1931); Rebecca (b. 1873); Susan (b. 1876, Parramatta). Seeking information and descendants for family tree. Rhonda Reese, 11 Spurway St, Ermington NSW, 2115, phone 96383766, [rhondaree@bigpond.com](mailto:rhondaree@bigpond.com).

If you have a reunion or are seeking information, send the details to In Search, Letters Editor, PO Box 2808, GPO Sydney, NSW 2001 or email us at [letters@dailytelegraph.com.au](mailto:letters@dailytelegraph.com.au). Include a contact name and phone number. Emails should not include attachments.

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**2002: It was a turbulent year: World grapples with lingering effects of Sept.**

**11**

The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

December 28, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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## **Body**

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### JANUARY

1 -- Twelve European countries drop their national currencies and adopt the euro.

7 -- Ottawa says Canadian troops will be heading into combat mission under U.S. control in southern Afghanistan. French designer Yves Saint Laurent closes his 40-year-old fashion house.

8 -- Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey announces his retirement. Alberta health care report by Don Mazankowski suggests more private involvement, delisting of services and patients paying some medical bills. Canadian Press

11 -- Ford Motor Co. announces closing of five assembly plants, including Ontario truck plant in Oakville, Ont., eliminating 12,000 jobs in Canada, U.S. and Mexico. First batch of al-Qaida and Taliban prisoners arrive at U.S. military base in Cuba.

12 -- Elvis Stojko regains men's title at Canadian figure skating championships.

14 -- Industry Minister Brian Tobin says he's leaving politics. After slaughtering more than four million animals, Britain says it's free of foot-and-mouth disease.

15 -- Prime Minister Chretien shuffles cabinet: John Manley leaves Foreign Affairs to become deputy prime minister, replacing Herb Gray who leaves Commons after nearly four decades in politics; Alfonso Gagliano, facing patronage allegations, is removed from Public Works.

17 -- B.C. Premier Gordon Campbell announces major cuts in public sector, eliminating as many as 11,700 jobs by 2005. Canadian dollar plunges below 62 cents US for first time ever.

18 -- In report on the Walkerton tainted water tragedy that caused seven deaths, Justice Dennis O'Connor puts the blame partly on Ontario government's cost cutting. Ten-year civil war in Sierra Leone that killed an estimated 50,000 people is declared over.

24 -- Broadcaster Peter Gzowski dies at age 67.

27 -- More than 600 people fleeing explosion at weapons depot in Nigeria drown in canal.

31 -- Defence Minister Art Eggleton admits he provided wrong information to House of Commons about when he knew Canadian troops had taken prisoners in Afghanistan.

2002: It was a turbulent year: World grapples with lingering effects of Sept. 11

## FEBRUARY

- 3 -- New England Patriots defeat St. Louis Rams to win Super Bowl.
- 7 -- Atanarjuat, the first Inuit-made feature film, wins six Genie Awards. Cree sign deal with Quebec government giving them control over their own natural resources.
- 8 -- Winter Olympics begin in Salt Lake City.
- 9 -- Princess Margaret dies in London at age 71 following stroke.
- 11 -- Canadian figure skaters Jamie Sale and David Pelletier win pairs silver at Olympics; scandal over deal-making among judges erupts.
- 12 -- War crimes trial of former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic begins in The Hague. Iranian airliner crashes southwest of Tehran, killing 118 people.
- 15 -- IOC decides to award two sets of gold medals for pairs figure-skating: one for Sale and Pelletier and one for the original winners, Elena Berezhnaia and Anton Sikharulidze of Russia.
- 17 -- Maoist rebels in Nepal kill 137 police, soldiers and civilians.
- 18 -- Sears says its Eatons stores will be closed or converted to Sears outlets, ending 133-year-old Eatons brand.
- 20 -- Overcrowded passenger train catches fire south of Cairo, Egypt, killing at least 373 people.
- 21 -- Alberta government orders striking teachers back to work. Pakistani officials confirm that kidnapped U.S. reporter Daniel Pearl is dead. Canadian Olympic women's hockey team beats U.S. to win gold medal.
- 22 -- Hog farmer Robert Pickton charged with two counts of first-degree murder in connection with disappearance of 50 women from Vancouver.
- 24 -- Canadian men's hockey team defeats United States to win Olympic gold medal. Salt Lake City Olympics is best ever Winter Games for Canada with total of 17 medals.

## MARCH

- 4 -- New federal guidelines allow stem cell research using human embryos. Hindu-Muslim violence in Indian state of Gujarat claims at least 570 lives in six days.
- 7 -- Environment Canada says much of Canada had warmest winter on record.
- 10 -- At least 11 Israelis are killed when Palestinian bomber blows himself up at Jerusalem cafe.
- 11 -- Six children die when their home burns down in Quatsino, B.C.; their father is charged with six counts of murder.
- 12 -- Andrea Yates is convicted of capital murder in the drowning deaths of her five children in Houston, Texas. Israeli troops launch major anti-terrorism assault in Gaza Strip and West Bank.
- 13 -- Forces officials say Canadian snipers have killed Taliban or al-Qaida members in Afghanistan.
- 19 -- Commonwealth suspends Zimbabwe for a year after concluding that its presidential election that returned Robert Mugabe to power was unfair and marred by violence. Andrei Knyazev, former Russian diplomat who ran over two Ottawa women in drunk-driving accident, is found guilty of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced in Moscow to four years in labour camp.
- 20 -- Stephen Harper is elected leader of Canadian Alliance party, defeating Stockwell Day.

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23 -- Ernie Eves, former Ontario finance minister, is elected to replace Premier Mike Harris at Ontario Tory leadership convention.

24 -- Halle Berry wins best actress Oscar; Denzel Washington wins best actor; A Beautiful Mind is named best picture.

25 -- Earthquakes kill at least 1,000 people in northern Afghanistan.

26 -- B.C. Supreme Court rules that John Robin Sharpe's child-sex stories have artistic merit and are not criminal.

27 -- At least 19 people are killed after Palestinian suicide bomber attacks Passover feast at hotel in Netanya, Israel. Gunman kills at least eight people at city hall meeting in Nanterre, near Paris.

30 -- Queen Mother dies at age of 101. Two Palestinian suicide bombings leave at least 15 Israelis dead.

#### APRIL

9 -- Thirteen Israel soldiers die in ambush in refugee camp in Jenin, West Bank, and dozens of Palestinians are reported killed.

10 -- Six former Canadian Alliance dissident MPs return to party, ending partnership with Conservatives. Palestinian suicide bomber blows up bus in Haifa, Israel, killing at least nine. After 20 years of war, Tamil rebel leader says he wants negotiated settlement of Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict.

11 -- UN establishes permanent International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity. Truck explodes near synagogue in Tunisia, killing 16 people.

12 -- Arthur Andersen Canada agrees to merge with Deloitte & Touche LLP, creating largest accounting firm in the country.

14 -- Venezuela's President Hugo Chavez, deposed three days earlier in military coup, returns to power in public uprising. Former guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao wins East Timor's first presidential election. Tiger Woods wins his third Masters at Augusta National Golf Club. Nickelback, Diana Krall, Swollen Members win Juno awards.

15 -- Air China jet crashes near Pusan, South Korea, killing 119.

16 -- Dutch Prime Minister Wim Kok and cabinet resign over report condemning actions during 1995 Bosnian War.

17 -- Four Canadian soldiers are killed when a U.S. fighter jet mistakenly bombs them during training exercise near Kandahar, Afghanistan.

18 -- Afghanistan's deposed monarch, Mohammed Zahir Shah, returns to his country after 29-year exile in Italy.

24 -- Vatican bishops and U.S. cardinals agree to make it easier to remove priests guilty of sexually abusing minors.

25 -- South African Mark Shuttleworth, who paid \$20 million to visit International Space Station, is blasted into space with Russian astronauts. Singer Lisa Lopes, 30, dies in car crash in Honduras.

26 -- Supreme Court of Canada rules that U.S.-based satellite TV services are illegal in Canada.

28 -- Israel and Palestinian Authority accept U.S. proposal to end month-long siege of Yasser Arafat's compound at Ramallah; six suspected Palestinian terrorists to be sent to prison supervised by British or U.S. guards.

#### MAY

1 -- Private companies begin selling electricity in Ontario, ending government monopoly. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is freed after over four months' confinement at his West Bank headquarters.

2002: It was a turbulent year: World grapples with lingering effects of Sept. 11

- 4 -- Jetliner crashes in northern Nigeria, killing at least 148.
- 5 -- French President Jacques Chirac wins second five-year term in victory over Jean-Marie Le Pen, leader of extreme-right party. Hell's Angels leader Maurice (Mom) Boucher is convicted in Montreal of two counts of first-degree murder for ordering murder of two prison guards.
- 6 -- Myanmar's pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi is freed after 19 months of house arrest. Pim Fortuyn, Dutch politician who wanted to stop all Muslim immigration to his country, is assassinated.
- 7 -- Chinese airliner crashes in northeastern China, killing 112. Suicide-bombing kills 16 young people at billiard club in Rishon Letzion, Israel.
- 8 -- Fourteen people are killed in suicide-bombing attack at hotel in Karachi.
- 9 -- Palestinians leave Church of Nativity in Bethlehem, ending five-week standoff with Israeli troops. Proposed federal legislation bans human cloning but allows research on embryos.
- 13 -- Federal Liberals win four of seven byelections.
- 14 -- Former U.S. president Jimmy Carter calls for political freedom in visit to Cuba.
- 15 -- Teleglobe long-distance phone company seeks bankruptcy protection.
- 19 -- East Timor becomes the world's newest independent country, UN's 190th member.
- 21 -- U.S. brokerage Merrill Lynch to pay \$100 million US in settlement of stock-picking scandal.
- 23 -- Report into Walkerton water tragedy urges Ontario to spend \$280 million to improve safety of drinking water.
- 24 -- U.S. and Russia sign treaty to reduce number of nuclear warheads by two-thirds.
- 26 -- Prime Minister Chretien drops Art Eggleton as defence minister, shuffles Don Boudria out of public works portfolio; both had faced conflict-of-interest allegations. Anti-guerrilla candidate Alvaro Uribe Velez wins Colombia's presidential election. Roman Polanski's *The Pianist* wins Palm d'or at Cannes Film Festival.

## JUNE

- 1 -- Four days of concerts and parades begin in Britain to celebrate Golden Jubilee of Queen Elizabeth.
- 2 -- Prime Minister Chretien fires Finance Minister Paul Martin, saying they no longer have a viable working relationship; replacing him is Deputy Prime Minister John Manley.
- 5 -- Alexa McDonough announces her resignation as leader of federal NDP. Car bomb kills 17 people in northern Israel.
- 10 -- India reopens airspace for Pakistani overflights, reducing tensions between the countries.
- 11 -- Afghanistan opens its loya jirga, council of 1,550 delegates, to choose a new government. Newfoundland government signs deal to develop nickel deposit at Voisey's Bay mine in Labrador that is expected to add \$11 billion to the provincial economy over next 30 years.
- 13 -- Hamid Karzai is elected head of state by Afghanistan's loya jirga. Detroit Red Wings win Stanley Cup, defeating Carolina Hurricanes in fifth game.
- 14 -- Police and protesters clash during demonstrations outside meeting of G-7 finance ministers in Halifax.
- 17 -- Action Democratique du Quebec wins three Quebec byelections.



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- 21 -- Rowan Williams is chosen as next Archbishop of Canterbury, head of world's 70 million Anglicans.
- 24 -- Passenger train rolls into cargo train in central Tanzania, killing at least 281 people.
- 25 -- Israeli troops take over town of Hebron in major offensive.
- 26 -- G-8 leaders meeting at Kananaskis, Alta., agree to raise \$20 billion for Russia to decommission nuclear weapons.
- 28 -- Canadian inquiry blames U.S. fighter pilot for not following proper procedures when he dropped bomb on Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan, killing four.
- 30 -- Brazil defeats Germany to win World Cup.

## JULY

- 2 -- American Steve Fossett becomes first person to circle the world solo in a balloon.
- 3 -- Federal government revamps scandal-plagued sponsorship program, eliminating commission agents to deliver the contracts. B.C. referendum on treaty negotiations with aboriginals passes with overwhelming support; it includes measures to restrict authority of aboriginal governments and end tax exemptions.
- 16 -- Irish Republican Army apologizes for the killing of "all non-combatants" during 30-year terror campaign. Census reports median age of Canadians was 37.6 in 2001, up 2.3 years from 1996, biggest jump in a century.
- 19 -- Judicial inquiry concludes that British doctor Harold Shipman murdered at least 215 patients.
- 21 -- Telecommunications giant WorldCom files for bankruptcy protection.
- 22 -- Leading **Hamas** militant Sheik Salah Shehada is killed when Israeli jet bombs his Gaza Strip home. Presiding judge at Hells Angels trial in Montreal withdraws after being reprimanded by judicial council.
- 23 -- Pope arrives in Toronto for World Youth Day festival.
- 25 -- Nortel Networks shares fall below \$1 US for first time in almost 20 years.
- 26 -- World Trade Organization rules against U.S. on key points of softwood lumber dispute with Canada.
- 26 -- More than 80 killed in crash of Russian-made fighter jet at air show in Ukraine.
- 28 -- First wave of Canadian troops return from Afghanistan to Edmonton. American cyclist Lance Armstrong wins fourth consecutive Tour de France.

## AUGUST

- 1 -- Canadian telecommunications giant JDS Uniphase sells U.S. unit for less than two per cent of what it paid two years ago, losing almost three-quarters of a billion dollars.
- 6 -- Joe Clark announces decision to resign as Progressive Conservative leader.
- 8 -- Health officials say Saskatchewan man died of human form of mad-cow disease, the first confirmed case in North America.
- 12 -- Floods lead to evacuation of parts of Prague, cause landslides in Germany and Switzerland.
- 13 -- At least 422 people are killed after floods and landslides in Nepal.

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16 -- Palestinian terrorist Abu Nidal, believed responsible for killing about 900 people in attacks throughout Europe and Middle East, is found dead in Baghdad.

18 -- More than two million Poles gather in Krakow to attend an open-air mass given by Pope John Paul.

21 -- Jean Chretien announces he will step down as prime minister in February 2004.

26 -- At UN Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, world leaders demand action to protect nature while boosting living standards for world's poorest inhabitants.

27 -- Nortel Networks says it will slash 7,000 more jobs.

29 -- Former B.C. premier Glen Clark is acquitted of breach of trust and corruption charges.

## SEPTEMBER

4 -- Senate committee recommends legalization of marijuana.

5 -- Afghan President Hamid Karzai survives assassination attempt when car bomb kills at least 15 in Kabul.

9 -- Pro-Palestinian protesters force shutdown of a speech by former Israeli prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu at Concordia University in Montreal.

11 -- Prime Minister Chretien says root causes of Sept. 11 terrorist attacks were global poverty and an overbearing American foreign policy.

13 -- U.S. air force recommends that criminal charges be laid against two fighter pilots involved in a bombing that killed four Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan.

17 -- Health officials say death of a 70-year-old man in Mississauga, Ont., was caused by West Nile virus, Canada's first fatal infection of the disease.

20 -- President Bush says U.S. is prepared to launch pre-emptive military strikes against security threats from foreign enemies.

23 -- Canadian stocks fall to their lowest level in almost four years.

26 -- Ferry bound for Senegal sinks in storm off West Africa, leaving about 1,000 people dead.

27 -- Bombardier says it will cut about 2,000 jobs.

30 -- CBC says Ron MacLean will not be returning as host of Hockey Night in Canada.

## OCTOBER

2 -- B.C. pig farmer Robert Picton faces four more murder charges, bringing the number of women he is accused of killing to 15.

3 -- Following uprising by hockey viewers, CBC and sportscaster Ron MacLean agree to new contract.

4 -- Queen and Prince Philip arrive in Iqaluit at start of 12-day Canadian tour to mark Golden Jubilee.

6 -- Queen drops puck at NHL exhibition game in Vancouver.

10 -- Hungarian Imre Kertesz wins Nobel Prize for literature. U.S. House of Representatives votes to back war with Iraq unless Baghdad disarms.

11 -- Former U.S president Jimmy Carter is awarded Nobel Peace Prize.

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12 -- Bombing of Bali nightclub kills at least 188 people.

15 -- Saddam Hussein is declared winner of 100 per cent of votes in national referendum.

16 -- United States says North Korea has admitted to attempting to build nuclear warheads.

21 -- Fourteen people are killed when a bus is attacked by car bomb near Hadera, Israel.

22 -- Former Livent founders Garth Drabinsky and Myron Gotlieb are charged with 19 counts of fraud. Canadian author Yann Martel wins Booker Prize. Lawrence MacAulay resigns as Canada's solicitor general after ethics counsellor concludes he broke conflict-of-interest rules.

23 -- Chechen militants seize Moscow theatre and hold nearly 700 people hostage.

24 -- Police arrest John Allen Muhammad and John Lee Malvo as suspects in sniper attacks that killed 10 people in Washington, D.C., area. Federal government releases draft plan to meet Kyoto protocol targets for cutting greenhouse-gas emissions.

26 -- Russian forces storm Moscow theatre, using knockout gas that kills at least 120 hostages and about 50 hostage-takers.

27 -- Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva wins Brazil's presidential election. Anaheim Angels win World Series, defeating San Francisco Giants in seventh game.

30 -- Calgary oil company Talisman Energy sells its stake in Sudanese oil project and pulls out of the country after pressure from human-rights groups.

31 -- School collapses during earthquake in Italian village of San Giuliano di Puglia, killing 26 children.

## NOVEMBER

4 -- TV's Da Vinci's Inquest wins best drama Gemini for fourth year in a row.

5 -- Austin Clarke wins Giller Prize for his novel The Polished Hoe. In U.S. midterm elections, Republican party gains control of Senate and increases its majority in House of Representatives.

8 -- UN Security Council adopts U.S.-British sponsored resolution that demands inspectors have access to suspected weapons sites in Iraq.

11 -- West Coast poet George Bowering is named Parliament's first poet laureate. Barry Bonds of San Francisco Giants becomes baseball's first five-time most valuable player.

12 -- Audiotape attributed to Osama bin Laden warns of terrorist attacks on Canada and other western countries.

13 -- Iraq accepts UN resolution on weapons inspections.

15 -- Jiang Zemin is replaced by Hu Jintao as leader of China's Communist party. Palestinians attack Israeli settlers in West Bank town of Hebron, killing at least 12.

17 -- Former Italian prime minister Giulio Andreotti is found guilty of ordering murder of journalist.

18 -- Comcast Corp. becomes world's largest cable company after buying AT&T's cable systems for \$58.7 billion US.

19 -- Bahamas-flagged tanker Prestige, carrying more than 75 million litres of oil, sinks off northwest coast of Spain. Billionaire Ken Thomson makes \$370-million donation in cash and art to Art Gallery of Ontario. B.C.'s conflict commissioner concludes that former premier Glen Clark broke conflict of interest rules when he accepted free home renovation from neighbour seeking casino licence.

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20 -- Following five-year investigation into tainted-blood scandal of the 1980s, RCMP announces criminal charges against four doctors, the Canadian Red Cross Society and an American drug company. Federal government and Anglican Church reach a deal that would see church pay up to \$25 million to those abused in native residential schools.

21 -- More than 200 people are killed in protests against Miss World beauty contest in Nigeria. NATO leaders invite seven former communist countries to join the alliance at Prague summit.

24 -- Montreal Alouettes beat Edmonton Eskimos 25-16 to win Grey Cup.

25 -- U.S. President Bush creates Department of Homeland Security, largest U.S. government overhaul since Second World War, aimed at preventing terrorist attacks.

26 -- Prime Minister Chretien's communication director Francoise Ducros resigns over her comment that U.S. President Bush is a "moron."

28 -- Roy Romanow commission recommends \$15-billion infusion into health care system. Suicide bombers kill 16 people at Israeli-owned Paradise Hotel in Kenya.

## DECEMBER

2 -- Rowan Williams becomes Archbishop of Canterbury, leader of the world's 70 million Anglicans.

3 -- Auditor general's report criticizes government for huge cost overrun in firearms registry.

5 -- Sri Lanka government and Tamil Tiger rebels reach power-sharing deal to end 19-year war.

6 -- Ten Palestinians are killed in Israeli raid on refugee camp in Gaza Strip.

7 -- Iraqi President Saddam Hussein apologizes for invasion of Kuwait 12 years ago.

8 -- Iraq delivers 12,000-page weapons report to UN.

9 -- United Airlines files for bankruptcy protection.

11 -- Federal government bans pro-Palestinian group Hezbollah from operating in Canada.

12 -- Parliamentary committee recommends government decriminalize possession of small amounts of marijuana.

13 -- Bernard Cardinal Law resigns as Archbishop of Boston over mishandling of sexual abuse charges against priests.

14 -- Innu of Davis Inlet begin move to new community of Natuashish, Labrador. EU agrees to admit 10 mainly east European states in 2004.

16 -- Prime Minister Chretien signs document ratifying Kyoto accord on greenhouse gases.

19 -- U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell says Iraq is in "material breach" of UN resolution by lying about its weapons of mass destruction. Supreme Court of Canada ruling means common-law partners cannot claim equal division of property if relationship breaks down.

23 -- Ray Hnatyshyn, governor general from 1990 to 1995, is honoured in state funeral.

## Graphic

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2002: It was a turbulent year: World grapples with lingering effects of Sept. 11

Colour Photo: Associated Press, File; The Tribute of Light to the victims of the World Trade Center terrorist attacks lit up the sky above lower Manhattan on March 11.; Colour Photo: Associated Press; Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe (left) and South African President Thabo Mbeki. The Commonwealth suspended Zimbabwe for a year after concluding that its presidential election that returned Mugabe to power was unfair and marred by violence.; Colour Photo: Associated Press; An Israeli army tank takes position at Manger Square near the Church of the Nativity, seen behind barbed wire in May in the West Bank town of Bethlehem.; Colour Photo: Canadian Press, File; Four helmets are set on rifles at a memorial in Edmonton for four Canadian soldiers killed in Afghanistan by friendly fire.; Colour Photo: Sniper suspects John Lee Malvo (left) and John Allen Muhammad.; Colour Photo: Associated Press; The Prestige oil tanker sinks in the Atlantic Ocean Nov. 19 spilling oil and creating an environmental disaster off the northwest coast of Spain and Portugal.; Colour Photo: Canadian Press; Georgia Giddings, 10, of Baysville, Ont., is overcome by emotion on meeting Pope John Paul II on July 23 in Toronto.; Colour Photo: Associated Press; Tourists carry luggage past the site of a bomb blast that killed nearly 200 people at Kuta Beach on the Indonesian island of Bali Oct. 14.

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**MIDEAST TURMOIL: THE AFTERMATH; In Rubble of a Refugee Camp, Bitter Lessons for 2 Enemies**

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## **Body**

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In a drizzle early on Wednesday, April 3, as Cobra helicopters thumped the air overhead, Israeli infantry troops accompanied by armored bulldozers and tanks approached the fringes of this camp, which was still, braced.

The army had swiftly taken control of the city of Jenin, and now it was turning its attention to the refugee camp, which Israel called the very heart of Palestinian militancy in the West Bank, the origin, it said, of 23 suicide bombers.

Each side thought it knew what to expect from its enemy. The Israelis planned to wrap up their drive in just 48 hours.

Over the next 10 days, in the most ferocious fighting of Israel's biggest ground offensive in 20 years, each side would prove the other wrong -- disastrously so for civilians who became part of the battlefield, a dense cityscape of roughly 500 yards by 600 yards.

Today, William J. Burns, the State Department's assistant secretary for Near Eastern affairs, toured the refugee camp and said, "It's obvious that what happened in Jenin camp has caused enormous suffering for thousands of innocent Palestinian civilians."

The battle here is already gathering force as an enduring lesson and inspiration, another sorrowful chapter in the contested narrative about the struggle over this land. Each side's version is already settling into a concrete sturdier than the stuff scattered throughout this camp, across a bulldozed area bigger than a football field.

What precisely happened will not be known at least until the debris is sifted and the residents -- many of them now twice refugees -- return home. Some clarity may result from a United Nations inquiry, which Israel agreed to on Friday.

But dozens of interviews with residents of the camp, hospital officials, Israeli soldiers and officials, and Palestinian fighters produced no solid evidence of large-scale, deliberate killing of civilians in the camp. Palestinian claims of hundreds of dead appear to be exaggerated.

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The interviews also left little doubt that Israeli soldiers killed civilians -- Israel said accidentally -- with gunfire, missile fire from helicopters, and armored D-9 bulldozers sent crashing into homes. During the offensive, 23 Israeli soldiers were killed.

In the beginning, Palestinian fighters thought that the Israeli troops would do little more than push into one area and then depart, as they had done twice before this year. Israeli soldiers, most of them reservists abruptly summoned from civilian life and given three days' training, thought the Palestinian fighters would fight for a while, then do the sensible thing and surrender.

But the Palestinians chose to make a stand, and this time the Israelis meant business.

The first soldier to die here fell around noon that first day, as the Israeli forces found themselves pinned down by unexpectedly precise sniper fire in the camp's alleyways, many of them too narrow to admit tanks.

Maj. Moshe Gerstner, a 29-year-old officer in the reserves, was shot dead as he prepared to move from one house to another in the hunt for militants, and two other soldiers were wounded. In an early sign of daring, Palestinian fighters made off with the soldiers' M-16 semiautomatic rifles.

Ziad Zbaidi, a Palestinian fighter and leader of Yasir Arafat's Fatah faction, was also shot dead that day. From her rooftop, Hamda Masharqa, 60, watched a young man trying to retrieve the body, despite Israeli sniper fire. "He got a bullet in the leg," she said. "When he managed to stand on his feet, he was shot by another."

Later, she said, she learned that the young man she had watched die was her own son, Imad.

Palestinians have charged that the attack was a massacre of civilians. Israelis have strongly denied the accusation. The army fanned suspicions by blocking access to the camp to the Red Cross and other international organizations and announcing that it was removing and burying some bodies, then insisting it had not done so.

The Israeli Army has revised its estimate of the dead downward, to 48, from as many as 200. Palestinians have said that Israeli soldiers may have killed hundreds. Thirty-seven bodies are accounted for so far, though an unknown number are rotting under the jumble of concrete and lost belongings.

After 13 Israeli soldiers were ambushed and shot dead by Palestinian gunmen on one day, in a grisly scene transmitted live by an army drone circling overhead, the army responded in force, sending bulldozers into the center of the camp to level an entire neighborhood, one where Israelis and Palestinians said that fighters were concentrated.

The bulldozers also created wide lanes throughout the camp and knocked down whole blocks of homes belonging to noncombatants, according to Palestinians.

Palestinians provided detailed accounts of the deaths of at least 10 civilians, including a man said to have been shot as he was surrendering, as well as four women, two 13-year-old boys, and three men over 50. A disabled man was buried alive in a demolished house, his relatives said, but his body has not yet been excavated.

Palestinians said they were forced into use as human shields as soldiers searched from house to house, and one soldier acknowledged the practice.

The furor over a possible massacre has obscured other troubling questions about the violence: whether Israeli soldiers used excessive force in the presence of civilians; whether Palestinian fighters deliberately endangered civilians by hiding among them; whether the operation, in the end, achieved its stated objectives, of eliminating terrorism and making Israelis more secure.

Though the dead have seized the world's attention, the living -- those dispossessed and those detained and released by Israel -- are just starting to contend with their losses and humiliations. Instead of condemning the 23 suicide bombers that Israel says came from the camp and motivated its attack, Palestinians are vowing to send even more.

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## A Camp Rallies to Fight

The refugee camp was a haphazard warren of two- and three-story cinder-block homes, shot through with cramped alleyways and backed against a hillside on the western side of Jenin city. About 13,000 people were thought to be living there when the Israelis attacked, and many stayed as the fighting intensified.

At least 1,000 Israeli soldiers joined in the attack, mostly reservists, supported by specialized units. Israeli officials and Palestinians in the camp estimated that the soldiers were battling about 200 Palestinian gunmen, representing all Palestinian factions. Members of the Islamic groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad fought alongside members of the Palestinian security forces, with whom they had sometimes clashed in the past.

The camp rallied around its fighters, and many residents reported volunteering to guide them, hide them and feed them. The morning the fighting started, Fadwa al-Jammal, 27, from Tulkarm, was here visiting her sister, Rufaida. Fadwa, a nurse wearing a white head scarf and lab coat, stepped outside with Rufaida to ask where the Palestinian field hospital was, so she could offer her services, her sister said.

The two women were talking to a group of fighters when Rufaida was shot in the leg. As Fadwa ran to help her, she was shot and collapsed over her sister's legs. "She breathed three breaths and was dead," Rufaida said.

Hani Abu Ramaileh, a 20-year-old fighter, tried to come to the women's assistance and was shot in the chest and stomach.

A 13-year-old boy was also shot dead that day, hit in the head and stomach, bringing to five the total number of Palestinians known to have died at the start of the fighting. Their bodies were taken to Jenin hospital, where they were eventually buried in a mass, temporary grave.

The mismatch in force of arms was stark. The Israeli Army used Vulcan antiaircraft guns, able to shoot 3,000 rounds a minute, inside the camp. It used Cobra helicopters with thermal detection capability to fire TOW missiles -- intended for use against tanks on open battlefields -- through the walls of houses, some with noncombatants inside. It deployed scores of Merkava tanks and armored vehicles equipped with machine guns. It used bulldozers to raze civilian homes, crushing more and more of them -- but with less and less warning, Palestinians said.

Buzzing drones and balloons carrying cameras monitored the fighting from above, and from a hilltop encampment just outside Jenin, officers coordinated the combat, using detailed maps and sophisticated communications.

The Palestinians were armed with Kalashnikov rifles and crude explosives, generally made from fertilizer. Israeli soldiers said they kept finding the bombs in unlikely places -- in garbage bags, or discarded refrigerators or sewers. Some bombs, Israelis said, were hidden in holes drilled right into the street. Soda cans were strung in the alleys, soldiers said, giving away the patrols' positions when they bumped into them.

"We didn't expect them to use such military force against the camp," admitted one Palestinian fighter, who was badly wounded two days into the battle. Similarly, Israeli soldiers said they did not anticipate such fierce resistance. "The Palestinians were really prepared," said Sgt. Dov Rifken, 20, who manned an antiaircraft gun here.

Many soldiers insisted that they took enormous risks to avoid killing civilians. One reservist, Or Raveh, 22, who fought from an armored vehicle, pointed out that the United States bombed Afghanistan from the air and said that Israel could have used the same tactic. "Here, you go in and you risk your life to find the actual people who are shooting at you," he said.

## Tightening the Net

On Day 2 of the fighting in the refugee camp -- April 4, a Thursday -- President Bush declared in Washington, "I ask Israel to halt incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas and begin the withdrawal from those cities it has recently



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occupied." But the fighting intensified here, as Israeli forces inched forward, tightening their net around the Palestinians.

Atiyyeh Abu Ramaileh, 44, was looking out the window of his house when he was shot dead by a sniper, said his neighbor, Thaer Fayad. Mr. Abu Ramaileh was the father of Hani, who died the day before trying to help the mortally wounded nurse, Mr. Fayad said. Mr. Abu Ramaileh's wife began screaming "God is great. Someone help me." The family eventually spent eight days in the house with the body.

Three more Israeli soldiers were killed that day, as troops went house to house in a search for militants.

Israeli officials have been caught between conflicting mandates: to communicate to Israeli citizens a decisive army victory over terrorism, and to communicate to the world that Israelis are suffering. A similar tension existed in the orders of the soldiers here: to wipe out all gunmen, but not harm civilians.

If the Israeli Army is correct, and around 48 Palestinians died in the fighting, that would mean that Israel lost almost one soldier for every two Palestinians killed, despite the army's overwhelming advantages of manpower, munitions and machinery. In addition to the 23 Israelis killed here, 75 were wounded.

The toll taken by the Palestinian resistance suggests disturbing lessons for Israel.

The soldiers "were told to do it within 48 hours," Col. Miri Eisen, an intelligence officer, said. "But the amount of resistance they encountered was greater than expected. We didn't really plan correctly."

Rather than emphasizing their role as victims, Palestinians could have presented this fight as a brave but losing struggle. The Israelis worried about both outcomes, that the Palestinians could display their corpses to the world to claim a massacre, and that they could energize their fighters by claiming a victory. Those fears helped shape the combat and its aftermath.

"It doesn't matter how much time is needed, we have to complete the victory in the camp so as not to allow the Palestinians to turn this place into a myth of bravery," Benjamin Ben-Eliezer, the defense minister, told the Israeli newspaper Yediot Ahronot late in the campaign.

But many residents were not looking to die a hero's death. Jammal Issa Sabagh's family believes that it was on the third day of fighting, Friday, that he died. Mr. Sabagh, 35, a diabetic, left the house to surrender with a group of men, according to his sister-in-law, Abeer Ghazawi. He took a bag of clothes with him, she said, and the soldiers evidently mistook the bag for explosives. Soldiers who fought here said that on at least two instances fighters hid themselves in groups of civilians and then attacked.

Mr. Sabagh was shot dead, and his body was left in the road. Tanks ran over it, Palestinians said. Jellied remains amid tattered clothes still lay in the dirt days later.

Late Friday night, Yusra Abu Khurj, 60, was alone on the fourth floor of her house, said her brother, Muhammad Abu Khurj, 75. A TOW missile fired by a helicopter tore through one wall and exploded in the room, spraying shrapnel and killing Ms. Abu Khurj, whom her family described as mentally ill.

Days later, a dried puddle of blood still lay beneath the hole gaping in the wall. Her body had been wrapped in a carpet and shoved into a corner of the room, where maggots invaded it. Her brother said Israeli soldiers had forced him to leave the house and abandon her body, and that they had placed it in the corner. Ms. Abu Kurj's body was eventually identified and interred in the temporary grave behind Jenin hospital.

As Israeli forces pursued militants, civilians continued getting in the way and dying as a result. On Saturday, two wounded fighters took refuge in a house, where three civilians began to care for them in the living room, said Nijneh Amouri, 23. She was hiding with her husband and her 5-year-old son in a back room, when a helicopter attacked.

After the firing subsided, Mrs. Amouri went to the living room. "I saw two were dead, and the other three were bleeding," she said. "They were begging me to call ambulances. I said, 'Wait, wait for me. I'll go get them.' But of

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course, there were no ambulances." Within two hours, the three had died, she said. A week later, the floor of the room was caked with blood.

Red Cross officials and witnesses said that Israeli soldiers, fearing booby traps, used hooks attached to cables to drag the bodies outside. Cables and surgical gloves were seen outside the house, near two long smears of blood. "Muhammad Mahmoud!" cried a woman, searching for her only son as she rushed up to the house.

Palestine Red Crescent Society ambulances were not able to move through the camp during at least eight days of the fighting. Palestinians said that the Israeli Army blocked the ambulances, but the army said that it did not interfere with them, except to insist on checking them for hidden fighters or weapons.

In the early days, Palestinian fighters from inside the camp were blaring amplified messages, some in Hebrew. They warned the Israelis to stay away or face death, soldiers recalled. Other messages, in Arabic, were meant to keep up the spirits of the surrounded fighters.

The Israeli Army had begun broadcasting messages in Arabic urging civilians to leave the area. "As the activity intensified so did the danger that we would hurt civilians," Mr. Ben-Harush said. "It was unpleasant for us. Children and adults, it was preferable that they go."

The Israeli Army said that it began issuing the warnings at the start of the operation, but Palestinians said that they did not hear them until the fifth day, Sunday, April 7.

One paratrooper explained that the house was surrounded by soldiers and armored vehicles, and the occupants were warned to come out or the house would be destroyed. "After people know what's going to happen, if they stay, it's at their own risk," this soldier said. "There's not a civilian who doesn't know what's going on."

The army had also begun using bulldozers to demolish some houses being used by Palestinian fighters, soldiers said. Generally, a bulldozer would hit a house, then pause to give the occupants another chance to escape, they said.

As they found groups of civilians hiding in houses or even in caves, the soldiers were separating men from women. Palestinians gave consistent accounts of the treatment: Men were forced to strip to demonstrate that they were not carrying explosives. They were then permitted to put their pants back on, the men said, or they were asked to put on Israeli-issued pants. They were then forced to lie on their stomachs while their hands were bound with plastic handcuffs.

The men were bused to a nearby military base, where they were held for one to three days. Many men showed burns or scabs on their wrists left by the handcuffs, which they said they wore for their entire detention. Most said they were asked only cursory questions, such as their names and those of their relatives. Some said they were beaten and denied food, water and bathrooms. The Israeli Army denied mistreating prisoners.

According to the Palestinians' account, when they were released, the soldiers told them not to go home to the camp -- "They told me, 'You have no house,' " said Izzat Muhammad, 28 -- but instead to go to a nearby village, Rummaneh. There, they added their names to a lengthening list of released detainees at the mosque, and began searching for their families.

After the first days of the operation, the Israeli press began reporting that the Palestinian resistance was on the verge of collapse. But on Tuesday, April 9, the Israeli Army received the biggest shock of its West Bank operation.

Four soldiers walked into a courtyard near the center of the camp, and straight into an ambush. Four or five Palestinian gunmen opened fire and killed them all. When other Israelis rushed to the scene, they were also surprised, and nine more were cut down.

The official said that a military review of the scene, recorded by the drone, suggested that the soldiers, who were reservists, had erred in entering the courtyard in a group.

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Elsewhere in the camp at about the same time, a booby trap detonated a string of explosives, bringing down three buildings. The army decided it was time to switch tactics, officials said.

"We're like, 'O.K., we understand what this is, and we can't continue like this,' " said Colonel Eisen, the intelligence officer. More bulldozers began burrowing toward the center of Jenin camp.

## A Weakening Resistance

The next day, a suicide bomber struck near the coastal city of Haifa, killing himself and eight passengers, four of them soldiers. The bomber came from Jenin refugee camp, but Israeli officials claimed he had been hiding in another city as he prepared his attack.

As the bulldozers did their work, resistance began collapsing. Early on Thursday, the 11th, three dozen fighters surrendered, the Israeli Army said. One young man who said he worked as a guide and assistant to gunmen, and who was wounded in the leg, said that fighters began moving out of the central area for fear they were endangering civilians. "This started to weaken the resistance," he said.

Some fighters managed to dodge the dragnet and leave the camp, Israeli officials acknowledged.

By the 10th day, Israeli armored vehicles were moving freely through the camp. Though they occasionally fired blasts from their machine guns and maintained a total curfew, the fighting was over.

The Israeli Army continued blocking access to the camp for at least three more days to humanitarian workers, United Nations officials, and journalists. The army said that fighting could still break out, and that booby traps, even some on corpses, made the area too perilous.

But journalists who gained access to the camp during that period saw no live explosives, and residents said that they feared only Israeli sniper fire. International Red Cross officials and local hospital officials said they had seen no booby-trapped bodies. Eight people have been injured in the camp in the last three days in unexplained explosions or building collapses.

One Palestinian woman, Umm Mutasem, said that she had seen Israeli soldiers loading five bodies into a refrigerated truck. Another woman reported seeing five bodies lined up on the street with sheets on them as she surrendered to Israeli soldiers. Other Palestinians reported seeing Israeli soldiers bury 10 bodies in two separate locations. The Israeli Army denied burying any bodies.

Israeli officials have said that they had search and rescue teams working in the camp, but journalists have not seen any.

When Israeli forces declared their mission accomplished and departed the camp last Thursday night, they left desolation behind. In a stench of decay, people began digging for the bodies of loved ones. Boys roamed through the new wasteland at the camp's core, carrying the charred foot and ankle of a child wrapped in a black cloth.

Other families dug for their belongings. "This is the civilization of the 21st century," said an accountant who gave his name as Abu Ala, 36, as he conducted a tour of his father's house.

On Thursday, in one of the camp's new boulevards of dirt and concrete shards, Hassan Hourani, 12 years old, stood watching strangers gaze at a poster celebrating the bomber who blew himself up outside Haifa on April 10. "He's excellent," the child said, adding that he had one relative buried in the rubble.

Hassan said that he wanted to be either a medic or a fighter when he grew up. "You should understand," he said, "if there were no fighters, they could enter anywhere and kill people."

Asked if, should he become a medic, he would help an Israeli Jew who was injured, he replied, "If he's a Jew who supports peace, I will help him."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Mahmoud Rashid Fayed's home in the Jenin camp was razed in fighting that is the subject of a fierce debate. (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)(pg. 1); Above, a brother and aunt of an Israeli soldier killed during the offensive in Jenin during his funeral in Hadera in northern Israel on April 10. Below, a Palestinian man mourning over a body bag on Friday during a mass burial of the dead found in Jenin's rubble. (Agence France-Presse); (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)(pg. 12) Map of Israel highlighting the Jenin refugee camp: At the Jenin refugee camp, Arabs speak of a massacre, which Israel denies. (pg. 12)

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## *Intimate enemies*

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### **Body**

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It seems like a hundred years ago. At the end of the winter of 1999, I was travelling in the Gaza Strip late at night in a black Honda belonging to a Palestinian preventative security officer. We were speeding at 100 kilometres an hour down a road that ended just a few kilometres later at a roadblock, in a desert city that always looked dusty as if rain never fell upon it.

It was the time of peace, when the Rais (President) Arafat ran his small and torn Palestine from Gaza and argued with the Israelis over technical details. I was an Israeli journalist who had come to write a profile of the Rais. The officer, who met me at the entrance to a small hotel, wanted to reminisce on his days as a teenager, when he worked at a supermarket near Tel Aviv. Since those youthful days, he had already spent months in an Israeli prison, was interrogated, beaten, released, joined the supporters of the Oslo peace and was appointed a junior officer in Arafat's military apparatus. In the dark, as he drove, the officer turned to me in the back seat and placed a heavy object on my lap. I groped and found an automatic pistol. I was alarmed and he laughed. "So that you should feel safe," he said. Then he told me a joke about Arafat and sent regards to his boss in Tel Aviv. "Tell him what I'm doing today."

Since then, only four years have passed, but an abyss full of corpses separates the periods. A Palestinian officer will no longer place his weapon on my lap, but I will continue travelling there incessantly, to try to understand and to tell what has happened between the two intimate enemies, Israelis and Palestinians. As my researcher Nadem Odeh so aptly puts it: "Us and you, like orphaned brothers. We grew up wild, hating and loving, without the education of the parents who died and left us alone." What I see is not just a story of occupier and occupied, of hatred and brutality. Rather, after years of writing it seems to me this is the complex plot of two tribes overflowing with paranoia and fantasy, dreams of greatness and inferiority complexes, bound together on a territory far too tiny for them to distance themselves or to separate.

Nadem is from Bethlehem and I am from Tel Aviv, the city where the worse the situation gets the better the cappuccino becomes. We sit almost every week in Palestinian homes and talk with people. Endless conversations in which we chew the same question: "What is to happen?" It is a kind of feverish council of desperate people who feel they have no control over the course of events. Or more correctly, their descent into hell. Bethlehem, Nablus, Hebron, checkpoints, taxi conversations. Just as in another more normal place people talk about football, horse races, family, women, the wheat crop or grape harvest, here, in every Palestinian home, we talk about what they call "politics" and we call "the situation".

There, in every house we passed through over the last two years, Nadem and I noticed that the clocks had stopped. I do not mean in a literary metaphoric way - but for real. Nobody sets their clocks anymore or replaces a battery that

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has died. Palestinian time has frozen. When everything is stuck, when all roads are blocked by the army, when in the towns themselves there is closure and curfew, when the future itself is lost like a key chain that you cannot find and there is no plan, what meaning does time have? What will you dream about? For even the recent past is subject to argument. What is left to do? You sit in the house and talk. Go out to the yard, drink coffee and talk. They speak with the stranger and ask: "What is to happen?" When I sigh and say it will be bad in the near future too, they look at me like I am some bad-mannered guest.

Even when a tank passes by and the noise of the tracks overwhelms the quiet courtyard, they remember those days when they travelled to Tel Aviv, and I recall the time when I travelled at night with my wife to Nadem's wedding in Bethlehem. Even in the home of a young man who was killed the week before, his parents remember relationships they once had with Israelis.

The past always seems better than the present here. In the home of Ali Alian, a murderous Hamas activist who was killed in March in a battle with soldiers, his father asked me: "When will we go back to the days when we shared bread and water between us?" There, in the mourner's tent in the Alian family courtyard, I remembered the story of another suspect, one of the first to be assassinated on Israel's intifada hit list. It was the story of Samikh Malabe, the great-grandson of the two deadly tribes who are sometimes even connected by real blood ties.

It happened at about 10:30pm, in the middle of December 1999, in the first year of the second intifada, when Fadwa Malabe came back to her home in Kalandia and found her married son, Samikh. The mother and son sat together at home for about an hour until the mobile phone played its melody and someone - the mother didn't know who - talked to Samikh at the other end of the line. A few minutes later, the phone rang again and the mother could hear her son answer: "OK, I'll be there soon." She had no sense of foreboding.

Samikh left the house at nearly midnight. It was a two-storey structure, surrounded by a very narrow yard in a dense refugee camp. The home lies near the camp's gently sloping hillside and the road down is dark, unlit, until the houses thin out and a stone quarry begins. Samikh went on foot from the house to where he was going. Twenty minutes later the house shook from a huge explosion.

The phone rang. Somebody said to Fadwa: "Go see what happened to your son." Young men from the camp who roamed around at night with nothing to do but wait for action ran immediately towards the sound and were the first to find, close to the quarry, the body of Samikh Malabe. A doctor who was rushed there immediately pronounced him dead. In the days after the death, the family heard that everyone was investigating what happened to Samikh Malabe - the Palestinian police and preventative security agency, the Israeli army and Shin Bet, the secret service. For Kalandia sits on the road from Jerusalem to Ramallah that was part of what was called by the peace process "Area C" - under total Israeli control. At least one of the investigating bodies knew exactly what had happened. One of them had perpetrated the murder.

"We don't accuse anyone," the mother said to me, cautious with every word and sometimes trying to gently silence Hassan, one of her other son's, or some other family member who sat with us and in her opinion spoke too much. "Only God knows who did this," she said. "Samikh's son Uday will grow up and ask who killed his father. And he will avenge the blood." When she spoke, she held her grandson in her arms, the son of Samikh, the infant Uday who was born just 40 days before. He looked at her with the innocent look of one who has just been discharged into the world and could not possibly know in his embryonic mind that he had already been marked for a life of revenge.

In the Israeli press, Samikh Malabe was described as number 10 on the list of 15 liquidations carried out up to then by the special forces of the army, border police and Shin Bet. Although these assassinations deviate to the extreme from all democratic and legal norms, they did not stir up a storm in Israel and even passed almost quietly in the West Bank, as part of the new regional laws of the jungle that replaced the rules of the peace process with remarkable rapidity. In the case of Samikh Malabe, it was written here and there that he was a key operative of Tanzim, the militia of Arafat's Fatah faction of the PLO, who was liquidated by a booby-trapped mobile phone. But the noise of the explosion indicates it was a larger bomb, a device slyly handed to Samikh by someone he knew. Few will ever know what happened that night near the Kalandia quarry. "His death is a secret like all of his life," said Samikh's brother-in-law, who has close ties with Israelis and Palestinians. "You never knew exactly what Samikh

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was really doing, where he was going. There were things he kept only to himself. He didn't tell me, his mother or his wife."

