

**Date and Time:** Thursday, May 2, 2024 6:44:00 PM EEST

**Job Number:** 223362408

## Documents (100)

1. [\*Nursing a grievance, blinded by narcissism -such ordinary killers\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

2. [\*The Illusions of London\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

3. [\*Devout and utterly convinced of his place in paradise\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

4. [\*Letters to the Editor\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

5. [\*Beauty under wraps\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

6. [\*Sophisticated Sailors On Leave\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

7. [\*Why is religion surging again?; One reason might just be that atheism is too cold and tough to live with\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

8. [\*WHY IS RELIGION ON THE RISE AGAIN?; I FEAR THE ANSWER MIGHT BE DEPRESSING. IT MIGHT  
JUST BE THAT ATHEISM\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

9. [\*Believing in atheists during religion's world-wide resurrection\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

10. [\*THE ' DUTCH 9/11' SENDS LEADERS TO SAFE HOUSES\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

11. [THE 'DUTCH 9/11' SENDS LEADERS TO SAFE HOUSES](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

12. [War-torn nations have lost the will for peace WEEKEND ESSAY](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

13. [Reform or die for Damascus](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

14. [Bush nominated as GOP unites Schwarzenegger, first lady praise leadership](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

15. [Comment & Analysis: Look past the hijab: Muslims in Britain are trying to establish their own institutions and identity. They need allies](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

16. [By Sharon's standards: It was right to hold Israel to account over Jenin. But why are the US and Britain not in the dock over Falluja ?](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

17. [Rich legacy; IN FOCUS : JOHN CORCORAN gives us the lowdown on this year's Writers' Week Listowel.](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

18. [A new party steps up](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

19. [News Summary](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

20. [DEMOCRACY IS NOW A CLOAK FOR OPPRESSION](#)

**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, 2004 to

Dec 01, 2005

21. [LETTERS](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

22. [Summit Collapse Leaves Arab Leaders in Disarray](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

23. [Camaraderie, clashes amid Gaza withdrawal](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

24. [SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY: JIHAD: PLAY THE GAME; WESTERN PC GAMES FEATURE US FORCES DESTROYING ARAB ENEMIES. NOW ISLAM](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

25. [Gaza withdrawal: Cages at the ready to remove settlers who flout deadline: Hard core of Jewish families will be prised out if softly, softly tactics fail](#)

**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, 2004 to

Dec 01, 2005

26. [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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

27. [A BATTLE IN BRITAIN ; AFTER THE JULY 7 ATTACKS, BRITISH STOICISM WAS MUCH ADMIRER.  
DAVID PRYCE-JONES LOOKS, HOWEVER,AT THE COMBUSTIBLE TENSIONS BETWEEN MUSLIMS  
AND WORKING-CLASS WHITES](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

28. [CAMPAIGN CONFIDENTIAL](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

29. [Will Israeli Settlements Serve Them, Gazans Ask](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

30. [Follow the road to Damascus](#)

**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, 2004 to

Dec 01, 2005

31. [\*After a tribute, and then chaos, Arafat is laid to rest\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

32. [\*Grief from the barrel of a gun as Arafat is sent to his grave\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

33. [\*A period of peace after 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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

34. [\*Egypt Confronts Double-edged Sword of Reform\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

35. [\*Emails from the edge\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

36. [WHICH OF THESE WILL BE A DOCTOR? AND WHICH A SUICIDE BOMBER?](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

37. [False Messiahs and Whirling Dervishes: A Scholar's Fresh Take on an Old Topic](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

38. [Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

39. [Lifting the veil on Muslim culture: Controversial leader of Hamilton-area Muslims says he is committed to bridging communities](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

40. [Executions a sad reminder of home for Iranian author: Human rights activist says hanging of two gay teens shows Canada must get tough with Iran 's regime, which she describes as 'a cancer,' writes Aron Heller.](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005



41. [Our victory over terror starts with a strong, secure Israel](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

42. [BY ENDORSING ARIEL SHARON'S PLAN GEORGE BUSH HAS LEGITIMISED TERRORISM; WHAT  
BETTER RECRUITING SERGEANT COULD BIN LADEN HAVE THAN THE](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

43. [For Saudis, jihad abroad is terror at home](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

44. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

45. [Moderate Muslims Seek Foothold in U.S.](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

46. [THE WEEK](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

47. [1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE\[\]](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

48. [1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACE\[\]](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

49. [The hoped-for handshake](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

50. [Christmas Puzzles 2004: See what you can remember of this hectic and eventful year with the Morning Star's annual Christmas quiz.](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

51. [Outlook for 2005: Tests to foreign policy loom large](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

52. [\*Taste Trends: Our columnist peers into the culinary crystal bowl for 2005\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

53. [\*Weekend: 2004 THE YEAR IN WORDS\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

54. [\*Saturday Review: Religion & politics: My brother the quarryman: Arnold Wesker salutes a book that attempts to look impartially at the problems of the Middle East: The Other Side of Despair: Jews and Arabs in the Promised Land by Daniel Gavron 224pp, Rowman & Littlefield, £17.95\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

55. [\*New formula for terror?; U.S. authorities have been tracking a nationwide theft ring specializing in shoplifted infant food and over-the-counter medicines. The money trails run to 'fences' with Middle Eastern ties.\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

56. [LETTERS](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

57. [Is black-market baby formula financing terror?](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

58. [Saudis Support A Jihad in Iraq , Not Back Home](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

59. [Egypt keeps Muslim Brotherhood boxed in](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

60. [borders on ridiculous](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

61. [HYPOCRITE](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

62. [LETTERS](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

63. [Letters to the Editor](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

64. [VILE WORDS OF HATE THAT SHAME TOP UNIVERSITY Daily News Special Report on Anti-Semitism Charges at New York 's Most Prestigious Seat of Learning](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

65. [LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

66. [Little soldier girl](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

67. [\*Shimon Peres : Time Is Running Out for Likud Party\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

68. [\*The mod squad\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

69. [\*ARAFAT IS BURIED IN CHAOTIC SCENE IN THE WEST BANK\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

70. [\*Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

71. [\*Obituary: Yasser Arafat: Dedicated to the liberation struggle of the Palestinian people, he strayed far from its original ideals\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

72. [\*Reviled by America , feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a holiday.\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

73. [\*Slick? No, this sick flick is just pulp fascism\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

74. [\*JOURNALISTIC SINS OF COMMISSION\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

75. [\*How an Al Qaeda hotbed turned inhospitable\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

76. [\*Passages\*](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

77. [It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

78. [Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

79. [God's a bestseller - but there's a fundamental flaw](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

80. [Global Warning](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

81. [It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005



82. [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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

83. [Review of the year](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

84. [Historic pullout begins: 9,000 settlers being forced out of Gaza, West Bank](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

85. [Debate Finished, Candidates Race Back to Campaign](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

86. [After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel 's plight](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

87. [Too soon to talk of Arabian spring](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

88. [Hellbent?](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

89. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

90. [Pity the prison officers with a professional task](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

91. [The Politics of Israel Studies](#)

**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, 2004 to Dec 01, 2005

92. [The Clash Over Middle East Studies](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

93. [Online and Even Near Home, a New Front Is Opening in the Global Terror Battle](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

94. [Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

95. [Tunnel people - INTO THE UNDERWORLD](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

96. [Kingmaker: \(Part 1\): Long a tourism magnet, Trinidad and Tobago's tropical beauty conceals a darker identity. Donna Jacobs investigates Trinidad's ties to terror and, in an exclusive interview, talks to the Toronto-educated man who holds the key to the country's uncertain future.](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

97. [High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

98. [\*A year in Obituaries\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

99. [\*Yes, I think power drives you mad\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

100. [\*G2: First two bitter wars in Chechnya . Then a savage massacre in Beslan . Now Russia 's nightmare is coming true: an explosion of Islamic militancy across an entire region\*](#)

**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, 2004 to  
Dec 01, 2005

## *Nursing a grievance, blinded by narcissism -such ordinary killers*

The Times (London)

July 19, 2005, Tuesday

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**Section:** Features; 16

**Length:** 1199 words

**Byline:** David Aaronovitch

### **Body**

---

YESTERDAY LUNCHTIME found me engaging in my most recent hobby: acting as one half of the debate on whether the London bombings were the result of the Iraq war. But the truth was that I wasn't really interested in this parroted meme. What I wanted to hear a discussion about was the much bigger question of why these particular young men did what they did where they did -why a teenager from Leeds should kill young women from Poland with a bomb in a London train.

The early guff, as ever, failed to fit the boys whose identity we now know. The bombers weren't mostly poor, they weren't mostly uneducated; some of them, with trips round the House with the local MP and in-laws attending Buck House garden parties, were considerably less "marginalised" than your average bloke. But we should have expected this; their profiles were very similar to the last lot of home-grown suicide bombers from Britain, the ones who went to Israel.

Same again with the protestation by friends and families, not of their normality, but of their hyper-normality. An anonymous cousin of Shehzad Tanweer said that he was "remembered by his family and friends as a gentle, loving boy who always had a smile on his face. I cannot recall the last time I heard him even raise his voice." Jermaine Lindsay, the convert who lived in Aylesbury, was, according to his relatives, "a good and loving husband and a brilliant father." Mohammad Sidique Khan was "a kind and caring member of our family".

Ditto the Tel Aviv bombers two years ago. Of Asif Hanif, filmed before death in the Hamas colours clutching a Kalashnikov, his brother recalled: "Anyone who knew him would tell you. He was just a big teddy bear -that's what people said about him."