In some newspapers they wrote erroneously that the assassinated Samikh Malabe was part of the Palestinian terror apparatus in the 1970s, and that he had been in prison for a long time until he was released in the Jibril deal in the summer of 1985. The journalists negligently mixed up Samikh and his uncle. For the assassinated Samikh Malabe was only born in 1973 and during the Jibril deal, in which Israeli and Palestinian prisoners were exchanged, he was 12 years old. A confusion was made between him and his uncle, his father's brother, who was a well-known and infamous member of Tanzim.

"Perhaps the whole thing was a serious mistake," said a Jewish friend of Samikh's, who knew him as Jimmy. "Maybe they killed the wrong man. Because Jimmy was always like a family member to me, at home in the Gilo neighbourhood (of Jerusalem) and the business. Did you know that Jimmy's grandmother was Jewish?"

It was raining when I came with my photographer to the Kalandia camp. We waited for an escort from the camp under the canopy of a tin shack falafel stand and then we went into a sort of food store with a room packed with loud video games and lots of kids. A door opened from there into a dark hall with peeling walls where I saw some youths playing snooker under pictures of the shaheeds (martyrs) of this war. A life of refugees, third and fourth generation, in a grey camp under chilling skies criss-crossed with telephone and electricity wires that looked like prison bars. The mountain view around the camp was ruined, covered like the pocks of a serious disease with countless small buildings leaning like patients on each other's shoulders.

Here, in this camp, lived until 10 years ago - not the grandmother as his Jewish friend had said - but the great-grandmother of Samikh Malabe. Her name was Masouda Haroush, and she was originally a Jewish girl from the Beit Yisrael neighbourhood in Jerusalem. When I asked people about her, I learned that in about 1930, when she was 13, Masouda came with her sisters from her parents' house in one of the new Jewish neighbourhoods to visit a house where Jews and Arabs lived together, in the Bab al-Wad area of the Old City. In that house she met Rashid, Samikh's great-grandfather, and at the young age of 14, when people got married then, she married the Arab and they lived near the Western Wall.

Her sisters Esther, Rachel, Miriam and Zipporah married Jews and lived in Jerusalem along with their extended Jewish families. But Masouda, who fell in love with Rashid Malabe, tied her fate to his tribe and begat him three daughters.

From the daughter Badriah, whose name means moon, Abed was born, the father of Samikh. "According to the Jewish religion, I am a full-fledged Jew, the son of a Jewess, grandson of a Jewess. And according to Islam I am a Muslim," said the father of the assassinated man to me, in flowing Hebrew. He showed me his Israeli-accredited electrician diploma, as if it was another proof of his identity. When I arrived at their house in the camp, the entire family of the liquidated Malabe spoke with me in good Hebrew, except for his mother. All were connected to Israel by work ties - building electricians and small contractors and used-car dealers. All had Israeli friends with whom they had worked all their lives.

In the miserable Kalandia camp, I saw that the entire history of the Malabes was a story of sleepwalking between a strong connection with the Jews - genetic, economic, social - and a fierce war against them. Attraction and bitter rejection. Like the type of war that can only be waged against you by someone who feels too close to you.

So, for example, two of the father's brothers, descendants of Masouda the Jewess, were released in 1985 in the grudgingly signed Jibril deal in which more than 1,100 Palestinian prisoners were traded for three Jews kidnapped in Lebanon. A third brother of the father was released at another time. These Malabe uncles of Samikh's dealt at the time with the Greek Orthodox Archbishop Hilarion Capucci, the Palestinian cleric exiled by Israel for transferring weapons into the West Bank. In an Israeli court, the uncles were sentenced to life for weapons smuggling, killing a taxi driver, planting a bomb in a taxi and shooting Katyusha missiles at Jerusalem.

When these three brothers of the Malabe father were caught by Israel in 1973, Samikh Malabe was four months old. Then, the Israeli army blew up the family house in Shuafat, a town near Jerusalem, as a punishment. It was a

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three-storey home in which six brothers of the extended Malabe family lived. After their house was destroyed, the family moved into a tent they were given by the UN on a plot of land in Kalandia, a refugee camp born in 1949 on a space of 1,400 acres, 11 kilometres north of Jerusalem. Samikh lived there with his parents until the age of one, when they rented a house in the camp and began building on a vacant plot this building where they live today, from where Samikh would be called at the age of 27 to go out at midnight to his death.

And if you follow the history of the Malabes from the side of Samikh's father, you get to the Arab revolt of 1936-38, when his great-grandfather lived in the Katamon neighbourhood of Jerusalem and was an activist in the revolt, killed by the British together with some of his friends as the British army forcefully quelled the fire. "And that great-grandfather of mine," Samikh's father said to me, "was killed just like my son. At age 27, like him on the tenth day of Ramadan, near his house, from a bomb that was meant to liquidate him. He too left a baby less than one year old." This is what the father told me, as if it was a decree of fate written in the heavens many years before it happened.

There were moments, when I sat in the family home in the comfortable living room, padded entirely in carpets and pillows and blue curtains and full of photos of the family and many children, that I got confused between the details and the years. Who was on this side and who was on the other? Who is the friend and who is the enemy? And how does it all connect?

Even the father, within the mourning and confusion of the deadly events, had trouble remembering years and details. He spoke fluent Hebrew and Arabic, wiped a tear and laughed. Outside the home, while we talked, some kids got together to go throw stones at the soldiers guarding the abandoned runway of the Atarot airport adjacent to the camp.

"Did you hear anything about the death of Abu Armeilah?" asked one man in the room. I didn't know what to answer. It seemed that 10 days after Samikh Malabe was killed, the body of another Palestinian man named Abu Armeilah was found not far from the camp. "They lynched him," said one of Samikh's brothers. "They found him without a hand." There were rumours that he was murdered by Jewish settlers but even the Palestinians ruled out that possibility because of signs of torture. Abu Armeilah was found dead with his right hand cut off, and there were those in the camp who believed that maybe his death was linked to Malabe's assassination, because the missing hand indicates a type of revenge or punishment for treason or informing.

Try and work it out. In the deadly fog that shrouds the activities of so many security agencies and terror groups and assassination units of both sides, much more is hidden than is known. Try and work out who attacked whom and why.

After his death, it was possible to reconstruct the course of Samikh Malabe's life with some measure of certainty. He was born in the year of the great war between Israel and Egypt and Syria, and the year when his family home was destroyed as a punishment for his uncle's involvement in attacks against Israel. Even then, the infant Samikh lay in the arms of his mother and grandmother who pledged revenge. And this is how he came to grow up from his earliest days in Kalandia. Most of its residents, an estimated 8,000 people, are from the villages that were destroyed in the 1948 war as well as the once-Arab towns of Lod and Ramle and Jaffa. Without an experienced guide, an American biblical researcher once wrote, you would never find your way out.

Of the eight brothers of Samikh's father, five, like the father, steered clear of politics and war, and three were deeply involved. After being released in the Jibril deal, one brother, Zaki Malabe, went abroad, now lives in Texas and works as an electrician in a hospital. The second, Zohir, works as an electrician in Jordan and the third, Riad, who was injured during an Israeli interrogation, is today a digging contractor in the town of Shuafat near Jerusalem.

The Jewish family of his paternal grandmother never knew Samikh because the year he was born, after his uncles were captured, tried and jailed, all ties with the Israelis were severed. But the great-grandmother Masouda stuck with the tribe to which she had tied her fate with her marriage at the age of 14, and stayed to live among the Palestinians until her death in 1990 in the Kalandia camp. Young Samikh was very fond of and close to the elderly woman. He frequently visited the house of the one dubbed the "Jewish grandmother" and once even went with his father to the Old Katamon neighbourhood to see where the family house once stood, from the paternal great-grandfather's side, next to what is today a football stadium. They found a piece of the house next to a site called



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"the prophet's water hole". Another time they went to Israel, to an immigrants' town near Tel Aviv called Bat Yam, to meet the uncle who converted to Judaism because of the whole family mess, and who today lives with the Jews as one of their own.

When Samikh was a teenager, the Jewish grandmother died, during the heated days of the first intifada. At that time, Samikh started following in the footsteps of his three rebellious uncles who had fought against the Israelis. He started operating with the Shabab, the youth who sustained the intifada, and the Fatah. Samikh was arrested and interrogated by the Israelis four times and was in jail twice. But when the Oslo peace contacts started, as Arafat led his Fatah and a reconciliation process, Samikh, by his mother's testimony, supported the Oslo peace as did his entire organisation.

Samikh had a second-hand car business with his sister's husband. He was the second of four boys and two girls, "and was different to all of them", a relative told me. "He was always out of the house, always secretive. He didn't look like all of his brothers who shared with us everything that was happening to them. He always solved problems for others, would sift through every mess and they would accept his opinion. Even though he did not have a defined position, he had power over people. Even in the family, Samikh was the most active and they always accepted his opinion."

Samikh called the baby who was born before his assassination Uday, the name of Saddam's son. His wife was a Jordanian girl whom he met and brought to Kalandia. First he had a girl, and after her the fair-haired and quiet boy.

Disquieted, always moving, Samikh travelled between the Israelis and Palestinians. He moved between the two tribes that flowed in his blood. Part of the time he spent in the camp and the West Bank, and part of the time in Israel to buy cars. Like others, he worked in the somewhat shady area of trading cars between Israel and Palestine. It was always composed both of legal purchases and smuggling stolen cars and chopping them up to trade in spare parts.

Sometimes Samikh was clean-shaven, and sometimes he would grow a thin, fair-coloured beard. Sometimes he was in Kalandia, and sometimes in Ashdod for the Tuesday auto market on the beachfront. Sometimes he worked around the camp, and sometimes he hung out with his sister's husband who lived in Israel, near the sea.

Sometimes he and his brother-in-law would buy cars in the southern town of Kiryat Gat, or would go to the sea in Tel Aviv or Ashkelon. Many Jerusalemite taxi drivers knew "Jimmy" well, and his auto lot on the main road. The car dealings and his link with Israel were the source of a rumour that spread among Palestinians after his liquidation, that Samikh - like four others named on Israel's hit list - dealt not only in cars but in arms. Perhaps like his uncle, who smuggled weapons with Archbishop Capucci before Samikh was born. The arms trade between Israel and Palestine links Bedouins and Arab-Israelis to soldiers who sell their weapons. A profitable but deadly field, like the merchandise itself.

It seems that everything about Samikh's death is shrouded in a fog. These are things that perhaps will clear up in generations to come when secret archives are opened. It is possible that his assassination was the outcome of a decision in the Israeli security organisations to put a quick end, under cover of the riots, to affairs that would not pass through court procedures. For if they wanted, they could have simply arrested him in Kalandia, which lies in an area under Israeli control. But Israel did not send soldiers to arrest him like they did for others.

In the living room of the Malabe family, I sat with his relatives and we discussed the mystery together. It was as if we - Israeli and Palestinians - were investigating together some affair of a third tribe. "I will hook you up with a good friend of mine," said his brother-in-law, who speaks fluent Hebrew and, like Samikh, knew every corner of Israel. He dialled some phone number, said a few words in Hebrew and handed me the phone.

On the other end of the line was a Jerusalemite Israeli named Simon who also dealt in used cars. Ten years ago, he met Jimmy the teenager, "and he worked in my lot and installed radio and stereo systems. One day he asked me to help him with his brother who was in prison, and that was the first time I heard about his family and his Jewish grandmother. We never talked about politics.

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"I knew that Jimmy served with Arafat and was one of his soldiers," Simon told me, "but by me, he was like a family member and I really liked him. Now I have his shaheed poster that the family prepared after he was killed hanging on my wall. I am in complete shock. Five days before he was killed, he called me in Gilo. I live on the street that faces Beit Jalla from where the Palestinians shoot at us and we live in fear. I said to him: 'Jimmy, they're shooting at us night after night.' After all, he knew my apartment. And Jimmy said to me with certainty: 'Simon, in a few more days it will all calm down. I promise you. The Rais (Arafat) gave an order to cool the field. Everything will work out.' He was worried about me. If I could speak to the head of the Shin Bet I would tell him: 'You killed the wrong kid.' My friends say, 'Simon, it's OK that they knocked him off, if he did what he did.' But I say: 'Let's even assume that he shot at some towns like Gilo - for that you don't liquidate a person like a dog.' As Jews we must not kill like that, or we will have no revival. You can kill in battle, but not with guile in the dead of night. It will bring chaos upon us."

I listened to Simon, and when he finished speaking, I handed the phone back to Samikh's brother-in-law. He looked at me for a moment, as if he was waiting for some answer. I often come across that look in Palestinian homes. They expect the Israeli guest to decipher some puzzle for them. To tell them something that will clarify the picture, to leave some hope as a gift. But I too go there to understand, and I leave as I entered: without an answer, despairing from the vicious circle.

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## *Enemy of the state?*

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### **Body**

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When New York lawyer Lynne Stewart agreed to take on an Egyptian terrorist as a client, she didn't foresee that she herself would soon be facing trial, and up to 40 years in jail. Here, how a '60s radical found herself on the wrong side at the wrong time.

One Saturday morning in November 1994, Ramsey Clark, attorney-general under President Johnson and more recently a spokesman for radical Arab causes, met in his Manhattan office a criminal defence lawyer named Lynne Stewart. Clark wanted Stewart to take on a new client - Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, a blind Egyptian cleric and the spiritual leader of the worldwide jihad movement. The sheik was about to go on trial for directing a conspiracy among his followers to bomb sites around New York City, including bridges, tunnels and the United Nations. His previous attorneys, the left-wing lawyers William Kunstler and Ronald Kuby, had been taken off the case because they represented other defendants who had conflicts of interest with Abdel Rahman. The sheik had dismissed his court-appointed lawyer. A month before trial, Clark told Stewart only she could do the job.

In 1994 Stewart had barely heard of **Hamas** or Hezbollah, let alone the Islamic Group of Egypt, a violent fundamentalist organisation that targeted Coptic Christians, secular intellectuals, policemen and foreign tourists, and for which the sheik provided inspirational leadership. Political Islam was not, as she puts it, on her "radar". Most of her clients were young black and Latino men accused of ordinary crimes, but throughout the 1980s, she also defended members of the radical American underground. Stewart was a "movement" lawyer - she didn't just defend the legal rights of her clients; she also advocated their politics. Friends warned her that the sheik wasn't her kind of client. He was a religious fascist who opposed everything that the feminist, atheist and vaguely revolutionary Marxist Stewart stood for.

What concerned Stewart, though, was not the sheik's politics but her ability to represent him with almost no time to prepare. The little she knew of the sheik himself - a man hounded by the government, accused of masterminding a terrorist plot on which he seemed to have left no fingerprints - appealed to her. That day in Ramsey Clark's office, Stewart wavered. Finally Clark told her that if she refused, the Arab world would feel betrayed by their friends on the American Left. So she agreed to take the case.

As Stewart got to know her new client, she came to see him as a fighter for national liberation on behalf of a people oppressed by dictatorship and American imperialism.

She came to admire him personally, too, for his honesty, his strength of character, his teasing humour.

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"I've made up my mind," the sheik would say. "I'm going to marry you, and that will solve everything."

"And what do women get if they fight in jihad?" she would ask.

"Eternity in paradise with whichever of your husbands you like best."

"Husbands? That's all we get?"

Stewart threw herself into the case with the passion for which she was known in criminal-defence circles. At trial she tried to convince the mostly black jury that the sheik was not an unfamiliar figure to them. "He has advocated for the suffering of his people at home, in Egypt," she said in her opening argument.

"He has advocated by any means necessary, and that is not acceptable to this government." But Stewart misjudged her audience. When the jury returned with a conviction, she wept.

In 1995, few people were paying attention. Today, the trial transcript reads like a 20,000-page prelude to September 11: sleeper cells, secret funds, international jihad, connections to a group called al-Qaeda and a man named bin Laden.

Stewart stayed by the sheik over the years of appeals, paid minimally by contributions from his Muslim supporters, who now regarded her as their champion. She was labouring under the restrictions imposed by the government's Special Administrative Measures, or SAMs, which curtail the activities of convicted terrorists to prevent them from plotting future acts of terrorism. Stewart, like other lawyers in this situation, had to sign an agreement not to pass information to or from clients except for strictly legal purposes.

Then in May 2000, at a meeting with Stewart in a Minnesota prison, the sheik dictated a statement to his Arabic translator, Mohammed Yousry, calling for an end to the cease-fire between the Islamic Group and the Egyptian government. The statement was phoned to Islamic Group leaders by Ahmed Abdel Sattar, a New York mailman and follower of the sheik who had worked as a paralegal on the case. The sheik's followers in Egypt doubted the statement's authenticity - until Stewart herself, in violation of the SAMs, held a press conference a few weeks later to confirm that Abdel Rahman advocated withdrawal from the cease-fire.

She imagined that she might be cut off from the sheik. She did not know that her prison conversations with the sheik were being taped by a court order stemming from Sattar's activities with the Islamic Group. And she did not imagine what would happen on April 9 of this year, when she was handcuffed outside her Brooklyn town house by FBI agents and charged in a federal court with two counts of lying to the government and two counts of aiding a terrorist organisation. Attorney-General John Ashcroft himself flew to New York to announce Stewart's indictment, along with those of Yousry, Sattar and an Islamist in London. The trial will begin next year. Stewart, now 62, faces 40 years in federal prison.

"At trial you'll see two different narratives," says Stephen Gillers, vice-dean of New York University School of Law. "The defence narrative is going to be that the US is using 9/11 to destroy constitutional rights that the government has upheld for 200 years, through wars and disasters. And the prosecution narrative is going to be: focus on what Lynne Stewart did in that prison in May of 2000, well before September 11."

There is a third narrative, one that isn't likely to receive a full hearing at the trial. In this version, a white middle-class girl from Queens, formed by the '50s, is radicalised by the '60s and by a black man for whom she is willing to tear her life in two. Together they become New York revolutionaries, and so they remain long after the radical years have ended and others have moved on. Then, late in life, in a new era, the woman takes up a new cause, commits herself ever more deeply to it and suddenly finds that she has become the defendant. "My true goal," Stewart says, "was always to be on the right side of history."

But Islamic fundamentalism isn't black power, and the history that began on September 11 will not be forgiving of people who pick the wrong cause. Always drawn in the most personal way to the outcast, Stewart herself now seems isolated even within the world that has been her only true home, the legal Left. She had told Ramsey Clark that she would take the sheik's case only if other "movement" lawyers helped, but she faces ruin alone.

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Physically, Lynne Stewart suggests a cheerful and profound self-neglect. Her hair, grey and lank, seems to have expired on her head. She dresses for court like a Sicilian widow in sensible shoes, hobbling from excess weight and a recent courtroom fall. Friends have to remind her to cut her hair, which she did after pleading "emphatically not guilty" while the cameras fixed her in their un pitying sights.

What pictures and public statements don't convey is Stewart's warmth, her vulnerability. These come across in her brown eyes, and in conversation, which unspools in long, discursive and quite unguarded strands. Stewart does not talk like a lawyer or a politico - no jargon, no euphemisms. Her great talent as a lawyer, says Ron Kuby, is to see something redemptive in everyone and to make jurors see it, too.

In person it isn't possible to dislike her - and she never expresses deep dislike.

Growing up in the 1950s, the daughter of schoolteachers, Lynne Feltham was a bookish tomboy. One day she told her mother: "All my friends have boyfriends, and I don't have a boyfriend. What's wrong with me?"

"You're too smart," her mother said. "Tone it down."

She didn't tone it down, but she suffered the peculiar pain of being "an honorary guy - which is interesting, because that's of course how the Muslims also treat me. They don't have to deal with the feminine. I'm an honorary guy, or else they couldn't deal with me at all."

She still suffers. However far she has moved away from the conformist 1950s, Stewart can't muster the unbridled defiance of a woman 10 years younger. What she calls a self-esteem problem extends to her current crisis. "I never expected to be fighting for myself," she says. "I could fight for you, but to fight for me? That's hard. Because I was a girl of the '50s, because I'm not worth it? I don't know. But it's too self-aggrandising, too necessary to make myself into an image of something, rather than just be, you know, all the warts, what I am."

She followed the pattern of her generation into early marriage and motherhood. But when her husband suffered a psychological breakdown, Stewart, then 21, found that the family's moral and financial support depended on her. She went to work as a librarian in a decaying elementary school in Harlem. It was 1962.

Across the hall was the classroom of a black teacher named Ralph Poynter. A short, broad former amateur boxer, Poynter had brought from western Pennsylvania a love of jazz clarinet and a pent-up rage. When Stewart met him, he was "a repressed revolutionary in a suit and tie". She was seeing things for which nothing in her life had prepared her: an eight-year-old boy whose lips had been chewed by a rat while he slept; teachers who expected their students to learn nothing. The white librarian and the black teacher gravitated towards each other, and Poynter became Stewart's guide to black America. James Baldwin's *Fire Next Time* came out that year, Malcolm X's fame was growing, Harlem seethed. It all matched Ralph Poynter's mood. And his militancy felt like liberation of every kind to Lynne Stewart.

"Two people who are passionate about the same things," Ginny Gernes, Stewart's best friend from schooldays, says, "and then what else can happen?"

It still embarrasses Stewart to talk about their affair, and yet nothing animates her more than to recall how she fell in love and became a radical in one risky and inextricable leap. Everything was happening at once, history feeding rage, rage politics, politics intimacy. They plunged into the community-school movement at its left-wing fringe, with Poynter in the role of organiser and enforcer, losing his job and eventually serving six months in prison for three counts of assaulting a police officer.

It was all part of the attraction. "Oh, I'm Desdemona," Stewart says, laughing, alluding to Othello's famous lines: "She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd/ And I loved her that she did pity them."

Stewart had to prove herself worthy over and over. When Poynter lost his job, she gave him half her pay cheque, though he was still living with his wife and Stewart felt too guilty to take child support from her ex-husband. Poynter agonised over his own motives, searching for traces of racial self-hatred. "He talks black," people at meetings would say, "but he sleeps white." He sought advice from a Harlem legend, Queen Mother Moore of the Captive Non-Self-

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Governing Nation of Africans Born in America. Queen Mother Moore told Poynter that Lynne Stewart was the real thing and would never betray him. But she also urged him to have many other women, because he was a black warrior who needed to propagate the race.

"I enjoyed that view," Poynter says, "but that was not my view."

"He indulged that view," Stewart clarifies, "but he did not adopt it."

Forty years after they met in Harlem, Stewart and Poynter have an extended multiracial clan - seven children between them (one together) and seven grandchildren. He drives her everywhere, while she nags him to watch the road. Winding along the East River from Bronx County Courthouse, he announces, "This country is founded on brutality." "Exploitation," she says. "I like it better when you say exploitation, Ralph." "Brutal exploitation." She smiles fondly and pats his hand.

In the 1970s, Stewart went to law school and began a criminal practice. But she had missed the golden age of the legal Left, the trials of the draft resisters and the Chicago 8 and the Panther 21. By the early '80s, Stewart was defending violent members of the splinter groups that were all that remained of the revolutionary dreams of the '60s - the Weather Underground, the Ohio 7, the Black Liberation Army. And when these cases ended, when the armed revolutionaries were all in jail or dead, "movement" lawyers like Stewart and William Kunstler and Ron Kuby no longer had a movement. They took on even more dubious clients: drug dealers, cop killers, mobsters, mentally ill assassins. It was hard to see exactly what was left-wing about Colin Ferguson, the Long Island Rail Road shooter (except, if you asked Kunstler, his skin colour), or Sammy the Bull (Salvatore Gravano), the mob informant who was Stewart's client until her indictment (except that the government was out to get him). The idea of a genuine program for social change no longer animated their careers. The legal Left now represented thugs trying to beat the system.

In recent years, Stewart's practice has been devoted primarily to defending poor, young black and Latino men - a few of them her own family members or employees. The boundaries between family and friendship and work are blurred for her. Stewart's son practises law with her; she represented her daughter's common-law husband (Poynter calls him "my sin-in-law") on drug charges; her paralegal is a former client who served 3 1/2 years for harbouring her fugitive husband (one of the Ohio 7) and whose child temporarily came under Stewart and Poynter's care; her office assistant is the son of a jailed black revolutionary. Most of her cases and clients are too obscure to count as political. And yet, for Stewart, this, too, is politics - perhaps the truest kind. Not long ago, reading aloud to Poynter from the preface to Richard Wright's *Native Son*, she exclaimed: "This is why I'm a criminal defence lawyer! It's because he's talking about these kids in the black community that have no voice, that can't articulate, that are just so consumed by their own anger and frustration. And it hasn't changed."

There her career might have remained, if Stewart hadn't been introduced by Ramsey Clark to a new movement. But this was a truly worldwide movement. It was serious; it was real - realer in a way than anything in the '60s.

On a humid evening in June, I was coming out of the offices of the Centre for Constitutional Rights when I heard a Queens accent pronounce my name. Lynne Stewart was limping along the sidewalk in a striped smock. I told her that the meeting of the Lynne Stewart Defence Committee had been cancelled at the last minute.

"Cancelled? Nobody told me." She looked stricken. "Maybe it was the leak."

Three days earlier, a supposedly sealed affidavit for a search warrant had turned up on the website [thesmokinggun.com](http://thesmokinggun.com). It contained excerpts from her taped prison conversations with the sheik. The information was damaging: Stewart, the translator Yousry and the sheik seemed to be enjoying tricking the guards into thinking that she and the sheik were having a lawyer-client conversation, when in fact the sheik was dictating a statement to Yousry. At one point she joked that she should get an acting award. We went back inside. In the elevator, Stewart wondered aloud whether the Centre for Constitutional Rights might be withdrawing from her defence "because they get a lot of their support from Zionists. Well, from Jews, who aren't all Zionists, but some of them are."

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Informed that the meeting had been cancelled for logistical reasons, Stewart left, still looking shaky. Her practice was suffering badly; I had heard from a friend of hers that Stewart was more frightened than ever in her life. I asked whether she was just being brave.

"Haven't you heard of Brave Irene?" Stewart said. "Irene was my mother's name, it's my middle name. But it's the title of a wonderful children's book. Brave Irene - there's snow, it's dark and cold, but she soldiers on. I used to give it out when I was a librarian."

Stewart was due to speak at an anti-war rally in a church on Washington Square. As we came out onto the street, it started raining, and she looked around for Poynter. He was waiting in their cluttered four-wheel drive. The church was only a few blocks away, but Stewart couldn't make it on foot. They discussed whether to re-park.

"Meanwhile, Ralph, I'm drowning."

"Sorry, my dear." Poynter hurried over with an umbrella.

We drove through the pouring rain. "Nobody told me it was cancelled," Stewart said again. For a moment she seemed utterly isolated, and I could feel what it would mean for her and Poynter to be separated by prison as they grow old. "Maybe it was the leak, Ralph."

"Maybe it was. If so, it tells us a lot about what we already know is in there."

She looked at him in exasperation. "What do we know, Ralph? What do we know?"

"That it's all a bunch of bull."

At Judson Memorial Baptist Church, the crowd consisted of greying Maoists, students in antiglobalisation garb and young Muslim women from South Asians Against Police Brutality and Racism. When Stewart spoke, she said: "We have had no movement in this country for many years. But what I see tonight, many movements coming together, tells me it could happen again, and we must make it happen. No matter what General Ashcroft says, no matter what they leak to the press, I am guilty of no crime. I'm very moved to see the young people here. I almost had tears when these young women made their testimonies. This is what movement is all about. It gives us back a lot more than we give to it. It gives us a life." She was helped from the podium to a standing ovation.

For most American dissidents, opposition to the war on terrorism involves a nod to the loss of innocent American life, a tendentious comparison with the loss of innocent Afghan life, a playing down of the danger posed by al-Qaeda and an exaggeration of the Justice Department's domestic security abuses (which don't need exaggerating). Stewart is more intellectually honest than this. When the towers fell, she felt that her city had been violated and her own life disrupted. But this warm-hearted woman took the slaughter of innocents with a certain cold-bloodedness. The US is constantly at war around the world and shouldn't expect its acts to go unanswered, she says.

The Pentagon was "a better target"; the people in the towers "never knew what hit them. They had no idea that they could ever be a target for somebody's wrath, just by virtue of being American. They took it personally. And actually, it wasn't a personal thing." As for civilian deaths in general: "I'm pretty inured to the notion that in a war or in an armed struggle, people die. They're in the wrong place, they're in a nightclub in Israel, they're at a stock market in London, they're in the Algerian outback - whatever it is, people die." She mentions Hiroshima and Dresden. "So I have a lot of trouble figuring out why that is wrong, especially when people are sort of placed in a position of having no other way."

Stewart doubts the government's version of Osama bin Laden - nor does she find him too "repugnant" to represent, though she allows that she herself might not be able to offer the best defence at this point. As for the sheik, in spite of his extensive connections to al-Qaeda, she still sees him as a fighter for Egyptian self-determination. She backs his Islamism for the same reason that she backed Mao and Ho's communism: because it resists imperialism. This logic is entirely different from the civil-liberties rationale of most lawyers who defend accused terrorists. The strategy of her own trial will be to mute it in favour of constitutional arguments, but the political nature of Stewart's commitment to the sheik is what led her to violate the SAMs - an identification so strong that her lack of concern for

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her own welfare strikes even some supporters as reckless. In her retelling, the effort to deceive prison guards was quite deliberate: a great man was locked down in near-total isolation - "Daniel in the lions' den". If she couldn't speak for him politically, what had been the point of taking the case in the first place? Her decision was "a necessary mistake", she says, like an affair that ends a marriage.

Brooklyn, where Stewart and Poynter live in a narrow, book-filled town house, provides a quiet base for some of the world's most extreme political groups. It's an unnoticed miracle that there aren't frequent car bombings and shootouts. The Israeli settler movement draws support in the borough; al-Qaeda's predecessor organisation had its US headquarters not far from the mosques where the sheik used to preach jihad. And remnants of the American Left's most hard-core cells have settled nearby. At a book sale on Stewart's behalf, members of the Madame Binh Graphics Collective were donating 20-year-old African liberation posters, while survivors of the May 19 Communist Organisation and the United Freedom Front chatted over hors d'oeuvres. The ageing American leftists have resurfaced, while the young Arab Islamists are going underground - a dead movement and a living one, with Lynne Stewart the human link.

In his autobiography, William Kunstler wrote that when he took the sheik's case in 1994, he felt as if it were 1969 again and this were the Chicago conspiracy trial. A better analogy would be to the 1950s, when the foreign enemy was real, the domestic support marginal and the hard questions had to do with the appropriate legal response. There's nothing new about the post-September 11 era, says the man who will try to keep Stewart out of prison, the renowned criminal defender Michael Tigar.

He mentions the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the internment of Japanese-Americans, the McCarthy years: "The point is that all times of this kind are different times." At trial Tigar will argue that, although Stewart violated the SAMs in May 2000, she didn't intend to when she signed them. He will claim that, in speaking out on behalf of the sheik, Stewart was doing what lawyers do, under the protection of the First Amendment.

Dozens of New York criminal defenders showed up for Stewart's arraignment. They talk about the indictment's "chilling effect" on the defence of unpopular clients. They say that the charges would never have been brought if not for the terror attacks, and that Attorney-General John Ashcroft is making a scapegoat of an easy target.

But in conversations with criminal lawyers, including members of what might be called the terror bar, I found many of them less decisive in Stewart's defence than the public chorus suggests. Carl Herman spent a year and a half fighting to keep Mohammed Sadiq Odeh from receiving the death penalty for the Nairobi Embassy bombing. On September 11 Herman lost a friend in one of the twin towers. A few weeks later he had to visit Odeh in jail, and found that he couldn't look his client in the eye. Herman has sworn off defending terrorists. "We're not talking about phoney revolutionaries, or Mafia guys, or nuts," he says. "These guys are really dedicated to wiping out me and my family. I can just find something else to do with my time."

Even Ron Kuby, a strong defender of Stewart, has rethought many things since September 11. He now regrets having defended El Sayyid A. Nosair, accused of killing the Jewish extremist Meir Kahane. When Sattar, the sheik's paralegal, was arrested along with Stewart, Kuby was ready to represent him at the bail hearing, until Kuby's wife said, "You don't know what he was doing." Kuby reached a decision: "I sure as hell don't think people who would take my family, put them in purdah and put me up against a wall and shoot me are entitled to my support in that struggle."

Kuby escorted me from his office, lit a cigarette and grew melancholy. He asked what I thought of Stewart's case. I said that the men of the legal Left had been more savvy, and now she was all alone to pay the price. "Lynne is dying for our sins?" Kuby considered it. "Maybe. History is very unforgiving of people who pick the wrong side at the wrong time in the wrong place. And even if she wins, Lynne is ruined as a lawyer."

## Graphic

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## Enemy of the state?

Margaret Salmon and Dean Wiand; Frances M. Roberts "Muslims treat me as an honorary guy. They don't have to deal with the feminine. I'm an honorary guy, or else they couldn't deal with me at all": Lynne Stewart at home; (facing page) with supporters of her client Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman in 1995. FAIRFAX PHOTO LIBRARY Coming to their defence: Stewart (above) speaks about her client, mob informant Sammy the Bull (Salvatore Gravano; pictured top, centre foreground) in May last year. MARGARET SALMON AND DEAN WIAND The good fight?: Stewart and Poynter in their Brooklyn home. After 40 years, their revolution has become a lonely one.

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## *The Millimeter Revolution*

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### **Body**

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In the winter of 1979, one day after the Iranian revolution extinguished the reign of the shahs, the gates to the notorious Evin prison in northern Tehran were thrown open, and Emadeddin Baghi went in to have a look.

All around him, people in cars, on motorbikes and on bicycles were touring the stone compounds of the hillside prison. They inspected the emptied cellblocks where the tales of cruelty they had grown up on had unfolded. Baghi, who was 17, knew that his religious and political mentor, Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri, had been locked up and tortured at Evin, along with other opponents of the shah.

It was a thrilling moment for Baghi. Just three days earlier, he left his home in southern Tehran with a group of friends to join the army of thousands moving east toward the headquarters of the Iranian Air Force. The shah's guards fired at air force personnel inside their air base for flaunting their loyalty to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Outside the air force headquarters, people were piling up sandbags and digging trenches. Baghi and his friends made Molotov cocktails. In the afternoon, motorcycles swung by with placards announcing Imam Khomeini's request to the people: stay in the streets and ignore martial law. They stayed all night.

Stocks of weapons and ammunition were looted from the air base. Baghi touched his first gun nervously. It was heavier than he expected. But when his friend test-fired a bullet, Baghi's hesitation vanished. For the next two days, they were armed Islamic revolutionaries, assaulting garrisons and firing upon police stations. "We imagined ourselves Islamic Che Guevaras," one former revolutionary reminisced. The shah's army put up little defense and surrendered after two days. When Baghi finally returned home, his mother, who had thought he was dead, fell to the floor and cried. His father jested: "You have come back! Why weren't you martyred?"

Wandering through Evin prison was the culmination of those febrile revolutionary days. "The symbol of the shah's power was under the feet of the people," Baghi recalled recently when I met him in Tehran. "I was wondering, What will they do with the place, turn it into a park?"

Smiling in his earnest, affable way, he went on: "Of course, I never imagined I'd end up in the same cell where Ayatollah Montazeri and the others were imprisoned under the shah."

After the shah's ouster, Baghi devoted his life's energies to studying Islamic thought and practice, and to realizing the dream he and so many young revolutionary ideologues had of creating the first free and just Islamic republic on earth. Instead, more than two decades after the revolution, Baghi has only recently stepped out of Evin prison,

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where he was locked up for three years, accused by the ruling clerics of apostasy and endangering the security of the Islamic state.

The Iranian revolution is nearly a quarter-century old. Its children, now in their 20's, are discontented, impatiently awaiting the day the ruling clerics will go back behind their seminary walls and let the people breathe freely. Most Iranians want the same thing. They just haven't figured out how to get there.

Iranians are living under the surreal rule of two parallel governments, locked together in a battle that has paralyzed the country's political development. One is the popular government that was elected in 1997 by an overwhelming majority of Iranians. It is led by President Mohammad Khatami and the reformist Parliament. It has no real power. The other is led by the supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, who has absolute power, holds his position for life and disdains the voice of the people. He controls the judiciary, the revolutionary guards, the Information Ministry and the Council of Guardians, who must approve all candidates for election and any amendments to the Constitution.

Baghi belongs to the "religious intellectuals," a circle of former revolutionary ideologues whose ideas inspired the country's fledgling reformist movement and brought the moderate President Khatami to power. Despite the unrelenting persecution these reformists have suffered over the last five years at the hands of the ruling clerics, they are continuing to try to resurrect the original ideals the revolution aspired to, before it swerved down the path of religious dictatorship.

Some reformists have swung radically away from Islam as an organizing principle in public life. They are believers in Gandhi-inspired civil disobedience who want a brand-new constitution. Others are religious and politically more moderate. They are resistant to the idea that political Islam is incompatible with democracy. Baghi is somewhere in between.

A few days after Baghi's release from Evin in February, I joined a flurry of visitors at his mother-in-law's apartment, all of whom came with flowers and cakes, eager to welcome him home and hear his prison tales. His eyes and cheeks were flushed with the feverish energy of his first days out of prison. Now 41, Baghi still has a full helmet of black hair, dusted only at the back with a white bloom of prison stress. He is a short man with a warm, easy manner and boundless enthusiasm, laughing, popping up to answer the door, narrating stories with anger, tears and agitation. He is convinced that he is just on a temporary vacation, that soon he'll be sleeping back in Evin prison.

But despite that threat, Baghi seems unconcerned. A contemporary historian and author of 19 books (6 of which have been banned), he knows that history moves slowly -- and that the path to freedom sometimes takes detours, even detours behind bars. "We went to prison, the newspapers were all closed down -- some might judge everything we're doing a failure," he said. "But from the beginning, I assumed the democratic procedure has to progress millimeter by millimeter. Those who are tired and disappointed, they expected kilometers."

Kilometer democratization is attainable in one of two ways -- through revolution or through invasion, like the one now under way in Iraq. Some in the Bush administration have suggested that Iraq is just the first of any number of Middle Eastern countries that might soon experience "regime change" one way or another. Policy makers have billed the war in Iraq as a grand opportunity not only to topple a murderous dictatorship and eradicate weapons of mass destruction but also to create a "free Baghdad that becomes a magnet for Arab democrats everywhere," in the words of one former consultant to Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld. The administration has come around not only to nation-building, it would seem, but also to region-building. Iranians, who are not Arabs but are one of the region's biggest powers, know where they fit on the Bush axis of good and evil, and they are anxiously wondering whether they are the next target.

There are plenty of university students across Iran who will say in whispers that they hope Iran is next on America's democratization hit list. But delve a little deeper, and they'll admit it's a pipe dream -- that no matter how much Iranians may hate the regime oppressing them, if they saw American soldiers advancing across the Iranian border, they would take up arms to defend their soil and their history.

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Iranians judge American intentions today through the lens of history, and thus with deep suspicion. Those who lived through the war with Iraq in the 1980's and watched Saddam's chemical weapons incinerating and suffocating their families remember well that it was America and the West that supplied those chemicals. Older Iranians remember how America plotted what amounted to a coup in 1953 against their most progressive political leader, Prime Minister Mohammad Mossadeq, and eventually installed the shah.

One of Baghi's colleagues, Ali Reza Alavi-Tabar, who also began as a radical Islamist and wound up a democratizer, told me that, yes, people in Iran will be happy if Saddam's regime falls. But getting rid of Saddam, he insisted, "doesn't mean democracy in Iraq will be strengthened." Nor would American-imposed democracy in Iraq necessarily spread through the Middle East. "If we want real democracy in Iran," he said, "it must be an indigenous democracy."

The story of Baghi's millimeter evolution from Islamist revolutionary to tempered democratizer offers a window on an alternative way forward in the Middle East, a method and a movement that welcomes external influence but does not want the United States military to midwife its democracy. Just as the Iranian revolution was a beacon for radical Islamists throughout the last two decades of the 20th century, reformers like Emadeddin Baghi say they believe that their patient struggle for religious reform and an indigenous democracy can serve as an example for the region -- one that may ultimately have a more lasting and progressive impact on the Islamic world than the West's war against Islamic terror.

Baghi's Islamic journey began the day he was born, in exile, in the southern Iraqi city of Karbala, one of the holiest cities of the Shiite faith. Baghi's grandfather, an Iranian Shiite cleric, was the caretaker of the shrine of Hussein, the grandson of the prophet Muhammad. Baghi's father was a merchant and a religious activist, living in exile in Kuwait and Iraq. When Baghi was born, his father took him to the senior Shiite clerics in Karbala, who blessed the boy and called on the congregants to pray for his future.

When the family returned to Iran in 1963, Baghi's father was detained by the shah's secret police, but he was not deterred from his activities. He was a follower of Ayatollah Montazeri and worked under his auspices, visiting political prisoners in the shah's prisons and distributing the ayatollah's funds to prisoners' families. Baghi trailed along in his father's shadow, intoxicated by the subversive political and religious conversations among the holy men. Montazeri, especially, had a profound influence on Baghi.

While he was in high school, Baghi was inspired by revolutionary lecturers like Abbas Abdi and Saeed Hajjarian. The former would soon help lead the charge of radical students who scaled the American Embassy walls and set in motion the 444-day hostage crisis. The latter would help to establish the Ministry of Information (essentially the Ministry of Propaganda, Intelligence and Control) of the new Islamic republic.

By the age of 15, Baghi, with his friends, had formed small mosque squads of religious intellectual guerrillas. They urged the students of every grade to pummel their desks and shout revolutionary slogans and shut down their schools. Soon, clerics, students, striking workers, Islamists and Communists had started one of the most popular revolutions in history. Within a year, the shah was gone, and Ayatollah Khomeini flew back from Paris into the welcoming arms of millions.

Baghi finished high school and, following family tradition, embarked on religious training. He traveled to the old desert city of Qum, where Khomeini set up his revolutionary government. Ayatollah Montazeri became a member of Khomeini's secret revolutionary council. Khomeini adored the modest Montazeri and anointed him the heir to his own supreme leadership. Under the wings of Montazeri, Baghi immersed himself in seminary life. He began writing history booklets and propaganda to inculcate high-school students and the young revolutionary guards in Khomeini's cultural revolution.

In the early days, Khomeini's young followers were ruthless toward the political opposition. But as the war with Iraq dragged on through the 80's, and Khomeini's executions of his opponents increased, Baghi, along with his teacher, Montazeri, began to doubt that Islam sanctioned so much bloodshed.

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Montazeri assigned his followers to monitor and review the cases of thousands of political prisoners and to tend to their families. But right after the war with Iraq ended, in 1988, Khomeini issued an order to his guards to kill every Iranian political prisoner who would not repent antirevolutionary activities. No one knows the number, but many say that thousands were swiftly put to death inside the prisons. That same year, Montazeri's representatives were all discharged from their jobs in the prisons.

Baghi turned back to his studies. His first book, "A Study About the Clerics," argued in favor of an Islam that was open to individual understanding rather than clerical interpretation. Montazeri was worried about the reaction of the other religious leaders and told Baghi sarcastically, "You have the right to write against God or against the Prophet, but in this country they won't let you write a book against the clergy." Montazeri's fears were justified. Ayatollah Khomeini banned Baghi's book as soon as it was published.

Montazeri was embroiled in his own struggle with Khomeini, particularly over the executions of political opponents. By the late 80's, Montazeri, who was on the verge of inheriting the supreme leadership of the country, began writing letters denouncing Khomeini. In 1989, shortly before he died, Khomeini disavowed Montazeri and stripped him of his place as his designated successor.

In Qum, Baghi was outraged by the way Montazeri was treated. "I understood that I had to do something to defend him," he said. "It wasn't right to leave a man who is supporting the rights of the opposition alone and exposed."

In 1991, an anonymous and illegally published book titled "Realities and Judgments" began circulating among the religious intellectuals in Qum and Tehran. The book contained a private letter Montazeri wrote to Khomeini denouncing the executions. It detailed the violent treatment of the opposition by the clerics, describing the interrogators and their methods. The books were hunted down and destroyed or hidden away by the religious police. Anyone who had had anything to do with distributing the book was arrested. "Who wrote that book?" the secret police demanded to know. Though no one confessed, word eventually slipped out that the author was in fact Baghi, and he later withstood hours of interrogation by the judges in the Special Clerical Court, never admitting authorship.

After several of his friends were interrogated, Baghi was warned to get out of Qum, and he left for Tehran, emerging out of the seminary walls after 12 years and onto the campus of a Tehran university to study sociology.

The 90's cracked open Iran's dark and xenophobic theocracy. "We were so depressed by all the black chadors and paintings of mourning martyrs that haunted the city," one university student told me recently. "Even the sociologists realized the whole country was in deep depression." Color crept out of the closets and appeared on women's scarves. Khomeini had died, and Ayatollah Khamenei, his handpicked successor, became supreme leader. Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, the smiling, boyish pistachio merchant turned arms dealer, was elected president and vowed to inject optimism and international commerce into the economy.

Under Rafsanjani, the press grew bolder. Newspapers were published by leading dissident clerics and professors who disagreed with the idea of a theocratic government and included writing by former revolutionaries like Abbas Abdi, the hostage-taker; Akbar Ganji, a muckraking investigative journalist; and Baghi. The newspapers became Iran's agora -- the place for whining, for serious complaint, for venting against the greed of the clerical clique and for debating the future hues of the Islamic republic. Reform-minded editors and publishers called for democratization.

After Rafsanjani's two terms were up (the limit), the Islamic reformists backed the presidential campaign of Khatami, the former minister of culture and Islamic guidance. Khatami beat his opponent, an authoritarian conservative cleric, garnering 70 percent of the votes. His supporters hoped that through legal means and democratic elections they could bring to fruition the revolution's original ideals of independence, justice, freedom and Islam.

Art, literature, dress codes and newspapers all began to blossom with a sense of new possibility. Within a year, Iranians had hundreds of publications -- newspapers, magazines, intellectual journals -- to choose from. The work of foreign intellectuals like Karl Popper and Hannah Arendt circulated freely. Even secular Iranian activists had a voice.

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But then the government of Supreme Leader Khamenei lashed out at the brazenness of the reformers. At the end of 1998, Dariush and Parvaneh Foruhar, a married couple who were democratic activists, were assassinated. Thousands marched through the streets of Tehran following their coffins and holding aloft posters of them. The two were among more than 80 secular writers, intellectuals and political activists who were killed in mysterious circumstances during the 90's. Iranians began to refer to the killings as the "serial murders."

Baghi wrote for the reformist press throughout the 90's. But it was his articles on the serial murders that thrust him into the public light -- and showed the young the benefits of a free press. From 1999 through the beginning of 2000, Baghi and Akbar Ganji, the muckraker, wrote a variety of investigative reports that dared to expose the untouchable clerics and accuse powerful elements within the Ministry of Information of murder. Their readers loved it, and their books became best sellers.

The pressure from the press was so intense that the information minister was forced to issue an apology for some of the killings, blaming a rogue gang within the police department for them. "This was the first time in Iranian history that the secret police admitted that people inside their forces were responsible for killing the opposition," Baghi told me. But Baghi worried that the religious intellectuals were treading on dangerous ground. "I knew they'd take their revenge on us," Baghi said.

On March 12, 2000, the revenge began. Out on the streets of Tehran, in the middle of the day, Saeed Hajjarian, a close friend and top adviser of President Khatami, was shot in the face by a gunman who rode off on a high-powered motorcycle. Baghi had old ties to Hajjarian, dating from before the revolution when Hajjarian's brother Ali taught Baghi in high school. Rumor had it that Hajjarian was a Deep Throat behind Baghi's and Ganji's articles.