And perhaps I'd say the same thing. Mass murder, however, with your own slaughter centre stage, is a pretty extreme act. It is an act of such narcissistic destructiveness, displaying such an incapacity to empathise (you have to be there in the carriage with the Polish girls), that you'd imagine some warning signs, if only you could recognise them. I find it significant that the attacks were carried out in London by non-Londoners -people who could dissociate from those surrounding them at the moment of immolation.

It was also, in a psychological sense, a perverted act. The boys will have known (don't the relatives remind us?) something of the wrongness of what they did, just as the Columbine school killers did. For whatever reason, however, the pleasure of contemplating the act was greater than the knowledge of its error.

No wonder that the relatives go into denial. Look at the language. Tanweer's cousin speaks of people having "to face the atrocities his name has been linked to". Khan's family extend their sympathies to "all the innocent victims

## Nursing a grievance, blinded by narcissism -such ordinary killers

and their families and friends affected by this horrific and evil act". Sorry, and I realise this sounds awful, but not "linked to"; not "this act". Khan and Tanweer killed the Polish girls.

Who knew? Someone may have had an inkling. Last year there was a trial involving Omar Khan Sharif's wife, brother and sister, who were charged with foreknowledge of his suicide mission. The wife was acquitted, and the retrial of the other two begins in September. In the light of London it will be well worth examining the evidence.

Shortly before his death Sharif wrote to his brother: "Please take care of yourselves. Difficult times may lay ahead for you and the family in the next few weeks and months...Plan now and get rid of any material you may consider problematic." His sister e-mailed him back. "We all have to be firm and focused .

. . there is really no time to be weak and emotions...Don't worry about Tahira and the kids. She is strong and focused...May Allah take care of us all and join us all soon."

The jury must make what it will of these and other facts, but they throw some light on the circumstances of the "nice, polite" Omar. What seems obvious is that the explosive power of adolescent narcissism somehow met up with a detonating ideology. That ideology, I believe, was not Islam per se. Islam is too big, too decentralised, too diffuse, too open to millions of different interpretations to be blamed for the actions of a few men. Islam is only responsible insofar as it constructed -as most religions do -an idealised afterlife for these boys, who in reality have ended their existences as hated lumps of blood and bone.

Rather, I blame the ideology and the psychology of Grievance -the pleasurable, destructive business of imagining that "they" are being bad to "you", and of therefore calculating every event on that basis. We call it "nursing" a grudge for a reason. We take this aspect of existence and add to it, almost lovingly.

So, last weekend, Azzam Tamimi, of the Muslim Association of Britain, told a rally in London: "My heart bleeds, I condemn it, yes, but I did not make those boys angry. I did not send those bombs to Iraq. I do not keep people locked in Guantanamo Bay and I do not have anything to do with Abu Ghraib, except to denounce it. Politicians, see what you have done to this world." It's not me, it's not us, it's them. They keep doing bad things to us.

This was brilliantly, if somewhat inadvertently, expressed in The Guardian by Madeleine Bunting. She pointed out the Kashmiri links of most British Muslims, and added: "One of the things they brought with them was the perception of a long history of dispossession and marginalisation." This "narrative of dispossession" was made worse in the recessions of the Seventies and Eighties. And then, she added: "The more recent oppression and humiliation of Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan would have resonated powerfully with these collective memories of Yorkshire Muslims ..."

Note how the "more recent oppression" is supposed just to be a fact. And we know to whom it refers and to whom it doesn't. The elected Government in Iraq, the Shia majority, the new fact of Kurdish rights in that country, don't count. All these peoples are de-Muslimified for the purposes of victimology. And that happens because they simply don't fit the narrative. The Sunnis of Iraq are imagined to be "us", but the Shia and the Kurds aren't. The bombed villagers of Afghanistan are "us", the liberated women aren't. The Kosovan Muslims aren't, either, though you can bet they would have been had Nato not intervened to save them. As it is, they too have disappeared from Muslimhood.

This is not some kind of rhetorical point I'm making. It simply is not an accident -in psychological terms -that anything that conflicts with the Grievance is discounted, and anything that contributes to it is emphasised. Consider the narrative of Saddam. There were basically three options. One, do business with him. That equals propping up un-Islamic tyrants. Two, use sanctions against him.

That equals murdering Muslim children. And three, topple him. Ditto plus. All options, bar none, are added to the Grievance.

All populist right-wing movements, inciters to violence and hatred, are adept in the language of Grievance. The only way to fight it ultimately is to argue again and again and again -that it just ain't so.

Nursing a grievance, blinded by narcissism -such ordinary killers

[\\*david.aaronovitch@thetimes.co.uk](mailto:david.aaronovitch@thetimes.co.uk)

**Load-Date:** July 19, 2005

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## *The Illusions of London*

The Forward

July 15, 2005

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**Section:** Editorial; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1172 words

### **Body**

---

Sixteen years ago, the Israeli folk-rocker Chava Alberstein went platinum with a searing song of despair about the unbearable uncertainty of life in Israel and the yearning to move someplace else where life could be simpler and safer. It was called "London."

"Goodbye, I'm going," she sang. "Not that I have illusions about London. I'll be lonely there, too. But at least I can despair in comfort."

Anat Rosenberg was one of the Israelis that Alberstein was singing about. She had moved to London two years earlier, at age 21, partly to pursue a career in art and partly - mostly, her friends suggest - to get away from the violence that had erupted with the outbreak of the first intifada. Over the years since then, she had taken to visiting her parents in Jerusalem with decreasing frequency and growing unease, avoiding Israeli bars and never riding buses. In London she felt safer, her British boyfriend told reporters this week. The last time he spoke to her, in a cell-phone call last Thursday morning, July 7, she was trying to get the Underground to work. Finding her station curiously closed, she hopped onto a double-decker bus. The last thing he heard from her was a scream. She was 39.

Alberstein was wrong. We all have illusions. We imagine that there's someplace to run and hide, someplace we can be safe, and we find it isn't so. The bombs follow us to London, to Madrid, to New York, even to far-off tropical resorts like Bali and Mombasa.

We think that the terror will cease if we are kind and understanding and attentive to its root causes, but it does not stop. We think we can stop the terror by hunting down the terrorists mercilessly, but it does not stop. Terrorists attack in England, which has troops in Iraq, and Morocco, which does not. They kill on the streets of tolerant, freewheeling Holland and of repressive Saudi Arabia. Their leaders are arrested or killed and new leaders emerge. And still we strut and pose and flatter ourselves that we know the answer, if only the others would listen.

Ariel Sharon, who knows something about fighting terrorists, wisely told his ministers and diplomats in the first hours after the London bombings to restrain any natural impulse they might feel to draw quick lessons and share them with the world at large. Express sympathy for London's suffering, the prime minister's office ordered, but don't compare it to Israel's experiences or imply that Israel knows something it can teach England. It's in bad taste and won't be well received. Besides, some Israeli officials added privately, Londoners know a thing or two themselves about living through bombings. They survived the Nazi blitz. They lived through two decades of Irish Republican Army bombings. Their intelligence services are among the world's most highly regarded.

Some Israelis and their supporters around the world wanted to see the July 7 bombings as evidence that Londoners and Europeans in general were insufficiently alert to the dangers of radical Islam. For days afterward, they railed



## The Illusions of London

against the political correctness that impels Europeans and other liberals to seek coexistence and understanding rather than confrontation. They argued, too, that Europeans were foolishly seeking to address the Islamic terrorist threat through the tools of law enforcement, rather than treating as a military threat and declaring war, as the right-thinking folks in Jerusalem and Washington have done.

Israelis have a term for the flood of moralizing and political posturing that seems to follow every terrorist incident in that tortured land. They call it "dancing on the blood." By this they mean the almost celebratory passion with which advocates on all sides seize on such incidents to prove the truth of whatever political or military approach they already favored.

Sharon understood correctly in the first moments after the London bombings that such an impulse would serve Israel poorly in the current instance. Yes, Israel needs to show its solidarity and sympathy. Yes, it needs to have such feelings reciprocated. But no, Londoners would not have responded favorably to the voluble, garrulous Israeli approach. This was a moment, Sharon knew, to emulate the British stiff upper lip.

Just four days after the London attacks, suicide bombing returned to the streets of Israel, ending a five-month lull. Two women were killed instantly outside a Netanya shopping mall; two others died later of their wounds. Israeli press accounts suggest that the bombers, a cell of Palestinian Islamic Jihad from the Tulkarm area, were known to Israel's military intelligence and security forces, but that they could not be interdicted under the current rules of engagement. In return for a cease-fire accepted last February by Hamas and the main Fatah groups, Israel has informally agreed to refrain from targeted killings of suspected terrorists and to limit major troop movements in the main Palestinian population centers. Both sides, Israel and the main Palestinian groups, share an interest in maintaining quiet - to ensure the success of the upcoming Gaza disengagement and to give their suffering populations some rest. The agreement has been largely effective. But it has had the perverse effect of giving freedom of action to Islamic Jihad, a small, extremist group that never accepted the cease-fire.

Israel, understandably, wants the Palestinian Authority under Mahmoud Abbas to take responsibility for enforcing the cease-fire and breaking up the armed gangs. Abbas has been appallingly weak and ineffectual, particularly as Islamic Jihad has stepped up its efforts to mount attacks and trumpeted its contempt for the very goal of coexistence pursued by the two sides' main leaders. Islamic Jihad is a threat first of all to the stability of the Palestinian Authority, and only secondarily to Israel. It is in the interest of Abbas and his aides to quash the threat. Israelis understand Abbas must do more. But they understand that there is not much he can do. And so they grit their teeth and work with what they've got. In effect, they find themselves in a position strikingly similar to the Europeans: surveilling the known targets, watching for signs of trouble, hoping to head them off soon enough. Law enforcement.

Terrorism is a condition of our modern age. It has been with us for decades in various forms and guises. It can be inhibited by various means. Hunting down the leaders and securing public places have dramatically reduced terrorism in some hot spots. Elsewhere, authorities have achieved good results by negotiating with guerrilla armies and addressing the grievances that drove populations to support the desperadoes. There is no single answer, but there is one truth: Terrorist violence will not go away. Rage and hate breed violence, and no one has found a cure for rage and hate. In our age of high-technology, the effects of violence can be awesome. We must reduce it to a minimum, by all practical means. And we must know that there will be more violence to come. On this, no illusions.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

## *Devout and utterly convinced of his place in paradise*

DAILY MAIL (London)

July 13, 2005

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**Section:** ED\_1ST; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** KEVIN TOOLIS

### **Body**

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AS the Tube doors closed and the Circle line train headed from Aldgate towards Liverpool Street, the bomber knew his next destination was Paradise.

Around him stood innocent London commuters but their lives, and their imminent deaths, meant nothing to him.

Brainwashed by his recruiters, he would have held tightly onto the bag containing the explosives, convinced that 'jannah' (the gardens of paradise) lay waiting on the other side of the switch.

In these fabled gardens, 72 dark-eyed women would attend to his every need.

Luscious fruit would fall from the trees and there would be drink and sweet things to eat.

He would live for ever, close to the Prophet, as a living saint and his murderous deed, carried out in the soul of London, would be glorified as the work of a 'blessed martyr'.

Suicide bombers are told they will suffer no pain because the explosives will rip their bodies apart and disintegrate all the flesh closest to the bomb. In a split second, they will transcend straight from this earthly life to paradise.

But in truth, as the forensic experts working deep inside the bombed-out Tube tunnel will have discovered, the explosives will have left a sickening mess of burnt human flesh.

The explosive gases, expanding at 20,000 metres a second, will atomise flesh and bone and the bomber's torso simply disappears. The head is blown off. The effect is like a grenade being set inside a foxhole.

But if last Thursday's bombers were similar to those who have been operating for some time in both Israel and Iraq, these heartless slayers would have stepped willingly towards death devoid of either pity or remorse, and filled instead with hateful self-righteousness.

For the past year, as part of the forthcoming Channel 4 history series on the cult of suicide bombing, I have interviewed dozens of suicide bombers' families, failed bombers, recruiters, intelligence agents and Islamic clerics to try to understand the origins of this deathly cult.

In an Israeli jail I visited a suicide bomber called Hassan Kahlut who had been captured before he was able to carry out an attack on a bus.

Devout and utterly convinced of his place in paradise

I asked what would have happened to all the passengers and he replied matterofactly: 'They would all have gone straight to hell.' The message of hate would be exactly the same from the London bombers.

Suicide bombing is a modern plague. Like a pathological virus, it has spread across the Islamic world from Iran, Lebanon, Israel, Chechnya and the U.S.

Now it stalks the streets and trains of London.

BUT even at the height of the terror attacks on Israel, there have never been as many as four suicide bombs in one day. As the cult has spread, so has its accompanying propaganda.

Often, each 'martyr' is filmed before going to his or her death espousing the justness of the coming massacre.

There are also posters, internet sites and charities that gather money for the bombers' relatives.

Former Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein regularly sent \$20,000 cheques to the families of each Palestinian 'bombing martyr'.

Once, in Gaza, I attended a celebration in a mosque where official 'certificates of martyrdom' were handed out like school prizes to suicide bombers' families.

The ideology which inspires such bombers doesn't need Middle East refugee camps or military oppression to flourish.

For some, the poison can simply be downloaded from the Internet or picked up from hate-filled speeches at mosques such as the one in London's Finsbury Park.

In April 2003, two Britons (Asif Hanif, 19, and Omar Sharif, 27, from Derby) travelled to Israel to kill themselves. Sharif's suicide bomb belt failed, but Hanif murdered two innocent customers in a Tel Aviv bar.

Both men had lived all their lives in Britain, but they were still willing to travel across the globe to die for their warped version of Islam.

Chillingly, the moral of their stories is that hatred can transfer itself into the minds of young Muslims anywhere at the click of a computer mouse.

Suicide bombing is the ultimate weapon of sheer terror. The self-sacrifice of the bomber is part of the message. What more forceful way can anyone say: 'We hate you and your way of life so much that our young men, our martyrs, willingly give their lives just so long as they can take yours.' In the misery of the Gaza Strip, a pro-Hamas cleric, Sheikh Abdullah Al-Shami, explained to me the simple philosophy behind these acts of mass murder.

'Suicide bombing is designed to strike fear into the heart of the enemy. It shows the strength of Muslims in that we are prepared to die.

We are not afraid of death and the enemy is. We will always have that advantage.' In crude terms, he is absolutely right. Suicide bombing reverses the normal logic of power. In normal circumstances, we expect to deter an enemy by superior force. But how can you deter an enemy who deliberately kills himself?

Nor, as Israel has painfully learned, can the threat easily be countered.

In the past five years, more than 700 Israeli civilians have been killed by suicide bombers mostly on buses and trains.

To protect their population, the Israeli government has turned the whole country into an armed camp.

Every bus stop in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem is guarded by an armed policeman.

Devout and utterly convinced of his place in paradise

Every bar and restaurant has its own security guard and every person is searched before entry. But even these measures are not enough.

Ultimately, the only solution has been the ten-metre high wall built on the West Bank, designed to lock out the entire Palestinian population.

But such walls, bus stop guards and a ring of checkpoints on the motorways around London are simply inconceivable in an open, democratic society such as modern Britain.

To tackle the hideous threat, we have to understand the history of suicide bombing.

Its origins lie in the forgotten battlefields of the 1980-88 Iran/Iraq war, when Iranian child soldiers strapped bombs to their chests and blew up Iraqi tanks. As the fundamentalist regime of Ayatollah Khomeini praised these acts as blessed martyrdom, the cult of suicide bombing was born.

The technique goes back to the key battle of Kerbala in 670AD when the Prophet's grandson, Imam Hussein, was killed with all his followers.

Khomeini told his people that being 'martyred' in the war against Iraq was just like dying at Kerbala. Hundreds of thousands of 'baseej' (volunteers) heeded his call. In the early 1980s, the technique spread to the Lebanon a country convulsed by the Israeli invasion and civil war.

As part of the resistance, the Iranian-backed Hizbollah movement recruited the world's first suicide car bomber, and that attack destroyed the Israeli military headquarters in the ancient southern city of Tyre and killed 76 Israeli soldiers.

The transition from battlefield weapon to civilian terror bomb only happened in 1994 when one was used in a revenge attack for the massacre of Muslims in a Hebron mosque.

Hundreds of other attacks soon followed. In time, the ancient Islamic prohibition against suicide was rewritten and suicide bombing reinterpreted as the ideal act of martyrdom.

The most terrible aspect of Thursday's atrocities is that the last thing the bomber would have seen travelling across London would not have been the faces of the innocents he was about to destroy but his own glory.

Kevin Toolis is a terrorism expert with Many Rivers Films, which is making a series on suicide bombing for Channel 4. Many Rivers Films 2005 END

**Load-Date:** July 14, 2005

## *Letters to the Editor*

Lincoln Journal Star (Nebraska)

May 19, 2005 Thursday

City Edition

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**Section:** B; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1183 words

**Dateline:** Lincoln, NE

### **Body**

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#### WEB ACCESS TROUBLING

Last Thursday I spent an hour (3 to 4 p.m.) at the Eiseley Branch Library. It's a lovely library with a hard-working and helpful staff, yet I left quite troubled.

While I've been to the library on several occasions, I used the Internet computer lab for the first time. The lab is a large room separated from the main hallway by a wall of windows looking in on the computer screens which line several long tables inside. Clearly posted on the door to the lab and atop every computer are signs stating that Internet users must be over 17 years of age or have parental consent and must be signed in. I signed in shortly after 3 and was assigned a computer in the middle of the back row.

Around 3:30 the lab began filling up, and I was aware of several children filtering in. Soon after, I glanced up from my work and onto a screen of graphic pornography two rows up and to the left. The boy on the Web page (about 12 or 13 years old) was just then calling over his friend to view the site with him. I felt ill and discreetly stepped out into the hall and over to the resource desk to confirm what I feared. The boys did have parental consent and so were free to use the unfiltered Internet access as they saw fit. I returned to the lab to gather my things and left to work, offline, in a different area of the library.

I understand the arguments on both sides of the filtered/unfiltered debate over Internet access in the Lincoln libraries. Yet, put yourself in the scene I just described. Is this what we want?

Kristin George, Weston

#### NO THREAT TO RELIGION

I was very saddened by Walt Hamilton's recent Community Column. I am constantly amazed at the lack of understanding of such a simple concept. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Public schools, as an extension of the state, may not require students to engage in religious prayer. Students have the right to pray anytime, in school or out, but they may not coerce other students (or interrupt class). Valedictorians, in their commencement addresses, have the constitutional right of free speech to talk about their God, but they may not coerce others to pray.