Two weeks later, Baghi walked out of the hospital where he was visiting Hajjarian and was surrounded by journalists wanting to know who was behind the assassination attempt. Distressed by Hajjarian's condition, and blunt by nature, Baghi gave the press what it wanted. He said the responsible parties were inside the Revolutionary Guard, the Ministry of Information, the National Radio and Television and the police forces. A day after his statement hit the papers, Baghi was summoned to court.

One by one every reformist newspaper was shut down. Licenses were revoked and editors were summoned to court or put behind bars. Baghi's colleague Ganji was arrested and sentenced to 10 years in prison. It was called the autumn of the Iranian press, the culmination of a frontal assault by the ruling clerics.

The trials of Baghi and other former revolutionary ideologues riveted the country. At the time, Westerners compared the scandal caused by Baghi and Ganji with Watergate -- though a Watergate in which Woodward and Bernstein were fired and imprisoned instead of Nixon being impeached. Baghi was apoplectic. The first day in court, the former minister of information, Ali Fallahian, whom Baghi and Ganji had accused of being a mastermind of the serial killings, sat in the gallery smiling at Baghi. "I was so angry, I shouted, 'This isn't right,'" Baghi recalled. "'Our places should be switched. He should be the accused. He should be on trial. And I should be the accuser.'" Baghi was sentenced to seven and a half years in Evin, reduced to three years on appeal.

Political prison was bleak. For the first two months, Baghi lived in a solitary cell that was five feet by six feet. To fend off depression and passivity, Baghi and other political prisoners in Evin began converting prison into a laboratory for the reform movement. Baghi asked his lawyer for the manual of prisoners' rights, and when he found out that prisoners were entitled to newspapers and books, he pressed the prison authorities for free newspapers. He discovered that the prisoners were being cheated of their legal daily meat ration, and he encouraged them to refuse the food. As Baghi said earnestly, "Although the reformist movement has failed outside the prison, I can say it succeeded inside."

Last year, in February, Baghi was told that he was about to be released. Instead, his lawyer showed up with a message from the director of the Special Clerical Court, Gholamhossein Mosheni-Ezhei, saying that Baghi would be released only if he apologized to Fallahian. Baghi was furious. "I'll stay double the time in prison, but I'll never accept such a shameful act," he said. "So Ezhei phoned the director of the prison and told him not to let me out for another year," Baghi recalled. Finally, two months ago -- and nearly 24 years to the day after he wandered so excitedly through the emptied grounds of Evin prison -- Baghi bid goodbye to Ganji and walked out of Evin's gates.

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When I visited Baghi a few days after his release, he was surrounded by his family. He has three daughters. The youngest, who is 14, sat by his side. His family would clearly love Baghi to stop his work and stay home with them. "But sometimes," he said, "you just can't stop." He pulled out two new books he said he would publish in the coming days. One book was a revisionist look at the events leading up to the revolution. It is possible that it will bring a new rash of crises on his head. Until now, part of the revolutionary propaganda machine has always claimed that tens of thousands were killed under the shah. After years of collecting interviews and data, Baghi has concluded that in fact from the time of Khomeini's exile in 1964 until the downfall of the shah in 1979, the number killed was about 3,000. In a country of secret truths and public deception, his claim will be viewed as propaganda for the shah and his son, who is in exile.

Baghi's willingness to expose the truth has earned him the respect of the next generation. In November, when demonstrations rippled across university campuses, one banner students waved read, "Those Who Revealed the Truth Should Be Released." Next to the slogan were pictures of Ganji and Baghi.

The demonstrations erupted after Hashem Aghajari, a history professor and disabled hero of the war with Iraq, was sentenced to death for a speech in which he advocated an Islam that wasn't dependent upon the clerics. The death sentence provided the university students with an opportunity to unleash their pent-up anger upon the regime, and they didn't hold back.

"Death to dictatorship," they cried. "Death to the Taliban in Kabul and Tehran!" They carried signs criticizing "Khamenei Who Stole the Smiles" and shouted, "Khamenei should be ashamed." And finally, they lashed out at Khatami -- the man they had campaigned so passionately for just a few years earlier -- demanding that he resign. They were furious that he had been unable to reverse the conservatives' crackdown on the press laws, that he was doing nothing to defend the reformists who had brought him to power.

To many, Khatami is Iran's Mikhail Gorbachev, a transitional figure on the way to the real future. Just as Gorbachev could not dismantle the institutions of Communism, Khatami, they say, is not the man who can unlock the chains of enforced religion imprisoning the country.

The students may wave banners and rally to the defense of older, more cautious reformers like Baghi, Ganji and Aghajari, the makers of the revolution whom some students now refer to as "our reformed sinners." But the students themselves have no psychological block against stating the obvious -- that religion must be removed from government, that you can't have half a democracy. While Baghi concedes that "there should be a separation between religion and the state," his statement comes with a big but: "But in Iran, religion is part of people's way of thinking. Sometimes it occurs to me there's an inborn pattern in people's minds which is mainly formed by religious concepts."

Baghi's millimeter evolution comes down to the will of the people. "If the majority of people are Muslim -- and if and only if they want an Islamic state -- the president of the country should be a person who knows about Islamic codes," he said. "This person could then be the president and supreme leader at the same time. But he should be elected every four years by the direct vote." The students know, however, that under the present conditions, the hard-liners would never allow such a vote to take place. And that's where the unfettered students may decide to pick up the mantle of change.

Taxi drivers, shopkeepers, students and professors are all quick to tell a visitor that Iran is not like the rest of the Middle East. In Arab countries, the governments are allies of the United States, and the people are anti-American. But in the Islamic Republic of Iran, the government may be anti-American, but the people have a thing for America. And it drives the hard-liners mad. In November, Abbas Abdi, famous for helping to lead the charge of radical students who scaled the American Embassy walls and so begin the 444-day hostage crisis, was arrested. The charges? Spying for foreigners. He had helped to conduct a Gallup poll commissioned by a parliamentary committee, and the ruling clerics didn't like the results. Nearly 75 percent of those polled favored dialogue with the United States, and 46 percent said they felt that American policy toward Iran was "to some extent correct."

As radical and impatient for democracy as the students are, however, most of them do not want to lead Iran into another bloody revolution. I asked Mehdi Aminzadeh, a 25-year-old student leader studying civil engineering, if

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there was anything brewing in Iran equivalent to Yugoslavia's Otpor, or "resistance" -- a grass-roots movement spread by Serbian youth that defeated the dictatorship of Slobodan Milosevic. (One of the opposition satellite television channels that are beamed into Iran by the Iranian diaspora in California constantly replays the chronicles of Milosevic's destruction of Yugoslavia and Otpor's destruction of Milosevic, as if trying to suggest a script for the students to follow.) No, he said. For now there is no social movement or political party tough enough and well financed enough to organize such mass demonstrations.

As for American designs to democratize the Middle East, the students are intrigued but wary. They are puzzled by Bush's religious and ideological rhetoric. "We're trying to move from ideology to modernity, and Bush is moving from modernity to ideology," one student leader told me. The Bush administration's Middle East adventure, they say, is for Israel's benefit, and for the economic and oil interests of the United States. Bush's speeches about defending human rights and promoting democracy around the world resound in their ears like superpower hypocrisy.

The students have inherited the wisdom of experience from their predecessors. As Aminzadeh put it: "One of the myths created in people's minds by Khatami's reign was that Khatami could easily change the system and achieve democracy. But the Iranian problem can't be solved so quickly. There's no alchemy. So we should be patient."

Baghi will test the temperature of the clerics again next month when he releases a paper that disavows Khomeini's interpretation of execution in the Koran. He knows he's provoking the clerics in their most sensitive spot -- their monopoly on interpreting the Koran. But, he says, "if putting me in prison for three years has pushed the project of democracy forward even a millimeter, I'm ready to go back." He has trials pending on new charges linked to articles he wrote before entering prison. "It's a sword of Damocles over my head," he said, "to keep me from talking."

Baghi continues to thrive on the same optimism that fueled his revolutionary fervor. He knows that political evolution is unsatisfyingly slow, but says he believes that ultimately no one can stop the will of the people. When I asked him why he was so opposed to the radical option, he chose to talk about history. "The Iranian revolution was among the most popular in the world at the very beginning," he said. "We expected the objectives of the revolution would be reached. We were the generation of the revolution, brought up with these deep feelings supporting it, and that stopped us from rationally criticizing what went on around us. And we were captured by the charisma of Imam Khomeini. We never expected that such a popular revolution could turn out to be against the will of the people. We never expected the same injustice to be reproduced in a new form. After this experience, you do not want another revolution."

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## Graphic

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Photos: At a rally in Tehran in late 2000, students displayed portraits of Emadeddin Baghi and other jailed activists and protested the efforts of the government under Supreme Leader Khamenei to muzzle the reformist movement with arrests and assassinations. (Atta Kenare/Agence France Presse); Baghi found his voice as an activist during the Iranian revolution. He said that "the Iranian revolution was among the most popular in the world at the time" and that he continues to be inspired by the original ideals it aspired to, before it swerved down a path of religious dictatorship. (David Burnett/Contact Press Images); Baghi is a patient man. He knows that the path to freedom sometimes takes detours, even detours behind bars. (Thomas Dworzak/Magnum Photos)

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## The Millimeter Revolution

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## Left Behind

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**Byline:** By George Packer; George Packer is the author, most recently, of "Blood of the Liberals."

## Body

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One Saturday morning in November 1994, Ramsey Clark, attorney general under President Johnson and more recently a spokesman for radical Arab causes, met in his Manhattan office with a criminal defense lawyer named Lynne Stewart. Clark wanted Stewart to take on a new client -- Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, a blind Egyptian cleric and the spiritual leader of the worldwide jihad movement, whose most recent address before the Metropolitan Correctional Center was a fourth-floor apartment in Jersey City. The sheik was about to go on trial for directing a conspiracy among his followers to bomb sites around New York City, including bridges, tunnels and the United Nations. His previous attorneys, the left-wing lawyers William Kunstler and Ronald Kuby, had been taken off the case because they represented other defendants who had conflicts of interest with Abdel Rahman. The sheik had dismissed his court-appointed lawyer. A month before trial, Clark told Stewart that only she could do the job.

In 1994 Stewart had barely heard of Hamas or Hezbollah, let alone the Islamic Group of Egypt, a violent fundamentalist organization that targeted Coptic Christians, secular intellectuals, policemen and foreign tourists, and for which the sheik provided inspirational leadership. Political Islam was not, as she puts it, on her "radar." Most of her clients were young black and Latino men accused of ordinary crimes, but throughout the 1980's, she also defended members of the radical American underground. Stewart was a "movement" lawyer -- she didn't just defend the legal rights of her clients; she also advocated their politics. Friends warned her that the sheik wasn't her kind of client. He was a religious fascist who opposed everything that the feminist, atheist and vaguely revolutionary Marxist Stewart stood for.

What concerned Stewart, though, was not the sheik's politics but her own ability to represent him with almost no time to prepare. The little she knew of the sheik himself -- a man hounded by the government, accused of masterminding a terrorist plot on which he seemed to have left no fingerprints -- appealed to her. All morning in Ramsey Clark's office, Stewart wavered. Finally Clark told her that if she refused, the Arab world would feel betrayed by their friends on the American left. So she agreed to take the case.

As Stewart got to know her new client, she came to see him as a fighter for national liberation on behalf of a people oppressed by dictatorship and American imperialism. She came to admire him personally too, for his honesty, his strength of character, his teasing humor.

"I've made up my mind," the sheik would say. "I'm going to marry you, and that will solve everything."

"And what do women get if they fight in jihad?" she would ask.

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"Eternity in paradise with whichever of your husbands you like best."

"Husbands? That's all we get?"

Stewart threw herself into the case with the passion for which she was known in criminal-defense circles. At trial she tried to convince the mostly black jury that the sheik was not an unfamiliar figure to them. "He has advocated for the suffering of his people at home, in Egypt," she said in her opening argument. "He has advocated by any means necessary, and that is not acceptable to this government." Prints of John Brown's home and grave hang in her office, and in her summation she invoked his spirit. But this time Stewart misjudged her audience. When the jury returned with a conviction, she wept.

In 1995, few people were paying attention. Today, the trial transcript reads like a 20,000-page prelude to Sept. 11: sleeper cells, secret funds, international jihad, connections to a group called Al Qaeda and a man named bin Laden.

Stewart stayed by the sheik over the years of appeals, paid minimally by contributions from his Muslim supporters, who now regarded her as their champion. She was laboring under the restrictions imposed by the government's Special Administrative Measures, or SAM's, which curtail the activities of convicted terrorists to prevent them from plotting future acts of terrorism. Stewart, like other lawyers in this situation, had to sign an agreement not to pass information to or from clients except for strictly legal purposes.

Then in May 2000, at a meeting with Stewart in the federal prison in Rochester, Minn., the sheik dictated a statement to his Arabic translator, Mohammed Yousry, calling for an end to the cease-fire between the Islamic Group and the Egyptian government. The statement was phoned to Islamic Group leaders by Ahmed Abdel Sattar, a Staten Island mailman and follower of the sheik who had worked as a paralegal on the case. The sheik's followers in Egypt doubted the statement's authenticity -- until Stewart herself, in violation of the SAM's, held a press conference a few weeks later to confirm that Abdel Rahman advocated withdrawal from the cease-fire.

She imagined that she might be cut off from the sheik. She did not know that her prison conversations with the sheik were being taped by a court order stemming from Sattar's activities with the Islamic Group. And she did not imagine what would happen on April 9 of this year, when she was handcuffed outside her Brooklyn town house by F.B.I. agents and arraigned in federal court in Manhattan on two counts of lying to the government and two counts of aiding a terrorist organization. Attorney General John Ashcroft himself flew to New York to announce Stewart's indictment, along with those of Yousry, Sattar and an Islamist in London. The trial will begin next year. Stewart, now 62, faces 40 years in federal prison.

"At trial you'll see two different narratives," says Stephen Gillers, vice dean of New York University School of Law. "The defense narrative is going to be that the U.S. is using 9/11 to destroy constitutional rights that the government has upheld for 200 years, through wars and disasters. And the prosecution narrative is going to be: focus on what Lynne Stewart did in that prison in May of 2000, well before Sept. 11."

There is a third narrative, one that isn't likely to receive a full hearing at trial. In this version, a white middle-class girl from Bellerose, Queens, formed by the 50's, is radicalized by the 60's and by a black man for whom she is willing to tear her life in two. Together they become New York revolutionaries -- for this is at every turn a local story, though it crosses paths with world events -- and so they remain long after the radical years have ended and others have moved on. Then, late in life, in a new era, the woman takes up a new cause, commits herself ever more deeply to it and suddenly finds that she has become the defendant. "My true goal," Stewart says, "was always to be on the right side of history."

But Islamic fundamentalism isn't black power, and the history that began on Sept. 11 will not be forgiving of people who pick the wrong cause. Always drawn in the most personal way to the outcast, Stewart herself now seems isolated even within the world that has been her only true home, the legal left. She had told Ramsey Clark that she would take the sheik's case only if other "movement" lawyers helped, but she faces ruin alone.

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Physically, Lynne Stewart suggests a cheerful and profound self-neglect. In press photographs she resembles Ma Kettle. Her hair, gray and lank, seems to have expired on her head. She dresses for court like a Sicilian widow in sensible shoes, hobbling side to side from excess weight and a recent courtroom fall. Friends have to remind her to cut her hair, which she did after pleading "emphatically not guilty" while the cameras fixed her in their un pitying sights.

What pictures and public statements don't convey is Stewart's warmth, her vulnerability. These come across in her brown eyes, and in conversation, which unspools in long, discursive and quite unguarded strands, the thick Queens vowels often rising on screeches of amusement as she squints in delight. Stewart does not talk like a lawyer or a politico -- no jargon, no euphemisms. Her great talent as a lawyer, says Kuby, is to see something redemptive in everyone and to make jurors see it too. In person it isn't possible to dislike her -- and she never expresses deep dislike, even when the subject turns to John Ashcroft.

Growing up in the 50's in farthest Queens, the daughter of schoolteachers, Lynne Feltham was a bookish tomboy. She resisted the rites of passage into womanhood, and one day she told her mother: "All my friends have boyfriends, and I don't have a boyfriend. What's wrong with me?"

"You're too smart," her mother said. "Tone it down."

She didn't tone it down, but she suffered the peculiar pain of being "an honorary guy -- which is interesting, because that's of course how the Muslims also treat me. They don't have to deal with the feminine. I'm an honorary guy, or else they couldn't deal with me at all."

She still suffers. However far she has moved away from the conformist 50's, Stewart can't muster the unbridled defiance of a woman 10 years younger. What she calls a self-esteem problem extends to her current crisis. "I never expected to be fighting for myself," she says. "I could fight for you, but to fight for me? That's hard. Because I was a girl of the 50's, because I'm not worth it? I don't know. But it's too self-aggrandizing, too necessary to make myself into an image of something, rather than just be, you know, all the warts, what I am."

She followed the pattern of her generation into early marriage and motherhood. But when her husband suffered a psychological breakdown, Stewart, then 21, found that the family's moral and financial support depended on her. She went to work as a librarian in a decaying elementary school in Harlem. It was 1962.

Across the hall was the classroom of a black teacher named Ralph Poynter. A short, broad former amateur boxer, Poynter had brought from western Pennsylvania a love of jazz clarinet and a pent-up rage. When Stewart met him, he was "a repressed revolutionary in a suit and tie." She was seeing things for which nothing in her life had prepared her: an 8-year-old boy whose lips had been chewed by a rat while he slept; teachers who expected their students to learn nothing. The white librarian and the black teacher gravitated toward each other, and Poynter became Stewart's guide to black America. James Baldwin's "Fire Next Time" came out that year, Malcolm X's fame was growing, Harlem seethed. It all matched Ralph Poynter's mood. And his militancy felt like liberation of every kind to Lynne Stewart.

"Two people who are passionate about the same things," Ginny Gernes, Stewart's best friend from schooldays, says, "and then what else can happen?"

It still embarrasses Stewart to talk about their affair, and yet nothing animates her more than to recall how she fell in love and became a radical in one risky and inextricable leap. Everything was happening at once, history feeding rage, rage politics, politics intimacy. They plunged into the community-school movement at its left-wing fringe, with Poynter in the role of organizer and enforcer, losing his job and eventually serving six months on Rikers Island for three felony counts of assaulting a police officer.

It was all part of the attraction. "Oh, I'm Desdemona," Stewart says, laughing, alluding to Othello's famous lines: "She loved me for the dangers I had pass'd,/And I loved her that she did pity them."

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Stewart had to prove herself worthy over and over. When Poynter lost his job, she gave him half her paycheck, though he was still living with his wife and Stewart felt too guilty to take child support from her ex-husband. Poynter agonized over his own motives, searching for traces of racial self-hatred. "He talks black," people at meetings would say, "but he sleeps white." He sought advice from a Harlem legend named Queen Mother Moore of the Captive Non-Self-Governing Nation of Africans Born in America. Queen Mother Moore told Poynter that Lynne Stewart was the real thing and would never betray him. But she also urged him to have many other women, because he was a black warrior who needed to propagate the race.

"I enjoyed that view," Poynter says, "but that was not my view."

"He indulged that view," Stewart clarifies, "but he did not adopt it."

Forty years after they met in Harlem, Stewart and Poynter have an extended multiracial clan -- seven children between them (one together) and seven grandchildren. He drives her everywhere, while she nags him to watch the road. Winding along the East River from Bronx County Courthouse, he announces, "This country is founded on brutality." "Exploitation," she says. "I like it better when you say exploitation, Ralph." "Brutal exploitation." She smiles fondly and pats his hand.

In the 1970's, Stewart went to law school and began a criminal practice. But she had missed the golden age of the legal left, the trials of the draft resisters and the Chicago 8 and the Panther 21. By the early 80's, Stewart was defending violent members of the splinter groups that were all that remained of the revolutionary dreams of the 60's -- the Weather Underground, the Ohio 7, the Black Liberation Army. And when these cases ended, when the armed revolutionaries were all in jail or dead, "movement" lawyers like Stewart and Kunstler and Kuby no longer had a movement. They took on even more dubious clients: drug dealers, cop killers, mobsters, mentally ill assassins. It was hard to see exactly what was left-wing about Colin Ferguson, the Long Island Rail Road shooter (except, if you asked Kunstler, his skin color), or Sammy the Bull (Salvatore Gravano), the mob informant who was Stewart's client until her indictment (except that the government was out to get him). The idea of a genuine program for social change no longer animated their careers. The legal left now represented thugs trying to beat the system.

In recent years, Stewart's practice has been devoted primarily to defending poor, young black and Latino men -- a few of them her own family members or employees. The boundaries between family and friendship and work are blurred for her. Stewart's son practices law with her; she represented her daughter's common-law husband (Poynter calls him "my sin-in-law") on drug charges; her paralegal is a former client who served three and a half years for harboring her fugitive husband (one of the Ohio 7) and whose child temporarily came under Stewart and Poynter's care; her office assistant is the son of a jailed black revolutionary. Most of her cases and clients are too obscure to count as political. And yet, for Stewart, this, too, is politics -- perhaps the truest kind. Not long ago, reading aloud to Poynter from the preface to "Native Son," she exclaimed: "This is why I'm a criminal defense lawyer! It's because he's talking about these kids in the black community that have no voice, that can't articulate, that are just so consumed by their own anger and frustration. And it hasn't changed."

There her career might have remained, if Stewart hadn't been introduced by Ramsey Clark to a new movement. But this was a truly worldwide movement. It was serious; it was real -- realer in a way than anything in the 60's.

On a humid evening in June, I was coming out of the offices of the Center for Constitutional Rights onto lower Broadway when I heard a Queens accent pronounce my name. Lynne Stewart was limping along the sidewalk in a striped smock. I told her that the meeting of the Lynne Stewart Defense Committee had been canceled at the last minute.

"Canceled? Nobody told me." She looked stricken. "Maybe it was the leak."

Three days earlier, a supposedly sealed affidavit for a search warrant had turned up on the Court TV Web site thesmokinggun.com. It contained excerpts from her taped prison conversations with the sheik. The information was damaging: Stewart, the translator Yousry and the sheik seemed to be enjoying tricking the guards into thinking that she and the sheik were having a lawyer-client conversation, when in fact the sheik was dictating a statement to Yousry. At one point she joked that she should get an acting award. We went back inside. In the elevator, Stewart

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wondered aloud whether the Center for Constitutional Rights might be withdrawing from her defense "because they get a lot of their support from Zionists. Well, from Jews, who aren't all Zionists, but some of them are."

Informed that the meeting had been canceled for logistical reasons, Stewart left, still looking shaky. Her practice was suffering badly; I had heard from a friend of hers that Stewart was more frightened than ever in her life. I asked whether she was just being brave.

"Haven't you heard of Brave Irene?" Stewart said. "Irene was my mother's name, it's my middle name. But it's the title of a wonderful children's book. Brave Irene -- there's snow, it's dark and cold, but she soldiers on. I used to give it out when I was a librarian."

Stewart was due to speak at an antiwar rally in a church on Washington Square. As we came out onto Broadway, it started raining, and she looked around for Poynter. He was waiting at the corner of Third Street in their cluttered Montero. The church was only a few blocks away, but Stewart couldn't make it on foot. They discussed whether to repark.

"Meanwhile, Ralph, I'm drowning."

"Sorry, my dear." Poynter hurried over with an umbrella.

We drove along Third Street. It rained harder. "Nobody told me it was canceled," Stewart said again. For a moment she seemed utterly isolated, and I could feel what it would mean for her and Poynter to be separated by prison as they grow old. "Maybe it was the leak, Ralph."

"Maybe it was. If so, it tells us a lot about what we already know is in there."

She looked at him in exasperation. "What do we know, Ralph? What do we know?"

"That it's all a bunch of bull."

A parking place appeared near Sixth Avenue. Stewart turned around. "Did you know Ralph used to work for Greyhound summers while he was teaching? He was the first black driver."

"Actually," Poynter said, pulling into the space. "I was the third black driver."

"Actually," she said, "you're a mile away from the curb."

At Judson Memorial Baptist Church, the crowd consisted of graying Maoists, students in antiglobalization garb and young Muslim women from South Asians Against Police Brutality and Racism. When Stewart spoke, she said: "We have had no movement in this country for many years. But what I see tonight, many movements coming together, tells me it could happen again, and we must make it happen. No matter what General Ashcroft says, no matter what they leak to the press, I am guilty of no crime. I'm very moved to see the young people here. I almost had tears when these young women made their testimonies. This is what movement is all about. It gives us back a lot more than we give to it. It gives us a life." She was helped from the podium to a standing ovation.

For most American dissidents, opposition to the war on terrorism involves a nod to the loss of innocent American life, a tendentious comparison with the loss of innocent Afghan life, a playing down of the danger posed by Al Qaeda and an exaggeration of the Justice Department's domestic security abuses (which don't need exaggerating). Stewart is more intellectually honest than this. When the towers fell, she felt that her city had been violated and her own life disrupted (her office is below Canal Street). But this warmhearted woman took the slaughter of innocents with a certain coldbloodedness. The U.S. is constantly at war around the world and shouldn't expect its acts to go unanswered, she says.

The Pentagon was "a better target"; the people in the towers "never knew what hit them. They had no idea that they could ever be a target for somebody's wrath, just by virtue of being American. They took it personally. And actually, it wasn't a personal thing." As for civilian deaths in general: "I'm pretty inured to the notion that in a war or in an

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armed struggle, people die. They're in the wrong place, they're in a nightclub in Israel, they're at a stock market in London, they're in the Algerian outback -- whatever it is, people die." She mentions Hiroshima and Dresden. "So I have a lot of trouble figuring out why that is wrong, especially when people are sort of placed in a position of having no other way."

Stewart doubts the government's version of Osama bin Laden -- nor does she find him too "repugnant" to represent, though she allows that she herself might not be able to offer the best defense at this point. As for the sheik, in spite of his extensive connections to Al Qaeda, she still sees him as a fighter for Egyptian self-determination. She backs his Islamism for the same reason that she backed Mao and Ho's Communism: because it resists imperialism. This logic is entirely different from the civil-liberties rationale of most lawyers who defend accused terrorists. The strategy of her own trial will be to mute it in favor of constitutional arguments, but the political nature of Stewart's commitment to the sheik is what led her to violate the SAM's -- an identification so strong that her lack of concern for her own welfare strikes even some supporters as reckless. In her retelling, the effort to deceive prison guards was quite deliberate: a great man was locked down in near-total isolation -- "Daniel in the lions' den." If she couldn't speak for him politically, what had been the point of taking the case in the first place? Her decision was "a necessary mistake," she says, like an affair that ends a marriage.

Brooklyn, where Stewart and Poynter live in a narrow, book-filled town house, provides a quiet base for some of the world's most extreme political groups. It's an unnoticed miracle that there aren't frequent car bombings on Flatbush Avenue and shootouts in Midwood. The Israeli settler movement draws support in the borough; Al Qaeda's predecessor organization had its U.S. headquarters on Atlantic Avenue, not far from the mosques where the sheik used to preach jihad. And remnants of the American left's most hard-core cells have settled around Park Slope. At a book sale on Stewart's behalf, members of the Madame Binh Graphics Collective were donating 20-year-old African liberation posters, while survivors of the May 19 Communist Organization and the United Freedom Front chatted over hors d'oeuvres. The aging American leftists have resurfaced, while the young Arab Islamists are going underground -- a dead movement and a living one, with Lynne Stewart the human link.

In his autobiography, William Kunstler wrote that when he took the sheik's case in 1994, he felt as if it were 1969 again and this were the Chicago conspiracy trial. A better analogy would be to the 1950's, when the foreign enemy was real, the domestic support marginal and the hard questions had to do with the appropriate legal response. There's nothing new about the post-Sept. 11 era, says the man who will try to keep Stewart out of prison, the renowned criminal defender Michael Tigar. He mentions the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, the Palmer raids in 1920, the internment of Japanese-Americans, the McCarthy years: "The point is that all times of this kind are different times." At trial Tigar will argue that, although Stewart violated the SAM's in May 2000, she didn't intend to when she signed them. He will claim that, in speaking out on behalf of the sheik, Stewart was doing what lawyers do, under the protection of the First Amendment.

Dozens of New York criminal defenders showed up for Stewart's arraignment. They talk about the indictment's "chilling effect" on the defense of unpopular clients. They say that the charges would never have been brought if not for the terror attacks, and that John Ashcroft is making a scapegoat of an easy target. The leaked affidavit also suggests that Ramsey Clark may have violated the SAM's (he denies it), but he remains unindicted. (David Kelley, the deputy U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York, wouldn't comment on the case.)

Frederick Cohn, who represented one of the defendants in the Nairobi Embassy bombing trial, is suing Ashcroft over new Justice Department regulations that allow eavesdropping on lawyer-client conversations without a court order. "Lawyer jokes are funny, and frequently they're apt," Cohn says, "but a core of lawyers serve a very important function, which is to make sure everybody gets a fair trial. Ashcroft wants the tools to take this away. Then we all march off to the camps." The case against Stewart, Cohn says, is inconsequential.

But in conversations with criminal lawyers, including members of what might be called the terror bar, I found many of them less decisive in Stewart's defense than the public chorus suggests. Carl Herman spent a year and a half fighting to keep Mohammed Sadiq Odeh from receiving the death penalty for the Nairobi Embassy bombing. He waited for the day when Odeh would have a change of heart, but it never arrived. On Sept. 11 Herman lost a friend in one of the towers. A few weeks later he had to visit Odeh in the downtown Metropolitan Correctional Centers,

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and Herman found that he couldn't look his client in the eye. Afterward he heard that the embassy bombers, when told what the loud noise at the World Trade Center had been, exchanged thumbs up. Herman has sworn off defending terrorists. "We're not talking about phony revolutionaries, or Mafia guys, or nuts," he says. "These guys are really dedicated to wiping out me and my family. I can just find something else to do with my time."

Even Ron Kuby, a strong defender of Stewart, has rethought many things since Sept. 11. He now regrets having defended El Sayyid A. Nosair, accused of killing the Jewish extremist Meir Kahane. When Sattar, the sheik's paralegal, was arrested along with Stewart, Kuby was ready to represent him at the bail hearing, until Kuby's wife said, "You don't know what he was doing." Kuby reached a decision: "I sure as hell don't think people who would take my family, put them in purdah and put me up against a wall and shoot me are entitled to my support in that struggle."

Lawyers are cowards, Kuby told me -- he far more than Lynne Stewart. They live vicariously through their clients. "Movement" lawyers, especially, identify with the people they represent. When the lawyer is as loving and committed as Stewart, he said, and the client as charismatic as Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, the identification becomes passionate. "In the best of cases we identify with their determination, with their courage, and we see the people that maybe we could have been had we the courage to do what they did. And as a result, if you're a good lawyer, you spend a lot of time doing gut checks. And because it's a profession that is so cowardly, enjoying the aura of being those people without ever taking the risks of being those people, it's easy to say: this is the right thing to do, I'm not hurting anyone, this is morally justified. I'm refusing to do it out of fear because I'm a coward, and I've got to change that. I can't succumb to that kind of fear, because if I'm afraid of the government here, I can't do this job."

Kuby escorted me from his office out onto lower Broadway. He lighted a cigarette and grew melancholy. He asked what I thought of Stewart's case. I said that the men of the legal left had been more savvy, and now she was all alone to pay the price. "Lynne is dying for our sins?" Kuby considered it. "Maybe. History is very unforgiving of people who pick the wrong side at the wrong time in the wrong place. And even if she wins, Lynne is ruined as a lawyer."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Lynne Stewart (Margaret Salmon and Dean Wiand); Stewart and supporters of her client/cause celebre, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, in 1995. (Frances Roberts); Stewart and Poynter in their Brooklyn home. After 40 years, their revolution has become a lonely one. (Margaret Salmon and Dean Wiand)

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## *The Sunshine Warrior*

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**Byline:** By Bill Keller; Bill Keller is a Times columnist and a senior writer for the magazine.

### **Body**

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Fort Leavenworth in midsummer is a sultry campus for the Army's new leaders, American and allied majors on the fast track and generals who have just earned their first star. When Paul D. Wolfowitz, the deputy secretary of defense, steps out of an Air Force Gulfstream into the Kansas heat, it is not just an overdue courtesy call and not just a peace overture to a rankled service. (He has just killed the Army's prized new \$11 billion artillery piece, the Crusader.) It is one more engagement in the war over the coming war.

The subject of his remarks, which the former political-science professor delivers seminar style to the majors and more formally to the generals, is his recent visit to Afghanistan. But Iraq is never far out of sight. Introducing Wolfowitz to an auditorium full of new one-stars and their wives, General Eric K. Shinseki, the Army chief of staff, points out that as a young Pentagon analyst Wolfowitz directed a secret assessment of Persian Gulf threats that marked Iraq as a menace to its neighbors and to American interests. This, Shinseki informs them with everything but a drumroll, was in 1979, a dozen years before Desert Storm.

Wolfowitz then proceeds to use Afghanistan to illustrate how far the military's pinpoint-targeting ability has advanced since that war, when American air and ground forces, unable to communicate with one another, succeeded in destroying only a single one of Saddam Hussein's Scud missile emplacements (and that one was a harmless decoy). The message is that next time around, if there is a next time, what was demonstrated in Afghanistan -- that choreography of unmanned aerial vehicles, precision-guided weapons, indigenous insurgents and special-operations soldiers on the ground -- should, in the first hours of an attack, prove far more adroit at disabling Saddam's most fearsome weapons.

Soldiers tend to cock an eyebrow when civilians who have not known combat talk confidently about the coming conquest, but the closest thing to an open challenge this day comes during Wolfowitz's session with the majors -- from a British officer who raises a hand and asks about Scott Ritter, the former U.N. weapons inspector. Ritter has been in London arguing that Iraq's destructive capability is already neutralized. So where is the threat worth spending American blood?

An exasperated look crosses Wolfowitz's wide, boyish face; Ritter's comments are "simply amazing," he says. Then he stops himself. He acknowledges that Ritter knows something about Iraq and concedes that Saddam has probably not been able to rebuild his nuclear program, not yet. But he notes that when inspectors went in after the gulf war, they found he was far closer than anyone imagined, that in fact he was pursuing four separate avenues for manufacturing a nuclear weapon. And chemical weapons, which he has employed against his own people, or

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biological weapons are threat enough, and much easier to construct in a secretive, fearsome police state. This is, Wolfowitz tells the majors, a man who has been known to have children tortured in front of their parents. (The line would later turn up in the president's address to the U.N.)

Revisiting Ritter's argument a few days later in his Pentagon office, Wolfowitz seems genuinely puzzled by the notion that we need evidence of imminent danger to justify getting rid of Saddam. He has encountered this argument earlier -- from the State Department and the C.I.A., in fact, before President Bush stifled that particular line of internal debate by declaring Saddam an intolerable threat, end of story. By the conventions of American foreign policy, a pre-emptive strike against an uncertain threat is perhaps the most radical new security notion of the post-cold-war era. But Wolfowitz says he believes Sept. 11 has awakened us to a world where certainty is an expensive luxury.

"There's an awful lot we don't know, an awful lot that we may never know, and we've got to think differently about standards of proof here," Wolfowitz tells me. "In fact, there's no way you can prove that something's going to happen three years from now or six years from now. But these people have made absolutely clear what their intentions are, and we know a lot about their capabilities. I suppose I hadn't thought of it quite this way, but intentions and capabilities are the way you think about warfare. Proof beyond a reasonable doubt is the way you think about law enforcement. And I think we're much closer to being in a state of war than being in a judicial proceeding."

Wolfowitz is always careful to say that the president has not decided exactly what to do about Iraq and that he himself is not completely convinced yet that a military liberation of Baghdad is worth the risk. But in an administration that is not exactly a hotbed of Saddam coddlers, Wolfowitz has been on the case longer, more consistently, more persistently, than anyone. His tenacity is one reason that the internal debate has moved, astonishingly fast, from a theoretical possibility to questions of method and timing. So fast, in fact, that one argument some make for invading is that Bush has already gone too far out on the limb to back down.

In the first days after Sept. 11, when Secretary of State Colin L. Powell and others within the administration contended it was too early to put Iraq on the agenda -- that there was a war to win in Afghanistan first and that there was no evidence Iraq was complicit in the attacks on the Pentagon and the twin towers -- Wolfowitz argued that Iraq was at the heart of the threat. He suspected then that those who were saying "not yet" really meant "not ever." Now that the president has declared "regime change" the party line, Wolfowitz says, he takes his more skeptical colleagues at face value when they say "not yet." But, he adds, "it seems to me that people who want to say, 'I'm in favor of a regime change, but not now,' have a certain burden to answer the question, 'O.K., well, when?'"

The answer to that question remains a secret, if it has been decided at all. But on the way home from Fort Leavenworth at the end of July, we stopped at Scott Air Force Base, the military's main transportation dispatching hub, where Wolfowitz spent a couple of hours closeted with the men who, soon thereafter, began routing shipments of men and materiel to the gulf. Just in case.

In Washington, some people go straight to caricature, without getting much chance to be interesting or complicated. Paul Wolfowitz, who is interesting and complicated, has been cast since Sept. 11 in the role of zealot. Except for one humanizing incident when he was booed for mentioning the suffering of Palestinians at a pro-Israel rally, Wolfowitz has been summarily depicted as a hawk (The Economist preferred "velociraptor"), conservative ideologue, unilateralist, nemesis of Colin Powell's State Department and, sometimes, "Israel-centric." These epithets capture something of Wolfowitz's views and something of the company he keeps. His mentors have been hard-liners, many of his friends are devout Reaganites and the tracts he has signed when out of public office were written by those who now happily talk of a new American imperialism. One close friend of Wolfowitz's is Richard Perle, the combative defense analyst who might actually relish being called a velociraptor; he heads an adjunct group of advisers, the Defense Policy Board, that has been a vehicle for introducing controversial, even incendiary, viewpoints into the government tent. Perle, in fact, was offered the No. 3 position in the Defense Department, under secretary for policy, and after he declined the job, it went to Douglas Feith, a lawyer and firebrand who worked for Perle in the Reagan Defense Department. President Bush may employ many people who worked for his father, but this is decidedly not his father's Pentagon.

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The shorthand version of Paul Wolfowitz, however, is inadequate in important ways. It completely misses his style, which relies on patient logic and respectful, soft-spoken engagement rather than on fire-breathing conviction. The stereotype also overlooks a critical distinction in his view of the world. Unlike many conservative gloom-mongers, he does not see the world plummeting toward an inevitable clash of civilizations.

From a few months' immersion in the subject of Paul Wolfowitz, it seems to me he has brought at least three important things to the table where American policy is made, qualities that have made him, though he holds the rank of deputy, a factor in moving America this close to invading Iraq. One is something of a reputation as a man who sees trouble coming before others do, his long anxiety about Iraq being one example.

The second thing he brings is an activist bent. It is forged partly of humanitarian impulse, a horror of standing by and watching bad things happen. He often talks about Kitty Genovese, the New York woman murdered in 1964 while dozens of neighbors watched from their apartment windows without lifting a phone to call the police. His inclination to act derives, too, from his analytical style, a residue, perhaps, of the mathematician he started out to be. In almost any discussion, he tends to be the one focusing on the most often overlooked variable in decision making, the cost of not acting. On Iraq, that has now been taken up as a White House mantra.

The third striking thing about Wolfowitz is an optimism about America's ability to build a better world. He has an almost missionary sense of America's role. In the current case, that means a vision of an Iraq not merely purged of cataclysmic weaponry, not merely a threat disarmed, but an Iraq that becomes a democratic cornerstone of an altogether new Middle East. Given the fatalism that prevails about this most flammable region of the world, that is an audacious optimism indeed.

Wolfowitz's moralistic streak and the generally sunny view of the world's possibilities may explain the affinity between the born-again and resolutely unintellectual president and this man he calls "Wolfie," the Jewish son of academia who dabbles in six foreign languages and keeps Civil War histories at his bedside. A senior official who has watched the two men interact says that Wolfowitz and the president have reinforced each other in their faith in "a strategic transformation of the whole region."

If the interventionists are right, America can reasonably expect to be more secure, respected and very, very busy -- and much of the foreign-policy old guard will have been proved wrong. But if Wolfowitz and those with him are wrong, if Iraq comes down around their ears, America will be standing deep in the rubble, very alone.

If you spend much time with Wolfowitz, you will probably hear him tell the joke about Saddam Hussein's barber, an old one that dates from the years of Communist collapse. The story goes that every time Saddam shows up for a trim, his barber asks about Nicolae Ceaucescu, Romania's cult-of-personality tyrant, who has recently been executed in a popular uprising. Irritated, Saddam demands to know why the barber insists on bringing up this toppled dictator at each visit. "Because every time I do, the hair goes up on the back of your neck, and it's easier to cut it."

Wolfowitz loves the story because he feels if Romania can throw off a despot and muddle toward modernity, how much more promising is Iraq, with its bitterly oppressed but educated, energetic people and the ability to pump billions of dollars worth of crude oil a year? Look at the Iraqi Kurds, he says, who have created in their American-protected enclave in northern Iraq a comparatively open society "by Middle East standards," despite suffering the U.N. sanctions against the country.

Wolfowitz says he worries deeply about the risks of going into Iraq -- about disabling the small arsenal of Scud missiles before one possibly delivers poisons to Israel or the Saudi oil fields, about persuading Israel (as he personally helped do during the gulf war) not to join the war even if attacked, knowing that would tend to mobilize the Arab world against the United States, about the potential mess of urban warfare and civilian casualties. "I think the getting in is the dangerous part," he says.

He worries considerably less about the day after.

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"I don't think it's unreasonable to think that Iraq, properly managed -- and it's going to take a lot of attention, and the stakes are enormous, much higher than Afghanistan -- that it really could turn out to be, I hesitate to say it, the first Arab democracy, or at least the first one except for Lebanon's brief history," he says. "And even if it makes it only Romanian style, that's still such an advance over anywhere else in the Arab world."

This is a notion regarded with deep skepticism at the State Department, where Powell and others tend to see the aftermath of an invasion as a long, world-class headache administered by an American general. Not only within the State Department but elsewhere where foreign policy is discussed and formulated -- including the Capitol Hill offices of leading senators of both parties -- there reigns the view that Iraqi democracy is a utopian fantasy, that the country will fragment like a grenade into ethnic enclaves, that American garrisons will be targets for an eruption of Arab fury, that oil supplies will be endangered, that Americans lack the patience and generosity to midwife a free and pro-Western Iraq.

"This is a very risky operation at best," I was told, typically, by Henry Siegman, a Middle East scholar at the Council on Foreign Relations. "And the expectation that we will then be splendidly situated to resolve all the region's problems is wildly optimistic."

Iraqi democracy, it should be said, is not the president's declared purpose of "regime change" in Iraq, which is to get rid of a very bad man with a fondness for terrorists and a hunger for weapons of hideous power. But it is, to many in the administration, including Wolfowitz, a large part of the enticement.

"You hear people mock it by saying that Iraq isn't ready for Jeffersonian democracy," Wolfowitz says, citing a line that Colin Powell has been known to use. "Well, Japan isn't Jeffersonian democracy, either. I think the more we are committed to influencing the outcome, the more chance there could be that it would be something quite significant for Iraq. And I think if it's significant for Iraq, it's going to cast a very large shadow, starting with Syria and Iran, but across the whole Arab world, I think."

The idea of Iraq as a launch pad of Arab democracy and a counterweight to Islamist extremism has gained some credence in Washington. As unromantic an expert as Dennis B. Ross, who ran the Middle East account for President Clinton, thinks Wolfowitz is right, that liberating Iraq would not only chasten despots and encourage democrats but that it could also unleash a joy in Iraq that would help alleviate the wider Arab anger against America. So does Henry Kissinger, whose cold realism has not often meshed with Wolfowitz's sense of the world.

A democratic Iraq, however, is sure to be unnerving to some of America's less-than-democratic allies in the region, including Saudi Arabia. Wolfowitz does not demonize the Saudi royal family, as a briefer did in July at one of Perle's Defense Policy Board meetings, but he seems more pleased than not that democracy in Iraq (and a free flow of competing Iraqi oil) makes the Saudis uneasy. He does not sound so sure that rocking the stability of tyrannies in the Arab world, even West-leaning tyrannies, is a bad thing.

In January, Bob Woodward, the investigative eminence for The Washington Post, and his colleague Dan Balz wrote a voluminous reconstruction of the decision making in the Bush administration during the weeks following Sept. 11. Most senior officials, including the president, Vice President Cheney and Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, gave interviews for the series. Paul Wolfowitz, following the advice of the Rumsfeld press office, declined. That may have some bearing on the fact that he was one of the few officials to come across in the series as less than commanding. He is portrayed as single-mindedly obsessed by Iraq. At one point, Colin Powell and General Hugh Shelton, then the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, are described sharing an eye roll over Wolfowitz's war fever.

The narrative reaches a climax in the Laurel Lodge at Camp David, where the president gathered his war council the weekend following the attacks. During the meetings, Wolfowitz keeps pushing Iraq toward the front burner. He is so persistent, so seemingly deaf to the politics of the moment, that he even interrupts Rumsfeld to push his point. During a break, Andrew H. Card Jr., the White House chief of staff, on a signal from the president, takes Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld aside to ask that the Defense Department speak with one voice, which is a polite way of telling Wolfowitz to shut up.

The story has congealed into Washington wisdom, confirming the image of Wolfowitz as a man possessed.

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Wolfowitz and two others who were in the room told me an alternative version of the day. It is not exactly incompatible (though both Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz say the Card scolding never happened, while Card, through a spokesman, confirms it), but it casts the day in a somewhat different light. They say that during a break in the meetings, the president listened in as Wolfowitz expounded on the Iraqi threat for a small group gathered around the fireplace of the rustic lodge. The president asked Wolfowitz why he hadn't made those points in the meeting and encouraged him to do so. Far from being an unwelcome voice, he was invited to speak up.

Some students of Washington intrigue have deduced from all this that Wolfowitz was set up. Rumsfeld brought him to Camp David specifically to make the Iraq case, knowing full well that the State Department, the C.I.A. and some of the brass would be opposed, knowing that a war with Iraq was more than the president could bite off in the first phase. The defense secretary wanted to define the ultimate problem as something bigger than Osama bin Laden and Afghanistan. So he pushed Wolfowitz forward. Wolfowitz would end up with the knives in him -- better a deputy than Rumsfeld himself -- but he would get the case for Iraq out where the president could consider it. And, sure enough, the president did define the terrorism problem early on as a global one including state sponsors. (Rumsfeld denies any such Machievellian design and says he doesn't even remember his deputy talking at the meeting.)

The larger point is that even as early as Sept. 15 of last year, the president was intrigued by what Wolfowitz was saying. By April, sooner than anyone expected, the president was telling journalists that "regime change" was his goal for Iraq. And when the president earlier this month assembled his war advisers in the Laurel Lodge, Iraq was on everybody's front burner.

In Washington, no career-conscious official would ever suggest that he had influenced the president. It is essential to the mythology of executive leadership that presidents make up their own minds, and this administration is more hypersensitive than most to any suggestion that the president needs to be propped up by smart people. In any case, on the question of a more muscular American presence in the world, Wolfowitz is hardly a lone voice. His most important Washington patrons -- Cheney, whom he served in the first Bush Pentagon, and Rumsfeld -- have increasingly taken over the role of drum majors on Iraq. But the new worldview evolving in the Bush administration Washington -- interventionist, idealistic, less sensitive to alliance diplomacy -- is one created more at the Pentagon than the State Department and one to which Wolfowitz has brought intellectual weight. Morton Abramowitz, a veteran diplomat who has worked with, and occasionally sparred with, Wolfowitz, calls him "the pre-eminent house intellectual."