## Letters to the Editor

It might interest Hamilton to know that Jehovah's Witnesses are prohibited by their faith to salute the U.S. flag, which is considered a graven image and, as a result, were being expelled from schools that required it. The American Civil Liberties Union defended their religious freedom and stopped the discriminatory practice. The ACLU has, in fact, defended freedom of religion on many occasions.

I fail to see any threat to religion in public places. I see billboards everywhere with religious messages. I see religious services on television and hear religious talk shows on the radio. Local churches have been having Easter sunrise services at Indian Cave State Park. I have seen prayer vigils in front of City Hall. People may stand on street corners and pray. So far as I know, no person has been arrested for closing their eyes and bowing their heads in prayer or for making the sign of the cross.

While the state is restricted from placing religious monuments on state property, every resident or church may place the Ten Commandments or large crosses or other religious symbols on their own property. And why don't they do that instead of insisting that the state do it, unless they are really wanting state-sponsored religion which is against the Constitution?

Jan Chism Wright, Falls City

## ISRAEL SEEKS ONLY PEACE

Fifteen-year journalism teacher Gregory L. Keller's recent interpretation of the Israeli/Palestinian turmoil calls for a response. It is to be hoped Keller's expressions in the classroom are more objective.

The modern state of Israel was established by the United Nations in 1948 subsequent to World War II and the Holocaust. Israel occupies less than 1/1,000th of the combined area of surrounding Arab nations, all of whom are unfriendly and wish to deny Israel's right to exist. Israel lives in a bad neighborhood.

Since its inception in 1948, Israel has known no peace, having been attacked and forced into at least seven wars and many skirmishes. Israel has not been the cause of Palestinian hardship (admittedly severe); tragically, the responsibility lies with the Palestinian leadership of Arafat and his cohorts. Consistently Israel offered "land for peace" just as it did when it gave Egypt the Negev (complete with an airfield, infrastructure, a military installation) in return for a peace agreement.

Former Israeli Prime Minister Barak offered more than 98 percent of the land Arafat "demanded" during negotiations. Arafat immediately rejected the offer, made no counteroffer, and promptly stormed out of the room, never to return. It was then obvious Arafat did not want peace; he wanted all of Israel as he had promised the Palestinians several times on Arab television.

Upon Arafat's passing and new Palestinian leadership, there is renewed hope for peace. The terrorist entities of **Hamas** and Hezbollah must cease training and encouraging suicide bombers who have killed, wounded and maimed thousands of Israelis in buses, shopping centers and crowded markets. The wall is to protect Israel's people. The first obligation of a nation is to protect its population. Is not the United States also working to protect its borders? Though Palestinians must pass through a checkpoint, they yet enter Israel daily.

Peace can be assured if Ariel Sharon meets with a sincere "peace partner." Israel desires peace on moral and financial grounds. It has no land aggrandizement desires.

It desires only to leave peacefully with its neighbors.

Yale Gotsdiner, Lincoln

## START MAKING SENSE

I contacted Sen. Chuck Hagel about my opposition to Arctic drilling before the big vote took place. I told him, if he would have read my letter, that we should be telling people to carpool. But really, how absurd! Let's tell people to get to know their neighbors, find out where they work, and talk over some free-trade coffee on our way to work.

## Letters to the Editor

I ended my letter with, "Please do not send me a generic letter telling me that you appreciate my thoughts on this matter but â?i " I told him that this is a waste of paper and government resources.

Yesterday, I received my generic letter from Sen. Hagel telling me that drilling in the Arctic is "A victory for common sense." Well, I'm the first to admit that I have no common sense, but for a senator to refer to my sense in a diminutive manner was a bit hard for me to handle.

Here's the point: I took the time to write Hagel a letter, and not only does he, or someone else working for him, not read my letter, but he insults me as well.

There is a huge education campaign taking place on the ills of smoking. Maybe we could do a common-sense campaign on carpooling, taking the bus or riding a bike.

But why stop there? I hear through the grapevine that a similar campaign may be needed to end something that no one wants to talk about - men's violence against women. Oh, but that would be absurd. I guess I just have no common sense.

Aaron Peeks, Lincoln

**Load-Date:** May 20, 2005

## *Beauty under wraps*

Sunday Times (South Africa)

May 8, 2005

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**Section:** Lifestyle & Leisure; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1156 words

**Byline:** Khadija Magardie

### **Body**

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Beauty under wraps

Despite their veiled existence wealthy Muslim women enjoy being pampered as much as their Western counterparts. visits Gaza City

'The husbands were relieved their wives had "something to do" in a town not known for its buzzing social scene'

'TAFADHAL be my guest,' says Miriam Faris with a grin and a broad sweep of the hand: a typical gesture in these parts. The midday snack is roasted pumpkin seeds. Dr Phil is drawling about nuptial lessons on the TV. Faris's feet, in black-and-white platform takkies, are on the table.

"My husband and I were getting drunk again and getting full of ideas," she laughs when asked what made her start her beauty salon, Rosy's.

Faris, who speaks with a thick north England accent, is about to elaborate further when the phone rings. Feet off the desk, appointment book out, she swings into business mode, all in fluent, unaccented Arabic. "A wedding party? Okay, how many? What treatment? Time? Shukran thanks."

An ordinary day in the life of a beauty parlour. Like in countless other parlours across the globe, the whiff of acetone hangs in the air and price lists on the wall advertise facials, pedicures and slimming treatments. Visa and Mastercard are welcome. But Rosy's - in an alleyway off Omar el-Mukhtar Street, just above Turkoman grocery store - is not just any salon. It makes its business offering bikini waxes and such to the most unlikely clientele.

The salon is in Gaza City, a flashpoint town in occupied Palestine. This is the stomping ground of Hamas, the Islamic resistance movement dedicated to the overthrow of Israel. Its bearded men are hardly inclined to send their women off to indulge in the frivolous habits of the hated kuffar (unbelievers).

On the streets of Gaza City most women and girls are veiled. And whereas in other Palestinian towns you may see advertising posters on walls featuring women, here things are done differently. The models in the pictures are in hijab and their posters have to jostle for space with a plethora of shuhada (martyr) posters.

Instead of the staple tits-'n-ass pictures seen in less conservative areas, images of doe-eyed, angelic-looking young men killed by Israeli bullets stare out in mute suffering as you pass by on the way to the shops.



## Beauty under wraps

The town is grey and shapeless and not pleasing to the eye. Israeli tanks have, for decades, made sure of that. But, as with most things in life, not everything is black and white - and not everyone here lives between a herd of goats and a rubbish heap.

Gaza City also has a prosperous middle class, made up of businessmen and entrepreneurs - like the enterprising Faris and her husband of 33 years, Muhammad, a gregarious man with a hearty laugh and a penchant for good Irish whiskey.

The couple married in 1979 after falling in love as students in England. Three years and two sons later they came to settle in Gaza City, fuelled by Muhammad's homesickness. Back then, in the early 1980s, they had a booming engineering business. That was until the first Palestinian uprising, or intifada - when Israeli clamp-downs in Palestinian towns saw their business take a severe knock.

It was during what Muhammad calls a "lazy night" that they hit on an idea: "Why don't we make a gym for the upper class?" And so Rosy's was born. Muhammad enlisted the talents of his wife, who had trained to be a beautician in England. Then he set off for Eastern Europe - the best beauticians come from there, he assures me - and came back with two Russian blondes and a Romanian.

He set them up in a flat on the outskirts of town. The girls got to work, waxing and plucking their mainly middle-class moneyed clientele - whose husbands were relieved their wives had "something to do" in a town not renowned for its buzzing social scene. Advertising was by word of mouth. Soon they had women from as far away as the refugee camps of Raf'ah and Khan Younis lining up for beauty treatments.

Surprisingly, nearly all their clients - mainly office workers, secretaries and pampered wives - are traditionalists, and veiled. In keeping with the Islamic directive to beautify oneself for one's husband, the women unwrap themselves inside the comforting doors of Rosy's - but cover up again when they leave.

Faris, herself not a Muslim, has learned her business can be tricky. Time, effort and money spent on training her staff in make-up application and acrylic nails amounted to naught when she realised that, pretty as they looked, her clients rejected the procedures because they were considered haraam (forbidden) by Islam.

But times have changed for the salon. Business has slowed to a trickle since the second intifada started and severe travel restrictions were enforced on Palestinians. Faris points to her appointments board. "At the beginning we had close to 200 clients. Now if we get 70, we're happy."

Speaking about the recent death of Yasser Arafat, she is good-naturedly irreverent. "Things were starting to pick up again, especially around the festivals, then Arafat had to go and die - he ruined everything."

The salon is virtually empty. In the gym, a bootylicious woman in a shiny black unitard is puffing on a treadmill. In the salon one of the beauticians, Rose - a Filipina with peroxided hair - is having her hair blow-dried. By a man. In the verses laying down who women can and cannot appear unveiled before, the Koran speaks of "male attendants who have no vigour". This used to apply primarily to eunuchs, but at Rosy's it has been creatively applied to "camp" men.

Faris attends to a well turned-out woman with manicured nails, dripping gold jewellery, who has just come in. They indulge in polite conversation about the name actress Gwyneth Paltrow chose for their daughter, Apple.

The woman is directed through swinging doors to a side cubicle. "A lot of them do it to please their husbands," says Faris. Some mothers bring in their daughters to get "fixed up" before their wedding day.

For Faris it's not about whether good Muslim women should or shouldn't be getting their bikini lines waxed. It's about class - the poor won't do it simply because they can't afford to. There is no short supply of poverty in Gaza City. Most of the women have had to face years of restrictions of movement, Israeli checkpoints where soldiers' hands paw at their hijab, lack of job opportunities, and cultural dos and don'ts that keep them in a state of perpetual childhood.

## Beauty under wraps

For them it's a struggle just to get by, never mind having a French manicure. But these women are not Rosy's clients.

Faris remembers seeing veiled Muslim women on the streets of England and thinking, shame, look what your husband makes you do. Now she thinks differently. "As long as you pay, darling, I don't care what colour veil you're wearing!"

POUND SEAT: Miriam Faris in her beauty parlour, Rosy's

WITHOUT VIGOUR: 'Camp' men are allowed to see women unveiled

Picture: AFP PHOTO/HRVOJE POLAN

Pictures: ABU UMAR

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2005

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## *Sophisticated Sailors On Leave*

New York Sun (Archive)

March 22, 2005 Tuesday

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**Section:** ON THE TOWN; Pg. 22

**Length:** 1082 words

**Byline:** PIA CATTON

### **Body**

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Stephen Petronio is one of those choreographer-dancer types who define a certain sense of artsy cool. It's not just I-wear-obscure-Japanese-clothing cool. (Which he does.)

He's also I-study-the-kabala-with-Sandra-Bernhard cool. (Which he also does.)

As he tells it, though, he wasn't always that way. His high school life was pretty much exactly the opposite. "I was a total nerd," he told me. "I was the hippie, black sheep who was not physical at all." But he left that all behind in his hometown of Nutley, N.J. He went off to Hampshire College to study pre-med, and one day found himself in a dance class. "I got that bang over the head," he said. "I mean, my whole lower half of the body I didn't really think about before."

In August 1974, just a few months before taking the class, he had seen a performance by Rudolf Nureyev. It didn't take long for him to switch over entirely to the study of dance. Though it was late in life compared to most dancers, Mr. Petronio quickly set out on an intense course of dance training. He skipped a semester of school and came to New York to work as much as possible. After finishing his degree, he returned to New York and joined the Nancy Meehan Dance Company. He later became the first man in the Tricia Brown Dance Company. And then struck out on his own.

This week at the Joyce Theater, audiences will get a chance to see what he created from that point onward. The Stephen Petronio Company is celebrating its 20th anniversary with a program that includes three revivals and one new work set to a song by Rufus Wainwright.

In the program's first piece "MiddleSexGorge" (1990), the dancers form a heaving tangle of angry bodies, pushing and pulling each other with intense grace and a lot of intricate steps. Looking back on the work, Mr. Petronio recalls that it was made during the AIDS crisis and plays with issues of control. But there are other images at work, too, that informed his thinking at the time. "I had done some acts of civil disobedience during that time. I had been carried to the van," he said. "When the Ayatollah died in 1989, a sea of people were passing his body along during the funeral."

It all added up to an urge to put those sights and ideas into movement. "I needed to make a dance that deals with control. With the women being as violent as the men."

## Sophisticated Sailors On Leave

At the time, Mr. Petronio was defining his vocabulary and it was turning out "kind of aggressive and sensual." But when asked how to describe the overall look of his work, he goes a bit broader: "It's fast, virtuosic, intuitive, non-narrative, meant to talk to your brain and your pelvis at the same time."

Which is a pretty good way of thinking about the look of "Lareigne" (1995), a work in which he wanted to move away from the aggression of "MiddleSexGorge." Of the work, he said "There's no theme. It's all about the form."

He did give the dancers some ideas to work with, though: "You're like a video character popping through the screen. There was a game called Junkyard Dog - you're running away from something or running toward something."

By contrast, "Prelude" (2000) keeps the dancers in a straight line for most of the work. They're leaning on, holding, or grabbing each other, in a rather dramatic fashion, but they remain in a line facing the audience.

There's a reason why the dancers don't get around much in this piece. "I had broken my foot, and I couldn't really move," he said. "I made it from the chair. I thought of it as a contraption."

His new work, "bud" is the starting point for a larger work (to be called "Bloom") that will be set to an original composition by Mr. Wainwright, to be presented next year. As for "bud," it's five minutes long, and Mr. Petronio says it has a happy feel. "It's very clowny, campy. It's men being very physical and clumsy. Think of very sophisticated, drunken sailors - on leave."

Using contemporary, popular music is something that matters a great deal to Mr. Petronio. "It's difficult to get people to take choreography to songs seriously," he said. "The art world thinks that pop songs are light. I don't believe that. I've choreographed to The Rites of Spring. I've choreographed Bolero. And I find it just as challenging to use a song in a popular format."

Music, for this choreographer, is of supreme importance, and a variety of genres is loaded into his Apple iPod: "I listen to everything from classical to Missy Elliot." Which he can do daily, as he travels from his fixer-upper in Upstate's Putnam County to company rehearsals in the city.

That Mr. Petronio mixes classical and hip-hop music, urban and rural surroundings on a regular basis seems an extension of his impulse to reach out and combine things in art. For example, he has invited his friend and fashion designer Tara Subkoff, of Imitation of Christ, to create costumes for his works. And the extended circles that that collaboration brings to dance invigorates him.

"I love having an audience that includes artist friends, Tara's friends, and people who are there for the music," he said. "If one or two people in the fashion world get turned on to dance. And if some of the dance world says, 'What was that?' That kind of chemistry, I live for that."

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Right about now, the Battery Dance Company is in the middle of its State Department-sponsored tour of the Middle East. This tiny company has been devoted to dance as public diplomacy, and even as the political landscape in the Middle East has shifted daily, artistic director Jonathon Hollander has worked doggedly to make sure the trip happens.

The company had originally included stops in Jordan, Kuwait, and Israel. A few weeks ago, Kuwait dropped out, and Syria was added as a replacement. After the assassination of Rafik Hariri, that was a no-go, too. But there's a happy result. The company now will spend the extra time in Jordan - where they had visited last year, only to find their visit cut short because they arrived two days after the assassination of Sheik Yassin, the leader of Hamas.

"We're lucky that the people in Jordan know us and can have us for several days," said Mr. Hollander. On the plan are extra performances and educational workshops in Amman, where the troupe will be from March 17 to 26. On March 27, the company will arrive in Israel, where they will teach classes at Haifa University and the Arab-Jewish Community Center in Jaffa. Then on March 30, they will perform in a venue outside Tel Aviv.

## Sophisticated Sailors On Leave

I expect they'll have fascinating stories to tell when they return.

**Load-Date:** March 23, 2005

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**Why is religion surging again?; One reason might just be that atheism is too cold and tough to live with**

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

December 31, 2004 Friday Final Edition

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**Section:** FOCUS; Pg. F07; News

**Length:** 1161 words

**Byline:** Johann Hari

## **Body**

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For us atheists, something strange just happened. The entire Western world ground to a halt for three days -- in a run-up to the start of the twenty-first century -- to celebrate the birth of a 2,000-year-old messiah.

If you read the great anti-theist writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries -- men like Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Marx or Sigmund Freud -- Jesus Christ and the Judaeo-Christian God should be a fading memory by now.

They should have joined Zeus, Thor and Ra in the Cemetery for Dead Deities. Humanity should be entering a postreligious era of reason and enlightenment any moment now.

The Independent, London

Instead, Christianity -- along with the other major world religions -- is resurgent. The United States is undergoing a "Second Great Awakening," where opinion polls suggest more Americans believe in creationism than evolution. The Arab world is pickled in an angry Islam. Jewish fundamentalists are today building houses on stolen Palestinian land, on the grounds that it was given to them by God.

It used to be assumed that Western Europe set the pattern for the rest of the world, with its swelling secularism and closing churches. In fact, it looks increasingly anomalous. Britain -- with 12 per cent of the population declaring themselves atheist and another 43 per cent per cent agnostic -- is one of the few places where we non-believers can feel any hope at all.

But even there, the religious faiths that do persist are becoming more extreme. Church of England mildness -- the kind that admits most of the Bible is a metaphor -- is waning, while faiths like Pentecostalism, which encourages speaking in tongues, are rising.

So, how did an intellectual wave that seemed to be washing over the world suddenly recede? Why is atheism failing as a mass movement? Alister McGrath, author of the fascinating new book *The Twilight of Atheism: The Rise and Fall of Disbelief in the Modern World*, suggests an answer.

He believes that we don't need passionate, campaigning atheism any more because organized religion has been weakened. Personal faith has become largely privatized, a minor matter of individual consumer choice.

It's easy to see why Galileo Galilei would despise a Vatican that incarcerated him for revealing basic scientific truths, but why would anybody get so upset about their watered-down ancestors? So "in the Western European

Why is religion surging again?; One reason might just be that atheism is too cold and tough to live with

context, at least, a swelling public indifference toward religion has led to the loss of potency at both poles -- Christianity and atheism," McGrath writes.

But is this true? It's certainly the case that, say, the Vatican no longer has tyrannical powers. A few lingering theocracies force their faith onto their citizens -- Iran is a good example -- but they are few and they are tottering. Yet it doesn't take long to list the victims of religion in the world today.

Let me name just a smattering of the people who will die next year as a direct result of the religious beliefs of others. Evangelical Christians in America have successfully campaigned to deny all U.S. funding for abortion to developing countries, based on the archaic religious belief that "a soul" appears at the moment a sperm fertilizes an egg.

The result? The UN's population fund has been forced to close reproductive health clinics for some of the poorest women in the world -- and condemned them in many cases to die in childbirth. Aid agencies working in the developing world estimate this religious policy is killing 10,000 women and children a year; some estimates run as high as 150,000.