Wolfowitz says that the new approach reflects the president's own instincts, which he maintains were evident even during the 2000 campaign to anyone who cared to look beyond the awkwardness of a foreign-policy novice -- and the scorn he heaped on nation building. Wolfowitz, who was one of the so-called Vulcans, the small cadre of thinkers who advised the campaign on defense and foreign policy, clearly finds the younger Bush more open to big, bold, activist ideas than his father.

"He's much more comfortable with speeches that lay out visions," Wolfowitz says. "I think he really believes in them. So there's that sort of Reaganism, if you want to call it that, in him, but a little more on the pragmatic side than Reagan when it comes to actual policy."

When the new Bush administration was coalescing, Colin Powell called Wolfowitz and offered him the job of ambassador to the United Nations. Given this administration's standoffish relationship with the U.N. and Wolfowitz's own wariness of multilateralism, that could be regarded as a trap rather than an honor, but Powell insists it was a sign of his great admiration for Wolfowitz's ability to think big and argue an issue to the ground. Wolfowitz has been similarly effusive in his praise of Powell, especially since news reports of their battles over Iraq.

And not only Iraq: the tensions between State and Defense are rooted in starkly different views of how America should deal with the world. The State Department tends to see the world as a set of problems to be handled, using the tools of professional diplomacy and striving for international consensus. This Defense Department tends to define leadership as more (in the Pentagon's favorite buzzword of the moment) "forward leaning," including a willingness to act unilaterally if need be and to employ muscle. Rumsfeld and Cheney, who have been friends since

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the Nixon administration, are visceral advocates of this more assertive view, but Wolfowitz is its theorist -- its Kissinger, as one admirer put it.

"What I think distinguishes him, and it's very alarming to some people, is that there is this spirit in Washington that foreign policy consists of managing problems," said Charles H. Fairbanks, a Johns Hopkins political scientist who has known Wolfowitz since college. "Paul Wolfowitz is really free of that tendency."

In 1992, in what would turn out to be the last year of the first Bush administration, Wolfowitz, then under secretary for policy in Cheney's Defense Department, presided over the writing of a new "Defense Planning Guidance," a broad directive to military leaders on what to prepare for. An early draft proposed that with the demise of the Soviet Union the United States doctrine should be to assure that no new superpower arose to rival America's benign domination of the globe. The U.S. would defend its unique status both by being militarily powerful beyond challenge and by being such a constructive force that no one would want to challenge us. We would participate in coalitions, but they would be "ad hoc." The U.S. would be "postured to act independently when collective action cannot be orchestrated." The guidance envisioned pre-emptive attacks against states bent on acquiring nuclear, biological or chemical weapons. It was accompanied by illustrative scenarios of hypothetical wars for which the military should be prepared. One of them was another war against Iraq, where Saddam had already rebounded from his gulf-war defeat and was busily crushing domestic unrest.

After the draft was leaked to The New York Times and was roundly denounced as bellicose and unilateralist, the language was softened. But a number of years later, in an essay published in The National Interest, Wolfowitz contended that most Americans had come around to favoring the kind of Pax Americana envisioned in that document. He argued that American interventions in the Balkans and elsewhere had demonstrated a growing consensus for an American leadership, which entailed "demonstrating that your friends will be protected and taken care of, that your enemies will be punished and that those who refuse to support you will live to regret having done so."

That now seems to have become the Bush doctrine, sprung from Sept. 11, and Iraq stands to be its most serious test. The evidence suggests that the world consensus is somewhat shakier than Wolfowitz predicted. Allied support is confined to the loyal Tony Blair, who may pay a high price at home for it; the American public is supportive, but in no hurry; the president's father's inner circle is sounding cautions.

Wolfowitz regards all of this as little different from the hand-wringing before Desert Storm or before the intervention in Bosnia. "If we get to the point where we're talking about reconstructing a post-Saddam Iraq, I think we'll have an awful lot that we agree on," he says. "And a lot of the differences of today, which revolve around how you get there, will seem like ancient worries."

In its early days, the Bush administration set in motion a review of Iraq policy, but it dragged on without much direction, so that by Sept. 11 the Bush policy on Iraq was essentially the one inherited from the Clinton administration. At the C.I.A., the holdover director, George J. Tenet, was pushing the idea of "stateless" terrorism, which implied less, not more, emphasis on the role of state patrons. At State, Colin Powell seized on an idea that had been gestating in the Clinton administration -- smart sanctions" -- that would have eased restrictions on food and medicine sales to Iraq but would have clamped down hard on smuggling of equipment for Saddam's rearmament. There was general agreement within the administration that sanctions were an abject failure, doing little to impede Saddam's military ambitions while creating a P.R. nightmare of hungry children. It is not clear that anybody had much faith that sanctions could be fixed, but smart sanctions created the impression of doing something. Iraq was, frankly, nobody's high priority -- not Rumsfeld, who was preoccupied with missile defense; not Cheney, who was consumed by the domestic agenda; not Condoleezza Rice or Powell, who had Russia and China to think about. When the Sept. 11 terrorists struck, Wolfowitz was the first into this vacuum.

Friends of Wolfowitz's say his initial reaction was that Iraq was probably a party to the attacks. He had already studied the work of Laurie Mylroie, an investigator who has labored to connect Iraq to earlier terrorist attacks, including the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center, and now an ardent student of clues connecting Saddam to Sept. 11. The Clinton administration treated Mylroie as, in her words, "a nut case," but Wolfowitz -- then spending

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the Clinton years as dean of the prestigious School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins -- listened to her 90-minute briefing on the evidence trail and wrote a sympathetic blurb for her book blaming Iraq for the first trade-center attack. After Sept. 11, he encouraged his friend R. James Woolsey, the former C.I.A. director, to visit England as a consultant to a Justice Department mission and sniff out evidence of Iraqi connections. Woolsey contends that evidence connecting Iraq with terrorist assaults on America, while circumstantial, is "about as clear as these things get." Few others go that far, Wolfowitz included. He can describe the evidence in detail, the clandestine meetings between Iraqi intelligence and figures who may have been Al Qaeda operatives, and says he finds it intriguing but not conclusive.

But the more general connection between Saddam and terrorists -- his hosting of the murderous and recently deceased Abu Nidal, his subsidies for Palestinian suicide bombers -- is enough, in Wolfowitz's view, to make their future collaboration against America almost a given. While Iraq might arm a missile or a bomber with one of those horrible weapons, Wolfowitz says, the more likely delivery system is via the terrorist international. And that, too, is an underlying assumption in the administration's case for war.

Throughout his career, Wolfowitz has managed to push hard against the prevailing view while avoiding the kind of confrontation that gets you marked as not a team player. But several people who know Wolfowitz say he seemed galvanized by Sept. 11 into a bet-your-career sense of purpose. I think Paul tended to be Mr. Interagency Stealth in the past, and now he's Mr. Open Warfare," says Stephen Sestanovich, a Russia expert who once worked for Wolfowitz as a policy planner. "Right after Sept. 11, the idea that Iraq was where we had to go next was the lunacy that had to be fought back. Now, in this town, there's a near consensus about it. They've accepted the Wolfowitz goal, and now they're just haggling about how it's to be done. That was a result that could only be achieved by open warfare."

A result of his being so out front, of course, is that along with the considerably higher stakes of human life and strategic order, one thing riding on the future of Iraq is Wolfowitz's future. If, as some of his friends believe, Wolfowitz, who is 58, would like to ascend to a cabinet job -- Rumsfeld would be 72 at the start of a second Bush term; Powell has dropped hints of being a one-term; and a shuffle could land him as national security adviser or C.I.A. director -- his prospects are paradoxically wedded to those of Saddam Hussein.

Wolfowitz grew up in a household in which Hitler and Stalin were not abstractions. His father, a mathematics professor at Cornell and an innovator in the field of statistics, was a Polish Jew who emigrated from Russian-held Warsaw in 1920. He often told his children how lucky they were to have escaped the totalitarian horrors of Europe for the benign security of America. There were many Wolfowitzes consumed in the Holocaust, and according to Wolfowitz's sister, Laura, the world's perils and America's moral responsibility were constant topics at their dinner table.

As a teenager, Wolfowitz was a lonely John F. Kennedy Democrat in his conservative Ithaca, N.Y., high school. He says the only time he ever marched in a demonstration was when he was 19, at Martin Luther King Jr.'s civil rights spectacular in Washington. He remains, by his own description, a "bleeding heart" on social issues and a civil libertarian. The day I watched him under questioning from those eager majors at Fort Leavenworth, he argued against the use of torture in interrogating terror suspects and against the deployment of the military in domestic crises.

But his sense of America's large place in the world, like his father's, has always hewed close to that of the late Senator Henry M. Jackson, the pioneering Democratic hawk nicknamed Scoop, who believed in an American obligation to support democracies and in the willingness to use military force sometimes to accomplish that. (Jackson was also Richard Perle's mentor.) Wolfowitz, who switched parties during the Reagan administration, now describes himself as "a Scoop Jackson Republican."

Wolfowitz followed his father into mathematics, taking courses from him at Cornell, shifted to chemistry and "probably would have ended up a very unhappy biochemist" if not for the intervention of Allan Bloom, the charismatic political philosopher, who was a resident scholar in the elite student dormitory where Wolfowitz lived.

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Bloom emboldened Wolfowitz to follow his childhood fascination with world affairs, to the enormous dismay of his father, who regarded political science as roughly equivalent to astrology.

Wolfowitz earned his doctorate at the University of Chicago, a seedbed of what is now called neoconservative thinking in economics, political science and strategic studies. His mentor there was Albert Wohlstetter, perhaps the most influential thinker about military strategems of the nuclear age and godfather of the anti-detente school during the cold war.

Student deferments kept him out of the military draft during the Vietnam War, and he looks back on that war with a kind of scholarly detachment that is in striking contrast to, say, Colin Powell, who served two tours there and regards Vietnam as the paradigm of good intentions gone wrong. Wolfowitz was sympathetic to the war and only later came around to the view that it was "a very costly overreach." At the same time, he wonders if the American role in Vietnam might have given anti-Communist forces in Asia time to gather strength. "We know the costs of Vietnam," he says. "They were horrendous." And then he adds a quintessentially Wolfowitz kicker: "But we don't know what that part of the world would have looked like today if it hadn't been."

After three years teaching political science at Yale, Wolfowitz was recruited through Wohlstetter's profuse grapevine to work in Washington at the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. In the waning days of the Nixon administration, the agency was one link in a network of conservative insurgents. Their target was the diplomacy of patient coexistence with the Soviet Union. Their ringleader was Perle, operating out of Scoop Jackson's office. Their Antichrist was Kissinger, the mastermind of detente. The insurgent view was that the Soviet Union should be not simply contained but challenged on all fronts. They argued that American intelligence agencies had played down the aggressive designs and military advances of the Soviet Union to conform to the White House drive for arms control.

In the waning days of the Ford administration, the C.I.A. (director: George H.W. Bush) sought to appease the hard-liners by commissioning "Team B," a group of kibitzers with license to second-guess the intelligence reports on the Soviet Union. Wolfowitz was one of the 10 members. The report they produced was more than Bush bargained for. It painted the Soviet Union as an expansionist boogeyman. In hindsight, much of the Team B report was worst-case hyperbole; it credited the Soviet Union with developing superweapons it never had and ignored the handicaps of a failing Soviet economy. But Team B became a political bludgeon to batter the proponents of arms control and drive up American military spending. Wolfowitz, who contributed a thoughtful and unhysterical chapter on the importance of intermediate-range missiles to the Soviet strategy, says he never bought Team B's alarmist contention that the Soviet Union believed it could fight and win a nuclear war. But he says the report was a useful guerrilla attack on conventional thinking, including the tendency of intelligence agencies to assume that rival countries think the same way we do.

It was a similar Team B-style exercise that led to his current job. Rumsfeld was impressed by Wolfowitz's work for him on a commission set up by Congressional hawks in 1998 to prod the Clinton administration toward deploying missile defense. (Rumsfeld is a missile-defense devotee; Wolfowitz somewhat less so, since he worries it would not stop low-flying cruise missiles.)

Wolfowitz abandoned the Yale tenure track and threw himself into the practice of national security, moving back and forth between Defense and State. His earliest jobs were in the wonkish realm of policy analysis -- gazing at the horizon. He had a knack for luring bright, opinionated thinkers, some of whom rank high in the current administration. Cheney's chief of staff, I. Lewis Libby, was captivated by Wolfowitz's political science course at Yale and worked for him at the in-house think tanks in both the State and Defense Departments. Condoleezza Rice's deputy, Stephen J. Hadley, who is chairman of an influential committee of cabinet deputies that meets several times a week on national-security issues, worked for Wolfowitz in the Cheney Defense Department and was a fellow Vulcan in the campaign.

Contrary to his ideologue image, Wolfowitz is described by colleagues as open to new ideas and encouraging of dissent. Dennis Ross went to work for Wolfowitz shortly after writing a paper trashing the work of Team B. "What I always found in him that separated him from everybody else on that side of the political spectrum is not that he



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didn't have predispositions, but that he was much more open, much more intellectually open, to different kinds of interpretations," Ross says. Charles Fairbanks, who also worked for Wolfowitz in the policy-planning office of the State Department, recalls him as "sort of on the one hand, on the other hand on most issues," but ardent on the subject of certain regimes he regarded as outside the norms of civilized behavior, including the radical Baath party of Iraq and Muammar el-Qaddafi's Libya. "I once presented talking points on Libya, which I considered very tough. He said: 'You don't understand. I really want to destroy Qaddafi, not just constrain him.'"

His proteges cite several examples of Wolfowitz's homing in on subjects before they grew into major issues, often when they were politically inconvenient. For example, as the Soviet empire was unraveling and the first President Bush was clinging to the waning figure of Mikhail Gorbachev, Wolfowitz and his boss, Cheney, believed that Boris N. Yeltsin represented a better prospect of a real end to the cold war.

And then there is Iraq. When he arrived at the Pentagon in the aftermath of the 1973 Yom Kippur War and the Arab oil embargo, Wolfowitz was surprised to find that the Persian Gulf region was scarcely on their minds.

"There was a fairly big NATO office," he recalls, "and a modest size East Asian one and then a cats-and-dogs office. I said, 'Where's the Persian Gulf office?' 'Oh, we don't plan forces for the Persian Gulf.' This was 1977. And one of the unspoken reasons, I think, was Vietnam. But one of the spoken reasons was, the shah takes care of the Persian Gulf for us. And I said, 'Well, that's a little shortsighted.'"

So he assembled a small group, including Dennis Ross, and they wrote a secret assessment of threats. Much of the report was about possible Soviet moves into the region, but planted in the midst of this is a bright red flag about Iraq. Examining Iraq's outsize military and unresolved territorial claims, the report talked about possible attacks on Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, which would give Iraq control of the West's oil lifeline. The U.S. was seen as woefully unprepared to respond. The report recommended beefing up forces to provide "a credible and visible balance to Iraq's local power."

The report was not well received by the Carter administration, which was then busy courting Iraq as an offset to the new revolutionary regime in Iran. But Wolfowitz persisted, and one result was a decision to permanently preposition cargo ships in the gulf region loaded with tanks, artillery and ammunition. By the time of the gulf war, some of the equipment was rusty, but as Lewis Libby, Cheney's chief of staff, points out, it was the first heavy weaponry to hit the ground against Saddam's army.

When Iraq swooped into Kuwait in 1990, Wolfowitz was Cheney's under secretary for policy. He was the strongest advocate for dispatching warships early as a sign of American resolve, and his was a persistent voice for putting American troops on the ground. After Iraq was driven out of Kuwait, Wolfowitz argued unsuccessfully that America should support the Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south in their attempts to finish off Saddam.

There is an entertaining echo of his frustration in "Ravelstein," Saul Bellow's roman a clef about Wolfowitz's college guru, Allan Bloom. In the novel, Wolfowitz has a walk-on part as a former student who has made it big in Washington and periodically delights his old tutor by phoning in tidbits of inside dope. Professor Bloom/Ravelstein returns from one such phone call during the gulf war to inform his friends: "Colin Powell and Baker have advised the president not to send the troops all the way to Baghdad. Bush will announce it tomorrow. They're afraid of a few casualties."

Neither Wolfowitz nor anyone else in the administration was calling for sending American troops to Baghdad, since that far exceeded their mandate from Congress and the United Nations to liberate Kuwait. But Wolfowitz was dismayed by the decision to quickly extricate American troops and let the situation in Iraq run its course. When Clinton, who inherited the aftermath of the war, continued to stand by as Saddam suppressed the Kurds, Wolfowitz wrote a blistering op-ed article in The Wall Street Journal, calling it "Clinton's Bay of Pigs" -- a rebuke he could as aptly have applied to the first President Bush. In language unusually fierce for Wolfowitz, he derided "our passive containment policy and our inept covert operations" and clearly implied that ousting Saddam should be American policy without quite saying it. The following year he was explicitly proposing "the military option," unilateral if necessary, to rid the world of Saddam.

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Until America came directly under attack last year, Wolfowitz says, he was still thinking in terms of providing arms, training and air support for indigenous rebels, not sending in American divisions.

"I certainly would not then have favored us sending occupying forces into Iraq," he says. "But we might have overthrown a terrible regime. It might have worked out well. It could hardly be worse than what we've had for the last 10 years. And if it had been a mess, we could've said, O.K., well, we gave them their chance.

"In contrast, we're at a point now, I think, that if Iraq is liberated, our responsibility for it is going to be so large that our responsibility for the outcome -- and our stake in the outcome -- is going to be much larger."

Wolfowitz's pentagon jobs under various presidents persuaded him that Iraq was chronic trouble. His vision of Iraq as an opportunity, though, evolved from his work in the State Department.

Two years into the Reagan administration, Wolfowitz asked Secretary of State George P. Shultz to move him from the world of theory into the world of practice, as assistant secretary of state for East Asia. Shultz says he hesitated - - Wolfowitz was known for his brains, not his management skills -- but agreed. Wolfowitz quickly found himself riding shotgun on another campaign against the geopolitics of Henry Kissinger, this time on how to deal with China. Shultz and Wolfowitz agreed that Kissinger put too much value on China as a counterbalance to the Soviet Union, with the result that the U.S. bent over backward to preserve "the relationship" by making concessions on issues like Taiwan. The new team argued, in essence, that it was possible to be a hard-liner on the Soviet Union without pandering to China. Once China was downsized as a factor in the cold war, the administration felt freer to turn more attention to Japan, first, but also to the emerging Asian democracies of South Korea and Taiwan.

For his next act, Wolfowitz applied to be ambassador to Indonesia, the country with the world's largest Muslim population and a place that his wife and college sweetheart, Clare, had chosen as the focus of her anthropological studies. (They are now separated, but she speaks of him with intense admiration.) He threw himself into the public diplomacy, learning the language well enough to take questions at public gatherings and even entering a cooking contest sponsored by a women's magazine. (He won third place for a dish he dubbed Madame Mao's Chicken.) He especially prides himself on a public speech that called on the Indonesian strongman, Suharto, to introduce political openness -- a message he diplomatically saved for the end of his tour as ambassador but one that still infuriated Suharto.

Wolfowitz has talked for years about the incubation of Asian democracies and the more recent currents of freedom in Indonesia as reason to hope for something similar in the Islamic Mideast. Since Sept. 11, this has been a favorite theme in his speeches.

Wolfowitz was still a young Pentagon wonk when President Anwar el-Sadat of Egypt braved the wrath of the Arab world to visit Jerusalem and deliver a speech of peace to the Israeli Parliament. To an American Jew raised with a high sense of individual moral obligation, this was such an admirable piece of statesmanship that Wolfowitz bought Arabic language tapes and studied them in his car on his commute to the Pentagon so that he could appreciate the valor of Sadat's speech in the original.

You hear from some of Wolfowitz's critics, always off the record, that Israel exercises a powerful gravitational pull on the man. They may not know that as a teenager he spent his father's sabbatical semester in Israel or that his sister is married to an Israeli, but they certainly know that he is friendly with Israel's generals and diplomats and that he is something of a hero to the heavily Jewish neoconservative movement. Those who know him well say this -- leaving aside the offensive suggestion of dual loyalty -- is looking at Wolfowitz through the wrong end of the telescope. As the Sadat story illustrates, he has generally been less excited by the security of Israel than by the promise of a more moderate Islam.

"As a moral man, he might have found Israel the heart of the Middle East story," Stephen Sestanovich says. "But as a policy maker, Turkey and the gulf and Egypt didn't loom any less large for him."

After Sept. 11, Wolfowitz supported the successful effort to include the localized killers of Hamas and Hezbollah on America's global terror list and was part of a large administration chorus (basically, everyone except the State

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Department) that argued for bypassing Yasir Arafat. But he has not hesitated to tell Israel when American interests trumped theirs. He supported selling sophisticated surveillance aircraft to Saudi Arabia, despite intense Israeli lobbying against the sale -- and those Awacs planes proved invaluable in the gulf war. Benjamin Netanyahu, the right-wing former prime minister, still complains that Israel was wrong to succumb to Wolfowitz's diplomacy during the gulf war, when he persuaded Israel to hold its fire as Iraqi Scuds were landing. Netanyahu, who generally admires Wolfowitz, thinks this forbearance emboldened his country's enemies. If there is a new war, persuading Ariel Sharon to show similar forbearance may be more difficult, but Wolfowitz will be foremost among those arguing the case.

Alongside the conference table where we did our talking, Wolfowitz has mounted a painting that, from across the room, resembles a tranquil Maryland landscape. On closer inspection, the dark foreground is a river of corpses. Wolfowitz, a Civil War buff, had it copied from a painting called "The Bloody Lane," a rendering of the deadliest battle in American history, Antietam, which shattered the momentum of the South and emboldened Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation. It seems like sobering company for a man who deals in the gruesome cost-benefit analysis of warfare.

Wolfowitz says that he agonizes a good deal over the dangers of dispatching Americans to war, that he respects the traditional conservatism of men in uniform who know the Antietams of the globe firsthand. Interventions that are only indirectly about American interests, like Somalia, he says, should be "as close to risk-free as possible," and, he suggests, "maybe somewhere along the way we should have a volunteer force that is specifically volunteering for missions other than defending the country." The opposite of the Peace Corps, you might say.

Wars that defend our safety may command a higher price. What price? Would the danger posed by a nuclear-armed Saddam be worth, say, the lives of thousands of American soldiers, if that is what the experts estimated it would take to disarm him by force?

Wolfowitz posed the question himself and answered no. Weapons of mass destruction would not be enough to justify the deaths of thousands of Americans. And in any case, thousands killed would mean the mission had gone badly wrong.

But Wolfowitz was not letting the discussion end there. Later, he e-mailed me an afterthought about that grisly calculus of going to war against Iraq.

"So if that's what you estimate the costs of action to be, then you have to have something more on the other side of the ledger than just the possession of weapons of mass destruction," he wrote. Whether that "something more" that would justify that greater sacrifice meant evidence that Iraq was on the verge of using its weapons, or the prospect of establishing Iraq as an outpost of democracy, or a smoking gun tying Iraq to Sept. 11, he did not specify. "In the end, it has to come down to a careful weighing of things we can't know with precision, the costs of action versus the costs of inaction, the costs of action now versus the costs of action later."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Paul Wolfowitz in his Pentagon office. Caricatures of him miss his style: soft-spoken engagement, not fire-breathing conviction (Barbel Schmidt); Wolfowitz with the president at the Pentagon days after the terrorist attacks. (Paul J. Richards/Agence France: Presse.); At the Saudi Arabia command center during the gulf war, Wolfowitz, right, with, to his left, Schwartzkopf, Cheney and Powell.; Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz discussing the war in Afghanistan in Rumsfeld's office last October. (David Hume. Kennerly/Corbis Sygma)

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## *Complete text of Secretary of State Colin Powell's U.N. speech*

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### **Body**

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Text of Secretary of State Colin Powell's remarks Wednesday at the United Nations, as transcribed by eMediaMillWorks Inc.:

Thank you, Mr. President.

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished colleagues, I would like to begin by expressing my thanks for the special effort that each of you made to be here today.

This is important day for us all as we review the situation with respect to Iraq and its disarmament obligations under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441.

Last November 8, this council passed Resolution 1441 by a unanimous vote. The purpose of that resolution was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. Iraq had already been found guilty of material breach of its obligations, stretching back over 16 previous resolutions and 12 years.

Resolution 1441 was not dealing with an innocent party, but a regime this council has repeatedly convicted over the years. Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance, one last chance to come into compliance or to face serious consequences. No council member present in voting on that day had any allusions about the nature and intent of the resolution or what serious consequences meant if Iraq did not comply.

And to assist in its disarmament, we called on Iraq to cooperate with returning inspectors from UNMOVIC and IAEA.

We laid down tough standards for Iraq to meet to allow the inspectors to do their job.

This council placed the burden on Iraq to comply and disarm and not on the inspectors to find that which Iraq has gone out of its way to conceal for so long. Inspectors are inspectors; they are not detectives.

I asked for this session today for two purposes: First, to support the core assessments made by Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei. As Dr. Blix reported to this council on January 27th, quote, "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament which was demanded of it," unquote.

And as Dr. ElBaradei reported, Iraq's declaration of December 7, quote, "did not provide any new information relevant to certain questions that have been outstanding since 1998."

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My second purpose today is to provide you with additional information, to share with you what the United States knows about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as well as Iraq's involvement in terrorism, which is also the subject of Resolution 1441 and other earlier resolutions.

I might add at this point that we are providing all relevant information we can to the inspection teams for them to do their work.

The material I will present to you comes from a variety of sources. Some are U.S. sources. And some are those of other countries. Some of the sources are technical, such as intercepted telephone conversations and photos taken by satellites. Other sources are people who have risked their lives to let the world know what Saddam Hussein is really up to.

I cannot tell you everything that we know. But what I can share with you, when combined with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling.

What you will see is an accumulation of facts and disturbing patterns of behavior. The facts on Iraqis' behavior -- Iraq's behavior demonstrate that Saddam Hussein and his regime have made no effort -- no effort -- to disarm as required by the international community. Indeed, the facts and Iraq's behavior show that Saddam Hussein and his regime are concealing their efforts to produce more weapons of mass destruction.

Let me begin by playing a tape for you. What you're about to hear is a conversation that my government monitored. It takes place on November 26 of last year, on the day before United Nations teams resumed inspections in Iraq.

The conversation involves two senior officers, a colonel and a brigadier general, from Iraq's elite military unit, the Republican Guard.

(BEGIN AUDIO TAPE)

Speaking in Arabic.

(END AUDIO TAPE)

POWELL: Let me pause and review some of the key elements of this conversation that you just heard between these two officers.

First, they acknowledge that our colleague, Mohamed ElBaradei, is coming, and they know what he's coming for, and they know he's coming the next day. He's coming to look for things that are prohibited. He is expecting these gentlemen to cooperate with him and not hide things.

But they're worried. "We have this modified vehicle. What do we say if one of them sees it?"

What is their concern? Their concern is that it's something they should not have, something that should not be seen.

The general is incredulous: "You didn't get a modified. You don't have one of those, do you?"

"I have one."

"Which, from where?"

"From the workshop, from the al-Kindi company?"

"What?"

"From al-Kindi."

"I'll come to see you in the morning. I'm worried. You all have something left."

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"We evacuated everything. We don't have anything left."

Note what he says: "We evacuated everything."

We didn't destroy it. We didn't line it up for inspection. We didn't turn it into the inspectors. We evacuated it to make sure it was not around when the inspectors showed up.

"I will come to you tomorrow."

The al-Kindi company: This is a company that is well known to have been involved in prohibited weapons systems activity.

Let me play another tape for you. As you will recall, the inspectors found 12 empty chemical warheads on January 16. On January 20, four days later, Iraq promised the inspectors it would search for more. You will now hear an officer from Republican Guard headquarters issuing an instruction to an officer in the field. Their conversation took place just last week on January 30.

(BEGIN AUDIO TAPE)

Speaking in Arabic.

(END AUDIO TAPE)

POWELL: Let me pause again and review the elements of this message.

"They're inspecting the ammunition you have, yes."

"Yes."

"For the possibility there are forbidden ammo."

"For the possibility there is by chance forbidden ammo?"

"Yes."

"And we sent you a message yesterday to clean out all of the areas, the scrap areas, the abandoned areas. Make sure there is nothing there."

Remember the first message, evacuated.

This is all part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have left nothing behind.

If you go a little further into this message, and you see the specific instructions from headquarters: "After you have carried out what is contained in this message, destroy the message because I don't want anyone to see this message."

"OK, OK."

Why? Why?

This message would have verified to the inspectors that they have been trying to turn over things. They were looking for things. But they don't want that message seen, because they were trying to clean up the area to leave no evidence behind of the presence of weapons of mass destruction. And they can claim that nothing was there. And the inspectors can look all they want, and they will find nothing.

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This effort to hide things from the inspectors is not one or two isolated events, quite the contrary. This is part and parcel of a policy of evasion and deception that goes back 12 years, a policy set at the highest levels of the Iraqi regime.

We know that Saddam Hussein has what is called quote, "a higher committee for monitoring the inspections teams," unquote. Think about that. Iraq has a high-level committee to monitor the inspectors who were sent in to monitor Iraq's disarmament.

Not to cooperate with them, not to assist them, but to spy on them and keep them from doing their jobs.

The committee reports directly to Saddam Hussein. It is headed by Iraq's vice president, Taha Yassin Ramadan. Its members include Saddam Hussein's son Qusay.

This committee also includes Lieutenant General Amir al-Saadi, an adviser to Saddam. In case that name isn't immediately familiar to you, General Saadi has been the Iraqi regime's primary point of contact for Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei. It was General Saadi who last fall publicly pledged that Iraq was prepared to cooperate unconditionally with inspectors. Quite the contrary, Saadi's job is not to cooperate, it is to deceive; not to disarm, but to undermine the inspectors; not to support them, but to frustrate them and to make sure they learn nothing.

We have learned a lot about the work of this special committee. We learned that just prior to the return of inspectors last November the regime had decided to resume what we heard called, quote, "the old game of cat and mouse," unquote.

For example, let me focus on the now famous declaration that Iraq submitted to this council on December 7. Iraq never had any intention of complying with this council's mandate.

Instead, Iraq planned to use the declaration, overwhelm us and to overwhelm the inspectors with useless information about Iraq's permitted weapons so that we would not have time to pursue Iraq's prohibited weapons. Iraq's goal was to give us, in this room, to give those of us on this council the false impression that the inspection process was working.

You saw the result. Dr. Blix pronounced the 12,200-page declaration, rich in volume, but poor in information and practically devoid of new evidence.

Could any member of this council honestly rise in defense of this false declaration?

Everything we have seen and heard indicates that, instead of cooperating actively with the inspectors to ensure the success of their mission, Saddam Hussein and his regime are busy doing all they possibly can to ensure that inspectors succeed in finding absolutely nothing.

My colleagues, every statement I make today is backed up by sources, solid sources. These are not assertions. What we're giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence. I will cite some examples, and these are from human sources.

Orders were issued to Iraq's security organizations, as well as to Saddam Hussein's own office, to hide all correspondence with the Organization of Military Industrialization.

This is the organization that oversees Iraq's weapons of mass destruction activities. Make sure there are no documents left which could connect you to the OMI.

We know that Saddam's son, Qusay, ordered the removal of all prohibited weapons from Saddam's numerous palace complexes. We know that Iraqi government officials, members of the ruling Baath Party and scientists have hidden prohibited items in their homes. Other key files from military and scientific establishments have been placed in cars that are being driven around the countryside by Iraqi intelligence agents to avoid detection.



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Thanks to intelligence they were provided, the inspectors recently found dramatic confirmation of these reports. When they searched the home of an Iraqi nuclear scientist, they uncovered roughly 2,000 pages of documents. You see them here being brought out of the home and placed in U.N. hands. Some of the material is classified and related to Iraq's nuclear program.

Tell me, answer me, are the inspectors to search the house of every government official, every Baath Party member and every scientist in the country to find the truth, to get the information they need, to satisfy the demands of our council?

Our sources tell us that, in some cases, the hard drives of computers at Iraqi weapons facilities were replaced. Who took the hard drives? Where did they go? What's being hidden? Why? There's only one answer to the why: to deceive, to hide, to keep from the inspectors.

Numerous human sources tell us that the Iraqis are moving, not just documents and hard drives, but weapons of mass destruction to keep them from being found by inspectors.

While we were here in this council chamber debating Resolution 1441 last fall, we know, we know from sources that a missile brigade outside Baghdad was disbursing rocket launchers and warheads containing biological warfare agents to various locations, distributing them to various locations in western Iraq. Most of the launchers and warheads have been hidden in large groves of palm trees and were to be moved every one to four weeks to escape detection.

We also have satellite photos that indicate that banned materials have recently been moved from a number of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction facilities.

Let me say a word about satellite images before I show a couple. The photos that I am about to show you are sometimes hard for the average person to interpret, hard for me. The painstaking work of photo analysis takes experts with years and years of experience, pouring for hours and hours over light tables. But as I show you these images, I will try to capture and explain what they mean, what they indicate to our imagery specialists.

Let's look at one. This one is about a weapons munition facility, a facility that holds ammunition at a place called Taji (ph). This is one of about 65 such facilities in Iraq. We know that this one has housed chemical munitions. In fact, this is where the Iraqis recently came up with the additional four chemical weapon shells.

Here, you see 15 munitions bunkers in yellow and red outlines. The four that are in red squares represent active chemical munitions bunkers.

How do I know that? How can I say that? Let me give you a closer look. Look at the image on the left. On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers. The two arrows indicate the presence of sure signs that the bunkers are storing chemical munitions. The arrow at the top that says security points to a facility that is the signature item for this kind of bunker. Inside that facility are special guards and special equipment to monitor any leakage that might come out of the bunker.

The truck you also see is a signature item. It's a decontamination vehicle in case something goes wrong.

This is characteristic of those four bunkers. The special security facility and the decontamination vehicle will be in the area, if not at any one of them or one of the other, it is moving around those four, and it moves as it needed to move, as people are working in the different bunkers.

Now look at the picture on the right. You are now looking at two of those sanitized bunkers. The signature vehicles are gone, the tents are gone, it's been cleaned up, and it was done on the 22nd of December, as the U.N. inspection team is arriving, and you can see the inspection vehicles arriving in the lower portion of the picture on the right.

The bunkers are clean when the inspectors get there. They found nothing.

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This sequence of events raises the worrisome suspicion that Iraq had been tipped off to the forthcoming inspections at Taji (ph). As it did throughout the 1990s, we know that Iraq today is actively using its considerable intelligence capabilities to hide its illicit activities. From our sources, we know that inspectors are under constant surveillance by an army of Iraqi intelligence operatives. Iraq is relentlessly attempting to tap all of their communications, both voice and electronics.

I would call my colleagues attention to the fine paper that United Kingdom distributed yesterday, which describes in exquisite detail Iraqi deception activities.

In this next example, you will see the type of concealment activity Iraq has undertaken in response to the resumption of inspections. Indeed, in November 2002, just when the inspections were about to resume this type of activity spiked. Here are three examples.

At this ballistic missile site, on November 10, we saw a cargo truck preparing to move ballistic missile components. At this biological weapons related facility, on November 25, just two days before inspections resumed, this truck caravan appeared, something we almost never see at this facility, and we monitor it carefully and regularly.

At this ballistic missile facility, again, two days before inspections began, five large cargo trucks appeared along with the truck-mounted crane to move missiles. We saw this kind of house cleaning at close to 30 sites.

Days after this activity, the vehicles and the equipment that I've just highlighted disappear and the site returns to patterns of normalcy. We don't know precisely what Iraq was moving, but the inspectors already knew about these sites, so Iraq knew that they would be coming.

We must ask ourselves: Why would Iraq suddenly move equipment of this nature before inspections if they were anxious to demonstrate what they had or did not have?

Remember the first intercept in which two Iraqis talked about the need to hide a modified vehicle from the inspectors. Where did Iraq take all of this equipment? Why wasn't it presented to the inspectors?

Iraq also has refused to permit any U-2 reconnaissance flights that would give the inspectors a better sense of what's being moved before, during and after inspections.

This refusal to allow this kind of reconnaissance is in direct, specific violation of operative paragraph seven of our Resolution 1441.

Saddam Hussein and his regime are not just trying to conceal weapons, they're also trying to hide people. You know the basic facts. Iraq has not complied with its obligation to allow immediate, unimpeded, unrestricted and private access to all officials and other persons as required by Resolution 1441.

The regime only allows interviews with inspectors in the presence of an Iraqi official, a minder. The official Iraqi organization charged with facilitating inspections announced, announced publicly and announced ominously that, quote, "Nobody is ready to leave Iraq to be interviewed."

Iraqi Vice President Ramadan accused the inspectors of conducting espionage, a veiled threat that anyone cooperating with U.N. inspectors was committing treason.

Iraq did not meet its obligations under 1441 to provide a comprehensive list of scientists associated with its weapons of mass destruction programs. Iraq's list was out of date and contained only about 500 names, despite the fact that UNSCOM had earlier put together a list of about 3,500 names.

Let me just tell you what a number of human sources have told us.

Saddam Hussein has directly participated in the effort to prevent interviews. In early December, Saddam Hussein had all Iraqi scientists warned of the serious consequences that they and their families would face if they revealed

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any sensitive information to the inspectors. They were forced to sign documents acknowledging that divulging information is punishable by death.

Saddam Hussein also said that scientists should be told not to agree to leave Iraq; anyone who agreed to be interviewed outside Iraq would be treated as a spy. This violates 1441.

In mid-November, just before the inspectors returned, Iraqi experts were ordered to report to the headquarters of the special security organization to receive counterintelligence training. The training focused on evasion methods, interrogation resistance techniques, and how to mislead inspectors.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are not assertions. These are facts, corroborated by many sources, some of them sources of the intelligence services of other countries.

For example, in mid-December weapons experts at one facility were replaced by Iraqi intelligence agents who were to deceive inspectors about the work that was being done there.

On orders from Saddam Hussein, Iraqi officials issued a false death certificate for one scientist, and he was sent into hiding.

In the middle of January, experts at one facility that was related to weapons of mass destruction, those experts had been ordered to stay home from work to avoid the inspectors. Workers from other Iraqi military facilities not engaged in illicit weapons projects were to replace the workers who'd been sent home. A dozen experts have been placed under house arrest, not in their own houses, but as a group at one of Saddam Hussein's guest houses. It goes on and on and on.

As the examples I have just presented show, the information and intelligence we have gathered point to an active and systematic effort on the part of the Iraqi regime to keep key materials and people from the inspectors in direct violation of Resolution 1441. The pattern is not just one of reluctant cooperation, nor is it merely a lack of cooperation. What we see is a deliberate campaign to prevent any meaningful inspection work.

My colleagues, operative paragraph four of U.N. Resolution 1441, which we lingered over so long last fall, clearly states that false statements and omissions in the declaration and a failure by Iraq at any time to comply with and cooperate fully in the implementation of this resolution shall constitute -- the facts speak for themselves -- shall constitute a further material breach of its obligation.

We wrote it this way to give Iraq an early test -- to give Iraq an early test. Would they give an honest declaration and would they early on indicate a willingness to cooperate with the inspectors? It was designed to be an early test.

They failed that test. By this standard, the standard of this operative paragraph, I believe that Iraq is now in further material breach of its obligations. I believe this conclusion is irrefutable and undeniable.

Iraq has now placed itself in danger of the serious consequences called for in U.N. Resolution 1441. And this body places itself in danger of irrelevance if it allows Iraq to continue to defy its will without responding effectively and immediately.

The issue before us is not how much time we are willing to give the inspectors to be frustrated by Iraqi obstruction. But how much longer are we willing to put up with Iraq's noncompliance before we, as a council, we, as the United Nations, say: "Enough. Enough."

The gravity of this moment is matched by the gravity of the threat that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction pose to the world. Let me now turn to those deadly weapons programs and describe why they are real and present dangers to the region and to the world.

First, biological weapons. We have talked frequently here about biological weapons. By way of introduction and history, I think there are just three quick points I need to make.

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First, you will recall that it took UNSCOM four long and frustrating years to pry -- to pry -- an admission out of Iraq that it had biological weapons.

Second, when Iraq finally admitted having these weapons in 1995, the quantities were vast. Less than a teaspoon of dry anthrax, a little bit about this amount -- this is just about the amount of a teaspoon -- less than a teaspoon full of dry anthrax in an envelope shutdown the United States Senate in the fall of 2001. This forced several hundred people to undergo emergency medical treatment and killed two postal workers just from an amount just about this quantity that was inside of an envelope.

Iraq declared 8,500 liters of anthrax, but UNSCOM estimates that Saddam Hussein could have produced 25,000 liters. If concentrated into this dry form, this amount would be enough to fill tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons. And Saddam Hussein has not verifiably accounted for even one teaspoon-full of this deadly material.

And that is my third point. And it is key. The Iraqis have never accounted for all of the biological weapons they admitted they had and we know they had. They have never accounted for all the organic material used to make them. And they have not accounted for many of the weapons filled with these agents such as there are 400 bombs. This is evidence, not conjecture. This is true. This is all well-documented.

Dr. Blix told this council that Iraq has provided little evidence to verify anthrax production and no convincing evidence of its destruction. It should come as no shock then, that since Saddam Hussein forced out the last inspectors in 1998, we have amassed much intelligence indicating that Iraq is continuing to make these weapons.

One of the most worrisome things that emerges from the thick intelligence file we have on Iraq's biological weapons is the existence of mobile production facilities used to make biological agents.

Let me take you inside that intelligence file and share with you what we know from eyewitness accounts. We have firsthand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails.

The trucks and train cars are easily moved and are designed to evade detection by inspectors. In a matter of months, they can produce a quantity of biological poison equal to the entire amount that Iraq claimed to have produced in the years prior to the Gulf War.

Although Iraq's mobile production program began in the mid-1990s, U.N. inspectors at the time only had vague hints of such programs. Confirmation came later, in the year 2000.

The source was an eyewitness, an Iraqi chemical engineer who supervised one of these facilities. He actually was present during biological agent production runs. He was also at the site when an accident occurred in 1998. Twelve technicians died from exposure to biological agents.

He reported that when UNSCOM was in country and inspecting, the biological weapons agent production always began on Thursdays at midnight because Iraq thought UNSCOM would not inspect on the Muslim Holy Day, Thursday night through Friday. He added that this was important because the units could not be broken down in the middle of a production run, which had to be completed by Friday evening before the inspectors might arrive again.

This defector is currently hiding in another country with the certain knowledge that Saddam Hussein will kill him if he finds him. His eyewitness account of these mobile production facilities has been corroborated by other sources.

A second source, an Iraqi civil engineer in a position to know the details of the program, confirmed the existence of transportable facilities moving on trailers.

A third source, also in a position to know, reported in summer 2002 that Iraq had manufactured mobile production systems mounted on road trailer units and on rail cars.

Finally, a fourth source, an Iraqi major, who defected, confirmed that Iraq has mobile biological research laboratories, in addition to the production facilities I mentioned earlier.

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We have diagrammed what our sources reported about these mobile facilities. Here you see both truck and rail car-mounted mobile factories. The description our sources gave us of the technical features required by such facilities are highly detailed and extremely accurate. As these drawings based on their description show, we know what the fermenters look like, we know what the tanks, pumps, compressors and other parts look like. We know how they fit together. We know how they work. And we know a great deal about the platforms on which they are mounted.

As shown in this diagram, these factories can be concealed easily, either by moving ordinary-looking trucks and rail cars along Iraq's thousands of miles of highway or track, or by parking them in a garage or warehouse or somewhere in Iraq's extensive system of underground tunnels and bunkers.

We know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile biological agent factories. The truck-mounted ones have at least two or three trucks each. That means that the mobile production facilities are very few, perhaps 18 trucks that we know of--there may be more--but perhaps 18 that we know of. Just imagine trying to find 18 trucks among the thousands and thousands of trucks that travel the roads of Iraq every single day.

It took the inspectors four years to find out that Iraq was making biological agents. How long do you think it will take the inspectors to find even one of these 18 trucks without Iraq coming forward, as they are supposed to, with the information about these kinds of capabilities?

Ladies and gentlemen, these are sophisticated facilities. For example, they can produce anthrax and botulinum toxin. In fact, they can produce enough dry biological agent in a single month to kill thousands upon thousands of people. And dry agent of this type is the most lethal form for human beings.

By 1998, U.N. experts agreed that the Iraqis had perfected drying techniques for their biological weapons programs. Now, Iraq has incorporated this drying expertise into these mobile production facilities.

We know from Iraq's past admissions that it has successfully weaponized not only anthrax, but also other biological agents, including botulinum toxin, aflatoxin and ricin.

But Iraq's research efforts did not stop there. Saddam Hussein has investigated dozens of biological agents causing diseases such as gas gangrene, plague, typhus, tetanus, cholera, camelpox and hemorrhagic fever, and he also has the wherewithal to develop smallpox.

The Iraqi regime has also developed ways to disburse lethal biological agents, widely and discriminately into the water supply, into the air. For example, Iraq had a program to modify aerial fuel tanks for Mirage jets. This video of an Iraqi test flight obtained by UNSCOM some years ago shows an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet aircraft. Note the spray coming from beneath the Mirage; that is 2,000 liters of simulated anthrax that a jet is spraying.

In 1995, an Iraqi military officer, Mujahid Sali Abdul Latif (ph), told inspectors that Iraq intended the spray tanks to be mounted onto a MiG-21 that had been converted into an unmanned aerial vehicle, or a UAV. UAVs outfitted with spray tanks constitute an ideal method for launching a terrorist attack using biological weapons.

Iraq admitted to producing four spray tanks. But to this day, it has provided no credible evidence that they were destroyed, evidence that was required by the international community.

There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more. And he has the ability to dispense these lethal poisons and diseases in ways that can cause massive death and destruction. If biological weapons seem too terrible to contemplate, chemical weapons are equally chilling.

UNMOVIC already laid out much of this, and it is documented for all of us to read in UNSCOM's 1999 report on the subject.

Let me set the stage with three key points that all of us need to keep in mind: First, Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons on another country and on his own people. In fact, in the history of chemical warfare, no

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country has had more battlefield experience with chemical weapons since World War I than Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Second, as with biological weapons, Saddam Hussein has never accounted for vast amounts of chemical weaponry: 550 artillery shells with mustard, 30,000 empty munitions and enough precursors to increase his stockpile to as much as 500 tons of chemical agents. If we consider just one category of missing weaponry -- 6,500 bombs from the Iran-Iraq war -- UNMOVIC says the amount of chemical agent in them would be in the order of 1,000 tons. These quantities of chemical weapons are now unaccounted for.

Dr. Blix has quipped that, quote, "Mustard gas is not (inaudible). You are supposed to know what you did with it."

We believe Saddam Hussein knows what he did with it, and he has not come clean with the international community. We have evidence these weapons existed. What we don't have is evidence from Iraq that they have been destroyed or where they are. That is what we are still waiting for.

Third point, Iraq's record on chemical weapons is replete with lies. It took years for Iraq to finally admit that it had produced four tons of the deadly nerve agent, VX. A single drop of VX on the skin will kill in minutes. Four tons.

The admission only came out after inspectors collected documentation as a result of the defection of Hussein Kamal, Saddam Hussein's late son-in-law. UNSCOM also gained forensic evidence that Iraq had produced VX and put it into weapons for delivery.

Yet, to this day, Iraq denies it had ever weaponized VX. And on January 27, UNMOVIC told this council that it has information that conflicts with the Iraqi account of its VX program.

We know that Iraq has embedded key portions of its illicit chemical weapons infrastructure within its legitimate civilian industry. To all outward appearances, even to experts, the infrastructure looks like an ordinary civilian operation. Illicit and legitimate production can go on simultaneously; or, on a dime, this dual-use infrastructure can turn from clandestine to commercial and then back again.

These inspections would be unlikely, any inspections of such facilities would be unlikely to turn up anything prohibited, especially if there is any warning that the inspections are coming. Call it ingenuous or evil genius, but the Iraqis deliberately designed their chemical weapons programs to be inspected. It is infrastructure with a built-in ally.

Under the guise of dual-use infrastructure, Iraq has undertaken an effort to reconstitute facilities that were closely associated with its past program to develop and produce chemical weapons.

For example, Iraq has rebuilt key portions of the Tariq (ph) state establishment. Tariq includes facilities designed specifically for Iraq's chemical weapons program and employs key figures from past programs.

That's the production end of Saddam's chemical weapons business. What about the delivery end?

I'm going to show you a small part of a chemical complex called al-Moussaid (ph), a site that Iraq has used for at least three years to transship chemical weapons from production facilities out to the field.

In May 2002, our satellites photographed the unusual activity in this picture. Here we see cargo vehicles are again at this transshipment point, and we can see that they are accompanied by a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical weapons activity.

What makes this picture significant is that we have a human source who has corroborated that movement of chemical weapons occurred at this site at that time. So it's not just the photo, and it's not an individual seeing the photo. It's the photo and then the knowledge of an individual being brought together to make the case.

This photograph of the site taken two months later in July shows not only the previous site, which is the figure in the middle at the top with the bulldozer sign near it, it shows that this previous site, as well as all of the other sites around the site, have been fully bulldozed and graded. The topsoil has been removed. The Iraqis literally removed

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the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity.

To support its deadly biological and chemical weapons programs, Iraq procures needed items from around the world using an extensive clandestine network. What we know comes largely from intercepted communications and human sources who are in a position to know the facts.

Iraq's procurement efforts include equipment that can filter and separate micro-organisms and toxins involved in biological weapons, equipment that can be used to concentrate the agent, growth media that can be used to continue producing anthrax and botulinum toxin, sterilization equipment for laboratories, glass-lined reactors and specialty pumps that can handle corrosive chemical weapons agents and precursors, large amounts of vinyl chloride, a precursor for nerve and blister agents, and other chemicals such as sodium sulfide, an important mustard agent precursor.

Now, of course, Iraq will argue that these items can also be used for legitimate purposes. But if that is true, why do we have to learn about them by intercepting communications and risking the lives of human agents? With Iraq's well documented history on biological and chemical weapons, why should any of us give Iraq the benefit of the doubt? I don't, and I don't think you will either after you hear this next intercept.

Just a few weeks ago, we intercepted communications between two commanders in Iraq's Second Republican Guard Corps. One commander is going to be giving an instruction to the other. You will hear as this unfolds that what he wants to communicate to the other guy, he wants to make sure the other guy hears clearly, to the point of repeating it so that it gets written down and completely understood. Listen.

(BEGIN AUDIO TAPE)

Speaking in Foreign Language.

(END AUDIO TAPE)

POWELL: Let's review a few selected items of this conversation. Two officers talking to each other on the radio want to make sure that nothing is misunderstood:

"Remove. Remove."

The expression, the expression, "I got it."

"Nerve agents. Nerve agents. Wherever it comes up."

"Got it."

"Wherever it comes up."

"In the wireless instructions, in the instructions."

"Correction. No. In the wireless instructions."

"Wireless. I got it."

Why does he repeat it that way? Why is he so forceful in making sure this is understood? And why did he focus on wireless instructions? Because the senior officer is concerned that somebody might be listening.

Well, somebody was.

"Nerve agents. Stop talking about it. They are listening to us. Don't give any evidence that we have these horrible agents."

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Well, we know that they do. And this kind of conversation confirms it.

Our conservative estimate is that Iraq today has a stockpile of between 100 and 500 tons of chemical weapons agent. That is enough agent to fill 16,000 battlefield rockets.

Even the low end of 100 tons of agent would enable Saddam Hussein to cause mass casualties across more than 100 square miles of territory, an area nearly five times the size of Manhattan.

Let me remind you that, of the 122 millimeter chemical warheads, that the U.N. inspectors found recently, this discovery could very well be, as has been noted, the tip of the submerged iceberg. The question before us, all my friends, is when will we see the rest of the submerged iceberg?

Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein has used such weapons. And Saddam Hussein has no compunction about using them again, against his neighbors and against his own people.

And we have sources who tell us that he recently has authorized his field commanders to use them. He wouldn't be passing out the orders if he didn't have the weapons or the intent to use them.

We also have sources who tell us that, since the 1980s, Saddam's regime has been experimenting on human beings to perfect its biological or chemical weapons.

A source said that 1,600 death row prisoners were transferred in 1995 to a special unit for such experiments. An eyewitness saw prisoners tied down to beds, experiments conducted on them, blood oozing around the victim's mouths and autopsies performed to confirm the effects on the prisoners. Saddam Hussein's humanity -- inhumanity has no limits.

Let me turn now to nuclear weapons. We have no indication that Saddam Hussein has ever abandoned his nuclear weapons program.

On the contrary, we have more than a decade of proof that he remains determined to acquire nuclear weapons.

To fully appreciate the challenge that we face today, remember that, in 1991, the inspectors searched Iraq's primary nuclear weapons facilities for the first time. And they found nothing to conclude that Iraq had a nuclear weapons program.

But based on defector information in May of 1991, Saddam Hussein's lie was exposed. In truth, Saddam Hussein had a massive clandestine nuclear weapons program that covered several different techniques to enrich uranium, including electromagnetic isotope separation, gas centrifuge, and gas diffusion. We estimate that this illicit program cost the Iraqis several billion dollars.

Nonetheless, Iraq continued to tell the IAEA that it had no nuclear weapons program. If Saddam had not been stopped, Iraq could have produced a nuclear bomb by 1993, years earlier than most worst-case assessments that had been made before the war.

In 1995, as a result of another defector, we find out that, after his invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein had initiated a crash program to build a crude nuclear weapon in violation of Iraq's U.N. obligations.

Saddam Hussein already possesses two out of the three key components needed to build a nuclear bomb. He has a cadre of nuclear scientists with the expertise, and he has a bomb design.

Since 1998, his efforts to reconstitute his nuclear program have been focused on acquiring the third and last component, sufficient fissile material to produce a nuclear explosion. To make the fissile material, he needs to develop an ability to enrich uranium.



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Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb. He is so determined that he has made repeated covert attempts to acquire high-specification aluminum tubes from 11 different countries, even after inspections resumed.

These tubes are controlled by the Nuclear Suppliers Group precisely because they can be used as centrifuges for enriching uranium. By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes, and we all know that there are differences of opinion. There is controversy about what these tubes are for.

Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium. Other experts, and the Iraqis themselves, argue that they are really to produce the rocket bodies for a conventional weapon, a multiple rocket launcher.

Let me tell you what is not controversial about these tubes. First, all the experts who have analyzed the tubes in our possession agree that they can be adapted for centrifuge use. Second, Iraq had no business buying them for any purpose. They are banned for Iraq.

I am no expert on centrifuge tubes, but just as an old Army trooper, I can tell you a couple of things: First, it strikes me as quite odd that these tubes are manufactured to a tolerance that far exceeds U.S. requirements for comparable rockets.

Maybe Iraqis just manufacture their conventional weapons to a higher standard than we do, but I don't think so.

Second, we actually have examined tubes from several different batches that were seized clandestinely before they reached Baghdad. What we notice in these different batches is a progression to higher and higher levels of specification, including, in the latest batch, an anodized coating on extremely smooth inner and outer surfaces. Why would they continue refining the specifications, go to all that trouble for something that, if it was a rocket, would soon be blown into shrapnel when it went off?

The high tolerance aluminum tubes are only part of the story. We also have intelligence from multiple sources that Iraq is attempting to acquire magnets and high-speed balancing machines; both items can be used in a gas centrifuge program to enrich uranium.

In 1999 and 2000, Iraqi officials negotiated with firms in Romania, India, Russia and Slovenia for the purchase of a magnet production plant. Iraq wanted the plant to produce magnets weighing 20 to 30 grams. That's the same weight as the magnets used in Iraq's gas centrifuge program before the Gulf War. This incident linked with the tubes is another indicator of Iraq's attempt to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program.

Intercepted communications from mid-2000 through last summer show that Iraq front companies sought to buy machines that can be used to balance gas centrifuge rotors. One of these companies also had been involved in a failed effort in 2001 to smuggle aluminum tubes into Iraq.

People will continue to debate this issue, but there is no doubt in my mind, these elicited procurement efforts show that Saddam Hussein is very much focused on putting in place the key missing piece from his nuclear weapons program, the ability to produce fissile material. He also has been busy trying to maintain the other key parts of his nuclear program, particularly his cadre of key nuclear scientists.

It is noteworthy that, over the last 18 months, Saddam Hussein has paid increasing personal attention to Iraq's top nuclear scientists, a group that the governmental-controlled press calls openly, his nuclear mujahedeen. He regularly exhorts them and praises their progress. Progress toward what end?

Long ago, the Security Council, this council, required Iraq to halt all nuclear activities of any kind.

Let me talk now about the systems Iraq is developing to deliver weapons of mass destruction, in particular Iraq's ballistic missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

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First, missiles. We all remember that before the Gulf War Saddam Hussein's goal was missiles that flew not just hundreds, but thousands of kilometers. He wanted to strike not only his neighbors, but also nations far beyond his borders.

While inspectors destroyed most of the prohibited ballistic missiles, numerous intelligence reports over the past decade, from sources inside Iraq, indicate that Saddam Hussein retains a covert force of up to a few dozen Scud variant ballistic missiles. These are missiles with a range of 650 to 900 kilometers.

We know from intelligence and Iraq's own admissions that Iraq's alleged permitted ballistic missiles, the al-Samud II (ph) and the al-Fatah (ph), violate the 150-kilometer limit established by this council in Resolution 687. These are prohibited systems.

UNMOVIC has also reported that Iraq has illegally imported 380 SA-2 (ph) rocket engines. These are likely for use in the al-Samud II (ph). Their import was illegal on three counts. Resolution 687 prohibited all military shipments into Iraq. UNSCOM specifically prohibited use of these engines in surface-to-surface missiles. And finally, as we have just noted, they are for a system that exceeds the 150-kilometer range limit.

Worst of all, some of these engines were acquired as late as December -- after this council passed Resolution 1441.

What I want you to know today is that Iraq has programs that are intended to produce ballistic missiles that fly 1,000 kilometers. One program is pursuing a liquid fuel missile that would be able to fly more than 1,200 kilometers. And you can see from this map, as well as I can, who will be in danger of these missiles.

As part of this effort, another little piece of evidence, Iraq has built an engine test stand that is larger than anything it has ever had. Notice the dramatic difference in size between the test stand on the left, the old one, and the new one on the right. Note the large exhaust vent. This is where the flame from the engine comes out. The exhaust on the right test stand is five times longer than the one on the left. The one on the left was used for short-range missile. The one on the right is clearly intended for long-range missiles that can fly 1,200 kilometers.

This photograph was taken in April of 2002. Since then, the test stand has been finished and a roof has been put over it so it will be harder for satellites to see what's going on underneath the test stand.

Saddam Hussein's intentions have never changed. He is not developing the missiles for self-defense. These are missiles that Iraq wants in order to project power, to threaten, and to deliver chemical, biological and, if we let him, nuclear warheads.

Now, unmanned aerial vehicles, UAVs.

Iraq has been working on a variety of UAVs for more than a decade. This is just illustrative of what a UAV would look like. This effort has included attempts to modify for unmanned flight the MiG-21 and with greater success an aircraft called the L-29. However, Iraq is now concentrating not on these airplanes, but on developing and testing smaller UAVs, such as this.

UAVs are well suited for dispensing chemical and biological weapons.

There is ample evidence that Iraq has dedicated much effort to developing and testing spray devices that could be adapted for UAVs. And of the little that Saddam Hussein told us about UAVs, he has not told the truth. One of these lies is graphically and indisputably demonstrated by intelligence we collected on June 27, last year.

According to Iraq's December 7 declaration, its UAVs have a range of only 80 kilometers. But we detected one of Iraq's newest UAVs in a test flight that went 500 kilometers nonstop on autopilot in the race track pattern depicted here.

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Not only is this test well in excess of the 150 kilometers that the United Nations permits, the test was left out of Iraq's December 7th declaration. The UAV was flown around and around and around in a circle. And so, that its 80 kilometer limit really was 500 kilometers unrefueled and on autopilot, violative of all of its obligations under 1441.

The linkages over the past 10 years between Iraq's UAV program and biological and chemical warfare agents are of deep concern to us. Iraq could use these small UAVs which have a wingspan of only a few meters to deliver biological agents to its neighbors or if transported, to other countries, including the United States.

My friends, the information I have presented to you about these terrible weapons and about Iraq's continued flaunting of its obligations under Security Council Resolution 1441 links to a subject I now want to spend a little bit of time on. And that has to do with terrorism.

Our concern is not just about these elicited weapons. It's the way that these elicited weapons can be connected to terrorists and terrorist organizations that have no compunction about using such devices against innocent people around the world.

Iraq and terrorism go back decades. Baghdad trains Palestine Liberation Front members in small arms and explosives. Saddam uses the Arab Liberation Front to funnel money to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers in order to prolong the Intifada. And it's no secret that Saddam's own intelligence service was involved in dozens of attacks or attempted assassinations in the 1990s.

But what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the al-Qaida terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network headed by Abu Musab Al-Zarqawi, an associated collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his al-Qaida lieutenants.

Zarqawi, a Palestinian born in Jordan, fought in the Afghan war more than a decade ago. Returning to Afghanistan in 2000, he oversaw a terrorist training camp. One of his specialties and one of the specialties of this camp is poisons. When our coalition ousted the Taliban, the Zarqawi network helped establish another poison and explosive training center camp. And this camp is located in northeastern Iraq.

You see a picture of this camp.

The network is teaching its operatives how to produce ricin and other poisons. Let me remind you how ricin works. Less than a pinch -- imagine a pinch of salt -- less than a pinch of ricin, eating just this amount in your food, would cause shock followed by circulatory failure. Death comes within 72 hours and there is no antidote, there is no cure. It is fatal.

Those helping to run this camp are Zarqawi lieutenants operating in northern Kurdish areas outside Saddam Hussein's controlled Iraq. But Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization, Ansar al-Islam, that controls this corner of Iraq. In 2000 this agent offered al-Qaida safe haven in the region. After we swept al-Qaida from Afghanistan, some of its members accepted this safe haven. They remain there today.

Zarqawi's activities are not confined to this small corner of northeast Iraq. He traveled to Baghdad in May 2002 for medical treatment, staying in the capital of Iraq for two months while he recuperated to fight another day.

During this stay, nearly two dozen extremists converged on Baghdad and established a base of operations there. These al-Qaida affiliates, based in Baghdad, now coordinate the movement of people, money and supplies into and throughout Iraq for his network, and they've now been operating freely in the capital for more than eight months.

Iraqi officials deny accusations of ties with al-Qaida. These denials are simply not credible. Last year an al-Qaida associate bragged that the situation in Iraq was, quote, "good," that Baghdad could be transited quickly.

We know these affiliates are connected to Zarqawi because they remain even today in regular contact with his direct subordinates, including the poison cell plotters, and they are involved in moving more than money and material.

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Last year, two suspected al-Qaida operatives were arrested crossing from Iraq into Saudi Arabia. They were linked to associates of the Baghdad cell, and one of them received training in Afghanistan on how to use cyanide. From his terrorist network in Iraq, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond.

We, in the United States, all of us at the State Department, and the Agency for International Development -- we all lost a dear friend with the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Lawrence Foley in Amman, Jordan last October, a despicable act was committed that day. The assassination of an individual whose sole mission was to assist the people of Jordan. The captured assassin says his cell received money and weapons from Zarqawi for that murder.

After the attack, an associate of the assassin left Jordan to go to Iraq to obtain weapons and explosives for further operations. Iraqi officials protest that they are not aware of the whereabouts of Zarqawi or of any of his associates. Again, these protests are not credible. We know of Zarqawi's activities in Baghdad. I described them earlier.

And now let me add one other fact. We asked a friendly security service to approach Baghdad about extraditing Zarqawi and providing information about him and his close associates. This service contacted Iraqi officials twice, and we passed details that should have made it easy to find Zarqawi. The network remains in Baghdad. Zarqawi still remains at large to come and go.

As my colleagues around this table and as the citizens they represent in Europe know, Zarqawi's terrorism is not confined to the Middle East. Zarqawi and his network have plotted terrorist actions against countries, including France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia.

According to detainee Abuwatia (ph), who graduated from Zarqawi's terrorist camp in Afghanistan, tasks at least nine North African extremists from 2001 to travel to Europe to conduct poison and explosive attacks.

Since last year, members of this network have been apprehended in France, Britain, Spain and Italy. By our last count, 116 operatives connected to this global web have been arrested.

The chart you are seeing shows the network in Europe. We know about this European network, and we know about its links to Zarqawi, because the detainee who provided the information about the targets also provided the names of members of the network.

Three of those he identified by name were arrested in France last December. In the apartments of the terrorists, authorities found circuits for explosive devices and a list of ingredients to make toxins.

The detainee who helped piece this together says the plot also targeted Britain. Later evidence, again, proved him right. When the British unearthed a cell there just last month, one British police officer was murdered during the disruption of the cell.

We also know that Zarqawi's colleagues have been active in the Pankisi Gorge, Georgia and in Chechnya, Russia. The plotting to which they are linked is not mere chatter. Members of Zarqawi's network say their goal was to kill Russians with toxins.

We are not surprised that Iraq is harboring Zarqawi and his subordinates. This understanding builds on decades long experience with respect to ties between Iraq and al-Qaida.

Going back to the early and mid-1990s, when bin Laden was based in Sudan, an al-Qaida source tells us that Saddam and bin Laden reached an understanding that al-Qaida would no longer support activities against Baghdad. Early al-Qaida ties were forged by secret, high-level intelligence service contacts with al-Qaida, secret Iraqi intelligence high-level contacts with al-Qaida.

We know members of both organizations met repeatedly and have met at least eight times at very senior levels since the early 1990s. In 1996, a foreign security service tells us, that bin Laden met with a senior Iraqi intelligence official in Khartoum, and later met the director of the Iraqi intelligence service.

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Saddam became more interested as he saw al-Qaida's appalling attacks. A detained al-Qaida member tells us that Saddam was more willing to assist al-Qaida after the 1998 bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Saddam was also impressed by al-Qaida's attacks on the USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000.

Iraqis continued to visit bin Laden in his new home in Afghanistan. A senior defector, one of Saddam's former intelligence chiefs in Europe, says Saddam sent his agents to Afghanistan sometime in the mid-1990s to provide training to al-Qaida members on document forgery.

From the late 1990s until 2001, the Iraqi Embassy in Pakistan played the role of liaison to the al-Qaida organization.

Some believe, some claim these contacts do not amount to much. They say Saddam Hussein's secular tyranny and al-Qaida's religious tyranny do not mix. I am not comforted by this thought. Ambition and hatred are enough to bring Iraq and al-Qaida together, enough so al-Qaida could learn how to build more sophisticated bombs and learn how to forge documents, and enough so that al-Qaida could turn to Iraq for help in acquiring expertise on weapons of mass destruction.

And the record of Saddam Hussein's cooperation with other Islamist terrorist organizations is clear. Hamas, for example, opened an office in Baghdad in 1999, and Iraq has hosted conferences attended by Palestine Islamic Jihad. These groups are at the forefront of sponsoring suicide attacks against Israel.

Al-Qaida continues to have a deep interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction. As with the story of Zarqawi and his network, I can trace the story of a senior terrorist operative telling how Iraq provided training in these weapons to al-Qaida.

Fortunately, this operative is now detained, and he has told his story. I will relate it to you now as he, himself, described it.

This senior al-Qaida terrorist was responsible for one of al-Qaida's training camps in Afghanistan.

His information comes first-hand from his personal involvement at senior levels of al-Qaida. He says bin Laden and his top deputy in Afghanistan, deceased al-Qaida leader Muhammad Atif (ph), did not believe that al-Qaida labs in Afghanistan were capable enough to manufacture these chemical or biological agents. They needed to go somewhere else. They had to look outside of Afghanistan for help. Where did they go? Where did they look? They went to Iraq.

The support that (inaudible) describes included Iraq offering chemical or biological weapons training for two al-Qaida associates beginning in December 2000. He says that a militant known as Abu Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) had been sent to Iraq several times between 1997 and 2000 for help in acquiring poisons and gases. Abdula Al-Iraqi (ph) characterized the relationship he forged with Iraqi officials as successful.

As I said at the outset, none of this should come as a surprise to any of us. Terrorism has been a tool used by Saddam for decades. Saddam was a supporter of terrorism long before these terrorist networks had a name. And this support continues. The nexus of poisons and terror is new. The nexus of Iraq and terror is old. The combination is lethal.

With this track record, Iraqi denials of supporting terrorism take the place alongside the other Iraqi denials of weapons of mass destruction. It is all a web of lies.

When we confront a regime that harbors ambitions for regional domination, hides weapons of mass destruction and provides haven and active support for terrorists, we are not confronting the past, we are confronting the present. And unless we act, we are confronting an even more frightening future.

My friends, this has been a long and a detailed presentation. And I thank you for your patience. But there is one more subject that I would like to touch on briefly. And it should be a subject of deep and continuing concern to this council, Saddam Hussein's violations of human rights.

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Underlying all that I have said, underlying all the facts and the patterns of behavior that I have identified as Saddam Hussein's contempt for the will of this council, his contempt for the truth and most damning of all, his utter contempt for human life. Saddam Hussein's use of mustard and nerve gas against the Kurds in 1988 was one of the 20th century's most horrible atrocities; 5,000 men, women and children died.

His campaign against the Kurds from 1987 to '89 included mass summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary jailing, ethnic cleansing and the destruction of some 2,000 villages. He has also conducted ethnic cleansing against the Shi'a Iraqis and the Marsh Arabs whose culture has flourished for more than a millennium. Saddam Hussein's police state ruthlessly eliminates anyone who dares to dissent. Iraq has more forced disappearance cases than any other country, tens of thousands of people reported missing in the past decade.

Nothing points more clearly to Saddam Hussein's dangerous intentions and the threat he poses to all of us than his calculated cruelty to his own citizens and to his neighbors. Clearly, Saddam Hussein and his regime will stop at nothing until something stops him.

For more than 20 years, by word and by deed Saddam Hussein has pursued his ambition to dominate Iraq and the broader Middle East using the only means he knows, intimidation, coercion and annihilation of all those who might stand in his way. For Saddam Hussein, possession of the world's most deadly weapons is the ultimate trump card, the one he must hold to fulfill his ambition.

We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction; he's determined to make more. Given Saddam Hussein's history of aggression, given what we know of his grandiose plans, given what we know of his terrorist associations and given his determination to exact revenge on those who oppose him, should we take the risk that he will not some day use these weapons at a time and the place and in the manner of his choosing at a time when the world is in a much weaker position to respond?

The United States will not and cannot run that risk to the American people. Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post-September 11th world.

My colleagues, over three months ago this council recognized that Iraq continued to pose a threat to international peace and security, and that Iraq had been and remained in material breach of its disarmament obligations. Today Iraq still poses a threat and Iraq still remains in material breach.

Indeed, by its failure to seize on its one last opportunity to come clean and disarm, Iraq has put itself in deeper material breach and closer to the day when it will face serious consequences for its continued defiance of this council.

My colleagues, we have an obligation to our citizens, we have an obligation to this body to see that our resolutions are complied with. We wrote 1441 not in order to go to war, we wrote 1441 to try to preserve the peace. We wrote 1441 to give Iraq one last chance. Iraq is not so far taking that one last chance.

We must not shrink from whatever is ahead of us. We must not fail in our duty and our responsibility to the citizens of the countries that are represented by this body.

Thank you, Mr. President.

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**THREATS AND RESPONSES; Powell's Address, Presenting 'Deeply Troubling' Evidence on Iraq**

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## **Body**

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Following is a transcript of an address given yesterday by Secretary of State Colin L. Powell to the United Nations Security Council, as recorded by Federal News Service Inc.

MR. POWELL -- Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, distinguished colleagues, I would like to begin by expressing my thanks for the special effort that each of you made to be here today. This is an important day for us all as we review the situation with respect to Iraq and its disarmament obligations under U.N. Security Council Resolution 1441.

Last Nov. 8, this Council passed Resolution 1441 by a unanimous vote. The purpose of that resolution was to disarm Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. Iraq had already been found guilty of material breach of its obligations stretching back over 16 previous resolutions and 12 years.

Resolution 1441 was not dealing with an innocent party, but a regime this Council has repeatedly convicted over the years. Resolution 1441 gave Iraq one last chance, one last chance, to come into compliance or to face serious consequences.

No Council member present in voting on that day had any illusions about the nature and intent of the resolution or what serious consequences meant if Iraq did not comply. And to assist in its disarmament, we called on Iraq to cooperate with returning inspectors from Unmovic and I.A.E.A. the two United Nations weapons inspection groups. We laid down tough standards for Iraq to meet to allow the inspectors to do their job. This Council placed the burden on Iraq to comply and disarm and not on the inspectors to find that which Iraq has gone out of its way to conceal for so long. Inspectors are inspectors; they are not detectives.

I asked for this session today for two purposes: first, to support the core assessments made by Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei. As Dr. Blix reported to this Council on Jan. 27, "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance, not even today, of the disarmament which was demanded of it." And as Dr. ElBaradei reported, Iraq's declaration of Dec. 7 "did not provide any new information relevant to certain questions that have been outstanding since 1998."

My second purpose today is to provide you with additional information, to share with you what the United States knows about Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as well as Iraq's involvement in terrorism, which is also the subject of Resolution 1441 and other, earlier, resolutions.

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I might add at this point that we are providing all relevant information we can to the inspection teams for them to do their work. The material I will present to you comes from a variety of sources. Some are U.S. sources, and some are those of other countries. Some of the sources are technical, such as intercepted telephone conversations and photos taken by satellites. Other sources are people who have risked their lives to let the world know what Saddam Hussein is really up to.

I cannot tell you everything that we know, but what I can share with you, when combined with what all of us have learned over the years, is deeply troubling. What you will see is an accumulation of facts and disturbing patterns of behavior. The facts and Iraq's behavior demonstrate that Saddam Hussein and his regime have made no effort, no effort, to disarm as required by the international community. Indeed, the facts and Iraq's behavior show that Saddam Hussein and his regime are concealing their efforts to produce more weapons of mass destruction.

Let me begin by playing a tape for you. What you're about to hear is a conversation that my government monitored. It takes place on Nov. 26 of last year, on the day before United Nations teams resumed inspections in Iraq. The conversation involves two senior officers: a colonel and a brigadier general from Iraq's elite military unit, the Republican Guard.

An audiotape in Arabic is played for the Security Council. Following is a transcript, as translated by the State Department.

COLONEL -- Peace. We just have a small question.

GENERAL -- Yeah.

COLONEL -- About this committee that is coming --

GENERAL -- Yeah, yeah.

COLONEL -- -- with Mohamed ElBaradei.

GENERAL -- Yeah, yeah.

COLONEL -- Yeah.

GENERAL -- Yeah?

COLONEL -- We have this modified vehicle.

GENERAL -- Yeah.

COLONEL -- What do we say if one of them sees it?

GENERAL -- You didn't get a modified -- you don't have a modified --

COLONEL -- By God, I have one.

GENERAL -- Which? From the workshop?

COLONEL -- From the Al Kindi Company.

GENERAL -- What?

COLONEL -- From Al Kindi.

GENERAL -- Yeah, yeah. I'll come to you in the morning. I have some comments. I'm worried you all have something left.

COLONEL -- We evacuated everything. We don't have anything left.

GENERAL -- I will come to you tomorrow.

COLONEL -- O.K.

Mr. Powell resumes his presentation.

MR. POWELL -- Let me pause and review some of the key elements of this conversation that you've just heard between these two officers.



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First, they acknowledge that our colleague, Mohamed ElBaradei, is coming. And they know what he's coming for. And they know he's coming the next day. He's coming to look for things that are prohibited. He is expecting these gentlemen to cooperate with him and not hide things.

But they're worried: We have this modified vehicle. What do we say if one of them sees it? What is their concern? Their concern is that it's something they should not have, something that should not be seen.

The general is incredulous: You didn't get a modified -- you don't have one of those, do you?

I have one.

Which? From where?

From the workshop. From the Al Kindi Company.

What?

From Al Kindi.

I'll come to see you in the morning. I'm worried you all have something left.

We evacuated everything. We don't have anything left.

Note what he says: We evacuated everything. We didn't destroy it. We didn't line it up for inspection. We didn't turn it in to the inspectors. We evacuated it to make sure it was not around when the inspectors showed up. I will come to you tomorrow.

The Al Kindi Company -- this is a company that is well known to have been involved in prohibited weapons systems activity.

Let me play another tape for you. As you will recall, the inspectors found 12 empty chemical warheads on Jan. 16. On Jan. 20, four days later, Iraq promised the inspectors it would search for more. You will now hear an officer from Republican Guard headquarters issuing an instruction to an officer in the field. Their conversation took place just last week, on Jan. 30.

An audiotape in Arabic is played for the Security Council. Following is a transcript, as translated by the State Department.

HEADQUARTERS -- Sir.

FIELD -- Yes.

H.Q. -- There is a directive of the Guard Chief of Staff at the conference today.

FIELD -- Yes.

H.Q. -- They are inspecting the ammunition you have --

FIELD -- Yes.

H.Q. -- -- for the possibility there are forbidden ammo.

FIELD -- Yes?

H.Q. -- For the possibility there is, by chance, forbidden ammo.

FIELD -- Yes.

H.Q. -- And we sent you a message to inspect the scrap areas and the abandoned areas.

FIELD -- Yes.

H.Q. -- After you have carried out what is contained in the message, destroy the message.

FIELD -- Yes.

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H.Q. -- Because I don't want anyone to see this message.

FIELD -- O.K., O.K.

Mr. Powell resumes his presentation.

MR. POWELL -- Let me pause again and review the elements of this message.

They are inspecting the ammunition you have.

Yes, yes.

For the possibility there are forbidden ammo.

For the possibility there is by chance forbidden ammo?

Yes. And we sent you a message yesterday to clean out all of the areas, the scrap areas, the abandoned areas. Make sure there is nothing there.

Remember the first message: evacuate it. This is all part of a system of hiding things and moving things out of the way and making sure they have left nothing behind.

You go a little further into this message and you see the specific instructions from headquarters: After you have carried out what is contained in this message, destroy the message because I don't want anyone to see this message. O.K., O.K.

Why? Why? This message would have verified to the inspectors that they have been trying to turn over things; they were looking for things. But they don't want that message seen because they were trying to clean up the area, to leave no evidence behind of the presence of weapons of mass destruction. And they can claim that nothing was there and the inspectors can look all they want and they will find nothing.

This effort to hide things from the inspectors is not one or two isolated events.

Quite the contrary. This is part and parcel of a policy of evasion and deception that goes back 12 years, a policy set at the highest levels of the Iraqi regime.

We know that Saddam Hussein has what is called, "a higher committee for monitoring the inspection teams."

Think about that. Iraq has a high-level committee to monitor the inspectors who were sent in to monitor Iraq's disarmament. Not to cooperate with them; not to assist them, but to spy on them and to keep them from doing their jobs.

The committee reports directly to Saddam Hussein. It is headed by Iraq's vice president, Taha Yassin Ramadan. Its members include Saddam Hussein's son, Qusay. This committee also includes Lt.Gen. Amir al-Saadi, an adviser to Saddam. In case that name isn't immediately familiar to you, General Saadi has been the Iraqi regime's primary point of contact for Dr. Blix and Dr. ElBaradei.

It was General Saadi who last fall publicly pledged that Iraq was prepared to cooperate unconditionally with inspectors. Quite the contrary, Saadi's job is not to cooperate, it is to deceive; not to disarm, but to undermine the inspectors; not to support them, but to frustrate them and to make sure they learn nothing.

We have learned a lot about the work of this special committee. We learned that just prior to the return of inspectors last November, the regime had decided to resume what we heard called, "the old game of cat and mouse."

For example, let me focus on the now-famous declaration that Iraq submitted to this Council on Dec. 7. Iraq never had any intention of complying with this Council's mandate. Instead, Iraq planned to use the declaration to

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overwhelm us and overwhelm the inspectors with useless information about Iraq's permitted weapons so that we would not have time to pursue Iraq's prohibited weapons.

Iraq's goal was to give us in this room, to give those of us on this Council, the false impression that the inspection process was working. You saw the result. Dr. Blix pronounced the 12,200-page declaration rich in volume but poor in information and practically devoid of new evidence. Could any member of this Council honestly rise in defense of this false declaration?

Everything we have seen and heard indicates that, instead of cooperating actively with the inspectors to insure the success of their mission, Saddam Hussein and his regime are busy doing all they possibly can to ensure that inspectors succeed in finding absolutely nothing.

My colleagues, every statement I make today is backed up by sources, solid sources. These are not assertions. What we're giving you are facts and conclusions based on solid intelligence. I will cite some examples and these are from human sources.

Orders were issued to Iraq's security organizations as well as to Saddam Hussein's own office to hide all correspondence with the Organization of Military Industrialization. This is the organization that oversees Iraq's weapons of mass destruction activities. Make sure there are no documents left which would connect you to the O.M.I.

We know that Saddam's son Qusay ordered the removal of all prohibited weapons from Saddam's numerous palace complexes. We know that Iraqi government officials, members of the ruling Baath Party, and scientists have hidden prohibited items in their homes. Other key files from military and scientific establishments have been placed in cars that are being driven around the countryside by Iraqi intelligence agents to avoid detection.

Thanks to intelligence they were provided, the inspectors recently found dramatic confirmation of these reports. When they searched the home of an Iraqi nuclear scientist, they uncovered roughly 2,000 pages of documents. You see them here being brought out of the home and placed in U.N. hands. Some of the material is classified and related to Iraq's nuclear program.

Tell me, answer me, are the inspectors to search the house of every government official, every Baath Party member and every scientist in the country to find the truth, to get the information they need to satisfy the demands of our Council?

Our sources tell us that in some cases the hard drives of computers at Iraqi weapons facilities were replaced. Who took the hard drives? Where did they go? What's being hidden? Why?

There's only one answer to the why: to deceive, to hide, to keep from the inspectors. Numerous human sources tell us that the Iraqis are moving not just documents and hard drives but weapons of mass destruction to keep them from being found by inspectors.

While we were here in this Council chamber debating Resolution 1441 last fall, we know -- we know from sources that a missile brigade outside Baghdad was dispersing rocket launchers and warheads containing biological warfare agent to various locations, distributing them to various locations in western Iraq. Most of the launches and warheads had been hidden in large groves of palm trees and were to be moved every one to four weeks to escape detection.

We also have satellite photos that indicate that banned materials have recently been moved from a number of Iraqi weapons of mass destruction facilities.

Let me say a word about satellite images before I show a couple. The photos that I am about to show you are sometimes hard for the average person to interpret, hard for me. The painstaking work of photo analysis takes experts with years and years of experience poring for hours and hours over light tables. But as I show you these images, I will try to capture and explain what they mean, what they indicate to our imagery specialists.

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Let's look at one. Graphic, above. This one is about a weapons munition facility, a facility that holds ammunition at a place called Taji. This is one of about 65 such facilities in Iraq. We know that this one has housed chemical munitions. In fact, this is where the Iraqis recently came up with the additional four chemical weapons shells.

Here you see 15 munitions bunkers in yellow and red outlines. The four that are in red squares represent active chemical munitions bunkers. How do I know that? How can I say that? Let me give you a closer look. Look at the image on the left. On the left is a close-up of one of the four chemical bunkers. The two arrows indicate the presence of sure signs that the bunkers are storing chemical munitions. The arrow at the top that says security points to a facility that is a signature item for this kind of bunker. Inside that facility are special guards and special equipment to monitor any leakage that might come out of the bunker. The truck you also see is a signature item. It's a decontamination vehicle in case something goes wrong. This is characteristic of those four bunkers. The special security facility and the decontamination vehicle will be in the area if not at any one of them or one or the other it is moving around those four. And it moves as it is needed to move as people are working in the different bunkers.

Now look at the picture on the right. You are now looking at two of those sanitized bunkers. The signature vehicles are gone. The tents are gone. It's been cleaned up. And it was done on the 22nd of December as the U.N. inspection team is arriving. And you can see the inspection vehicles arriving in the lower portion of the picture on the right. The bunkers are clean when the inspectors get there. They found nothing.

This sequence of events raises the worrisome suspicion that Iraq had been tipped off to the forthcoming inspections at Taji. As it did throughout the 1990's, we know that Iraq today is actively using its considerable intelligence capabilities to hid its illicit activities. From our sources, we know that inspectors are under constant surveillance by an army of Iraqi intelligence operatives. Iraq is relentlessly attempting to tap all of their communications, both voice and electronics. I would call my colleagues attention to the fine paper that the United Kingdom distributed yesterday, which describes in exquisite detail Iraqi deception activities.

In this next example you will see the type of concealment activity Iraq has undertaken in response to the resumption of inspections. Indeed, in November 2002, just when the inspections were about to resume, this type of activity spiked. Here are three examples:

At this ballistic missile site on Nov. 10, we saw a cargo truck preparing to move ballistic missile components.

At this biological weapons related facility on Nov. 25, just two days before inspections resumed, this truck caravan appeared, something we almost never see at this facility. And we monitor it carefully and regularly.

At this ballistic missile facility, again, two days before inspections began, five large cargo trucks appeared along with a truck-mounted crane to move missiles.

We saw this kind of housecleaning at close to 30 sites. Days after this activity, the vehicles and the equipment that I've just highlighted disappear and the site returns to patterns of normalcy. We don't know precisely what Iraq was moving, but the inspectors already knew about these sites. So Iraq knew that they would be coming.

We must ask ourselves, why would Iraq suddenly move equipment of this nature before inspections if they were anxious to demonstrate what they had or did not have? Remember the first intercept in which two Iraqis talked about the need to hide a modified vehicle from the inspectors. Where did Iraq take all of this equipment? Why wasn't it presented to the inspectors?

Iraq also has refused to permit any U-2 reconnaissance flights that would give the inspectors a better sense of what's being moved before, during and after inspections. This refusal to allow this kind of reconnaissance is in direct specific violation of operative Paragraph 7 of our Resolution 1441.

Saddam Hussein and his regime are not just trying to conceal weapons, they're also trying to hide people. You know the basic facts. Iraq has not complied with its obligation to allow immediate unimpeded, unrestricted and private access to all officials and other persons as required by Resolution 1441.

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The regime only allows interviews with inspectors in the presence of an Iraqi official, a minder. The official Iraqi organization charged with facilitating inspections announced -- announced publicly and announced ominously that, "Nobody is ready to leave Iraq to be interviewed."

Iraqi Vice President Ramadan accused the inspectors of conducting espionage, a veiled threat that anyone cooperating with U.N. inspectors was committing treason.

Iraq did not meet its obligations under 1441 to provide a comprehensive list of scientists associated with his weapons of mass destruction programs. Iraq's list was out of date. It contained only about 500 names, despite the fact that Unscorm the former United Nations inspection group had earlier put together a list of about 3,500 names.

Let me just tell you what a number of human sources have told us. Saddam Hussein has directly participated in the effort to prevent interviews. In early December, Saddam Hussein had all Iraqi scientists warned of the serious consequences that they and their families would face if they revealed any sensitive information to the inspectors. They were forced to sign documents acknowledging that divulging information is punishable by death.

Saddam Hussein also said that scientists should be told not to agree to leave Iraq. Anyone who agreed to be interviewed outside Iraq would be treated as a spy. This violated 1441.

In mid-November just before the inspectors returned, Iraqi experts were ordered to report to the headquarters of the special security organization to receive counterintelligence training. The training focused on evasion methods, interrogation resistance techniques, and how to mislead inspectors.

Ladies and gentlemen, these are not assertions. These are facts corroborated by many sources, some of them sources of the intelligence services of other countries. For example, in mid-December, weapons experts at one facility were replaced by Iraqi intelligence agents who were to deceive inspectors about the work that was being done there. On orders from Saddam Hussein, Iraqi officials issued a false death certificate for one scientist, and he was sent into hiding.

In the middle of January, experts at one facility that was related to weapons of mass destruction, those experts had been ordered to stay home from work to avoid the inspectors. Workers from other Iraqi military facilities not engaged in illicit weapons projects were to replace the workers who had been sent home.

A dozen experts have been placed under house arrest, not in their own houses but as a group at one of Saddam Hussein's guest houses. It goes on and on and on.

As the examples I have just presented show, the information and intelligence we have gathered point to an active and systematic effort on the part of the Iraqi regime to keep key materials and people from the inspectors in direct violation of Resolution 1441. The pattern is not just one of reluctant cooperation, nor is it merely a lack of cooperation. What we see is a deliberate campaign to prevent any meaningful inspection work.

My colleagues, operative Paragraph 4 of U.N. Resolution 1441, which we lingered over so long last fall, clearly states that false statements and omissions in the declaration and a failure by Iraq at any time to comply with and cooperate fully in the implementation of this resolution shall constitute, the facts speak for themselves, shall constitute a further material breach of its obligation.

We wrote it this way to give Iraq an early test -- to give Iraq an early test. Would they give an honest declaration? And would they early on indicate a willingness to cooperate with the inspectors? It was designed to be an early test. They failed that test. By this standard, the standard of this operative paragraph, I believe that Iraq is now in further material breach of its obligations.

I believe this conclusion is irrefutable and undeniable. Iraq has now placed itself in danger of the serious consequences called for in U.N. Resolution 1441. And this body places itself in danger of irrelevance if it allows Iraq to continue to defy its will without responding effectively and immediately.

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The issue before us is not how much time we are willing to give the inspectors to be frustrated by Iraqi obstruction, but how much longer are we willing to put up with Iraq's noncompliance before we as a Council, we as the United Nations, say enough, enough?

The gravity of this moment is matched by the gravity of the threat that Iraq's weapons of mass destruction pose to the world. Let me now turn to those deadly weapons programs and describe why they are real and present dangers to the region and to the world.

First, biological weapons. We have talked frequently here about biological weapons. By way of introduction and history, I think there are just three quick points I need to make. First, you will recall that it took Unscm four long and frustrating years to pry -- to pry an admission out of Iraq that it had biological weapons. Second, when Iraq finally admitted having these weapons in 1995, the quantities were vast.

Less than a teaspoon of dry anthrax, a little bit, about this amount. This is just about the amount of a teaspoon, less than a teaspoon full of dry anthrax in an envelope shut down the United States Senate in the fall of 2001. This forced several hundred people to undergo emergency medical treatment and killed two postal workers, just from an amount just about this quantity that was inside of an envelope. Iraq declared 8,500 liters of anthrax. But Unscm estimates that Saddam Hussein could have produced 25,000 liters. If concentrated into this dry form, this amount would be enough to fill tens upon tens upon tens of thousands of teaspoons. And Saddam Hussein has not verifiably accounted for even one teaspoonful of this deadly material.

And that is my third point, and it is key. The Iraqis have never accounted for all of the biological weapons they admitted they had and we know they had. They have never accounted for all the organic material used to make them. And they have not accounted for many of the weapons filled with these agents, such as there are 400 bombs. This is evidence, not conjecture. This is true. This is all well-documented.

Dr. Blix told this Council that Iraq has provided little evidence to verify anthrax production and no convincing evidence of its destruction. It should come as no shock then that since Saddam Hussein forced out the last inspectors in 1998, we have amassed much intelligence indicating that Iraq is continuing to make these weapons.

One of the most worrisome things that emerges from the thick intelligence file we have on Iraq's biological weapons is the existence of mobile production facilities used to make biological agents. Let me take you inside that intelligence file and share with you what we know from eyewitness accounts.

We have firsthand descriptions of biological weapons factories on wheels and on rails. The trucks and train cars are easily moved and are designed to evade detection by inspectors. In a matter of months, they can produce a quantity of biological poison equal to the entire amount that Iraq claimed to have produced in the years prior to the gulf war. Although Iraq's mobile production program began in the mid-1990's, U.N. inspectors at the time only had vague hints of such programs.

Confirmation came later, in the year 2000. The source was an eyewitness, an Iraqi chemical engineer who supervised one of these facilities. He actually was present during biological agent production runs. He was also at the site when an accident occurred in 1998. Twelve technicians died from exposure to biological agents. He reported that when Unscm was in country and inspecting, the biological weapons agent production always began on Thursdays at midnight, because Iraq thought Unscm would not inspect on the Muslim holy day, Thursday night through Friday. He added that this was important, because the units could not be broken down in the middle of a production run, which had to be completed by Friday evening, before the inspectors might arrive again.

This defector is currently hiding in another country, with the certain knowledge that Saddam Hussein will kill him if he finds him.

His eyewitness account of these mobile production facilities has been corroborated by other sources. A second source, an Iraqi civil engineer in a position to know the details of the program, confirmed the existence of transportable facilities moving on trailers. A third source, also in a position to know, reported in summer 2002 that Iraq had manufactured mobile production systems mounted on road trailer units and on rail cars. Finally, a fourth

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source, an Iraqi major, who defected, confirmed that Iraq has mobile biological research laboratories, in addition to the production facilities I mentioned earlier.

We have diagrammed what our sources reported about these mobile facilities. Graphic, Page 14. Here you see both truck- and rail-car-mounted mobile factories. The description our sources gave us of the technical features required by such facilities are highly detailed and extremely accurate. As these drawings based on their descriptions show, we know what the fermenters look like. We know what the tanks, pumps, compressors and other parts look like. We know how they fit together, we know how they work, and we know a great deal about the platforms on which they are mounted.

As shown in this diagram, these factories can be concealed easily, either by moving ordinary-looking trucks and rail cars along Iraq's thousands of miles of highway or track, or by parking them in a garage or a warehouse or somewhere in Iraq's extensive system of underground tunnels and bunkers.

We know that Iraq has at least seven of these mobile biological agent factories. The truck-mounted ones have at least two or three trucks each. That means that the mobile production facilities are very few, perhaps 18 trucks that we know of. There may be more, but perhaps 18 that we know of. Just imagine trying to find 18 trucks among the thousands and thousands of trucks that travel the roads of Iraq every single day. It took the inspectors four years to find out that Iraq was making biological agents. How long do you think it will take the inspectors to find even one of these 18 trucks without Iraq coming forward, as they are supposed to, with the information about these kinds of capabilities?

Ladies and gentlemen, these are sophisticated facilities. For example, they can produce anthrax and botulinum toxin. In fact, they can produce enough dry biological agent in a single month to kill thousands upon thousands of people. And dry agent of this type is the most lethal form for human beings. By 1998, U.N. experts agreed that the Iraqis had perfected drying techniques for their biological programs. Now Iraq has incorporated this drying expertise into these mobile production facilities.