Then there's the religious fundamentalist movement we have all been thinking about: al-Qaeda. I've never been persuaded by the notion that they are not "true Muslims." It's certainly the case that most Muslims in the world don't agree with their interpretation of the Koran, and are as appalled as the rest of us by the murder of civilians.

But the Koran is -- like all religious texts -- the vague and contradictory work of human beings. There are indeed passages that seem to support what Osama Bin Laden advocates; there are other passages that support the idea that Islam is a religion of peace. To say one is right and has stumbled onto the "true" essence of Islam is to make an unacceptable concession to the idea that there is a divine coherence to the Koran.

It's tempting to say extremists from Osama to Jerry Falwell are somehow "distorting" or "perverting" their religions -- but often, they are simply following the guidance of the ugliest parts of their religious texts.

And on the list of religious victims goes. Does anybody think the Israel/Palestine conflict would be so hard to solve if the settlers, Hamas and everybody in between were atheists?

Religion has inflated this conflict over real estate into a Holy War -- and this pattern is repeated in trouble-spots across the world. So I don't buy McGrath's idea that there is no need for angry, proselytizing anti-theists. The reason why atheism has failed must lie elsewhere.

An alternative explanation has emerged this year. Distinguished molecular biologist Dean Hamer claims to have discovered "a God gene" -- a part of the brain that strongly correlates with feelings of spirituality.

He believes some of us -- a majority -- are hard-wired to feel spiritual and to be open to a sense of transcendence. The sense there is something beyond and above them is encoded onto their DNA. Only a minority lacking this gene -- that 12 per cent of Brits -- can ever believe that we live in a totally material universe.

Richard Dawkins, Britain's most distinguished scientist-atheist, is very skeptical about the possibility of a God gene, but he has speculated that religious belief might be so persistent because at some point in the development of our species it gave humans an evolutionary advantage.

The religious might have been more able to cope with stress or with the fear of death than the nonreligious, or they might have been able to bond together more effectively in groups.

So, he explains, "The (persistence of) religious behaviour may be a misfiring, an unfortunate manifestation of an underlying psychological propensity that in other circumstances was once useful."

I like the irony of this theory: evolution makes it possible for religious delusions like creationism to persist.

I fear the answer might be more depressing -- it might just be that atheism is cold and tough and hard to live with.

Why is religion surging again?; One reason might just be that atheism is too cold and tough to live with

It isn't easy to accept that we are arbitrarily evolved creatures living in an empty void, condemned to search for meaning where there is none. Life is more bearable if we enter into the comforting illusion that there is a source of meaning Somewhere Out There, just beyond our grasp.

Perhaps the great mistake Feuerbach, Marx and Freud made was to assume people would prefer cold atheist truths to warm religious myths.

Simone de Beauvoir described the process of losing her faith as "the world going silent."

I can live with the silence -- but most people, it seems, can't.

## Graphic

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Photo: Spectator File Photos; Religious extremists, like Osama Bin Laden, bottom left, to Jerry Falwell, above, are guided by the ugliest parts of their respective religious texts.; Photo:

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2004



**WHY IS RELIGION ON THE RISE AGAIN?;  
I FEAR THE ANSWER MIGHT BE DEPRESSING. IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT  
ATHEISM**

The Independent (London)

December 28, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Independent Print Ltd

**Section:** First Edition; COMMENT; Pg. 31

**Length:** 1189 words

**Byline:** JOHANN HARI

## **Body**

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For us atheists, something strange just happened. The entire Western world ground to a halt three days ago - at the start of the twenty-first century - to celebrate the birth of a 2000 year-old messiah. If you read the great anti-theist writers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries - men like Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Marx or Sigmund Freud - Jesus Christ and the Judaeo-Christian God should be a fading memory by now. They should have joined Zeus, Thor and Ra in the Cemetery for Dead Deities. Humanity should be entering a post-religious era of reason and enlightenment any moment now.

Instead, Christianity - along with the other major world religions - is resurgent. The United States is undergoing a "Second Great Awakening", where opinion polls suggest more Americans believe in creationism than evolution. The Arab world is pickled in an angry Islam. Jewish fundamentalists are even today building houses on stolen Palestinian land, on the grounds that it was given to them by God.

It used to be assumed that Western Europe set the pattern for the rest of the world, with our swelling secularism and closing churches. In fact, we look increasingly anomalous. Britain - with 12 per cent of the population declaring themselves atheist and another 43% per cent agnostic - is one of the few places where we non-believers can feel any hope at all. But even here, the religious faiths that do persist are becoming more extreme. Church of England mildness - the kind that admits most of the Bible is a metaphor - is waning, while faiths like Pentecostalism, which encourages speaking in tongues, are rising.

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So "in the Western European context, at least, a swelling public indifference toward religion has led to the loss of potency at both poles - Christianity and atheism," McGrath writes.

## WHY IS RELIGION ON THE RISE AGAIN?; I FEAR THE ANSWER MIGHT BE DEPRESSING. IT MIGHT JUST BE THAT ATHEISM

But is this true? It's certainly the case that, say, the Vatican no longer has tyrannical powers. A few lingering theocracies force their faith onto their citizens - Iran is a good example - but they are few and they are tottering. Yet it doesn't take long to list the victims of religion in the world today.

Let me name just a smattering of the people who will die next year as a direct result of the religious beliefs of others. Evangelical Christians in America have successfully campaigned to deny all US funding for abortion to developing countries, based on the archaic religious belief that "a soul" appears at the moment a sperm fertilises an egg. The result? The UN's population fund has been forced to close reproductive health clinics for some of the poorest women in the world - and condemned them in many cases to die in childbirth. Aid agencies working in the developing world estimate this religious policy is killing 10,000 women and children a year; some estimates run as high as 150,000.

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So is atheism doomed to be a minority pursuit for the next few millennia until we evolve a new set of genes? Richard Dawkins, Britain's most distinguished scientist-atheist, is very sceptical about the possibility of a God gene, but he has speculated that religious belief might be so persistent because at some point in the development of our species it gave humans an evolutionary advantage. The religious might have been more able to cope with stress or with the fear of death than the non-religious, or they might have been able to bond together more effectively in groups.

So, he explains, "The persistence of religious behaviour may be a misfiring, an unfortunate manifestation of an underlying psychological propensity that in other circumstances was once useful." I like the irony of this theory: evolution makes it possible for religious delusions like creationism to persist.

I'm not qualified to judge if these scientific theories are correct, but I fear the answer might be more depressing. It might just be that atheism is cold and tough and hard to live with.

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[j.hari@independent.co.uk](mailto:j.hari@independent.co.uk)

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## *Believing in atheists during religion's world-wide resurrection*

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December 29, 2004 Wednesday

Final Edition

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**Byline:** The Canberra Times

### **Body**

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FOR US atheists, something strange just happened. The entire Western world ground to a halt four days ago to celebrate the birth of a 2000-year-old messiah. If you read the great anti-theist writers of the 19th and 20th centuries - like Ludwig Feuerbach, Karl Marx or Sigmund Freud - Jesus Christ and the Judaeo-Christian God should be a fading memory by now. They should have joined Zeus, Thor and Ra in the cemetery for dead deities. Humanity should be entering a post-religious era of reason and enlightenment. Instead, Christianity - along with the other major world religions - is resurgent. The United States is undergoing a "second Great Awakening", where opinion polls suggest more Americans believe in creationism than evolution. The Arab world is pickled in an angry Islam. Jewish fundamentalists are building houses on stolen Palestinian land on the basis that it was given to them by God. It used to be assumed that Western Europe set the pattern for the rest of the world, with its swelling secularism and closing churches. In fact, it is looking increasingly anomalous. Britain - with 12 per cent of the population declaring themselves atheist and another 43 per cent agnostic - is one of the few places where non-believers can feel any hope at all. But even in Britain, the persisting religious faiths are becoming more extreme. Church of England mildness, which admits most of the Bible is a metaphor, is waning, while faiths like Pentecostalism, which encourages speaking in tongues, are rising.

So how did an intellectual wave that seemed to be washing over the world suddenly recede? Why is atheism failing as a mass movement? Alister McGrath, author of the fascinating new book *The Twilight of Atheism: The Rise and Fall of Disbelief in the Modern World*, suggests an answer. He believes that we don't need passionate campaigning against atheism any more because organised religion has been weakened. Personal faith has become largely privatised, a minor matter of individual consumer choice. It's easy to see why Galileo Galilei would despise a Vatican that incarcerated him for revealing basic scientific truths - but why would anybody get so upset about their watered-down ancestors? "In the Western European context, at least, a swelling public indifference toward religion has led to the loss of potency at both poles - Christianity and atheism," McGrath writes. But is this true? It's certainly the case that, say, the Vatican, no longer has tyrannical powers. A few lingering theocracies force their faith onto their citizens but they are few and they are tottering. Yet it doesn't take long to list the victims of religion in the world today. Let me name just a smattering of the people who will die next year as a direct result of the religious beliefs of others. Evangelical Christians in America have successfully campaigned to stop all US funding for abortions to developing countries based on the archaic religious belief that "a soul" appears at the moment a sperm fertilises an egg. The result? The United Nations population fund has been forced to close reproductive health clinics to some of the poorest **women** in the world and condemned many to die in childbirth. Aid agencies working in the developing world estimate this religious policy is killing 10,000 **women** and children a year; some estimates run as high as 150,000. Then there's the religious fundamentalist movement we have all been thinking about: al-Qaeda. I've never

## Believing in atheists during religion's world-wide resurrection

been persuaded by the notion that they are not true Muslims. It's certainly the case that most Muslims in the world don't agree with their interpretation of the Koran, and are as appalled as the rest of us by the murder of civilians. But the Koran is - like all religious texts - the vague and contradictory work of humans. There are indeed passages that seem to support what Osama bin Laden advocates; there are other passages that support the idea that Islam is a religion of peace. To say one is right and has stumbled onto the "true" essence of Islam is to make an unacceptable concession to the idea that there is a divine coherence to the Koran. It's tempting to say extremists from bin Laden to Jerry Falwell are somehow "distorting" or "perverting" their religions - but often, they are simply following the guidance of the ugliest parts of their religious texts ... and on the list of religious victims goes. Does anybody think the Israel/Palestine conflict would be so hard to solve if the settlers, Hamas and everybody in between were atheists? Religion has inflated this conflict over real estate into a Holy War - and this pattern is repeated in trouble-spots across the world. So I don't buy McGrath's idea that there is no need for angry, proselytising anti-theists. The reason why atheism has failed must lie elsewhere. An alternative explanation has emerged this year. The distinguished molecular biologist Dean Hamer claims to have discovered a "God gene", a part of the brain that strongly correlates with spirituality. He believes some of us are hard-wired to feel spiritual and to be open to a sense of transcendence. The sense that there is something beyond and above them is encoded onto their DNA. Only about 12 per cent of Britons can believe we live in a totally material universe. So is atheism doomed to be a minority pursuit for the next few millennia until we evolve a new set of genes? Richard Dawkins, Britain's most distinguished scientist-atheist, is very sceptical about the possibility of a God gene, but has speculated that religious belief might be so persistent because at some point in the development of our species it gave humans an evolutionary advantage. The religious might have been more able to cope with stress or with the fear of death than the non-religious, or they might have been able to bond together more effectively in groups. So, he explains: "The [persistence of] religious behaviour may be a misfiring, an unfortunate manifestation of an underlying psychological propensity that in other circumstances was once useful". I like the irony of this theory: evolution makes it possible for religious delusions like creationism to persist. I'm not qualified to judge if these scientific theories are correct, but I fear the answer might be more depressing. It might be that atheism is cold, tough and hard to live with. It isn't easy to accept that we are arbitrarily evolved creatures living in an empty void, condemned to search for meaning where there is none. Life is more bearable if we enter into the comforting illusion that there is a source of meaning out there, just beyond our grasp. So perhaps the great mistake Feuerbach, Marx and Freud made was to assume that people would prefer cold atheist truths to warm religious myths. Simone de Beauvoir described the process of losing her faith as "the world going silent". I can live with the silence, but most people, it seems, cannot. - The Independent

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2004

## **THE 'DUTCH 9/11' SENDS LEADERS TO SAFE HOUSES**

New York Sun (Archive)

November 9, 2004 Tuesday

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**Section:** FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1135 words

**Byline:** By DINA TEMPLE - RASTON, Staff Reporter of the Sun

**Dateline:** AMSTERDAM

### **Body**

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With the funeral of the filmmaker Theo van Gogh set for today, it is as if almost all of Holland is pushing against a great unseen force.

A week after van Gogh's execution style murder, many residents of Amsterdam are still jumping at shadows. A roster of public officials has been moved into safe houses. And today, tens of thousands are expected to pour into the streets of the moated city to pay their last respects to a fallen provocateur and rally against Islamic extremism.

"We had hoped that radical Islam wouldn't set foot in Holland, but we were naive," a Social Democrat member of Parliament, Jeroen Dijsselbloem, told The New York Sun in an interview. "The extremists are ready and able, and we have to shape up our intelligence and police and secret service to fight them. The murder of Theo proved to us it can happen here."

Just a week ago, a man identified by police as Mohammed Bouyeri, 26, a Dutch Moroccan, coasted up beside van Gogh on a bicycle and emptied a magazine of bullets into his body. Some witnesses said as many as 20 shots were fired.

When the filmmaker staggered away, the killer gave chase, slashed his throat, and spiked a five-page letter to his chest, warning of a new jihad in Europe and a new hit list of future targets, including an Amsterdam alderman, Ahmed Aboutaleb; the city's mayor, Job Cohen, who is Jewish, and a parliamentarian of Somali heritage who is a former Muslim, Ayaan Hirsi Ali. Those on the hit list were to be killed for their criticism of radical Islam, the letter said.

While van Gogh's murder has rocked this nation, he had long been living with death threats, though he had refused to accept police protection. Islamic extremists objected to his vulgar allusions to bestiality when referring to Muslims.

He further inflamed the situation in August when Dutch television aired his 10-minute film on abuses suffered by Muslim women. The most provocative part of the film, titled "Submission," featured a shot of a naked actress's body painted with Koranic verses.

The movie was found so offensive to radical Muslims that Ms. Ali, who wrote the screenplay, was included in their fatwah, too. She has not been seen in public since van Gogh's murder.

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The killing reminded residents here of an earlier political murder, that of a flamboyant anti-immigrant populist, Pim Fortuyn, in May 2002. Though he was killed by a Dutch animal-rights activist and van Gogh was allegedly murdered by a Muslim, some Dutch are finding sinister links to the killings. One newspaper calculated that van Gogh was killed exactly 911 days after Fortuyn.

Alderman Aboutaleb, who has been living in a safe house since his name appeared on last week's hit list, said Holland is in shock. "A lot of people here see this is our 9/11," he told the Sun. "But the attacks on New York were part of a big, well-organized plan. There were international money transfers. There was Osama bin Laden. No one has proved that Al Qaeda was involved here. We think this was just a crazy man. What worries us is he could inspire others."

Indeed, while other officials also said they recognize that the van Gogh murder was not an act of the magnitude of the World Trade Center attacks, they worry that his death has opened Pandora's box and Holland's target list will continue to grow, moving from critics of Islam to Amsterdam's gay community to the nation's Jewish leaders.

According to authorities, that has already happened. Dutch police arrested two men in their 20s Saturday for allegedly distributing a video on the Internet that promised "paradise" to anyone who beheaded Geert Wilders, a popular right-wing Dutch politician who has long warned his countrymen of the dangers of radical Islam.

Yesterday, the third-largest newspaper in Holland, De Volkskrant, ran a cover story about a local Web site that proclaimed homosexuality was an illness and called on the faithful to follow the teaching of the Koran and throw homosexuals from the tops of buildings.

And Mayor Cohen has rarely been seen in public since his name appeared on the van Gogh death list. He left his safe house last night to attend a unity meeting at City Hall. Entering the banquet room under heavy guard, he received a standing ovation. He called on the Muslims, Christians, and Jews in the room to band together against radicalism and then, a short time later, left the room with guards in tow.

While there is no clear agreement on how to react to this new terrorist threat in Holland, there is consensus on why it has grown. Dutch schools are segregated, immigrants and their children often have a weak command of the language, and unemployment is higher among immigrants than among ethnic Dutch. That has led to a generation of young, disaffected Muslim men, who are now lashing out.

"We have to start asking why this guy who killed Theo decided to radicalize," Mr. Dysselbloem, the Social Democrat, said. "We think there is isolation and lack of integration among Muslims in Holland. Combine that with a tough debate on Islam in this country, and you have a feeding ground for radicalism. We're talking about unity, and while we talk these kids are logging onto a Hamas Web site to watch a video on decapitation. We have to find ways to connect to them or this will happen again."

The head of Amsterdam's Islam and Citizenship Council, Mohammed Sini, sounded pessimistic. "We've been thrown backwards in our efforts to integrate because of this murder," he said. "Our society is under pressure, but we have to be careful to blame only the murderer, not a whole community. What this shows is that we don't know each other, we're strangers, and we need to change that."

Calming words aside, in the past week there have been several apparent reprisals against Muslims. An explosion occurred early yesterday morning at an Islamic school outside of Amsterdam. There were no injuries and the damage was minimal, officials said. Three people were arrested as they allegedly tried to set fire Friday night to An Nasr mosque in the western town of Huizen. Unidentified suspects also tried to set fire to a mosque in Breda in the south, but the fire died out before it did much damage. In Rotterdam, a fire was started at the door of the Mevlana mosque, but the flames failed to spread. Vandals threw paint on the doors of an Islamic school in this city.

Those problems are isolated, officials said yesterday.

To head off any huge anti-Muslim demonstrations or outpourings of grief, van Gogh's body was quietly transferred from the funeral home to the crematorium, but officials said they do not expect trouble at today's funeral.

## THE ' DUTCH 9/11' SENDS LEADERS TO SAFE HOUSES

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**Load-Date:** November 9, 2004

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New York Sun (Archive)

November 9, 2004 Tuesday

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## *War-torn nations have lost the will for peace; WEEKEND ESSAY*

Australian Financial Review

October 9, 2004 Saturday

First Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Opinion; Pg. 70

**Length:** 1215 words

**Byline:** PETER RODGERS. Peter Rodgers is a former Australian ambassador to Israel. He is the author of Herzl's Nightmare: One Land, Two People.

### **Body**

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In 1974, wearing his trademark black-and-white headscarf carefully crafted in the shape of Palestine, Yasser Arafat declared before the United Nations General Assembly, "I am a rebel and freedom is my cause: I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun".