We know from Iraq's past admissions that it has successfully weaponized not only anthrax, but also other biological agents, including botulinum toxin, aflatoxin and ricin. But Iraq's research efforts did not stop there. Saddam Hussein has investigated dozens of biological agents, causing diseases such as gas gangrene, plague, typhus, tetanus, cholera, camel pox and hemorrhagic fever. And he also has the wherewithal to develop smallpox.

The Iraqi regime has also developed ways to disperse lethal biological agents widely, indiscriminately, into the water supply, into the air. For example, Iraq had a program to modify aerial fuel tanks for Mirage jets. This video of an Iraqi test flight, obtained by Unscm some years ago, shows an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet aircraft. Note the spray coming from beneath the Mirage. That is 2,000 liters of simulated anthrax that a jet is spraying.

In 1995, an Iraqi military officer, Mujaheed Salai Abdul Latif, told inspectors that Iraq intended the spray tanks to be mounted onto a MIG-21 that had been converted into an unmanned aerial vehicle, or a U.A.V. U.A.V.'s outfitted with spray tanks constitute an ideal method for launching a terrorist attack using biological weapons. Iraq admitted to producing four spray tanks, but to this day, it has provided no credible evidence that they were destroyed, evidence that was required by the international community.

There can be no doubt that Saddam Hussein has biological weapons and the capability to rapidly produce more, many more, and he has the ability to dispense these lethal poisons and diseases in ways that can cause massive death and destruction.

If biological weapons seem too terrible to contemplate, chemical weapons are equally chilling. Unmovic already laid out much of this, and it is documented for all of us to read in Unscm's 1999 report on the subject.

Let me set the stage with three key points that all of us need to keep in mind. First, Saddam Hussein has used these horrific weapons on another country and on his own people. In fact, in the history of chemical warfare, no country has had more battlefield experience with chemical weapons since World War I than Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

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Second, as with biological weapons, Saddam Hussein has never accounted for vast amounts of chemical weaponry: 550 artillery shells with mustard, 30,000 empty munitions, and enough precursors to increase his stockpile to as much as 500 tons of chemical agents. If we consider just one category of missing weaponry, 6,500 bombs from the Iran-Iraq war, Unmovic says the amount of chemical agent in them would be in the order of a thousand tons. These quantities of chemical weapons are now unaccounted for.

Dr. Blix has quipped that, "Mustard gas is not marmalade; you are supposed to know what you did with it." We believe Saddam Hussein knows what he did with it and he has not come clean with the international community. We have evidence these weapons existed. What we don't have is evidence from Iraq that they have been destroyed or where they are. That is what we are still waiting for.

Third point: Iraq's record on chemical weapons is replete with lies. It took years for Iraq to finally admit that it had produced four tons of the deadly nerve agent VX. A single drop of VX on the skin will kill in minutes. Four tons. The admission only came out after inspectors collected documentation as a result of the defection of Hussein Kamel, Saddam Hussein's late son-in-law. Unscm also gained forensic evidence that Iraq had produced VX and put it into weapons for delivery. Yet, to this day, Iraq denies it had ever weaponized VX. And on Jan. 27, Unmovic told this Council that it has information that conflicts with the Iraqi account of its VX program.

We know that Iraq has embedded key portions of its illicit chemical weapons infrastructure within its legitimate civilian industry. To all outward appearances, even to experts, the infrastructure looks like an ordinary civilian operation. Illicit and legitimate production can go on simultaneously; or on a dime, this dual-use infrastructure can turn from clandestine to commercial and then back again. These inspections would be unlikely: any inspections of such facilities would be unlikely to turn up anything prohibited, especially if there is any warning that the inspections are coming. Call it ingenious or evil genius, but the Iraqis deliberately designed their chemical weapons programs to be inspected. It is infrastructure with a built-in ally.

Under the guise of dual-use infrastructure, Iraq has undertaken an effort to reconstitute facilities that were closely associated with its past program to develop and produce chemical weapons. For example, Iraq has rebuilt key portions of the Tariq state establishment. Tariq includes facilities designed specifically for Iraq's chemical weapons program and employs key figures from past programs.

That's the production end of Saddam's chemical weapons business. What about the delivery end? I'm going to show you a small part of a chemical complex called Al Musayyib, a site that Iraq has used for at least three years to transship chemical weapons from production facilities out to the field.

In May 2002, our satellites photographed the unusual activity in this picture. Graphic, above Here we see cargo vehicles are again at this transshipment point, and we can see that they are accompanied by a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical weapons activity. What makes this picture significant is that we have a human source who has corroborated that movement of chemical weapons occurred at this site at that time. So it's not just the photo, and it's not an individual seeing the photo. It's the photo and the knowledge of an individual being brought together to make the case.

This photograph of the site, taken two months later in July, shows not only the previous site, which is the figure in the middle at the top with the bulldozer sign near it; it shows that this previous site, as well as all of the other sites around the site, have been fully bulldozed and graded. The topsoil has been removed. The Iraqis literally removed the crust of the earth from large portions of this site in order to conceal chemical weapons evidence that would be there from years of chemical weapons activity.

To support its deadly biological and chemical weapons programs, Iraq procures needed items from around the world using an extensive clandestine network. What we know comes largely from intercepted communications and human sources who are in a position to know the facts.

Iraq's procurement efforts include equipment that can filter and separate microorganisms and toxins involved in biological weapons; equipment that can be used to concentrate the agent; growth media that can be used to continue producing anthrax and botulinum toxin; sterilization equipment for laboratories; glass-lined reactors and



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specialty pumps that can handle corrosive chemical weapons agents and precursors; large amounts of thionyl chloride, a precursor for nerve and blister agents; and other chemicals, such as sodium sulfide, an important mustard agent precursor.

Now of course, Iraq will argue that these items can also be used for legitimate purposes. But if that is true, why did we have to learn about them by intercepting communications and risking the lives of human agents? With Iraq's well-documented history on biological and chemical weapons, why should any of us give Iraq the benefit of the doubt? I don't, and I don't think you will either after you hear this next intercept.

Just a few weeks ago, we intercepted communications between two commanders in Iraq's Second Republican Guard Corps. One commander is going to be giving an instruction to the other. You will hear, as this unfolds, that what he wants to communicate to the other guy -- wants to make sure the other guy hears clearly, to the point of repeating it, so that it gets written down and completely understood. Listen.

An audiotope in Arabic is played for the Security Council. Following is a transcript, as translated by the State Department.

COLONEL -- Captain Ibrahim?

CAPTAIN -- I am with you, sir.

COLONEL -- Remove.

CAPTAIN -- Remove.

COLONEL -- The expression.

CAPTAIN -- The expression.

COLONEL -- Nerve agents.

CAPTAIN -- Nerve agents.

COLONEL -- Wherever it comes up.

CAPTAIN -- Wherever it comes up.

COLONEL -- In the wireless instructions.

CAPTAIN -- In the instructions.

COLONEL -- Wireless.

CAPTAIN -- Wireless.

Mr. Powell resumes his presentation.

MR. POWELL -- Let's review a few selected items of this conversation. Two officers talking to each other on the radio want to make sure that nothing is misunderstood.

Remove.

Remove.

The expression.

The expression. I got it.

Nerve agents.

Nerve agents.

Wherever it comes up.

Got it. Wherever it comes up.

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In the wireless instructions.

In the instructions.

Correction. No, in the wireless instructions.

Wireless. I got it.

Why does he repeat it that way? Why is he so forceful, making sure this is understood, and why did he focus on wireless instructions? Because the senior officer is concerned that somebody might be listening. Well, somebody was.

Nerve agents.

Stop talking about it. They are listening to us. Don't give any evidence that we have these horrible agents.

But we know that they do, and this kind of conversation confirms it.

Our conservative estimate is that Iraq today has a stockpile of between 100 and 500 tons of chemical-weapons agent. That is enough agent to fill 16,000 battlefield rockets. Even the low end of 100 tons of agent would enable Saddam Hussein to cause mass casualties across more than 100 square miles of territory, an area nearly five times the size of Manhattan.

Let me remind you that of the 122-millimeter chemical warheads that the U.N. inspectors found recently, this discovery could very well be, as has been noted, the tip of a submerged iceberg. The question before us all, my friends, is, when will we see the rest of the submerged iceberg?

Saddam Hussein has chemical weapons. Saddam Hussein has used such weapons. And Saddam Hussein has no compunction about using them again -- against his neighbors and against his own people. And we have sources who tell us that he recently has authorized his field commanders to use them. He wouldn't be passing out the orders if he didn't have the weapons or the intent to use them.

We also have sources who tell us that since the 1980's, Saddam's regime has been experimenting on human beings to perfect its biological or chemical weapons. A source said that 1,600 death-row prisoners were transferred in 1995 to a special unit for such experiments. An eye witness saw prisoners tied down to beds, experiments conducted on them, blood oozing around the victims' mouths, and autopsies performed to confirm the effects of the prisoners -- on the prisoners. Saddam Hussein's humanity -- inhumanity has no limits.

Let me turn now to nuclear weapons. We have no indication that Saddam Hussein has ever abandoned his nuclear-weapons program. On the contrary, we have more than a decade of proof that he remains determined to acquire nuclear weapons.

To fully appreciate the challenge that we face today, remember that in 1991, the inspectors searched Iraq's primary nuclear weapons facilities for the first time and they found nothing to conclude that Iraq had a nuclear-weapons program. But based on defector information, in May of 1991, Saddam Hussein's lie was exposed.

In truth, Saddam Hussein had a massive clandestine nuclear-weapons program that covered several different techniques to enrich uranium, including electromagnetic isotope separation, gas centrifuge and gas diffusion. We estimate that this illicit program cost the Iraqis several billion dollars. Nonetheless, Iraq continued to tell the I.A.E.A. that it had no nuclear weapons program. If Saddam had not been stopped, Iraq could have produced a nuclear bomb by 1993, years earlier than most worst-case assessments that have been made before the war.

In 1995, as a result of another defector, we find out that after his invasion of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein had initiated a crash program to build a crude nuclear weapon in violation of Iraq's U.N. obligations. Saddam Hussein already possesses two out of the three key components needed to build a nuclear bomb. He has a cadre of nuclear scientists with the expertise, and he has a bomb design. Since 1998, his efforts to reconstitute his nuclear program

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have been focused on acquiring the third and last component, sufficient fissile material to produce a nuclear explosion. To make the fissile material, he needs to develop an ability to enrich uranium.

Saddam Hussein is determined to get his hands on a nuclear bomb. He is so determined that he has made repeated covert attempts to acquire high-specification aluminum tubes from 11 different countries, even after inspections resumed. Graphic, above.

These tubes are controlled by the Nuclear Suppliers Group precisely because they can be used as centrifuges for enriching uranium. By now, just about everyone has heard of these tubes, and we all know that there are differences of opinion; there is controversy about what these tubes are for. Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium. Other experts and the Iraqis themselves argue that they are really to produce the rocket bodies for a conventional weapon, a multiple rocket launcher.

Let me tell you what is not controversial about these tubes. First, all the experts who have analyzed the tubes in our possession agree that they can be adapted for centrifuge use. Second, Iraq had no business buying them for any purpose; they are banned for Iraq.

I am no expert on centrifuge tubes, but just as an old Army trooper, I can tell you a couple of things. First, it strikes me as quite odd that these tubes are manufactured to a tolerance that far exceeds U.S. requirements for comparable rockets. Maybe the Iraqis just manufacture their conventional weapons to a higher standard than we do, but I don't think so.

Second, we actually have examined tubes from several different batches that were seized clandestinely before they reached Baghdad. What we notice in these different batches is a progression to higher and higher levels of specification, including in the latest batch, an anodized coating on extremely smooth outer and inner surfaces. Why would they continue refining the specifications, go to all that trouble for something that, if it was a rocket, would soon be blown into shrapnel when it went off?

The high-tolerance aluminum tubes are only part of the story. We also have intelligence from multiple sources that Iraq is attempting to acquire magnets and high-speed balancing machines. Both items can be used in a gas centrifuge program to enrich uranium.

In 1999 and 2000, Iraqi officials negotiated with firms in Romania, India, Russia and Slovenia for the purchase of a magnet production plant. Iraq wanted the plant to produce magnets weighing 20 to 30 grams. That's the same weight as the magnets used in Iraq's gas centrifuge program before the gulf war. This incident, linked with the tubes, is another indicator of Iraq's attempt to reconstitute its nuclear weapons program.

Intercepted communications from mid-2000 through last summer show that Iraq front companies sought to buy machines that can be used to balance gas centrifuge rotors. One of these companies also had been involved in a failed effort, in 2001, to smuggle aluminum tubes into Iraq.

People will continue to debate this issue, but there is no doubt in my mind, these illicit procurement efforts show that Saddam Hussein is very much focused on putting in place the key missing piece from his nuclear weapons program, the ability to produce fissile material.

He also has been busy trying to maintain the other key parts of his nuclear program, particularly his cadre of key nuclear scientists. It is noteworthy that over the last 18 months, Saddam Hussein has paid increasing personal attention to Iraq's top nuclear scientists, a group that the government-controlled press calls openly, his "nuclear mujahedeen." He regularly exhorts them and praises their progress.

Progress towards what end? Long ago, the Security Council, this Council, required Iraq to halt all nuclear activities of any kind.

Let me talk now about the systems Iraq is developing to deliver weapons of mass destruction, in particular Iraq's ballistic missiles and unmanned aerial vehicles, U.A.V.'s.

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First, missiles. We all remember that before the gulf war, Saddam Hussein's goal was missiles that flew not just hundreds, but thousands of kilometers. He wanted to strike not only his neighbors, but also nations far beyond his borders. While inspectors destroyed most of the prohibited ballistic missiles, numerous intelligence reports over the past decade from sources inside Iraq indicate that Saddam Hussein retains a covert force of up to a few dozen Scud-variant ballistic missiles. These are missiles with a range of 650 to 900 kilometers.

We know from intelligence and Iraq's own admissions that Iraq's alleged permitted ballistic missiles, the Al Samoud 2 and the Al Fatah, violate the 150-kilometer limit established by this Council in Resolution 687. These are prohibited systems. Unmovic has also reported that Iraq has illegally imported 380 SA-2 rocket engines. These are likely for use in the Al Samoud 2.

Their import was illegal on three counts. Resolution 687 prohibited all military shipments into Iraq. Uncom specifically prohibited use of these engines in surface-to-surface missiles. And finally, as we have just noted, they are for a system that exceeds the 150-kilometer range limit. Worst of all, some of these engines were acquired as late as December, after this Council passed Resolution 1441.

What I want you to know today is that Iraq has programs that are intended to produce ballistic missiles that fly over 1,000 kilometers. One program is pursuing a liquid-fuel missile that would be able to fly more than 1,200 kilometers. And you can see from this map as well as I can who will be in danger of these missiles. Graphic, above.

As part of this effort, another little piece of evidence, Iraq has built an engine test stand that is larger than anything it has ever had. Notice the dramatic difference in size between the test stand on the left, the old one, and the new one on the right. Note the large exhaust vent. This is where the flame from the engine comes out. The exhaust vent on the right test stand is five times longer than the one on the left. The one on the left was used for short-range missiles. The one on the right is clearly intended for long-range missiles that can fly 1,200 kilometers.

This photograph was taken in April of 2002. Since then, the test stand has been finished and a roof has been put over it, so it will be harder for satellites to see what's going on underneath the test stand.

Saddam Hussein's intentions have never changed. He is not developing the missiles for self-defense. These are missiles that Iraq wants in order to project power, to threaten, and to deliver chemical, biological and, if we let him, nuclear warheads.

Now, unmanned aerial vehicles, U.A.V.'s: Iraq has been working on a variety of U.A.V.'s for more than a decade. This is just illustrative of what an E.A.V. -- U.A.V. would look like. This effort has included attempts to modify for unmanned flight the MIG-21 and, with greater success, an aircraft called the L-29. However, Iraq is now concentrating not on these airplanes but on developing and testing smaller U.A.V.'s, such as this.

U.A.V.'s are well-suited for dispensing chemical and biological weapons. There is ample evidence that Iraq has dedicated much effort to developing and testing spray devices that -- being adapted for U.A.V.'s. And in the little that Saddam Hussein told us about U.A.V.'s, he has not told the truth.

One of these lies is graphically and indisputably demonstrated by intelligence we collected on June 27 last year. According to Iraq's Dec. 7 declaration, its U.A.V.'s have a range of only 80 kilometers. But we detected one of Iraq's newest U.A.V.'s in a test flight that went 500 kilometers, nonstop, on autopilot in the racetrack pattern depicted here. Not only is this test well in excess of the 150 kilometers that the United Nations permits, the test was left out of Iraq's Dec. 7 declaration. The U.A.V. was flown around and around and around in this circle, and so that its 80-kilometer limit really was 500 kilometers, unrefueled and on autopilot, violative of all of its obligations under 1441.

The linkages over the past 10 years between Iraq's U.A.V. program and biological and chemical warfare agents are of deep concern to us. Iraq could use these small U.A.V.'s, which have a wingspan of only a few meters, to deliver biological agents to its neighbors or, if transported, to other countries, including the United States.

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My friends, the information I have presented to you about these terrible weapons and about Iraq's continued flaunting of its obligations under Security Council Resolution 1441 links to a subject I now want to spend a little bit of time on, and that has to do with terrorism.

Our concern is not just about these illicit weapons; it's the way that these illicit weapons can be connected to terrorists and terrorist organizations that have no compunction about using such devices against innocent people around the world.

Iraq and terrorism go back decades. Baghdad trains Palestine Liberation Front members in small arms and explosives. Saddam uses the Arab Liberation Front to funnel money to the families of Palestinian suicide bombers in order to prolong the intifada. And it's no secret that Saddam's own intelligence service was involved in dozens of attacks or attempted assassinations in the 1990's.

But what I want to bring to your attention today is the potentially much more sinister nexus between Iraq and the Al Qaeda terrorist network, a nexus that combines classic terrorist organizations and modern methods of murder. Iraq today harbors a deadly terrorist network, headed by Abu Musaab al-Zarqawi, an associate and collaborator of Osama bin Laden and his Al Qaeda lieutenants.

Zarqawi, a Palestinian born in Jordan, fought in the Afghan War more than a decade ago. Returning to Afghanistan in 2000, he oversaw a terrorist training camp. One of his specialties and one of the specialties of this camp is poisons.

When our coalition ousted the Taliban, the Zarqawi network helped establish another poison and explosive training center camp, and this camp is located in Northeastern Iraq. You see a picture of this camp. Graphic, above.

The network is teaching its operative how to produce ricin and other poisons. Let me remind you how ricin works. Less than a pinch -- imagine a pinch of salt -- less than a pinch of ricin, eating just this amount in your food would cause shock, followed by circulatory failure. Death comes within 72 hours and there is no antidote. There is no cure. It is fatal.

Those helping to run this camp are Zarqawi lieutenants operating in northern Kurdish areas outside Saddam Hussein's controlled Iraq, but Baghdad has an agent in the most senior levels of the radical organization Ansar al-Islam, that controls this corner of Iraq. In 2000, this agent offered Al Qaeda safe haven in the region. After we swept Al Qaeda from Afghanistan, some of its members accepted this safe haven. They remain there today.

Zarqawi's activities are not confined to this small corner of northeast Iraq. He traveled to Baghdad in May 2002 for medical treatment, staying in the capital of Iraq for two months while he recuperated to fight another day. During this stay, nearly two dozen extremists converged on Baghdad and established a base of operations there. These Al Qaeda affiliates, based in Baghdad, now coordinate the movement of people, money and supplies into and throughout Iraq for his network, and they've now been operating freely in the capital for more than eight months.

Iraqi officials deny accusations of ties with Al Qaeda. These denials are simply not credible. Last year, an Al Qaeda associate bragged that the situation in Iraq was "good," that Baghdad could be transited quickly.

We know these affiliates are connected to Zarqawi because they remain, even today, in regular contact with his direct subordinates, including the poison cell plotters. And they are involved in moving more than money and materiel. Last year, two suspected Al Qaeda operatives were arrested crossing from Iraq into Saudi Arabia. They were linked to associates of the Baghdad cell, and one of them received training in Afghanistan on how to use cyanide.

From his terrorist network in Iraq, Zarqawi can direct his network in the Middle East and beyond. We in the United States, all of us at the State Department, and the Agency for International Development, we all lost a dear friend with the cold-blooded murder of Mr. Lawrence Foley in Amman, Jordan, last October.

A despicable act was committed that day -- the assassination of an individual whose sole mission was to assist the people of Jordan. The captured assassin says his cell received money and weapons from Zarqawi for that murder.

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After the attack, an associate of the assassin left Jordan to go to Iraq to obtain weapons and explosives for further operations.

Iraqi officials protest that they are not aware of the whereabouts of Zarqawi or of any of his associates. Again, these protests are not credible. We know of Zarqawi's activities in Baghdad. I described them earlier. And now, let me add one other fact. We asked a friendly security service to approach Baghdad about extraditing Zarqawi and providing information about him and his close associates. This service contacted Iraqi officials twice, and we passed details that should have made it easy to find Zarqawi. The network remains in Baghdad; Zarqawi still remains at large to come and go.

As my colleagues around this table and as the citizens they represent in Europe know, Zarqawi's terrorism is not confined to the Middle East. Zarqawi and his network have plotted terrorist actions against countries including France, Britain, Spain, Italy, Germany and Russia.

According to detainees, Abu Atiya, who graduated from Zarqawi's terrorist camp in Afghanistan, tasked at least nine North African extremists in 2001 to travel to Europe to conduct poison and explosive attacks. Since last year, members of this network have been apprehended in France, Britain, Spain and Italy. By our last count, 116 operatives connected to this global web have been arrested. The chart you are seeing shows the network in Europe.

We know about this European network, and we know about its links to Zarqawi, because the detainee who provided the information about the targets also provided the names of members of the network. Three of those he identified by name were arrested in France last December. In the apartments of the terrorists, authorities found circuits for explosive devices and a list of ingredients to make toxins. The detainee who helped piece this together says the plot also targeted Britain. Later evidence again proved him right. When the British unearthed a cell there just last month, one British police officer was murdered during the disruption of the cell.

We also know that Zarqawi's colleagues have been active in the Pankisi Gorge, Georgia, and in Chechnya, Russia. The plotting to which they are linked is not mere chatter. Members of Zarqawi's network say their goal was to kill Russians with toxins.

We are not surprised that Iraq is harboring Zarqawi and his subordinates. This understanding builds on decades-long experience with respect to ties between Iraq and al Qaeda. Going back to the early and mid-1990s, when bin Laden was based in Sudan, an al Qaeda source tells us that Saddam and bin Laden reached an understanding that al Qaeda would no longer support activities against Baghdad.

Early Al Qaeda ties were forged by secret high-level intelligence service contacts with Al Qaeda -- secret Iraqi intelligence high-level contacts with Al Qaeda. We know members of both organizations met repeatedly and have met at least eight times at very senior levels since the early 1990's. In 1996, a foreign security service tells us that bin Laden met with a senior Iraqi intelligence official in Khartoum and later met the director of the Iraqi intelligence service.

Saddam became more interested as he saw Al Qaeda's appalling attacks. A detained Al Qaeda member tells us that Saddam was more willing to assist Al Qaeda after the 1998 bombings of our embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. Saddam was also impressed by Al Qaeda's attacks on the USS Cole in Yemen in October 2000.

Iraqis continued to visit bin Laden in his new home in Afghanistan. A senior defector, one of Saddam's former intelligence chiefs in Europe, says Saddam sent his agents to Afghanistan sometime in the mid-1990's to provide training to Al Qaeda members on document forgery. From the late 1990's until 2001, the Iraqi embassy in Pakistan played the role of liaison to the Al Qaeda organization.

Some believe -- some claim these contacts do not amount to much. They say Saddam Hussein's secular tyranny and Al Qaeda's religious tyranny do not mix. I am not comforted by this thought. Ambition and hatred are enough to bring Iraq and Al Qaeda together, enough so Al Qaeda could learn how to build more sophisticated bombs and

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learn how to forge documents; and enough so that Al Qaeda could turn to Iraq for help in acquiring expertise on weapons of mass destruction.

And the record of Saddam Hussein's cooperation with other Islamist terrorist organizations is clear. Hamas, for example, opened an office in Baghdad in 1999, and Iraq has hosted conferences attended by Palestine Islamic Jihad. These groups are at the forefront of sponsoring suicide attacks against Israel.

Al Qaeda continues to have a deep interest in acquiring weapons of mass destruction. As with the story of Zarqawi and his network, I can trace the story of a senior terrorist operative telling how Iraq provided training in these weapons to Al Qaeda. Fortunately, this operative is now detained, and he has told his story. I will relate it to you now as he himself described it.

This senior Al Qaeda terrorist was responsible for one of al Qaeda's training camps in Afghanistan. His information comes first-hand from his personal involvement at senior levels of Al Qaeda. He says bin Laden and his top deputy in Afghanistan, deceased Al Qaeda leader Muhammad Atef, did not believe that Al Qaeda labs in Afghanistan were capable enough to manufacture these chemical or biological agents. They needed to go somewhere else; they had to look outside of Afghanistan for help. Where did they go, where did they look? They went to Iraq.

The support that Hussein describes included Iraq offering chemical or biological weapons training for two Al Qaeda associates beginning in December 2000. He says that a militant known as Abu Abdullah al-Iraqi had been sent to Iraq several times between 1997 and 2000 for help in acquiring poisons and gases. Abdullah al-Iraqi characterized the relationship he forged with Iraqi officials as "successful."

As I said at the outset, none of this should come as a surprise to any of us. Terrorism has been a tool used by Saddam for decades. Saddam was a supporter of terrorism long before these terrorist networks had a name, and this support continues. The nexus of poisons and terror is new; the nexus of Iraq and terror is old. The combination is lethal.

With this track record, Iraqi denials of supporting terrorism take their place alongside the other Iraqi denials of weapons of mass destruction. It is all a web of lies. When we confront a regime that harbors ambitions for regional domination, hides weapons of mass destruction, and provides haven and active support for terrorists, we are not confronting the past, we are confronting the present. And unless we act, we are confronting an even more frightening future.

My friends, this has been a long and a detailed presentation, and I thank you for your patience. But there is one more subject that I would like to touch on briefly, and it should be a subject of deep and continuing concern to this Council: Saddam Hussein's violations of human rights. Underlying all that I have said, underlying all the facts and the patterns of behavior that I have identified, is Saddam Hussein's contempt for the will of this Council, his contempt for the truth and, most damning of all, his utter contempt for human life.

Saddam Hussein's use of mustard and nerve gas against the Kurds in 1988 -- 1988 -- was one of the 20th century's most horrible atrocities. Five thousand men, women and children died. His campaign against the Kurds from 1987 to '89 included mass summary executions, disappearances, arbitrary jailing, ethnic cleansing and the destruction of some 2,000 villages. He has also conducted ethnic cleansing against the Shiite Iraqis and the Marsh Arabs, whose culture has flourished for more than a millennium.

Saddam Hussein's police state ruthlessly eliminates anyone who dares to dissent. Iraq has more forced disappearance cases than any other country: tens of thousands of people reported missing in the past decade. Nothing points more clearly to Saddam Hussein's dangerous intentions and the threat he poses to all of us than his calculated cruelty to his own citizens and to his neighbors. Clearly, Saddam Hussein and his regime will stop at nothing until something stops him.

For more than 20 years, by word and by deed, Saddam Hussein has pursued his ambition to dominate Iraq and the broader Middle East using the only means he knows: intimidation, coercion and annihilation of all those who might

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stand in his way. For Saddam Hussein, possession of the world's most deadly weapons is the ultimate trump card, the one he must hold to fulfill his ambition.

We know that Saddam Hussein is determined to keep his weapons of mass destruction. He's determined to make more. Given Saddam Hussein's history of aggression, given what we know of his grandiose plans, given what we know of his terrorist associations and given his determination to exact revenge on those who oppose him, should we take the risk that he will not someday use these weapons at a time and a place and in a manner of his choosing, at a time when the world is in a much weaker position to respond? The United States will not and cannot run that risk to the American people. Leaving Saddam Hussein in possession of weapons of mass destruction for a few more months or years is not an option, not in a post-Sept. 11 world.

My colleagues, over three months ago, this Council recognized that Iraq continued to pose a threat to international peace and security, and that Iraq had been and remained in material breach of its disarmament obligations. Today, Iraq still poses a threat, and Iraq still remains in material breach. Indeed, by its failure to seize on its one last opportunity to come clean and disarm, Iraq has put itself in deeper material breach and closer to the day when it will face serious consequences for its continued defiance of this Council.

My colleagues, we have an obligation to our citizens, we have an obligation to this body, to see that our resolutions are complied with. We wrote 1441 not in order to go to war; we wrote 1441 to try to preserve the peace. We wrote 1441 to give Iraq one last chance. Iraq is not, so far, taking that one last chance. We must not shrink from whatever is ahead of us. We must not fail in our duty and our responsibility for the citizens of the countries that are represented by this body.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos (Associated Press)(pg. A20) Chart/Photos: Concealment of Weapons: 'An Active and Systematic Effort'In his presentation to the United Nations Security Council yesterday, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said Iraq had engaged in "a deliberate campaign to prevent any meaningful inspection work." CONCEALMENT ACTIVITY -- Mr. Powell described "house-cleaning" at almost 30 sites in November, before U.N. inspectors returned, such as the two shown on the right. CHEMICAL MUNITIONS BUNKERS -- Mr. Powell showed this image of active bunkers taken last November at Taji, one of 65 munitions facilities he said existed in Iraq. 'SANITIZED BUNKERS' -- Mr. Powell said that the image above left showed telltale signs of activity that were absent in the image above right, taken when U.N. inspectors arrived. Biological Weapons: 'Factories on Wheels and on Rails'Mr. Powell described at length what he said were at least seven easily concealed mobile biological weapons factories on trucks and train cars, information based on firsthand accounts by Iraqi scientists and others. MOBILE FACTORIES -- Mr. Powell said the sources' descriptions were "highly detailed and extremely accurate," and were used to create these drawings. THE COMPONENTS -- Mr. Powell said the government knew a great deal about the individual parts of the factories, how they work and how they are mounted. TESTING ANTHRAX DISPERSAL -- Mr. Powell also showed this footage that he said showed an Iraqi F-1 Mirage jet spraying 2,000 liters of simulated anthrax from modified fuel tanks.(pg. A18) Chemical Weapons: 'Combining Illicit and Legitimate Production'Mr. Powell described what he said were the activities at a chemical complex called Al Musayyib, which he said Iraq used to ship chemical weapons from production facilities to field locations. TELLTALE VEHICLE -- Mr. Powell said this image was taken of Al Musayyib in May 2002, and showed a decontamination vehicle associated with biological or chemical activity. He said that the U.S. had corroboration of chemical weapons activity at that time from a human intelligence source. BULLDOZED EARTH -- Mr. Powell showed another image of the site, taken two months later, that he said showed recently bulldozed and regraded earth. He said the Iraqis had removed the topsoil from the site to conceal evidence of years of chemical weapons activity. Nuclear Weapons: 'Putting in Place the Key Missing Piece'Mr. Powell said



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that Iraq lacks only the ability to enrich uranium to produce sufficient fissile material to produce a nuclear explosion. Mr. Powell cited what he said were Iraq's attempts to obtain high-specification aluminum tubes. THE ALUMINUM TUBES -- Mr. Powell acknowledged that there were differing opinions as to what the aluminum tubes were intended for. He said, Most U.S. experts think they are intended to serve as rotors in centrifuges used to enrich uranium. Other experts and the Iraqis themselves argue that they are really to produce the rocket bodies for a conventional weapon, a multiple rocket launcher. WHAT U.N. INSPECTORS HAVE SAID -- On Jan. 9, Dr. Mohamed ElBaradei, the director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency inspectors, said, While the matter is still under investigation, the specifications of the aluminum tubes sought by Iraq in 2001 and 2002 appear to be consistent with reverse engineering of rockets."(pg. A19) Means of Delivery: 'Saddam Hussein's Intentions Have Never Changed' Mr. Powell outlined the systems he said Iraq was developing to deliver weapons of mass destruction especially ballistic missiles and unpiloted aerial vehicles, known as U.A.Vs. TEST STANDS FOR ROCKET ENGINES -- Mr. Powell said the image above was from April 2002 and showed a newly built engine test stand that is larger than anything it has ever had, intended to test missiles that can fly 1,200 kilometers, or 746 miles. UNMANNED AERIAL VEHICLES -- He said Iraq had been testing new, smaller U.A.V.'s such as the one above right, and showed a map that he said showed a U.A.V. flight much farther than the 80-kilometer, or 50-mile, range that Iraq has declared. Links to Terrorism: 'The Nexus of Iraq and Terror Is Old' Mr. Powell drew connections from Abu Musaab al-Zarqawi, calling him an associated collaborator of Osama bin Laden, through a network of terrorists and a poison and explosives training camp in northern Iraq. WEB IN EUROPE -- Mr. Powell described how Abu Musaab al-Zarqawi established a web of terrorists from a base in Baghdad during a two-month medical stay there in 2002. Citing information from a detained Al Qaeda operative (center of chart), Mr. Powell said Mr. Zarqawi and his network have plotted attacks against France, Britain, Spain, Germany and Russia. TRAINING CAMP IN NORTHERN IRAQ -- According to Mr. Powell, Mr. Zarqawi led a terrorist training camp in Afghanistan in 2000, and had his network establish the poison and explosive training camp in northeastern Iraq pictured above. Trainees at the camp are taught how to produce ricin and other poisons, Mr. Powell said. The area is in a corner of Iraq controlled by the Islamist organization Ansar al-Islam, which offered members of Al Qaeda a safe haven, he said.(pg. A20)

**Load-Date:** February 6, 2003

## **HAMAS BOSS KILLED IN RAID**

The Sun  
July 23, 2002

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**Length:** 60 words

### **Body**

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ISRAEL killed a leader of Islamic fundamentalist group **Hamas** in a raid on Gaza last night, it is claimed.

**Hamas** said the head of its military wing, Sheikh Salah Shehada, was one of 12 dead. Three kids and four **women** were also killed in the attack.

Five Gaza City houses were razed by the F-16 jet's missile. **Hamas** is behind dozens of suicide bombings against Israel.

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2002

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## **TOP STORIES**

Dayton Daily News (Ohio)  
April 9, 2003 Wednesday CITY EDITION

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. A1

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### **Body**

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#### OBESE KIDS HAVE NEGATIVE OUTLOOK

Recent study says some obese children rate their quality of life as lower than cancer patients. Story, A10

#### GAS PRICES RETREAT FROM WAR HIGHS

Lower crude oil prices and optimism about the war in Iraq have contributed to falling gas prices.  
Story, B1

#### SARS DEATH TOLL RISES TO 104

More fatalities from severe acute respiratory syndrome identified in Hong Kong and Singapore. Story, A3

#### TURNER PITCHES IDEA FOR TRADE SHOW

U.S. Rep. Mike Turner is exploring how to support an international aerospace trade show in Dayton. Story, D1

#### ISRAELI ATTACK KILLS **HAMAS** LEADER

Israeli airstrikes into a Gaza City neighborhood killed at least seven, including a **Hamas** leader. Story, A3

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### **Graphic**

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TOP STORIES

PHOTOS, (1) UConn wins women's title,Diana Taurasi's 28 points helped Connecticut beat Tennessee 73-68 to win championship.,(2) Mike Turner: Trade show would be boon for the Miami Valley region, Wright-Pat

**Load-Date:** April 10, 2003

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End of Document

## ***Suicide volunteers***

The Times (London)

February 2, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Overseas news

**Length:** 38 words

### **Body**

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Jerusalem: Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of ***Hamas***, told the Arabic daily al-Shark al-Awsat that his group was unable to cope with the surge of ***women*** volunteers after the suicide blast by a Palestinian woman in Jerusalem.

**Load-Date:** February 2, 2002

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End of Document

**WORLD: WEST BANK**

Western Mail

February 19, 2003, Wednesday

Copyright 2003 Western Mail and Echo Ltd

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 4; Newspaper

**Length:** 52 words

**Body**

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ISRAELI troops killed a **Hamas** activist in a West Bank raid yesterday as part of its new offensive against the Islamic militant group.

The soldiers also arrested three Palestinian **women** who were suspected of planning to carry out suicide bombings. No explosives were found on them, and the army declined to elaborate.

**Load-Date:** February 19, 2003

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End of Document

### **Bomb woman dies, kills 3**

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

May 20, 2003 Tuesday

Copyright 2003 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 25

**Length:** 84 words

#### **Body**

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A **FEMALE** suicide bomber killed at least four people -- including herself -- early today when she detonated her bomb in the northern Israeli city of Afula.

MATP

More than 15 people were injured in the blast at a crowded shopping mall.

There was no immediate claim of responsibility. Islamic militant group **Hamas** carried out four bombings over the weekend, including the Jerusalem bus attack. An Israeli spokesman said the Afula blast was "another bloody chapter in the Palestinian history of carnage and terror."

**Load-Date:** May 19, 2003

## **ISRAEL LAUNCHES WEST BANK RAID**

Daily Post (North Wales)

February 19, 2003, Wednesday

Copyright 2003 The Liverpool Daily Post & Echo Ltd

**Section:** FEATURES; Pg. 16; Newspaper

**Length:** 87 words

### **Body**

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ISRAELI troops killed a **Hamas** activist in a WestBank raid yesterday as part of its new offensive against the Islamic militant group.

The soldiers also arrested three Palestinian **women** who were suspected of planning to carry out suicide bombings.

No explosives were found on them, and the army declined to elaborate. Despite the tensions, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon met Palestinian Finance Minister Salam Fayad over the weekend. It was his second recent meeting with a senior Palestinian official after a long freeze.

**Load-Date:** February 20, 2003

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End of Document



**Israel: We're now atwar**

Western Daily Press

January 24, 2002

WP LATE CITY

Copyright 2002 Bristol United Press

**Section:** News, Pg.12

**Length:** 91 words

**Body**

---

JERUSALEM: Violence between Israelis and Palestinians threatens to escalate out of control, shattering hopes for a peace process.

Israel said it will respond to an attack by a Palestinian gunman in central Jerusalem that killed two **women** on Tuesday, while the Islamic militants **Hamas** prepared for "all-out war" after four of its members were killed by Israeli commandos.

"We are at war, " said Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert yesterday. "This war is not taking place in some far-off battleground, but is happening here, at home, in shops, restaurants."

**Load-Date:** February 5, 2002

## **Cabinet vows quick retaliation**

Western Morning News (Plymouth)

August 1, 2002

Copyright 2002 Western Morning News (Plymouth)

**Section:** AGENCY; PA; Pg. 28

**Length:** 125 words

### **Body**

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ISRAEL'S Security Cabinet decided to retaliate within hours, Israel Radio reported.

David Baker, of the prime minister's office, said: "Israel is fighting a pitched battle against terror, and for the right to walk down the street, take a bus or sit in a cafeteria without the fear of being decimated by Palestinian terrorism."

**Hamas** spiritual leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin said: "When Israel bombs a civilian building full of **women** and children and kills 15 people, this is the response they should expect." The Palestinian Authority said in a statement that it "absolutely condemns the attack against Hebrew University".

However, the Palestinian leadership also said it "considers Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon responsible for this cycle of terror".

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2002

## **REFUGEE CAMP HIT BY ISRAELI MISSILES**

Liverpool Echo  
April 8, 2002, Monday

Copyright 2002 The Liverpool Daily Post & Echo Ltd

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 4

**Length:** 123 words

### **Body**

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ISRAELI helicopters fired nearly 20 missiles into the Jenin refugee camp in the northern West Bank early today, say witnesses.

The barrage appeared to signal growing Israeli impatience with the gunmen in Jenin, where some of the fiercest battles have taken place during Israel's 11 -day drive to wipe out militant networks in the West Bank.

Israeli troops used loudspeakers to warn people in the camp that they should surrender or face attack.

A military source said that about 150 men put down their weapons and emerged from the camp.

But the **Hamas** militant group leader said only **women**, children and the elderly left the camp.

HUNDREDS of people marched to Liverpool's Pier Head yesterday in a peaceful protest over the Middle East conflict.

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2002

## **MIDDLE EAST SET FOR 'ALL-OUT WAR'**

Birmingham Post

January 24, 2002, Thursday

Copyright 2002 Midland Independent Newspapers plc

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 12

**Length:** 123 words

### **Body**

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Violence between Israelis and Palestinians yesterday threatened to escalate out of control, shattering hopes for a peace process that many hoped was gaining ground after a more positive start to the year.

Israel said it would respond to an attack by a Palestinian gunman in Jerusalem which killed two women on Tuesday, while the Islamic militants Hamas prepared for 'all-out war' after four of its members were killed by Israeli commandos.

A recent lull in the fighting has given way to a violent upsurge, and both sides have warned they will retaliate.

In the Jerusalem shooting a Palestinian gunman opened fire at people waiting at a bus stop before being shot dead by police. Sixteen were injured, four seriously. Two women died later.

**Load-Date:** January 24, 2002

## Clarification

Ottawa Citizen

August 2, 2002 Friday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A2; Correction

**Length:** 179 words

## **Body**

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On July 20, 2002, the Citizen published a Southam News story about the non-renewal by the Canadian International Development Agency of its contract with Kirsty Wright, director of the Canada Fund for Local Initiatives Office in Ramallah, in the West Bank. The story contained comments by some Israeli officials, who said the non-renewal was a consequence of a routine inspection on May 24 of a Canadian embassy car driven by Ms. Wright, in which Israeli border guards believed they detected trace elements of explosive materials. The Ottawa Citizen

The story included a denial of this explanation by a CIDA spokesperson, who said CIDA had eliminated the position because of lack of security in Ramallah.

The story did not include Ms. Wright's views. According to Ms. Wright: she has never had a personal relationship with a male or female member of Hamas, Islamic Jihad or any other terrorist organization; she has never transported explosives in her embassy car, nor allowed others to do so; and she was travelling alone when she was detained by agents of the government of Israel.

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2002

## Chronicle of death

The Times (London)

March 11, 2002, Monday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Overseas news

**Length:** 174 words

### **Body**

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(Photograph) - March 9, 2002: 11 Israelis killed by suicide bomber in the trendy Moment bar near Ariel Sharon's house in Rehavia district

March 7, 2002: Failed suicide bombing in cafe in German Colony

March 2, 2002: Suicide bomber kills 10 people in the Ultra Orthodox Beit Israel district as sabbath celebrations come to an end

January 27, 2002: First **female** suicide bomber, Wafa Idris, kills one Israeli and injures 53 at the junction of King George V Street and Jaffa Street

December 1, 2001: Two suicide bombers kill ten Israelis and injure 180 in simultaneous attacks on Ben Yehuda Street.

A car bomb injures a further ten people August 9, 2001: 15 people killed and 88 injured in suicide bombing at Sbarro pizzeria on the corner of King George V Street and Jaffa Road.

**Hamas** and Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility

November 2, 2000: Two people, including the daughter of an Israeli Cabinet minister, were killed in a car bomb explosion near the Mahane Yehuda market in Jerusalem. Ten people were injured. Islamic Jihad claimed responsibility

### **Graphic**

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Photo. Caption not available

**Load-Date:** March 13, 2002

## *Easter bloodshed erupts*

Hobart Mercury (Australia)

April 21, 2003 Monday

Copyright 2003 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 14

**Length:** 200 words

### **Body**

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MISSILE attacks and tank battles between Palestinian and Israeli forces yesterday left at least eight Palestinians dead and 48 wounded.

Most of the fatalities and injuries were in the Rafah refugee camp, with the Israeli Army killing five people and wounding 45, many of them civilians.

Reuters

In response to the raid, Palestinians fired three Qassam rockets into an Israeli town.

One of the missiles hit a residential building, wounding at least one woman.

During the raid on the refugee camp, believed to be a stronghold of Palestinian militants, an Israeli soldier died and three were injured.

The Easter bloodshed included the killing of a Palestinian TV cameraman filming the violence.

Dozens of Israeli tanks, backed-up by armed helicopters, rumbled into Rafah, on Egypt's border.

A media statement released by the army said: "Israeli forces discovered two 30m-deep tunnels used for smuggling weapons and explosives from Egypt and blew them up. The forces also destroyed the home of Mahmoud Abu Shmallah, the leader of [the Islamic militants] **Hamas** in Rafah."

Palestinian medics said the dead included a child and a policeman and that many of the wounded were civilians, including **women** and children.

**Load-Date:** April 20, 2003

## **LETTER: MIDDLE EAST SOLUTIONS**

The Independent (London)

March 30, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Independent Print Ltd

**Section:** COMMENT; Pg. 2

**Length:** 191 words

**Byline:** Gideon Halter

### **Body**

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Sir: It seems ridiculous that there has been almost no international criticism of the Palestinian Authority and its leader Yasser Arafat for their continued incompetence to control militant groups such as "**Hamas**" and "Islamic Jihad".

These groups persist with their atrocities against innocent Israeli men, **women** and children. Time and time again, the Palestinians have shown their lack of sympathy, compassion and regard for life.

The latest terrorist attack has left 20 civilians dead, murdered whilst having a meal with their family. This attack took place in Netanya - nowhere in the vicinity of the "occupied territories" which the Palestinians want to liberate. Israel has shown incredible restraint in the face of bloodshed on a daily basis.

In this conflict, Israel is always seen to be the big, bad Goliath and the Palestinians are the poor, defenceless and helpless David! Unbelievably, this is still the view of the majority even whilst Israeli citizens are shot dead by Palestinian snipers whilst driving to work, blown up whilst travelling on a bus to see friends or blown up whilst having a meal with family

GIDEON HALTER

Birmingham

**Load-Date:** April 9, 2002



## **5 MORE HELD IN LEICESTER**

The Sun  
January 19, 2002

Copyright 2002 NEWS GROUP NEWSPAPERS LTD

**Section:** WAR ON TERROR

**Length:** 185 words

**Byline:** John Askill

### **Body**

---

DETECTIVES grabbed another five al-Qa'ida terrorist suspects yesterday - taking the total seized in the "Leicester Connection" to SEVENTEEN.

Doors were kicked down in dawn swoops on eight homes in the city.

Two men and two women - aged between 28 and 31 - were led away as stunned neighbours looked on. The fifth suspect was arrested in London and driven to Leicester for questioning. The raids followed the first appearance in a British court of men accused of links with Osama bin Laden.

Handcuffed

Algerians Brahim Benmerzouga, 30, and Baghdad Meziane, 36 - also arrested in Leicester - were remanded in custody on Thursday.

Yesterday the wife of one latest suspect said as he was led handcuffed from their flat above a corner shop: "He's innocent."

All five were quizzed about a suspected credit card scam to fund terrorism.

Meanwhile in Bedlington, Northumberland. Palestinian student Adnan Abdelah, 21, was remanded to jail by magistrates, accused of belonging to terror group Hamas.

The huge crackdown came as it was revealed Scotland Yard has doubled its anti-terrorist branch in the wake of September 11.

**Load-Date:** January 20, 2002

## **COWARDS CELEBRATE CHILDREN'S SLAUGHTER**

The Express  
November 30, 2002

Copyright 2002 EXPRESS NEWSPAPERS

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 7

**Length:** 199 words

### **Body**

---

MASKED Palestinian gunmen took to the streets of Gaza City to celebrate the terrorist attacks in Mombasa.

They chanted and danced with joy yesterday after the funeral of a terrorist.

Mohanad Mahdi died when explosives he was carrying in his car blew up prematurely close to the Gaza Strip's border with Israel.

No one else was harmed.

The scenes of delight in Gaza City echoed the reaction to the September 11 attacks on America.

Then Palestinian men, women and children on the volatile West Bank poured into the streets and fired guns in the air to celebrate the carnage. There was also wild rejoicing and dancing in the Arab area of Jerusalem after the planes hit the Twin Towers in New York.

Demonstrators distributed sweets in a traditional gesture of celebration and chanted: "Down with America! Down with Israel!"

Meanwhile, Israeli troops yesterday blew up the homes of two Palestinian gunmen who attacked a polling station on Thursday.

The men were members of the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, a militia linked to Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's Fatah faction.

In a further incident, two Thai workers and an Israeli were wounded when Hamas gunmen opened fire on the Jewish settlement of Dolah.

**Load-Date:** November 30, 2002

*Woman's suicide attack;  
news from Britain and around the world*

THE BRISTOL POST

January 28, 2002

GREATER BRISTOL

Copyright 2002 Bristol United Press

**Section:** News, Pg.4

**Length:** 172 words

## **Body**

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A STUDENT became the first Palestinian woman to carry out a suicide bombing as she killed herself yesterday, along with an elderly Israeli man and wounding others.

Israeli police said last night they were still trying to determine whether the bomb exploded prematurely.

In Lebanon, the Al-Manar TV station, run by the militant Hezbollah movement, said the bomber was Shinaz Amuri, a **female** student.

Israel said Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was ultimately responsible for the bombing, adding that it was prepared to respond to the third major attack in an Israeli city in the past week.

The bomb killed an 81-year-old Israeli man. Victims were sprawled in the street, shop windows were blown out and one store caught fire.

More than 100 were treated on the spot or taken to hospitals, though most suffered only from shock.

A Palestinian crowd stormed a prison in Bethlehem and freed seven prisoners belonging to **Hamas** and Islamic Jihad, the two groups that have carried out past suicide bombings, Palestinian security officials said.

**Load-Date:** February 5, 2002

## **Middle East violence is not 'tit-for-tat'**

Financial Times (London, England)

January 26, 2002 Saturday

USA Edition 1

Copyright 2002 The Financial Times Limited

**Section:** LETTERS TO THE EDITOR ; Pg. 8

**Length:** 315 words

**Byline:** By AARON SICHEL

### **Body**

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From Mr Aaron Sichel.

I was disappointed and angered by your characterisation of Tuesday's Jerusalem shooting as just another instance of "tit-for-tat violence" between Israel and the Palestinians (January 23). I was about 40 metres from the terror attack and I can assure you there was nothing "tit-for-tat" about it.

The terrorist opened fire with a goal: to murder as many Jews as possible and to terrorise both Israelis and visitors to the country (a category into which I fall). His bullets were fired at all available human targets, without regard for their civilian or official status. The FT rather blithely labelled the attack as "tit-for-tat" because four **Hamas** bombmakers had died in a raid on their bomb laboratory that morning.

I find it difficult to believe, however, that the capable editors of the FT are unable to distinguish the difference between the deaths of four **Hamas** bombmakers and an attempted mass murder that killed two innocent **women** (ages 79 and 56).

The conflict between the Palestinians and Israel is not simply an immature spat between two petulant neighbours. Nor did violence independently "erupt" on Tuesday like an inexplicable geological event.

The four **Hamas** bombmakers died because they chose to die fighting rather than submit to a raid on their laboratory of death. The two **women** died because a man filled with bloodlust and hate chose to open fire on a bus stop using a military assault rifle. Does the FT believe that all of those deaths can be lumped together under the remarkably unimaginative (yet infinitely inclusive) title of "tit-for-tat violence?" The essence of the Israeli-Arab conflict is the story of a people who seek to exist in peace, defending themselves against people, inspired by hate, who seek to murder them. Is there perhaps a difference between murder victims and their would-be killers?

Aaron Sichel, Washington DC, US

**Load-Date:** January 25, 2002

**Israelis escalate Middle East conflict with botched attack: Sharon under fire as Palestinian civilians are killed in raid, writes Harvey Morris:**

Financial Times (London, England)

March 5, 2002 Tuesday

USA Edition 1

Copyright 2002 The Financial Times Limited

**Section:** BACK PAGE - FIRST SECTION ; Pg. 16

**Length:** 778 words

**Byline:** By HARVEY MORRIS

## **Body**

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The Israeli army yesterday added to the toll of civilian casualties on both sides in the Middle East conflict with a botched attack in Ramallah that killed six Palestinians, including a woman and her two sons. In a separate incident soldiers shot dead a Palestinian doctor during an assault on a refugee camp.

Yesterday's events, among the most violent in the recent worsening of the conflict, have exposed Ariel Sharon, Israeli prime minister, to attacks from both ends of the political spectrum to add to his concerns about his plunging popularity.

It has also fuelled disenchantment with the tactics of the Israeli army, when the right wing is calling for it to do more.

Palestinian officials see Mr Sharon's strategy as an attempt to wear down Palestinian resistance and impose a settlement on his terms. But they say it is the Israelis who are being worn down and there are many on the Israeli side who agree.

In recent days the ratio of Israeli to Palestinian deaths has been nearer one to one, against the one to 10 ratio of the early months of the Palestinian uprising.

In all, 17 Palestinians, many of them civilians, were killed in operations in the West Bank and Gaza strip after the Israeli security cabinet pledged to continue military pressure on Yassir Arafat's Palestinian Authority and organisations operating from its territory.

The weekend Israeli death toll rose to 22 yesterday when a victim of a suicide bombing in Jerusalem on Saturday died of his wounds.

The latest Palestinian civilian deaths seemed certain to provide a pretext for more reprisals. On the Palestinian side the conflict appears increasingly to be waged by Tanzim militia gunmen and other militant groups loosely aligned to Mr Arafat's Fatah organisation.

Israeli troops yesterday reinvaded a Palestinian refugee camp in Jenin, attacked a second camp in Gaza and launched the bungled attack in Ramallah. Witness said Israeli aircraft fired missiles at Palestinian security buildings in Bethlehem.

Israelis escalate Middle East conflict with botched attack: Sharon under fire as Palestinian civilians are killed in raid, writes Harvey Morris:

To leftwing MPs, such tactics fail in their objectives and encourage Palestinian counter-strikes. They seek an immediate ceasefire and return to the negotiating table.

By contrast, rightwing members of Mr Sharon's coalition yesterday urged him to deliver a knockout blow by bombing Palestinian economic targets or reconquering the West Bank.

Avigdor Lieberman, a far-right minister, said Palestinian businesses should be bombed, while Yuval Steinitz, from the prime minister's Likud party, said: "We have no other choice but to conquer the West Bank for a week or two."

From the left of the Knesset, Ran Cohen, a reserve colonel, called for withdrawal from the Palestinian territories with or without a settlement.

But the right is calling on the army at a difficult time. Yesterday it acknowledged that a tank shell fired at a car believed to be carrying armed Palestinian policemen hit a vehicle carrying the wife, two sons and a **female** relative of a **Hamas** militant in Ramallah. All were killed, as were a man and his son in a second vehicle. The army apologised.

The military also admitted it fired at an ambulance during an assault on Jenin. Commenting on reports that a doctor had been killed and three medics wounded, the army said soldiers had acted in self-defence after the ambulance charged them while there was gunfire in the area.

The army was already reeling from the deaths on Sunday of seven soldiers at a checkpoint near Ramallah. They were picked off one by one, apparently by a sniper using a second world war rifle.

At the same time, the military is facing criticism that last week's invasion of Palestinian camps was a failure in terms of suspects arrested and weapons seized.

And it is facing dissent among troops assigned to exposed checkpoints in the Palestinian territories as well as among reservists, 300 of whom have publicly declared they will not serve there.

Yesterday's botched attack in Ramallah, which may have been targeted against a **Hamas** activist, looked certain to raise the temperature even further.

**Hamas** and other militant groups have invariably carried out suicide bombings or other forms of retaliation for attacks on their activists and have justified the targeting of civilians in response to Palestinian civilian deaths.

Sheikh Hassan Yousef, a **Hamas** leader in the West Bank, told the FT at the weekend: "The principal targets of **Hamas** have always been soldiers and settlers. But Israel has targeted children and pregnant **women**. The occupation has declared an open war on everyone. If the occupation stops targeting civilians and takes them out of the game, we will do the same." Mubarak may play host, Page 3 [www.ft.com/mideastcrisis](http://www.ft.com/mideastcrisis)

**Load-Date:** March 4, 2002

## *Israel pounds Gaza again in retaliation for new rockets*

Financial Times (London, England)

February 12, 2002 Tuesday

London Edition 1

Copyright 2002 The Financial Times Limited

**Section:** MIDDLE EAST & AFRICA ; Pg. 12

**Length:** 498 words

**Byline:** By HARVEY MORRIS

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

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Israeli aircraft raided Gaza for the third time in less than 24 hours yesterday after the government accused Palestinian militants of escalating the conflict by firing a new range of rockets that could strike Israeli towns.

Palestinian officials said more than 30 people were injured when aircraft and helicopter gunships struck targets that included the main security compound of the Palestinian Authority in Gaza City.

The retaliatory raids prompted a protest from Terje Roed-Larsen, the United Nations Middle East envoy, whose Gaza office was damaged in a raid on Sunday. Two UN guards were slightly injured. "It is totally unacceptable to use that kind of weaponry which puts civilian life and UN personnel at peril," he said.

The raids followed a late night inner cabinet meeting, chaired by Ariel Sharon, the prime minister, soon after his return from a visit to Washington. They were seen as retaliation for the deaths of two women soldiers, killed by Hamas gunmen in the southern Israeli town of Be'ersheva, and for the first firing of Hamas's Kassem-2 rockets that landed in farmland near the Gaza strip.

"This cannot be a situation which Israel will accept in silence," Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the defence minister, told Army Radio, referring to the firing of the rockets.

Troops also entered Nablus in an operation that was said to be aimed at locating stores of 120mm Kassem rockets and launchers.

Israeli officials have been warning for weeks that use of the rockets, which are believed to have a range of up to five miles, would bring unprecedented retaliation. An armed faction of Yassir Arafat's Fatah movement also claims to have rockets - named Aqsa-1 and 2 - that are almost identical to the Kassem range.

Fired from batteries in the West Bank, the rockets could theoretically reach areas of Jerusalem or population centres in Israel's narrow coastal strip.

Hours before Mr Sharon left for Washington last week, the army announced it had captured a consignment of the weapons as they were being smuggled between two West Bank cities.

## Israel pounds Gaza again in retaliation for new rockets

On Sunday, a senior security official interrupted a briefing on the imminent danger posed by the new rocket to give the news that for the first time two of them had just been fired.

The official said the army had yet to test-fire any of the captured Kassem-2s but they were believed to be capable of delivering a 5 kilogram warhead at a distance of 5km to 8km.

The Islamic movement, **Hamas**, which developed the rocket and is said to be producing it in secret workshops in Gaza, has made no statement on the first reported firing of the Kassem-2. But it has said settlements in the Palestinian territories and Israeli cities could be targets. The latest escalation comes amid speculation in Israel that Mr Sharon came under pressure in the US to calm the situation in order not to complicate a future US campaign against Iraq, a potential target of the next stage of President George W. Bush's war on terror. Comment & Analysis, Page 20

**Load-Date:** February 11, 2002

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End of Document



*No Headline In Original*

Chicago Daily Herald

May 20, 2003, Tuesday Lake

Copyright 2003 Paddock Publications, Inc.

**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 526 words

## **Body**

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Link had conflict of interest on SBC vote

I find it of great interest that despite concerns over higher phone rates, SBC got its wish, permitting it to charge rivals more for using its phone lines.

The new law is tantamount to a hidden consumer tax that benefits SBC and inevitably will lead to higher phone bills for residential and business customers. When you have a major piece of legislation that is opposed by every consumer group in the state, as well as every other phone company other than SBC, that is a strong indicator that SBC is on the wrong side of the issue.

It is important to point out that this legislation could not have been passed without strong support from state Sen. Terry Link, a Vernon Hills Democrat, who, as the Sun-Times reported, "cast aside questions about a possible conflict of interest." His wife, Susan Link, is a registered lobbyist for SBC. He did not abstain. Nor did Sen. Link publicly disclose his wife's relationship with SBC. Link was quoted as saying, "I don't see any conflict. I was voting for my district."

Please, Senator Link, give the voters of your district some credit for thinking on their own. Would you be kind enough to tell us who, in your district, supports higher phone rates?

Carson Florio

Waukegan

Syria differs from Iraq only in degree

Secretary of State Colin Powell's trip to Syria this month was a mistake, bestowing respect on an undeserving, thuggish regime differing only in degree, but not in kind, from Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Syria is a clone of Iraq, occupying neighboring Lebanon, just as Iraq occupied Kuwait. Syria is a ruthless occupier of what used to be a model of freedom and democracy in the Middle East. Posing as liberator, Syria has defied U.N. Resolution 520 and refused to honor the Taif Accord obliging it to withdraw. It has entrenched itself, using military force and terror against the Lebanese, especially its Christian community.

Its jails and torture chambers rival those of Hussein, according to evidence presented by Free-Lebanon groups-in-exile around the world.

## No Headline In Original

Syria suppresses dissent and oppresses its people as ruthlessly as Hussein. In 1982, Syrian troops laid siege to the city of Hama for 27 days, bombarding it with heavy artillery and tanks, then invading, slaughtering up to 40,000 men, women and children.

The 30,000 Syrian troops illegally in Lebanon openly supply and protect two fanatic terrorist groups, Hezbollah and Hamas, transshipping weapons from Iran for these two groups. Hezbollah was directly involved in the bombing that murdered 241 U.S. Marines in their barracks.

Damascus is a Club Med for terrorists, home to several of the world's most notorious terrorist organizations, including Hezbollah, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command and Palestine Islamic Jihad.

Syria has a choice, as Iraq did. It can join the community of civilized nations, or it can continue to be a state sponsor of terror. It can turn over the Iraqi war criminals who sought safe harbor there or it can face the "serious consequences."

Daniel John Sobieski

Chicago

**Load-Date:** May 23, 2003

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End of Document

## *No Headline In Original*

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

April 19, 2003 Saturday

SOONER EDITION

Copyright 2003 P.G. Publishing Co.

**Section:** ARTS & ENTERTAINMENT,; SCORPIO

**Length:** 500 words

**Byline:** TIM MENEES

**Dateline:** MABELS EDDY

### **Body**

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The NFL draft is near, and from its headquarters in this quiet (read "boring") river hamlet, Scorpio Sports Analysis & Outerwear presents a list of players for the Steelers, headed by Jerome "Big Daddy" Kern, OT and Northcentral Appalachian Trail State.

This unfortunately comes when the Pirates are trying to attract more than 12,000 to games at PNC Park, and two new sports are attempting to get off the ground: kickball and lawnmower racing. These are embraced by baby boomers fighting to retain their youth and return to their childhood games. We all remember kickball, and who didn't mow the lawn for a couple of bucks or, God forbid, gratis for our folks?

SSA&O will be introducing several more games for adults to play, namely jacks, pick-up sticks, hopscotch, dodge ball, kick the can, hide-and-seek, and spin the bottle. The women will have an advantage in hopscotch, but the guys can rally in dodge ball. Hide-and-go-seek grounds have been laid out in Bloomfield and North Park.

Pittsburgh's Image Gap Committee may disapprove. Its 120 members have pared their original obtuse 45-word "brand essence statement" down to a sleek: "Accomplishment through connected individuality -- linking vital individuals, vital communities and vital resources."

And the new "brand promise" sizzles: "We will connect you to the people, resources and communities you need to accomplish your goals."

Whoa! What a conceptual picture! Aimed at marketing pros, this discourages stale photographs of the old Steel City or its heritage, meaning AND NO KITCHEN CHAIRS! Keep the art modern and Tomorrow. That will lasso Southwest Airlines.

The Steelers are already on board, and in keeping with gambling's promised cash cow, are changing their name to the Dealers. And now they have something to dangle before the following draft picks:

\*Mustafa al-Jihad, CB, University of Saudi Arabia at Riyadh. Plus: Can blindside you in a heartbeat. Minus: Equates Hamas with the Minutemen.

\*Bobby Ray Mullet, LB, West Virginia A & P. Plus: Big, strong, fast. Minus: Tried to get a tutor to take his urine test.

## No Headline In Original

\*Jerome "Big Daddy" Kern. Plus: Loves show tunes. Minus: Loves show tunes.

\*Seth Begonia, QB, Ambergris College. Plus: Cerebral, never has to write plays on his wrist band. Minus: Played at an ultra-liberal arts college that refuses to run plays, calling them fascist. Chills at the Beehive.

\*Earl Egraves, WR, Tobacco Institute, Ashtray, N.C. Plus: Sneaky. Minus: Easily winded.

\*Red Menace, DE, Nevada State Penitentiary. Plus: Just as soon kill you as look at you. Minus: Shot a man in Reno, just to watch him die.

\*Jean-Claude Monet, K, University of Sorbonne at Giverny. Plus: Excellent chef, especially preparing lighter and more healthful sauces and using local produce in tasty regional fare. Minus: Even against cupcakes, demands a true international coalition.

Max the Fax Dog sez: My fav: Walter "Werewolf" Dixon, RB, Transylvania Tech. Plus: Runs the 40 in 3.5 seconds. Minus: Refuses to play night games.

## Graphic

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Photo: A: New Image Gap Helmet

Photo: B: Mustafa al-jihad

Photo: C: Bobby Ray Mullet

**Load-Date:** May 9, 2003

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## *No Headline In Original*

Chicago Daily Herald

August 8, 2002, Thursday F1,F2

Copyright 2002 Paddock Publications, Inc.

**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 531 words

### **Body**

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Ryan has done more for people of Illinois

If actions speak louder than words, Democratic gubernatorial candidate Rod Blagojevich pales in comparison to Republican challenger Jim Ryan.

Although differentiating between the positions of these two overlapping centrist candidates seems to resemble a debate over Pepsi vs. Coca Cola, there is one striking contrast, job performance.

A job applicant's past accomplishments and work history take precedence over glitz and rhetoric, especially in politics. Blagojevich and Ryan should be held to the same logical standard.

Blagojevich's spotty congressional attendance and weak legislative output during four years in the General Assembly and five as a congressman correlates with a short list of achievements no amount of money or spin can hide. He has passed a single, anti- armor-piercing ammunition bill and paraded around Belgrade with Jesse Jackson practicing photo-op diplomacy to free three soldiers from Yugoslav authorities.

Attempting to thicken this thin resume, Blagojevich was caught claiming credit as the author of Republican Gov. Jim Edgar's truth- in-sentencing law. He claims to be a leader and a fighter, but he doesn't have much to show for it. This style-over-substance candidate props himself up with slick talk and big money.

Jim Ryan's professional record plainly dwarfs Blagojevich in every respect, from fighting crime to protecting the environment. He created initiatives for safer schools, held summits to fight "date rape" drugs, participated in national court cases against tobacco companies and Microsoft, chaired the Governor's Commission on Gangs, swiftly cracked down on hazardous industrial pollution by closing plants and forcing cleanups, cut the fat out of the attorney general's office providing \$2.1 million to hire additional prosecutors, and that is a small sample of his work for Illinois. Although never serving as a lawmaker, Jim Ryan has taken initiative, authoring and passing more than 50 anti-crime bills. Jim Ryan gets things done.

When you cut through the political posturing and a flurry of accusations, the decision for governor is clear. Attorney General Jim Ryan is a proven, effective statesman, and Congressman Rod Blagojevich is not. Check for yourself at [www.rodforus.com](http://www.rodforus.com) and [www.jimryan2002.com](http://www.jimryan2002.com).

Drew Veeneman

Carpentersville

No Headline In Original

Hanania column wrong on many counts

I do not agree with the July 26 comments of Ray Hanania, the Palestinian guest view.

His column is filled with distortions, many more than I can answer in one letter.

1. Shehadeh operated an ugly war against Israel from a heavily populated area, which is a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

2. The targets of **Hamas** are **women** and children, another violation.

3. There was no peace plan other than the empty one the Arabs usually offer. Just days before the attack, the Fatah called for continued attacks on Israeli civilians.

4. The current violence was not sparked by Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount - which is sovereign Israeli territory. The Palestinians had been preparing for their intifada for years. Just look at all the weapons and supplies they had ready.

Yale Rubinson

Des Plaines

**Load-Date:** August 8, 2002

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## *No Headline In Original*

Chicago Daily Herald

August 29, 2002, Thursday DuPage

Copyright 2002 Paddock Publications, Inc.

**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 2253 words

### **Body**

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Absolutely no reason to start a war against Iraq

The idea of going to war against Iraq is utterly ridiculous. Why should the most powerful nation on earth be afraid of a pipsqueak little dictator like Saddam Hussein? All we have to do is remind him of the facts of life and death, that any, any use by him of chemical, biological or atomic weapons anywhere will bring immediate retaliation. Baghdad would join Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the history books. It worked with Soviet Russia, which was a far more serious threat, so why wouldn't it work with Iraq?

Furthermore, an attack by us on Iraq probably would result in an uprising by the Islamic underdogs of the rotten regimes we have supported in the Near East, and an exponential increase in terrorist activity far beyond our ability to control. It also would cut off our supply of oil, which would crash our economy in no time at all.

In the end, Saddam is not our problem: It is George W. Bush and his advisers who are willing to risk all in a war that will have no winners.

Richard Wirthman

Naperville

Don't leave Chicago residents defenseless

Recent reports show that homicide rates are on the rise in Illinois once again. The area of most of the daily violence seems to be the city of Chicago, which already has strict gun laws that forbid ownership or possession in the city.

So much for trying to protect yourself when something happens. The bad guys - gangbangers, etc. -are all armed and don't care at all, or have any fear of Mayor Daley or his attempts to create the perfect city or utopia.

On the other hand, our swell governor's stance on any kind of self-defense measures does nothing more than escalate the bloodshed of law-abiding taxpayers. It just boils down to more blood on the hands of our wonderful career legislators.

The city of Chicago is the odds-on favorite to capture the title of "Murder Capital" of the nation. Other states that permit some sort of concealed-carry of a firearm don't seem to be having the problems that exist in Chicago. However, we must remember that Illinois is not like other states. Illinois is a Third World country all by itself. We have a dictator who would love to control the entire state if he could and impose his will on everybody statewide.

It can't hurt to try concealed-carry. All it can do is fail, just like the policies of Mayor Daley.

## No Headline In Original

Peter W. Platt

Wood Dale

Fitting memorial to victims of Sept. 11

In the wake of Sept. 11, tears of pride drip down my cheeks as I write and think of our beloved firefighters, police, military and so many others in and out of government dedicated to protecting us and advancing the cause of freedom here and around the world.

Indeed, this year, following the despicable attacks of Sept. 11, has been both incredible and surrealistic for most Americans and so many others around the world. People who are old enough to remember President Kennedy's assassination say they have never forgotten exactly where they were and what they were doing that fateful day when they heard the news, and I most surely will never forget what I was doing on last year's day of manifest evil and pinnacles of courage.

I was looking for a job online and watching the "Today" show on television when the second tower of the World Trade Center was struck, when Matt Lauer said "There's no longer any doubt that it's a terrorist attack." I felt sick to my stomach thinking about the horror that was surely taking place in and around the towers - and then, an hour later, they collapsed.

Then came the attack on the Pentagon and the courageous actions of Todd Beamer and the other passengers and crew of the plane they forced down in Pennsylvania rather than let the cowards succeed in reaching their intended target.

In memory of our fallen and their loved ones who grieve, I respectfully suggest that an appropriate memorial is the World Trade Center towers rebuilt - one story taller. This is to rise above the evil of last year and look above, beyond and in hope of a better future.

The exterior of the towers to be rebuilt exactly as they were on the outside except they are one story taller. The new top floor of each tower should be a memorial to the fallen, with the tops of the two towers projecting a beam of light to the new torch of the Statue of Liberty. The new torch having been created by our French friends who gave the original statue to us more than a century ago. The prism/torch will spread its inspiring light into the heavens for all to see. The interior of the towers should be state-of-the-art in efficiency, use and comfort. Security for the towers and statue should be whatever is required.

God bless America.

Douglas D. Zook

Bensenville

Hanania uses the same distortion he decries

At the beginning of Ray Hanania's July 12 column, the author notes that "both sides use images to advance their political cause. Oftentimes, though, these images are used to distort truth and convey political meaning." Unfortunately, that is exactly what Hanania does in his discussion of images and Middle East peace. First, a factual correction: The Hamas baby picture was confirmed as authentic by the child's grandfather, Radwan Abu Turki, who said the picture of the child dressed in Hamas guerrilla gear, complete with suicide bomber's belt, was taken "just for the fun of it." Some sense of humor.

The father could not be interviewed because, as a suspected Hamas terrorist, he was on the run. Unfortunately, the encouragement of Palestinian children to look upon homicide bombers as heroic role models doesn't end with whimsical baby pictures. It pervades Palestinian popular culture as well as the educational system: from a children's TV show in which a kindergartner recites: "I will become a suicide bomber, a suicide bomber," to which the teacher



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responds: "Bravo, bravo," to summer camps where older children learn how to assemble weapons and stage attacks on the Israeli enemy.

The belief that Israelis are the enemy is reinforced by textbooks that describe Jews only as people who stole Palestinian land, and contain maps without Israel, but only Palestine "from the river to the sea." Education for coexistence is not part of the curriculum.

The children filmed dancing in celebration of the terrorist attacks against the United States learned these lessons well. Since hatred and blame for their predicament is regularly directed against the United States, it must have seemed to them appropriate for Palestinians to rejoice at America's suffering.

As to Hanania's question: "Can you take a single image and make a judgment about an entire race?" The answer is, "Of course not." However, when those images are reinforced by hundreds of attacks against innocent Israeli civilians, with polls showing strong support by the Palestinian public (68 percent) for suicide/homicide bombings, one or two images are irrelevant compared to this unremittingly grim reality.

Bob Schwartz

Director of Communications

Consulate of Israel

to the Midwest

Chicago

Senators should back breast cancer research

With Congress on its annual August recess, our U.S. senators have left pending important legislation that affects every woman. The Breast Cancer and Environmental Research Act, S 830, would fund research, through the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, to study the potential links between breast cancer and the environment. No one knows why women have a 1 in 8 lifetime risk of developing breast cancer, or why 9,700 new cases of breast cancer will be diagnosed in Illinois alone this year. And no one knows why 1,900 Illinois women will die from this disease just this year.

This bill, which has yet to be endorsed by either Sen. Richard Durbin or Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, will help to start answering those questions that will allow us to find the causes of breast cancer. With these answers, we can ensure that women stop dying from this terrible disease.

Once our representatives return to work after Labor Day, they will have little time to accomplish their many agenda items before the end of the congressional session in October. S 830 has the potential to save lives. With 41 Republican and Democratic co- sponsors, and with 13 out of Illinois' 20 representatives co- sponsoring the sister bill in the House, there is no reason why our senators haven't.

Ruth Brody

Executive Director

Y-ME of Chicagoland

Chicago

Dangerous change in immigration policy

Rep. Henry Hyde, who is a member of the House Immigration Reform Caucus, is headed in the wrong direction when it comes to revamping an immigration policy that has all but stripped us of the ability to protect our own borders and control our population growth. Hyde has twice voted to extend the 245(i) amnesty that allows illegal

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aliens to remain in this country with virtually no background checks and is one of five Republican members of the House Judiciary Committee who voted July 23 to support HR 1452, a "family reunification" package dreamed up by Rep. Barney Frank, a Massachusetts Democrat.

If Frank's bill becomes law, it would give the U.S. attorney general the option of not deporting immigrants convicted of such crimes as assault, arson, robbery, alien smuggling, arms smuggling, drug dealing and document fraud. Whether they would be allowed to remain in this country would depend on how long they (the criminals) have lived here and whether the attorney general is aware of any threat they present to national security or public safety. It also would make it possible to allow those already deported for these crimes to return to this country. (It has been shown that about one-third of immigrants convicted of such crimes resume their illegal activities.)

Hyde is not in step with the White House's assurances that since Sept. 11, the federal government is "doing all that can be done" to protect Americans from future acts of terrorism on our soil.

Dave Gorak

Executive Director

Midwest Coalition

To Reduce Immigration

Lombard

Biking to school can be made safe for children

On Aug. 18, you published a report about the Centers for Disease Control and its advice to parents to have their children bike or ride to school. The CDC is very concerned about the growing problem of childhood obesity and the serious health problems that are resulting. In your editorial, you ridiculed the suggestion, stating it was not grounded in reality and that safety concerns prevent more children from walking or biking to school. You noted the lack of safe routes and parents' fears. Instead of suggesting ways to solve this serious problem, you dismissed it and said children should get their exercise other ways.

This attitude saddened and angered me. There are numerous groups and organizations working hard to make our communities safer for kids and adults alike to walk and ride to school and other destinations. The Safe Routes to School program is one such group. The Chicagoland Bicycle Federation, League of Illinois Bicyclists and Northwest Municipal Conference are among the other groups working to create routes that can be navigated safely.

Grants are available on the federal and state level to help pay for improvements. Some schools have developed programs where specific routes are set up and parents who live at the far end of the route walk along with the kids, picking up additional children along the way. There are numerous ways to reclaim our neighborhoods so children can walk and bike to school.

Your newspaper would serve its readers better by covering and advancing these initiatives, rather than throwing up your hands and declaring it to be an insurmountable problem. Our children's health and the health of our communities demand nothing less than your commitment to making this a major focus.

Steven Boime

Wheeling

War without reason is prescription for death

Before President Bush risks the life of even one American soldier by invading Iraq, he needs a reason, not an excuse.

## No Headline In Original

To many Americans, there is only one valid reason for sending our sons and daughters into a war from which they may never return: to defend this nation from a military attack. Isn't that why almost no one questions the U.S. decision to enter World War II?

The United States was savagely attacked at Pearl Harbor. Thousands of American soldiers were killed. We had no choice but to respond with a declaration of war. Case closed.

Every U.S. military adventure after World War II - Korea, Vietnam, Bosnia, Panama, Haiti, Somalia, Lebanon - caused widespread debate and disagreement among the public, especially when the coffins started coming home. And the reason is simple: None of those conflicts involved defending the United States.

So before Bush launches a ground invasion of Iraq, let's pause to ask one question: Why? After all, even Bush hasn't claimed that Saddam Hussein poses a direct military threat to the United States. A threat to Israel and his Arab neighbors? Yes. But not a threat to the United States.

Moreover, while the U.S. government has made vague claims that the Iraqi regime has terrorist links, it has produced not a shred of public evidence linking Saddam Hussein to the Sept. 11 attacks on New York and Washington.

In lieu of a direct-threat argument, Bush has cobbled together a list of grievances against Hussein, none of which provides sufficient justification for risking American lives and invading a sovereign nation.

Austin L. Hough

Chairman

Libertarian Party of Illinois

East Dundee

**Load-Date:** August 30, 2002

## *Tehran to discuss post-Saddam plans IRAN:*

Financial Times (London, England)

February 6, 2003 Thursday

London Edition 2

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**Section:** IRAQ CRISIS ; Pg. 6

**Length:** 667 words

**Byline:** By LEYLA BOULTON, JEAN EAGLESHAM, KRISHNA GUHA and MATTHEW JONES

**Dateline:** ANKARA

### **Body**

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Kamal Kharrazi, Iran's foreign minister, will today meet the British prime minister and foreign secretary in London for talks covering the crisis over Iraq and Iranian fears of what might follow a US-led attack on its neighbour.

In what Downing Street described as a "keeping-in-touch exercise", Tony Blair is expected to reassure Mr Kharrazi that Britain is committed to "preserving Iraq as a sovereign state" with its present borders.

The meeting - which comes less than two months after Mr Blair met Syrian President Bashar Al-Assad - is likely draw a frosty response from Israel and hawks in the US administration, who accuse Iran of sponsoring terrorism.

Iranian dissidents will demonstrate against human rights abuses near Downing Street.

However, the UK believes that its strategy of engaging Iran is bearing fruit and could help to manage the fall-out from any conflict in Iraq.

"Obviously Iran is a key regional player," a Foreign Office official said, adding that increased co-operation between the two countries had already resulted in a "better understanding on Afghan issues and excellent co-operation on drugs".

Jack Straw, foreign secretary, is understood to have been told privately by Iranian officials as long ago as last October, when he visited Tehran, that Iran would not object to Saddam Hussein's regime being overthrown. But Iran is very concerned about what might come afterwards.

It is anxious to ensure that a post-Saddam Iraq is not visibly and completely dominated by the US.

Mr Kharrazi is expected to tell Mr Blair that Iraq must not be put under US military government for any sustained period of time, and a post-Saddam government must be swiftly established under a UN banner.

In return Iran is understood to have agreed not to push for a future government to be dominated by its ethnic and religious cousins, the Iraqi Shia, who form the largest proportion of the Iraqi population.

More broadly, Iran is keen to enlist Britain as an unofficial go-between with Washington.

Tehran to discuss post-Saddam plans IRAN :

Mr Blair and Mr Straw will tell Mr Kharrazi that Britain wants to push ahead with peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians.

They will hold out the possibility that improving relations could ultimately lead to an EU-Iran trade agreement.

But they will insist on progress on Iran's weapons of mass destruction programme, and an end to support for the campaign of suicide bombings carried out by Islamic Jihad and Hamas in Israel and the occupied territories.

Britain to send more combat aircraft

The British government will announce today it is sending more than 40 extra combat aircraft to the Gulf, as part of the military build-up, writes Jean Eaglesham, Political Correspondent.

Geoff Hoon, defence secretary, is expected to tell parliament that more Tornado, Jaguar and Harrier ground attack aircraft will be sent to supplement the British aircraft already patrolling the no-fly zones over Iraq.

The deployment will take the number of Royal Air Force personnel in the region to more than 3,000. In total, the British contribution to a potential attack on Iraq now numbers almost 40,000 servicemen and women.

The deployment will include air-to-air refuelling and reconnaissance aircraft that can be used by both British and US forces and are of more value militarily to the US than the combat aircraft. Analysts say the overwhelming US air superiority in the region removes any direct military need for combat aircraft.

\* Turkey's parliament is expected to vote today to allow the US to upgrade Turkish air bases for use in a war against Iraq, writes Leyla Boulton in Ankara.

Turkish journalists briefed by Abdullah Gul, prime minister, said that a separate resolution would be submitted to parliament on February 18 - after a nine-day Eid religious holiday starting this weekend - on allowing the stationing of US troops in Turkey.

Mr Gul was quoted as saying that Turkey had done its best to avert a war but that the time had now come to act with the US, Turkey's strategic partner.

**Load-Date:** February 5, 2003

## *No Headline In Original*

Chicago Daily Herald

April 25, 2002, Thursday Cook

Copyright 2002 Paddock Publications, Inc.

**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 2060 words

### **Body**

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Let's thank priests, nuns for their work

It was a week ago that a Daily Herald reporter wrote the story headlined, "Faith not shaken by scandal, suburban Catholics say."

Yet contrary to the headline, the reporter included an anonymous statement that implied mothers at Our Lady of the Wayside School as being uncomfortable with their sons being trained for service on the altar by parish priests. After speaking with the reporter and other Our Lady of the Wayside School parents, it appears the attribution was not credible.

While parishioners are shaken by the scandal, there are no concerns locally, a point the Daily Herald avoided for the sake of a story. The Daily Herald does the parishioners of Our Lady of the Wayside a disservice by suggesting something more exists. While area Catholics have to sort through their feelings, the members of Our Lady of the Wayside strongly support their parish priests the Revs. Vincent Costello and Ignatius Anaele and its female religious Sisters Joan Shields and Adrienne Weseman.

A generation ago, those who attended area Catholic schools were blessed with the opportunity of receiving both a first-rate education and religious and moral training by area diocesan nuns and priests. We were spoiled by immediate access to and attention by the religious who dedicated themselves to our spiritual growth and intellectual achievement.

However, with the drop in vocations, that tradition has passed, and I regret that my children cannot enjoy what I took for granted some 30 years ago.

Wrongs must be righted, and the church is addressing a systematic problem that should not have occurred. In Chicago several years ago, Cardinal Bernardin started a process of investigating and reporting complaints to demonstrate leadership above and beyond what was required by state law and the Catholic Church. Cardinal George continues the process, which has been very successful if one compares Chicago allegations with those in other areas of the country.

If there was a time for us to show our appreciation for the contributions of our priests and nuns, it is now. Those who taught me are old. Let us show them our thanks before it is too late. Let us rise in support of those few religious who continue the tradition, and let us pray for vocations so their ranks may grow.

John Supplitt

No Headline In Original

Arlington Heights

Story unfairly creates cloud of suspicion

As representatives of Our Lady of the Wayside Catholic School in Arlington Heights, we are deeply disturbed by the April 15 article discussing suburban Catholic reaction to the church scandal.

The article quoted seven local Catholics regarding their opinions; however, the only negative comment in the story was a paraphrasing of "some mothers of children who attend Our Lady of the Wayside Catholic School" - without attribution.

Every other opinion expressed in the article was attributed to a specific person except this highly charged statement. We find it irresponsible journalism to make such a strong negative statement without including the source.

To link such sentiment with one parish school leaves an undeserved cloud of suspicion around two outstanding, highly moral, honorable priests. We are outraged that a newspaper the caliber of the Daily Herald would publish something with such little journalistic integrity.

It might interest you to know that Our Lady of the Wayside has 135 altar servers - both boys and girls - not just from the school, but also from the entire parish.

An additional 52 servers will be commissioned May 5.

Perhaps the Daily Herald should interview the parents of some of these young people who would be willing to go on record with their feelings about letting their children serve with the priests at Our Lady of the Wayside Catholic Church.

Bob McDonald, Chair

Arlington Heights

Nancy Farwell, Vice Chair

Arlington Heights

Alan Musial, Principal

Marengo

Bill Brandt

Mark Iammarino

Bob Napoleon

Maureen Sherwood

Amy Somary

Our Lady of the Wayside

School Board

Arlington Heights

Riverside Foundation thanks its volunteers

## No Headline In Original

This week is National and Illinois Volunteer Week. Locally, volunteers make a tremendous difference in the lives of the residents of Riverside Foundation, and I would like to thank them for their time, energy and commitment.

Our largest volunteer group is the Riverside Foundation Auxiliary. In addition to their annual fund-raising activities, members work individually or in small groups with the residents - reading, exercising, shopping and including them in local community activities such as Lincolnshire's Fourth of July parade and special dances at Stevenson High School.

The Lincolnshire Garden Club annually helps residents plant bulbs and flowers and donates funds to beautify the grounds. Hundreds of Knights of Columbus members from Deerfield, Lake Forest, Palatine and other communities volunteer their time each fall to solicit funds through their Tootsie Roll Drive to help Riverside Foundation and many other not-for-profit agencies that serve individuals with disabilities.

Community volunteers and relatives of residents help us by serving on our human rights committee, ensuring that the individual rights of the residents are maintained. Employees of Friedman, Goldberg, Mintz & Kallergis buy, wrap and deliver party favors and presents for the residents and provide funds for entertainment at their Christmas party.

A dozen individuals from Lincolnshire, Barrington, Lake Bluff, Arlington Heights and Libertyville make up our board of directors, the governing body of the agency. They volunteer with no remuneration. Another individual delivers wonderful baked goods donated by local businesses. The list goes on and on.

As you can see, these volunteers serve a wide variety of resident and agency needs. And we are but one of many social service agencies that benefit from citizens involved in their community. We salute our volunteers and welcome others to join in their volunteer efforts on behalf of Riverside Foundation or other local charities.

Pete Mule

Executive Director

Riverside Foundation

Lincolnshire

Harper board should focus on academics

The 2002 Phi Theta Kappa All-Illinois Academic Team just listed 88 winners from Community Colleges around Illinois. Congratulations to the young women and men for their achievements. Harper College did not have one student selected. Perhaps the current board should emphasize academics rather than building unnecessary facilities to satisfy the president's ego.

Ralph Kolderup

Palatine

Once again, eliminate U.S. aid to Israel

In answer to Luciano Vatta's letter of March 31, I repeat my call for the U.S. to stop all aid to the Israeli aggressor.

How does it feel for George W. Bush to have Ariel Sharon ignore his call for pulling back from the West Bank?

Where has Bush been the last few weeks while the Israeli Goliath attacked the underarmed Palestinian David?

Why is Bush pussyfooting around? It is very apparent to everyone that he does not seem to know what he should do, so he doesn't do anything.



## No Headline In Original

As for the power of the Israeli military, our country, like Dr. Frankenstein, has helped create a monster we cannot control.

Gene Holda

Mount Prospect

Editorial missed point of cigarette tax hike

Don't let the smoke - of an unbalanced budget - get in your eyes! In the recent Daily Herald editorial "Deeper cuts must precede any new state tax," (April 8), your editorial writer missed the point of the legislative push to pass a 75-cent-per-pack increase in the state's cigarette tax. This proposed jump in taxes will make cigarettes so expensive that nearly 14 percent fewer youngsters will start to smoke - and nearly 84,000 adults will quit smoking.

With this tax, we can begin to price cigarettes out of the hands of our children. Curtailing current and future smoking saves the health-care system of Illinois billions of dollars in long-term health costs.

Republican state Reps. Carolyn Krause of Mount Prospect and Rosemary Kurtz of Crystal Lake should be congratulated for supporting preventive legislation as do each of the 320 Illinois organizations belonging to the Illinois Children's Initiative, a statewide coalition of diverse interests whose primary goal is to reduce youth smoking.

There is a bonus attached to the passage of this legislation - but it is a secondary benefit - and that is \$537 million in new revenues that could and should be designated for health-related programs by the General Assembly. It's about saving lives, not punishing smokers.

Steven M. Wilk, M.D.

Past President

Illinois Academy

of Family Physicians

Hinsdale

Israel's foes warp history for propaganda

Is it just me, or is everyone else tired and disgusted with the overuse of Nazi imagery and the cheapening of terms like Holocaust, especially as used by Arabs and leftist Europe?

Do those who use such terms with respect to Israel have any grasp whatsoever of history?

Clearly, those terms are not used for accuracy, but to inflame and for propaganda purposes.

The Nazis conducted aggressive, offensive wars, which brutally targeted civilians.

Israel's wars have been defensive, and the Israelis warn civilians to get out of harm's way before attacking the terrorists who intentionally locate themselves among civilians. By all accounts, Israel has the world's fourth most powerful military and the second or third most powerful air force.

If they sought the destruction of people, they would use it to wipe out opposition despite the collateral loss of Palestinian civilians.

The death of Israeli soldiers in Jenin shows, however, that Israel would sooner accept its own casualties than abandon the humanitarian principles that underlie its existence.

## No Headline In Original

We cannot say the same for either the current crop of Palestinian terrorists or the Arab armies that thrice tried (unsuccessfully) to "drive the Jews into the sea." God bless America and Americans, who according to all recent polling data know that the cause of this crisis is Yasser Arafat and his minions. Politicians need to listen to our people and oppose not only the terrorists, but those whose financial and political support makes their despicable acts possible.

Richard Benkin

Mount Prospect

What does editorial board have to say now?

I seem to recall that, in the last gubernatorial election, the Daily Herald strongly endorsed the election of George Ryan over that of a worthy Democratic challenger. Any second thoughts, regrets or apologies? Or does being an editorial board mean never having to say you're sorry?

John Posey

Buffalo Grove

Current war strategy has a few problems

I left World War II as only a private first class, so far be it for me to tell all the generals how to run this war. However, as soon as it was made known that they wanted to win this war with no casualties, I knew we were in trouble.

We depended on air power and Afghanistan to beat the enemy. We should have brought in thousands of our troops to seal the borders and destroy the enemy instead of trying to do it with 200 troops.

Consequently, we allowed just about all of the enemy to slip away and no victory in sight.

V. Guerrucci

Buffalo Grove

Arab leaders incite hate and violence

Just think, if Palestinian leaders had arrested Hamas mastermind Husam Ataf Ali Badran like they had promised to, the March string of Hamas suicide bombings and the resulting Israeli military invasion to capture Badran may never have occurred.

Just think, if Palestinian leaders had dismantled the bomb laboratories throughout the West Bank like they had promised to, the Israeli military invasion to dismantle those laboratories may never have occurred.

If the Arab leaders declared a Palestinian state in the territories they governed from 1948 to 1967, there would be a Palestinian state today. If the Arab leaders built homes instead of refugee camps for Palestinians in the 1950s, there would be no refugee camps today.

If Arab leaders did not teach the hatred and killing of all Jews in Palestinian text books and Saudi newspapers, they may have a population ready to accept diversity and peace. It is time the Arab leadership stopped furthering Arab unity by inciting hate and violence against non-Arabs and instead started planting the seeds of tolerance from which peace must grow.

Adam H. Fleischer

Chicago

No Headline In Original

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2002

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**No Headline In Original**

Chicago Daily Herald  
April 27, 2003, Sunday Cook

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**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 2116 words

**Body**

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Back a compromise on tax refunds

I read with interest your recent article concerning pending legislation that would eliminate the Property Tax Appeal Board as a venue for appealing property tax assessments for owners of commercial and industrial property in Cook County.

You correctly identified the major issues being bandied about: that PTAB refunds cost taxing districts millions; that the primary beneficiary of these refunds is big business; and that legislation is pending to remove PTAB for certain property owners to stop these refunds from occurring. Your article mentions that PTAB is a "poor man's court."

As an attorney who represents small businesses and small taxpayers in the tax appeal process, I agree.

I do not agree, however, that eliminating PTAB as proposed is the solution. Your article does not mention compromise legislation that is circulating.

These proposals would either eliminate PTAB for big business (and keep it for owners of small property) or keep PTAB for everyone and impose courtlike rules for big business (in an attempt to make it more difficult for them to obtain refunds).

These proposals also would allow taxing districts to recoup tax refunds through supplemental levies and eliminate the practice of applying median levels of assessment (which could prove costly to taxing districts in the future). The compromise legislation addresses the legitimate issues raised by the taxing districts, maintains PTAB for the small-property owner and has broad support from groups such as the Civic Federation, the Illinois State Bar Association, the Chicago Bar Association and the Illinois Real Estate Lawyers Association. The overwhelming majority of the tax refunds being complained about are going to big business.

Let's not throw out the baby with the bath water by penalizing small-property owners (whose collective tax refunds don't amount to much).

Let's keep the "poor man's court" for the little guy - the small-property owner.

I urge our legislators to oppose Senate Bill 620 and support the compromise legislation.

Michael J. Elliott

Arlington Heights

## No Headline In Original

Once again, liberals are proved wrong

I wanted to take a moment to add to the congratulatory sentiments being expressed by the majority of Americans over President Bush ridding the world of a monster like Saddam Hussein.

It was especially satisfying to see left-wing liberal Democrats such as Tom Daschle and Dick Durbin made to keep quiet after they made fools of themselves pandering to the demonstrators and claiming we should continue to defer to the United Nations to deal with Hussein, after it had done nothing about him for 12 years. This is the same United Nations that now has Syria heading the committee on human rights, as ridiculous as that may seem.

I also am very pleased that the public has been able to see with their own eyes how disgusting the "America last" liberal demonstrators are, always demonstrating against anything our government does, with never a word spoken against the atrocities of Hussein.

They, and the spineless left-wing politicians in France, Germany and Canada are the modern equivalent of the appeasers of pre-World War II, who always argued against standing up to the monstrous deeds of Adolf Hitler.

To the liberal Democrat crowd, no lives outside of this country are ever worth worrying about. Some may forget that the majority of the morally bankrupt liberal Democrats in the U.S. Senate voted against intervening to save the women and children of helpless Kuwait from the rapes and murders being perpetrated on them by the Iraqi barbarians, and to stop the aggression of Iraq.

This fact is a major reason why Republicans across the country scored such big wins last election and will do so again in 2004. Few rational people would want the country to be led by the "politics first, America last" liberal Democrats they see in action, after Sept. 11, 2001.

Jim Snyder

Hoffman Estates

Bush's 'victory' is not a victory at all

There has been a great deal of speculation in your paper, among the general public, and indeed even by George Bush himself, as to when we will declare victory in the war on Iraq. Unfortunately, Bush sent our nation into a war that cannot be won through military force.

Ostensibly, this war was waged in an effort to help ensure national security. But in choosing the warpath, the Bush administration chose a course of action that strays far from the path toward security.

There is no way we can fathom the countless means by which al- Qaida, leaders like Saddam Hussein, or any other individual, group or country may try to harm our citizens or nation. There is no way we can protect ourselves from every possible threat. And so our greatest hope for security comes from making friends, not enemies - from striving for peace and mutual respect between nations, rather than war.

True security does not come from attacking another sovereign nation. It comes through diplomacy, through working together to find peaceful solutions to grave problems. Bush failed at diplomacy when he snubbed our allies in the United Nations, dismissed their assertions that his warmongering was shortsighted and chose to act alone. His plan to limit as much as possible the U.N.'s role in helping to rebuild Iraq suggests he intends to continue to alienate the few partners we may have remaining in this world.

As the most public symbol of America, Bush's actions tell the world that Americans are arrogant, disrespectful and do not want or deserve the support, aid and protection of other nations. He continues to make this world a lonelier, and much less safe, place for all of us. In the end, he guarantees a war that in terms of military dominance he might call a victory, but in terms of the good of the country and its citizens, is a monumental defeat.

Joan Marsan

## No Headline In Original

Chicago

Syria differs from Iraq only in degree

Secretary of State Colin Powell's trip to Syria next month is a mistake, bestowing respect on an undeserving, thuggish regime differing only in degree, but not in kind, from Saddam Hussein's Iraq.

Syria is a clone of Iraq, occupying neighboring Lebanon, just as Iraq occupied Kuwait. Syria is a ruthless occupier of what used to be a model of freedom and democracy in the Middle East. Posing as liberator, Syria has defied U.N. Resolution 520 and refused to honor the Taif Accord obliging it to withdraw. It has entrenched itself, using military force and terror against the Lebanese, especially its Christian community.

Its jails and torture chambers rival those of Hussein, according to evidence presented by Free-Lebanon groups-in-exile around the world.

Syria suppresses dissent and oppresses its people as ruthlessly as Hussein. In 1982, Syrian troops laid siege to the city of Hama for 27 days, bombarding it with heavy artillery and tanks, then invading, slaughtering up to 40,000 men, women and children.

The 30,000 Syrian troops illegally in Lebanon openly supply and protect two fanatic terrorist groups, Hezbollah and Hamas, transshipping weapons from Iran for these two groups. Hezbollah was directly involved in the bombing that murdered 241 U.S. Marines in their barracks.

Damascus is a Club Med for terrorists, home to several of the world's most notorious terrorist organizations, including Hezbollah, Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine General Command and Palestine Islamic Jihad.

Syria has a choice, as Iraq did. It can join the community of civilized nations, or it can continue to be a state sponsor of terror. It can turn over the Iraqi war criminals who sought safe harbor there or it can face the "serious consequences."

Daniel John Sobieski

Chicago

Why fight, if not for right to free speech?

In the last few weeks, a few individuals have come down pretty hard on "peacenik ladies in pink dresses."

I was under the impression that Operation Iraqi Freedom was to liberate the Iraqi people so they could have all the benefits of free speech and other ways of expressing themselves in a free society.

Well, I have a hot flash for these testosterone-poisoned characters. Free speech is what we are expressing. It's a shame that one can't shut up everyone who doesn't agree with them, but even with the Patriot Act hanging over our heads, most of us can speak our minds.

The fact that these anti-peace people can say what they are saying is what gives me the right to speak the way I do. I will stack up my Purple Heart and Bronze Star against these "patriots" any time of day.

We all don't have pink dresses. Some of us have combat infantry badges. Rant away, my fellow Americans.

Raleigh Sutton

Elgin

War is ending, but it was still unnecessary

## No Headline In Original

With the war in Iraq seeming to be going our way, there has now been a rush to get on the side of our president and his Cabinet for the justification of this war. While I support our troops over there, I still am unable to see how this war will help the American people. As of yet, there has been no weapons of mass destruction found and surely no way for Saddam Hussein and his men to deliver them here where we live.

I still feel this war has been unnecessary. The president seems to be getting his due on this war with most people now firmly behind him. But how many of those polled have lost loved ones over there? If they had would they feel the same way?

Only time will tell if indeed this was the right thing to do, but we as a nation have never just out and attacked another country. This president has set a dangerous precedent.

Edward Tobolik

Roselle

Bravery, honor and brutality of war

As I opened my newspaper this morning and was looking out my window at my flag and yellow ribbons, it brought to mind our current war and past wars. Two uncles served in World War II. I lost two friends and a cousin in Vietnam. A young soldier from here in Wood Dale died in Desert Storm. My husband is a veteran. Two articles in my newspaper, side by side, caught my eye. One made me very proud and the other very sad.

The first concerned Jessica Lynch, who was held as a prisoner of war for two weeks and finally rescued. She fought and hit several Iraqi soldiers down to her last bullet, sustaining several injuries as a result. They say she wore military boots to her senior prom! To say I am proud of her would be an understatement. We have our independence and freedom due to soldiers of her caliber, and she deserves the highest of military honors.

The second article concerned a Shiite family of 17 that was fleeing Karbala. They had a leaflet that said, "To be safe, stay put." They misinterpreted it to say, "be safe." The leaflet was written in Arabic.

As they left Karbala in their Land Rover for a safer location, their grandfather wore his best suit to look American. They waved to our soldiers as they approached the American checkpoint 25 miles south of Karbala. Our soldiers, on orders not to let vehicles approach this checkpoint, fired upon them, killing 11 members of the family, including two little girls, ages 2 and 5. I instantly thought of my two tiny granddaughters, and the impact of this war really hit home!

Gwen McBeth

Wood Dale

Pre-emptive strike on Iraq was wrong

First, let me say I am a veteran of military service, and I completely support our armed forces in Iraq. Their job is to follow orders of their commanders, and that is what they are doing, and we all need to pray for them.

I am still wondering if I am missing something in our country's quest to squash Iraq. Did not the United States provide some of these chemical and biological weapons to Iraq to put Iran in its place, when we were at odds with Iran? And as of this writing, we have not found any so-called weapons of mass destruction, for which we did a pre-emptive strike on Iraq. What gives the United States the right for this pre-emptive strike?

Do we have to go after every despot in the world? And are we going to go after Syria without the backing of the United Nations? I believe the United Nations was organized to help keep peace in the world. These pre-emptive strikes have not been shown to be justified or that the war is morally justified. To try to change another person's cultural background is not our God-given right. There has been too much rhetoric and not a lot of sensible thought to settle this conflict without loss of life.

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It is my belief that pre-emptive strikes will lead to more terrorist activities on several fronts both here and abroad, which we will not be able to control and will result in the unfortunate loss of life for civilians as well as the military.

Semper fi.

Deacon Steve Cenek

Wauconda

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### **Body**

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Help is available for breast cancer patients

It was difficult to hear about Maggie Daley's recent diagnosis of breast cancer. It reminds us of the realities of this disease as well as the importance of breast cancer awareness in this country and our community.

Knowing that more than 200,000 women will be diagnosed with breast cancer in the United States this year alone - and that 10,000 of those women live in Illinois - it is imperative that we continue to teach and practice earlier detection methods:

- Get a routine mammogram - begin annual mammogram screening at age 40, but earlier if there is a family history.
- Clinical breast exam - annually for women 40-plus; every two to three years for women under 40.
- Breast self-exam - practice monthly; seven to 10 days after the first day of your menstrual cycle or the same day each month for those who are post-menopausal.

While these earlier detection methods are not perfect, they are the best diagnostic tools available to us today and should be practiced together with the consultation of a physician. When a breast cancer diagnosis is made, it typically evokes many questions, emotions and the need to make informed decisions quickly. This is a time in a woman's life when she needs the support of family and friends, but may also need to reach out to another woman who has walked in the same shoes.

The 24-hour Y-ME National Breast Cancer Hotline - (800) 221- 2141, English; (800) 986-9505, Spanish - is staffed by trained peer counselors who are breast cancer survivors and offers support and information to patients, survivors and anyone supporting someone through breast cancer.

Confidential information and support is also available online at [www.y-me.org](http://www.y-me.org) through Ask Y-ME. All questions submitted are answered within 48 hours by a breast cancer survivor who is a trained peer counselor.

Local support groups, educational workshops and other services are available through our Chicagoland Affiliate at (312) 364-9071 or [www.y-mechicagoland.org](http://www.y-mechicagoland.org). We send our best wishes to the Daley family and encourage all Chicagoans to continue the fight against breast cancer through the power of information, education and support.

Margaret C. Kirk

## No Headline In Original

Chief Executive Officer

Y-ME National

Breast Cancer Organization

Gun-control advocate is in distinct minority

In response to Vince Powers' recent letter to the editor, Mr. Powers always has a few comments to make about everything, but he is in the minority. A couple of months ago there was a city council meeting that was going to discuss a proposed new ordinance for some new type of "gun control" in Des Plaines. The only two people who got up and talked in favor of this proposal were the alderman who proposed it and Mr. Powers. Every other man and woman who were allowed to speak totally rejected it.

We in Des Plaines and the people of Illinois and the United States have enough laws dealing with guns already; we don't need any more. The problem is that too many people who are not supposed to have guns are able to get them through "straw purchases" or on the black market. No laws will ever be able to stop people who want to break the law.

As far as his interpretation of the Second Amendment, I do not agree and neither do many other constitutional scholars. "The right of the people" means exactly what it says; it does not say the National Guard.

I will repeat Mr. Powers' own words, "Let's not remain silent on this issue and be intimidated by the loud and vocal onslaught of the" gun control lobby. This is still a nation of, for and by the people as Mr. Powers found out a couple of months ago.

Greg Gdowski

Des Plaines

Next move: Abolish the death penalty

Recently, the U.S. Supreme Court made two landmark decisions regarding the death penalty. In *Atkins vs. Virginia*, the execution of mentally retarded persons was banned. In *Ring vs. Arizona*, the power of judges to hand down death sentences on their own was removed.

These rulings are overdue. It is important to remember however, that they are only steps in the right direction. To fix the problems with the death penalty, there is only one viable option: Abolish it.

Coincidentally, this summer marks the anniversaries of two other landmark decisions. In June 1972, the Supreme Court effectively abolished the death penalty in *Furman vs. Georgia*, ruling it was cruel and unusual. In July of 1976, the court ruled in *Gregg vs. Georgia* that the death penalty was in fact constitutional and reinstated its use. Unfortunately, after 782 executions and 26 years, several glaring flaws still remain in the capital punishment system.

Death is not reserved for those who commit the most heinous of crimes, but those who live in a certain county under a certain state's attorney, those who are a certain race and who have killed a member of a certain race, and those who cannot afford a certain attorney. The factors of geography, race and economics not only have diluted the idea of the worst criminals getting the worst punishment, they also have sent over 100 innocent men to death row. It is almost too obvious to point out that a rich man will never be wrongfully convicted and probably never sent to death row in the first place. This arbitrariness constitutes cruel punishment.

In the majority opinion in *Gregg*, justices wrote that the death penalty did not offend "the evolving standards of decency which mark the progress of a maturing society."

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The idea that the United States is in line with common standards of decency by practicing capital punishment is ludicrous. Capital punishment is unusual because virtually no other free country executes. This past year, 90 percent of all known executions took place in China, Iran, Saudi Arabia and the United States.

John Lyons

Amnesty International State

Death Penalty Abolition

Coordinator (Illinois)

Mokena

Eppie Lederer made a difference in the world

We lost Ann Landers on June 22. She'd been a pioneer. A housewife from Sioux City, Eppie Lederer entered the work force in 1955. During that era most women were reconciled to be homemakers. Many occupational avenues were closed to women.

One of President Eisenhower's associates proclaimed, "What's good for General Motors is good for the country."

Armed with a captivating smile, Mrs. Lederer began. Ingredients for success included hard work, love, devotion, homey common sense, grit, sass, pizzazz and gravitas.

At its height, the Ann Landers column was published in 1,200 newspapers. Estimated readership approached 90 million.

Eppie Lederer made a difference.

Howard Stuller

Chicago

Palestinians looking for peace, not war

Not even the most experienced voyeuristic person of all, armed with an advanced contemporary magnifying glass, would be able to find a vestige of any visible olive branch appearing in the Chaya Gil column headlined July 12 "It's war that keeps Israel occupying Palestinian cities."

By contrast, any amateur looker would at first glance be able to spot a plethora of fig leaves strewn all over the words , sentences, paragraphs and pages one after another. It is practically littering the article with pseudo images about a war that really wasn't.

What kind of war is it when one side is equipped with the most advanced state-of-the-art lethal arsenal while the other side is poorly equipped with man-made material that more often than not explodes prematurely, causing death or mutilation to their bearers only?

It is a virtual pathetic mismatch between a fully trained giant on one hand and a novice, poorly trained mouse on the other.

Meanwhile, those who suffer the most are the ones who have nothing to do with the affairs in the first place. Yet they have to endure the pain of the collective punishment and guilt by association. In fact, the only thing they violated is being there taking care of their daily business and domestic chores.

All in all it adds up to 35 years of brutal occupation coupled with arrests, curfews, targeted and accidental killings and a host of other stuff very closely resembling sub-human humiliations and degradations.

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Palestinians over the years have extended so many olive branches, perhaps long enough to circulate the universe; the Israelis reciprocated with an abundance of fig leaves of their own that covered some parts of the nakedness but still left a large part totally exposed and fraught with so much vulnerability. The Palestinians are so much decimated from cursing in the dark, and their cries for help aren't being heard; they need any glimpse of hope to look forward to.

Hatem Abunimeh

Chicago

If you want fairness, then be fair yourself

Ray Hanania's July 12 column (Images like **Hamas** baby photo distort truth, impede peace) calls for fairness.

Well then let's be fair.

He undermines his entire argument by purporting the same types of biases he accuses us of.

By grouping an entire population together and relating it to a couple of people whose isolated actions were appalling, he basically calls every Jew living in disputed territory a fanatic.

Somehow that doesn't seem so fair, does it?

Ariel Hantin

Chicago

Seven steps toward better transportation

1. The tollways can produce much more revenue; just get the toll booths to operate more efficiently. We need more auto booths, more I-Pass lanes and further back I-Pass lanes, so they can be used more efficiently when there are long lines. In my opinion long lines at toll booths just makes no sense. Put in enough toll booths to handle maximum traffic.
2. Build a new road or tollway just west of Route 53 and I-355. The time to build is now, before all the houses are up out there in the country.
3. Expand the Elgin-O'Hare to three lanes immediately, maybe do four, and expand into O'Hare, now!
4. Lengthen Route 53/I-355 on the north end immediately, and then on the south end quickly.
5. Double deck, an express lane to downtown from O'Hare, both ways.
6. The Tri -State should be four lanes from Wisconsin to Indiana.
7. Clean up the tollway commission - we are tired of wasting our toll money. We want better roads; we have paid the price. Now let's get the work done.

Bill Dorner

Mount Prospect

Those who blame God do not understand

People never cease to amaze me. I read in one of our local newspapers an article where someone stated there may not be a lot of trust in God these days, but at least believe in your country.

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That is outrageous. It's not God who is polluting the air we breathe; it's not God who is polluting the water we drink; it's not God who is engaging in the unsafe sex that has caused so many diseases; it's not God who is raping our women; it's not God who's murdering innocent children and adults on our streets, etc.

It is God who gave us a life of free will and the chance to live a good clean healthy life. Don't forget, this planet called Earth was a beautiful place to live, with clean air, fresh water and everything we need to survive - that is, until man let greed win him over. The way I size it up, it is man I trust the least, and not the one who gives us life now and forever.

Rich Metzger

Garfield Ridge

Press is too rarely fair and accurate

Jim Slusher's July 4 editorial on Americans' need to appreciate freedom of the press was timely and ironic. On the front page of the same paper was an example of how a free press fails to inform us, perhaps because it is enslaved by sensationalism and/or ideology.

The AP article on President Bush's 1989 stock sale omitted previously published facts which put an entirely different spin on the story.

For example, he filed an intent to sell Harken stock well before the sale. It was the confirmation of sale paperwork that was tardy. Also note that this story has been checked by Bush's political opponents for over a decade, and the more one looks at it the more kosher it seems. This is another example that Bernie Goldberg could have used to show how the press exercises bias. Rather than extol the nobility of the press, Jim Slusher should talk about its responsibility to be fair and accurate in its reporting.

Crist Stevenson

Arlington Heights

The lure of casinos is ruining people's lives

Why has the government allowed gambling to expand into our fine state of Illinois? I didn't know our communities were that poor that we had to resort to dirty money to pay the taxes and public officials.

Before all this gambling began, my life was normal. I could go to work, bring home a check each week, support the family and put a little money away once in a while. I accepted what I got, and that was as good as I was doing at the time, and the money was legal.

Since the casinos have moved in, people just like myself have been going to the poor house. If the government would take a closer look, they would find there are a lot of good, law-abiding, tax-paying citizens in and around these casino communities who are being swindled out of their hard-earned dollars, with promises of becoming rich in the wink of an eye.

We are uneducated as to the ways of the professional gambler. The money being generated from the casinos is being used for the purpose of rebuilding these poor communities, and at the same time, the money flowing to the casino is destroying the lives of the people in the surrounding communities some of whom have gambled away their life savings, been forced to foreclose on their homes or have been forced to file for bankruptcy or refinance their homes because of gambling.

The only ones who are profiting from the casinos are the local governments, the casino employees and the banks, who all approve of the hardships they are causing.

No Headline In Original

Let's all vote "no" to gambling at the next referendum and vote to expel these casinos, with all their glamour and excitement, from within our surrounding communities.

Roy Harman

Elk Grove Village

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### **Body**

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News stories miss point of toll authority's effort

After reading recent newspaper reports on the Illinois State Toll Highway Authority's plans to pay \$38 million over the next three years to outsource its violation enforcement system and crackdown on toll evaders, I understand how some people might think the plan doesn't make sense. That's because news reports have been focused on the estimated \$7 million in toll dollars lost annually to scofflaws and not the violation fines the Illinois tollway intends to collect.

Currently, under Illinois law, toll violators are subject to a minimum \$20 fine for driving through a toll plaza without paying, regardless of the amount of the toll due. Ignore the fine and the rate increases to \$70. Those who rack up five or more unpaid violations risk having license plates or driver's licenses suspended by the secretary of state until the fines are paid in full. The point the reports omit, and then readers don't fully understand, is that through the new violation enforcement system contract, we are not billing toll violators to collect the nickels, dimes and quarters they refused to drop in the toll collection baskets.

We are billing toll violators to collect those \$20 or \$70 fines for each unpaid toll. Look at it this way. If the Illinois tollway loses \$1,000 to scofflaws at a tollbooth charging 40-cent tolls that equals 2,500 toll violations. If a \$20 fine was issued and collected on each violation, the return would be \$50,000.

We are confident the new violation enforcement system will collect enough in fines to recover at minimum the \$38 million cost to run the program. In addition, it is important to remember that the new system also will serve as a deterrent to drivers who think they can get away without paying their fair share to drive on the Illinois tollway's roads.

Thomas Cuculich

Executive Director

Illinois State

Toll Highway Authority

Downers Grove

DePaul errs in hiring Carol Moseley-Braun

## No Headline In Original

I write to express my displeasure and embarrassment with the recent hiring of former U.S. Sen. Carol Moseley-Braun by DePaul's School of Law.

As a current graduate student at DePaul, I cannot believe DePaul would hire somebody as ethically disoriented as she.

DePaul has compromised its own ethics in the name of diversity. Wouldn't it be ironic if she eventually teaches legal ethics?

What a shame.

Al Stonitsch

Chicago

U.S. double standard on China and Cuba

China floods this country with all kinds of products. It sends us toys, clothing, food items, appliances and even its baby girls.

We, in turn, sell almost anything it is willing to buy. The reputation of China concerning humanitarianism is probably as bad as it gets. Forced sterilization, starvation wages and deplorable working conditions are just a few things Chinese citizens can look forward to each day.

None of this seems to matter to our government when it comes to trade with China. We buy its goods and sell it ours.

We trade with many other countries with equally deplorable humanitarian records. The largest percentage of our oil comes from countries that hate us. These same countries treat their women about the same as they do their animals, maybe worse in some cases. Yet we buy their oil and sell them anything we can - even the means for waging war, in some cases.

Big, bad Cuba is another story. Our government continues the embargo, all in the name of humanitarian practices, a totalitarian government and its threat to the United States. Cuba is like a defanged rattle snake since the Cold War - no threat to anyone. Yes, its treatment of its citizenry is terrible, but no worse than that of many of our other trading partners. Living conditions for Cubans probably would improve if trade and tourism were allowed.

Surprise, our government is not telling us the truth.

Ron Flowers

Elk Grove Village

Sirens not only annoy; they can cause damage

I commend your editorial on quieting siren noise at parades and disagree with a recent letter to Fence Post that said, "Covering one's ears is a small price to pay for this proud tradition."

If only it were that simple. As a registered nurse, advocate for the hearing damaged and member of three associations dedicated to auditory health, it is clear to me that excessive noise is a major cause of several types of hearing damage. Toxic noise has been repeatedly shown to cause not just hearing loss, but temporary or permanent tinnitus (ringing in the ears) and hearing sensitivity disorders. The American Tinnitus Association also lists loud noise not only as a cause of tinnitus but as a factor in worsening already existing cases. Some of our members have had damage from just one episode of acoustical trauma.

I cringe every time I see a picture of babies and toddlers in strollers at parades who cannot remove themselves from the proximity of the sirens and do not have the dexterity to try to protect their ears with their hands from the



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potentially damaging loudness. Bigger children often are shown in parade photos instinctively trying to cover their ears in a natural attempt to avoid the pain loud sound can cause to some ears. In these cases, pain is nature's warning and should be taken seriously.

According to a study published in the Journal of the American Medical Association, 15 percent of young people 6 to 19 years old showed signs of hearing loss. They may not be stone deaf, but they are not hearing properly and that can affect relationships, school performance and career choices. Hearing damage is invisible, insidious and cumulative.

Toxic noise is similar to secondhand smoke in that decades ago, few took the problem seriously. One wouldn't blow smoke in a baby's face; why blast their ears?

As the ATA tells schoolchildren in its educational programs: "You have the power to hear for a lifetime! Turn it down and move away from loud noise." Hearing is one of the most precious senses. It is our responsibility to protect our children's hearing and future ability to communicate with ease.

Janet Garman

Barrington Hills

**Women's** health story was badly reported

The notification regarding the early halt of the **Women's** Health Initiative upon detection of an increased risk of breast cancer, stroke, heart disease and blood clots associated with hormone replacement therapy was poorly managed, causing a media frenzy and subsequent panic among **women** and their doctors.

Doctors, given no advance warning of the WHI announcement, were unprepared for the deluge of patient calls because the Journal of the American Medical Association commonly releases results to the press before making them available to physicians. In fact, the early JAMA Web site posting of WHI results without prior notification to AMA members has resulted in a flurry of physicians' resignations from the association.

The resulting media reports, many offering misrepresented or incomplete information, served to frighten everyone. The physician/patient insert that accompanies Prempro (the drug used in the WHI study) clearly indicates in the "warnings" section that some studies have shown an increased risk for breast cancer and blood clots, stating no definitive benefit for cardiovascular disease.

It should go without saying that **women** can and do read information accompanying prescriptions, and are capable of communicating with their providers about health risks. It is imperative that research information be provided in proper context with other available data, that the significance of the types of studies conducted is appropriately communicated, and that risk to the average person be accurately represented. Uninformed sound bites and scare tactic reporting only serve to confuse all health issues and impede further research progress. In the coverage of medical research, the harmful consequences of the public's overreaction to sensationalized stories must take precedence over acquiring more readers or viewers.

Phyllis Greenberger

President and CEO

Society for **Women's**

Health Research

Washington

Hank Perritt will give district real leadership

## No Headline In Original

Who exactly is Mark Kirk? He is a career Washington staffer and government insider. He claims to know the 10th District and its problems, yet he votes against what his constituents need: improvements in education and a real Patients Bill of Rights. The schools in this district need smaller classes. Patients in this district want doctors to make medical decisions, not corporate bean counters and longtime bureaucrats. It's time we bring moderate voices to the governing table, someone who has the courage to provide policy leadership. It's time we send Hank Perritt to Congress.

Stephanie Earl Smith

Waukegan

Gil's column dismisses all the real issues

Chaya Gil's "Guest View" in the July 12 Daily Herald needs much correction.

The opening questions: "Why is the Israeli army still occupying most of the major Palestinian cities?" and "How can there ever be peace if the Israelis are sitting with tanks in the Palestinians' back yard?" are excellent inquiries.

Chaya's response is to say, "It is a war," after dismissing other possibilities.

This is a flippant dismissal of the real issue. Chaya then continues to the end of her essay with accusations against Yasser Arafat, the Arabs and Palestinians with irrelevancy and half-truths to justify Israel's actions.

If the world is ever to know the truth, the story must be told for what it really is. The first problem with Chaya's response to the questions are her points of reference, the "Camp David in the summer of 2000" and "the Oslo Accords."

Such points of reference only obfuscate the issues and prolong errant opinions. People really need to know some true history to understand the problem to make a fair judgment. The necessary history one needs to know cannot be related in a 300-word letter to the editor or an essay in equal length to Chaya's "Guest View."

So, how can the readers of the Daily Herald get the opportunity to arrive at a fair conclusion on this issue? The obvious would be to publish a series of articles presenting the facts and the evidence of the issue in chronological order. Then, after the facts and evidence have been presented, the people can discern for themselves what the solution should be.

Anyone with common sense can reason out that the Palestinians are not in their position by choice. They don't even have the opportunity for improvement by surrendering. So, let's not call this a war. It is much worse than that.

Howard F. Wathen

Barrington

Media always mislabel pro-life movement

Why do the media (you know who you are!) take such joy and glee in referring to pro-life people as anti-abortion people? To take delight in categorizing pro-life people as mean, hardhearted and evil is sick! A good 99 percent of the pro-life people are peaceful, prayerful and nonviolent individuals, but the media relishes expounding on the less than 1 percent who exercise behavior just the opposite of good pro-lifers. Is it possible that sensationalism sells better than truth?

A.R. Schmid

Mount Prospect

Will Blagojevich stand for anything?

## No Headline In Original

Rod Blagojevich ... a Clinton spin master ... or just an idiot?

From Chicago to Washington and now back to Chicago. If Rod Blagojevich has learned anything from his travels, it appears to be the art of spinning. The most recent spin has occurred during our country's celebration of its independence.

Rod Blagojevich called the recent ruling by a San Francisco court striking down the Pledge of Allegiance "idiotic." Yet, several months earlier, Blagojevich voted against a "moment-of- silence" resolution proposed by our country's leaders that used as its basis, the Pledge of Allegiance.

Why is it that Rod Blagojevich could not vote for a resolution allowing for a moment of silence for the American citizens who died on Sept. 11, yet when out in the public eye, Rod denounces the courts for ruling the same way as he votes. What? Who's the idiot? Will the real Rod Blagovich please stand up for something? The citizens of Illinois should not tolerate this representation. And he wants to be governor? I don't think so!

Janice Provenzano

Des Plaines

Statistics support conceal and carry

Bob MacDougall posited in the July 28 Fence Post that somehow or another "statistics" support his case against concealed weapons for law-abiding citizens.

In analyzing the 1999 FBI Crime in the U.S. report, I find his comments were so full of illogic, omission and frank error that it is difficult to know where to start. In equating high murder rates with "shall issue" laws, he notes that of the states with the 10 highest murder rates, eight are "shall issue" states. (He neglected to mention that Illinois ranked eighth worst.)

How about this: Of the 10 best states, eight are "shall issue," and two are somewhat restrictive but possible - including the liberal bastion of Massachusetts! Also consider that Vermont, a state in which any noncriminal may carry a concealed weapon without a permit has a murder rate almost one-third that of Illinois!

There are currently 32 "shall issue" states, thus, while five "shall issue" states may have more homicides than Illinois; 27 have better - and most of them much better. (Note that there are only six states with no provisions for conceal carry.)

Other comments on MacDougall's letter:

1. Maryland is not a "shall issue" state. Under eight years of governance by Gov. Glendenning, Maryland is actually one of the most restrictive states.
2. Conceal carry is indeed the answer for each individual's personal security.

Finally, in another Fence Post letter, we have a writer expressing the hope that all law-abiding gun owners would shoot each other as a solution to violence. That'll help.

In a way though, both these gentlemen's theses have merit - although unwittingly on their part, in that Illinoisans are clearly not ready for the freedom and responsibility that go along with the right to carry concealed weapons. A body politic that so readily elects, then tolerates, the worst kind of corrupt politicians should not be trusted. For those who are so inclined, a number of "shall issue" states will issue to nonresidents so at least you can defend yourself elsewhere if not at home.

Spencer C. Hendron

Lake Barrington

## No Headline In Original

Extra airport security is worth the trouble

After hearing George McGovern say that airport security is turning us into a "police state," I am so happy he wasn't elected president.

I guess he doesn't get it that Sept. 11 changed forever the way we will live in the United States. I have flown several times in the last year and was inconvenienced by the security checks, but I sure felt much better as I boarded the plane.

Several minutes or even an hour are certainly worth it to me.

Chuck Morgan

Arlington Heights

Hanania column wrong on many counts

I do not agree with the July 26 comments of Ray Hanania, the Palestinian guest view.

His column is filled with distortions, many more than I can answer in one letter.

1. Shehadeh operated an ugly war against Israel from a heavily populated area, which is a violation of the Fourth Geneva Convention.

2. The targets of Hamas are women and children, another violation.

3. There was no peace plan other than the empty one the Arabs usually offer. Just days before the attack, the Fatah called for continued attacks on Israeli civilians.

4. The current violence was not sparked by Ariel Sharon's visit to the Temple Mount - which is sovereign Israeli territory. The Palestinians had been preparing for their intifada for years. Just look at all the weapons and supplies they had ready.

Yale Rubinson

Des Plaines

Politicians should leave Social Security alone

If the politicians would keep their miserable fingers out of the Social Security fund for their pet projects, then:

1. There would be enough funds for the seniors.

2. There would be enough funds to at least defer part of the expense of seniors' medication.

Politicians don't pay into it, so why should they have any jurisdiction over it? I don't think any of these "elected individuals" has any budgeting knowledge at all. In the off periods, they sell insurance

J.L. Libes

Hoffman Estates

Not another dime to see Ford's movies

It was evident that Harrison Ford was quite unhappy to do his press junket in Chicago, as stated in Joel Reese's article July 18. He was rude and irritable during the entire interview session, according to Reese.

No Headline In Original

For the \$156,000 an hour he made for his "K-19: The Widowmaker," he showed a remarkable lack of class toward the people who help him promote his movies.

I, for one, will not fork out a dime to see any of his movies. The journalists of Chicago deserve far more respect than what they got. What they got was a dreadful interlude with an overpaid, ungrateful brat.

Jenny Polka

Rolling Meadows

Where was regret after suicide bombings?

It's a shame that some children and other civilians got killed along with that terrorist Salah Shehadeh. Where were these Palestinian apologists when Shehadeh was taking credit for nearly two years of suicide bombings? The silence has been deafening.

Bob Kletnick

Des Plaines

**Load-Date:** August 6, 2002

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## *No Headline In Original*

Chicago Daily Herald  
January 6, 2002, Sunday Cook, Lake

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**Section:** NEWS;; Fence Post;

**Length:** 2954 words

### **Body**

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Blame the parents, not the neighbors

While reading your article "How can a child starve to death and no one notice?" (Daily Herald, Dec. 26), I was appalled by the writer's suggestion that the death of 18-month-old James Fredrickson was the result of neighbor indifference rather than the neglect and abuse of his parents, Amanda and Kristian Fredrickson.

How could the writer repeatedly implicate neighbors, "They knew two children lived down the hall ... They didn't know their names ... Nor could they describe them to anyone who asked ... They heard the baby boy crying ... (They) didn't worry much about getting to know them," yet refrain from laying the blame on James' parents?

To make matters worse, Prevent Child Abuse Illinois' executive guru, Roy Harley, explained the Fredricksons' actions by claiming "when someone's self-worth begins to deteriorate, sometimes they take it out on someone, and sometimes that's a vulnerable child."

Is Harley suggesting that a "lack of self-worth" is the Fredricksons' excuse? Nonsense! Perhaps Harley should be more interested in preventing child abuse and protecting children than excusing abusive behavior.

Amanda and Kristian Fredrickson had the responsibility to feed, clothe and care for their children. At the time of James' death, he "weighed less than 10 pounds" and died from apparent starvation. Since neither parent appeared gaunt or malnourished, both obviously had access to food and water. Yet they chose not to feed James, according to reports.

Frankly, according to reports, the Fredricksons' neighbors never witnessed any obvious telltale signs of abuse. And, if they did, there is no doubt, just as in other neighborhoods, they would have done whatever they could to report that abuse and, therefore, prevent James' death. It was only after James' death that they pieced together possible "signs." And these "signs" certainly were not "red flags warranting a police call," but merely casual observations of a would-be normal family.

Nothing saddened me more this week than reading of the death of little James Fredrickson. And nothing infuriated me more than blaming his death on so-called indifferent neighbors.

Pat Sutarik

Palatine

Reconsider cuts at mental health center

## No Headline In Original

The staff of the Elgin Mental Health Center has asked me to express my views on the downsizing of the civil unit of the hospital.

Before the decision was made, the local legislators were not asked for our input on the downsizing of the civil unit. I was first informed of the cuts by reporters during the veto session. I expressed my concern at the need for downsizing.

On an annual basis, the civil section of the hospital serves between 1,200 and 1,400 severely mentally ill patients for Lake, Cook, DuPage, McHenry and Kane counties. These individuals are a threat to themselves and the citizens of their communities.

The Elgin facility is staffed by a network of experts who daily handle about 150 patients. The section is staffed with skilled employees who have a high level of pride in their work. I recently have met with the members of this group and have seen and heard of their success. It makes little sense to break up this section when it has proved its success at rehabilitating mentally ill patients.

I am told the state plans to save \$3 million from downsizing. However, to serve the 1,200 mentally ill patients through area social service agencies will take additional local and state resources. How will Crystal Lake, Waukegan, Oswego, Sycamore and the other communities treat their citizens who need these critical mental health services? How many of the patients who will not be receiving adequate care will end up in our judicial system, costing the courts and the Department of Corrections thousands of dollars?

I believe downsizing the state hospital will cost the governments of Illinois more, rather than less money. For the sake of our communities, the mentally ill and the workers of the Elgin State Mental Health Center, I would ask the state to reconsider its plan to downsize the civil section of the hospital.

Douglas L. Hoeft

State Representative

66th District

Elgin

It is time for Arafat to leave office

Yasser Arafat stands indicted for negligence as the Israelis have charged. He stands indicted simply by the virtue that he is still alive! He lives in a society surrounded and infused by terrorists who place little importance on human life if it opposes their political agendas. They are totally opposed to peace on any terms other than their own. Anybody who doubts this indictment should revisit recent history, particularly the lives and roles of Anwar Sadat and Yitzhak Rabin, who lost their lives in the pursuit of a permanent and eventual peace in the region.

They did not take a courageous stance to become martyrs for their cause but valued the co-existence of different cultures and religions to occupy the same land and live side by side without the ever-present conflict the area is now enduring. Possibly, the fear of losing our lives is why so few of us step forward with courage and conviction for such causes.

The forces of terrorism lurk in the shadows while preparing for the next strike, and Arafat knows that. I believe his fear outweighs the principles he supposedly stands for. If he either signed a peace treaty with Israel or even arrested significant Hezbollah or Hamas leaders and executed them as they deserve, he would be next on the list, and he knows that. Therefore, he either needs to resign, be removed from office, or do the right thing and promptly leave the country, where he can be safe. The decision is his!

James D. Cook

Streamwood

## No Headline In Original

## Bush waging selective war against terrorism

In his Sept. 20 speech, President Bush described the terrorists who have attacked our nation as follows: "They are the heirs of all the murderous ideologies of the 20th century. By sacrificing human life to serve their radical visions, by abandoning every value except the will to power, they follow in the path of fascism, and Nazism, and totalitarianism."

Conspicuous by its absence on the above list, however, is communism, the most murderous ideology of the 20th century. That is quite an omission, particularly considering that Russian communism not only spawned the international terrorist network but continues to provide it with vital support today. How can the terrorist network be eliminated when Russian sponsorship of that network is ignored, and when Russia is made our ally in the fight against terrorism?

President Bush recently welcomed Russian President Vladimir Putin to the White House. Putin was the head of Russia's Federal Security Service, the renamed KGB. Does Bush honestly believe this unrepentant veteran of the Soviet police-state apparatus can be trusted?

This past October, Bush met in Shanghai with Chinese president Jiang Zemin, where the two world leaders agreed to work together in the fight against terrorism. China is, of course, an openly communist country, perhaps explaining why our president did not include communism in his list of "murderous ideologies of the 20th century." China has been a longtime sponsor of terrorist regimes and groups, including the Taliban.

In a news conference on Oct. 11, President Bush promised a "war against all those who seek to export terror, and a war against those governments that support or shelter them." Instead, the administration is waging a selective war. American liberties will be the real loser in this "no-win" war.

David V. Walden

Des Plaines

Where did so-called patriots come from?

I don't know, where does patriotism start or go astray? It is against the law to desecrate our flag. It shouldn't touch the ground, be stepped on or burned in a demonstration, etc., but someone out there in this great country - tell me about all those items made in the form and design of our flag - made the flag into pillows, blankets, socks, shorts, shirts, undershirts, bikinis, brassieres and God only knows what else that can be thrown on the ground - walked on - sat on or rolled.

Now I would like to know as an American citizen, would the above be desecrating our colors? The main reason I would like to know is because I am a World War II disabled veteran, and I did not fight for anyone making money any which way they can by being patriotic only for the means of making money and especially now, after the catastrophe of Sept. 11. I notice there are many flags flying all over our country. What I would like to know is - where did these so-called patriots come from?

Does it take a tragedy for them to come out of the woodwork or is this the time to say, "I'm an American patriot. I am flying the American flag, and I support the troops because they are the ones who will protect our freedoms"?

If it weren't for World War II veterans, we wouldn't have had such a good life in the last 60 years. But they are forgotten in most instances unless some tragedy happens. Then we are all patriotic and show it by flying the flag. This country of ours is made of different nationalities, and when they become American citizens, they should all be treated equally, no ifs, buts or maybes. We are supposed to obey the laws and treat each other as we would want to be treated, but that is something we all don't practice.

There is nothing wrong with our country - it is the people in it that don't put their shoulders to the wheel to make it work. We put people into office, and they are supposed to represent the people - all American citizens - but they



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forget why they were put into office. Our forefathers were really wise men to come up with the Constitution, etc. Now some want to change the wording in it! I say, don't you dare touch it -"if it isn't broke don't fix it."

John F. Kolnicki

Bartlett

Brave Americans won't bow to fear

Fear is a powerful emotion that will make your mind paranoid. Fear is a dirty, four-letter word to most people. Fear plays mind games with your brain. The terrorists are using fear with anthrax to scare the American people. But the American people are rough and tough and hard to bluff, brave people who won't bow down to the fear factor.

What evil the terrorists have done to the American people since Sept. 11 has failed. For the terrorists' evil, God has returned good and compassionate deeds for America. The Americans are united, one in the spirit of democracy. All the American flags flying in the 50 states make you thank God you are an American.

The churches in the United States of America are united for a mighty revival over this terrible tragedy.

Man's fears will make you worry, but the fear of the Lord in the beginning of wisdom for the humble.

George Culley

Pinckneyville

Abortion justification doesn't stand scrutiny

I can't let David Kives' use of the Bible (Dec. 2 Fence Post) to justify abortion go unchallenged. His use of Genesis 2:7 reflects a shallow understanding of Scripture. Genesis 2:7 speaks to the creation of the first man, Adam. To use one verse of the Bible to suggest that God doesn't consider us worthy of life until we take our first breath is absurd. It not only contradicts the very nature of God but disregards numerous Scriptures that tell us God cares about us from the moment of conception. For example:

Psalms 22:10 -"You have been my guide since I was first formed."

Psalms 139:13-14 -"Truly you have formed my innermost being. You knit me in my mother's womb."

Jeremiah 1:5 -"Before I formed you in the womb I knew you."

If Kives chooses to disregard that evidence, I wonder if he is ready to follow his own logic that a fetus is not a child until the first breath is taken. One of my daughters, as a nurse in the neonatal ward of a major hospital, cares for premature infants. She estimates that 20 percent of babies in her unit cannot breathe on their own when delivered and must be put on a ventilator for days or even months. Kives' logic would allow parents of these babies, or fetuses by his definition, to extinguish their short existence if they felt they were no longer capable of raising the child. Of course, the very idea is preposterous, and our Constitution rightfully protects these infants.

The issue here is not religion but morality and ethics. It is about the sanctity of life. Kives suggests that pro-life advocates should not attempt to impose laws on others, a position you hear summarized in the line, "If you don't like abortion, don't have one." That position is comparable to that of the slaveholder in an earlier period of our history telling an abolitionist, "If you don't like slavery, don't own one." Fortunately, this action, led by Christians I might add, came to recognize the injustice of slavery. Hopefully, we as a people also will come to recognize the even greater injustice of abortion.

Richard Kaiser

Elk Grove Village

## No Headline In Original

Past words of wisdom offer meaning today

I recently discovered in some old files a letter written by my senior adviser at Amherst College to the members of the class of 1943 who were on the threshold of going to war. More than 80 percent of the seniors served. The adviser, David Morton, was a renowned poet at that time.

A portion of the letter made a great impression on me because it seemed to provide courage for those young people who are facing the same situation today, in a somewhat different form.

The segment of the letter is as follows: "It is important for those of us living in this present and for those who come after us, that we see for what it is the womb that has borne this evil. We shall be criminally stupid ... if we do not gain from this spectacle some fresh understanding of the ugly pregnancy of those qualities of spirit which banished their lovelier opposites and so brought the world to the present catastrophe. We shall be stupid on yet another count if we drop into the easy error of supposing that there are national lines in such matters. These impieties have been present in all our breasts; they have bred monsters in some powerful few.

"But I am more concerned here with the enduring Pieties than with the doomed aggressors. Name them over :so excellent are their names: Reverence, Love, Pity, Temperance, Learning, Piety toward the great things of the past. Look in your own hearts and learn how it is with you, and know from that how it is with all men, save those dark few. These presences that have been at once the presiding graces of man's spirit, continue to shine, there and with a singular radiance in the surrounding darkness. As that darkness comes nearer, they will continue to shine, and as the barbaric roar increases, they will continue to whisper their own incontrovertible wisdom. Finally beyond these catastrophic hours, when the race emerges upon new uplands, it will be their presence that endows the way of our going with their light, their fragrance and their wisdom."

A recent article in a major national publication reviewed in detail the historical part contributed by the prophet Abraham in the religions of Christianity, Hebrew and Islam. A just war, such as the one in which America is engaged, hopefully will result in increased understanding among these religious groups.

May the sought-after results enhance and support the endurance and courage of the younger generation in these difficult times!

Samuel A. Hess

Mount Prospect

Moral alternative to contraception

Yet another birth-control/anti-life device will soon be available to American women. Reports say that this device, known as the Ortho Evra contraceptive skin patch, can be worn for seven days before replacing it with a new one.

Planned Parenthood is thrilled, of course, as are other proponents of illicit contracepted sex - that is, sex devoid of procreation. (After all, we wouldn't want the marital act to be used for its God-ordained purpose, now would we?)

But what about those married couples who already have "enough" children? How can they express their mutual love and fidelity without being, well, "irresponsible"? The answer is natural family planning (also known as natural fertility regulation).

NFP is safe, healthy and morally acceptable to all religions and cultures. More importantly, it adheres to the natural and divine law by allowing the marital act to be open to the transmission of life - something contraception does not do.

In his book, "The Facts of Life," author and researcher Brian Clowes, Ph.D., talks about the various methods of NFP - the rhythm/calendar method (Ogino-Knaus method), the Basal Body Temperature method; the ovulation method; and the Sympto-Thermal method.

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Clowes goes on to say that NFP strengthens marriage by "fostering an atmosphere of knowledge, communication and intimacy between husband and wife. It also manifests a couple's willingness to forego immediate self-gratification for each other, to say nothing of giving a good example of self-control and chastity to their children." He cites the statistic that while nearly half of all marriages end in divorce, the divorce/separation rate among couples who practice NFP is less than 1 in 8.

It should be clear, then, that for the good of society, married couples should not practice contraception; rather, they should exercise responsible parenthood by utilizing the methods of NFP, if there is an authentically serious impediment to having additional children.

Matt C. Abbott

Director of Public Affairs

Pro-Life Action League

Chicago

Too bad David Lemak did not help his wife

While I am sickened by what Marilyn Lemak did - jealous rage is an awful thing - too bad her husband, a doctor, didn't do more to help his wife and protect his children instead of marrying in his "bereaved" state!

Clare A. Mack

Barrington

**Load-Date:** January 13, 2002

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## **SHARON OPPOSES LAWMAKER'S PLAN TO MEET PALESTINIAN COUNCIL**

NEW YORK TIMES

January 24, 2002, Thursday

Information Bank Abstracts

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**Section:** Section A; Page 5, Column 1

**Length:** 101 words

**Byline:** BY JOEL GREENBERG

### **Body**

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Avraham Burg, speaker of Israeli Parliament, says he will accept invitation to address Palestinian legislative council, over objections of Prime Min Ariel Sharon, in bid to break cycle of violence and revenge; calls invitation from council speaker Ahmed Qurei, known as Abu Ala, chance for dialogue; they are on joint visit to Paris; Sharon holds move will hurt Israel; two Israeli women die of wounds sustained in shooting spree by Palestinian gunman in Jerusalem; thousands of angry Palestinians march in funeral, Nablus, West Bank, for three of four Hamas militants killed in Israeli raid; demand revenge (M)

**Load-Date:** January 24, 2002

## **15 KILLED BY SUICIDE BOMBER; SHARON CUTS SHORT U.S. VISIT AFTER A MEETING WITH BUSH**

NEW YORK TIMES

May 8, 2002, Wednesday

Information Bank Abstracts

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**Section:** Section A; Page 1, Column 6

**Length:** 108 words

**Byline:** BY STEVEN ERLANGER

### **Body**

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Suicide bomber blows up crowded billiards hall in Rishon le Zion, Israel, killing at least 15 people and wounding 58, three of them critically; photos; map; attack comes as Prime Min Ariel Sharon meets with Pres Bush at White House; Sharon cuts trip short, declaring Israel will not surrender to blackmail; ***Hamas*** reportedly claims responsibility for attack apparently carried out by man who entered club with suitcase, mistaken for technician; Palestinian Authority condemns attack; survivor says club was full of people, many of them elderly ***women***, and that there was no security guard at entrance; police say club was operating without permit (M)

### **Graphic**

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Combination

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2002