Arafat in fact had been required to check in his gun at the door and sported nothing more lethal than an empty holster. But that little exaggeration was of minor consequence. Much more serious was Arafat's claimed familiarity with the olive branch. For then, even more so than now, he embodied the incongruities that stain leading figures in the bloody feud between Jew and Palestinian over land they both call home.

At their heart lies the contradiction between freedom fighter and terrorist. There is little doubt that Arafat is both. In his quest for Palestinian statehood, he has employed, directly and indirectly, indiscriminate violence often against civilian Israelis. And he has, again with little doubt, been a better terrorist than freedom fighter. Thirty years after he first addressed the UN, the prospect of the 3 million-plus Palestinians in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank leading lives of dignity and security is as remote as ever. Arafat may have delivered rebellion; freedom he has not.

Nowadays, the Israeli government, led by Ariel Sharon, and the US administration of George Bush won't deal with Arafat. They paint him as the major impediment to peace. That's a convenient deduction by people who should know better. For the major impediment is not Arafat; indeed it's not even Sharon, whose own record of bad behaviour is a close match for Arafat's. The major impediment is the fact that Israelis and Palestinians have grown so used to the conflict they appear to have lost the will, and the courage, to end it.

Both know what has to be done. Publicly they have to renounce their dreams the Jewish one of a homeland in all of Biblical Israel; the Palestinian dream of their own state supplanting the Jewish one.

Arafat and the Palestinian leadership have to say to the Israelis, clearly, unequivocally: "We accept that you have a deep attachment to this land. We accept the Jewish state as a natural, legitimate part of the region. We will deal harshly with those of us who attack you."

And Israelis have to say to the Palestinians: "You paid a great price for our self-determination. We dispossessed you from a land you also hold dear. We cannot undo that wrong. But we can, and we will, help you to achieve your own statehood."

## War-torn nations have lost the will for peace WEEKEND ESSAY

Such a scenario seems unreal. For Israelis and Palestinians are so locked into their own myths, their own sense of victimhood, their absolutist take on good and evil, that they cannot move forward.

Almost daily they feed the worst fears of the other. The two critical elements in this are Palestinian terrorism and Israeli colonisation of the Palestinian territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The Palestinians have no mortgage on violence. Bear in mind that in the past four years, about three-quarters of the more than 4000 people killed in the renewed blood-letting have been Palestinians. Not even the most hardline Israelis would dare to suggest that they were all terrorists. Many of the victims were civilian bystanders, including women and children.

Bear in mind also that in the struggle for Jewish self-determination, particularly in the 1930s and 1940s, future leaders of the Israeli state were directly involved in wanton acts of terrorism that took scores of lives.

But - and it is an important qualification - the Palestinian leadership, especially Arafat, often gives the impression of wanting to have it both ways. Of wanting to use terrorist violence to pressure Israel while at the same time deploring Israeli reaction (and overreaction) to it. Of claiming that to clamp down on extremist organisations like Hamas and Islamic Jihad would run a grave risk of triggering civil war.

Bluntly put, the Palestinian leadership lives in its own fantasy world. It seems to believe that Israel will do a deal while watching the steady succession of attacks that kill and maim scores of Israelis. In the telling words of Dennis Ross, who worked at the heart of US peace-making efforts for more than a decade, Arafat renounced terrorism but never discredited it. The conflict has defined Arafat. Tragically, he cannot move on.

But it is not just the dysfunctional Palestinian leadership that exists in a fantasy world. There is no better example of Israeli myopia than its settlement of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. This movement was launched soon after Israel's stunning victory over the Arab world in the 1967 Six-Day War. It was given an enormous fillip by then agriculture minister Sharon, who in 1977 unveiled his "vision for Israel at century's end", calling for 2 million settlers in the occupied territories by 2000.

Fortunately, that did not come to pass. But the extraordinary thing is that during the 1990s, when a peace deal seemed in prospect, Israelis could not resist the urge to occupy land that logically should have been earmarked for the Palestinian state. In the past decade, the number of Israeli settlers in the West Bank actually doubled, to about 230,000.

Decades of violence have rendered Israelis and Palestinians incapable of making peace. This week's Israeli offensive in Gaza and the resulting blood-letting epitomise the template of their relationship. With a few honourable exceptions, Israelis and Palestinians are incapable of looking the other in the eye and acknowledging that history has dealt each a raw deal.

Both claim the moral high ground and neither deserve it. Each is intent on demeaning the other's cause.

Both are the losers and, worse still, we all are. For the Israeli-Palestinian conflict feeds a wider extremism that makes the contemporary world such a dangerous place.

So should those within and beyond the region try to engineer a solution? The American record is one of occasionally energetic, sometimes imaginative, sometimes ill-conceived endeavour. Four years ago, the Clinton administration brought the parties tantalisingly close to a deal. But they could not pull it off. Partly because the process was rushed; partly because it was driven by American and Israeli domestic political purpose as much as any other factor; and partly because of flawed negotiations in which final Israeli positions proved ephemeral thereby hardening both Arafat's hopes and his obstinacy.

With the European Union, Russia and the UN, the Americans make up the quartet which in 2003 produced a road map for peace. This envisaged a final and comprehensive settlement by next year, involving a two-state solution.

## War-torn nations have lost the will for peace WEEKEND ESSAY

For all its impact, the road map may as well be written in invisible ink. Israel remains deeply distrustful of Europe and the UN. Renewed Egyptian and Jordanian involvement, possibly as peacekeepers in Gaza and the West Bank respectively, could help a process of Israeli withdrawal. But it could also harden Palestinian suspicions that a genuinely free, viable state of their own is simply not on the agenda.

For peace to have a chance, Israelis and Palestinians must acknowledge the horror of what they are doing to the other, and to themselves. They are not ready for that mental shift. And no outsider can impose it.

## Graphic

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PHOTO: Peter Rodgers

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## *Reform or die for Damascus*

The Australian

October 25, 2004 Monday All-round Country Edition

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**Section:** WORLDTABLE; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1310 words

**Byline:** Nicolas Rothwell

### **Body**

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Syria is gambling on a change from the old ways and the stakes are high, writes Middle East correspondent Nicolas Rothwell

THE regime propaganda billboard on Syria's main northern highway is explicit: "Loyalty to the Government of President Bashar Al-Assad means loyalty to the program of Hafez Al-Assad."

But the precise opposite is true, as everyone in the country knows. Syria, long one of the most tightly controlled and doctrinaire of Arab nations, has been reinventing itself, and is now four years into a momentous project of social and economic reforms, brokered by its new, Western-educated president.

Assad's bid to create a modern Syria aims to jump-start the private sector, forge closer ties with Europe and even ease the grip of state security forces -- the all-seeing Mukhabarat.

His efforts may invoke the name of his late father Hafez, his predecessor as head of state, but they mark a dramatic departure from the old system. And this renovation is being pursued at a difficult time for Syria, which finds itself under intense diplomatic pressure on three fronts.

MATP

The US believes Damascus has been giving persistent support to the insurgency inside Iraq and has imposed tight economic sanctions in retaliation.

Israel, which is still formally at war with Syria, claims terror cells on the West Bank are being directed from Damascus. Israeli forces last year bombed a training camp on Syrian soil, and last month assassinated a key leader of the Palestinian **Hamas** movement on a suburban Damascus street.

Syria's long-term influence over its Lebanese neighbour has also come under sharp international scrutiny. In late August, Assad unceremoniously forced the Beirut political establishment to extend the term in office of the pro-Syrian head of state, President Emile Lahoud.

Syria maintains a strong, if discreet, military contingent of 14,000 troops inside Lebanon, and exercises close control over Lebanese foreign policy.

But the United Nations has now turned its eye on this continuing Syrian presence. Last week, under the guidance of the US and France, the UN Security Council issued a unanimous, sharply-worded call for Syrian troops to leave Lebanon.

## Reform or die for Damascus

And in Beirut on Wednesday, Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri and his cabinet resigned, their precarious unity torn apart by disputes over the Syrian role in the recent presidential contest. Hariri was immediately replaced by a pro-Syrian veteran, Omar Karamneh.

Against this disquieting backdrop of outside pressure, Assad and his government's inner circle, neatly balanced between would-be reformers and ideological "old-guardists" of the ruling Baath Party, now face the dilemma that besets all liberalising regimes.

How to relax the command structures that have constrained Syrian society and shaped its economy for decades without triggering chaos? How to introduce free markets and yet maintain the party-state?

The signs are that the president is determined to press ahead. He has announced a comprehensive cabinet reshuffle, strengthening the position of his loyalists.

And in a wide-ranging national address this month, he spoke of matters close to the hearts of ordinary Syrians: the need to free up the ossified, state-run banking system (ATMs are almost non-existent) and the need to play to the country's strengths and release the energy of individuals.

On the street, Assad seems personally popular, even if the regime's track record is not so much admired.

"There have been real changes," insisted one of the many Syrians interviewed around the country for this article.

"It's not perfect democracy, but it's no longer a complete dictatorship. I've had some serious problems recently, and I took them to the security police.

"Well, you know what used to happen. People went into the offices of the Mukhabarat and never came back out. In my case, though, and in many others I know of, matters have been dealt with in a very correct fashion."

This does not mean Syria has been transformed into a paragon of Western transparency. It is very much a guided state, and anti-regime dissidents are watched and harassed. But the cities do not vibrate with the fear of arbitrary authority -- rather, they are alive with a kind of tough, enduring hope for change.

Younger people are among the new president's keenest backers, feeding rapturously on the abrupt influx of mobile phones and satellite TV. Half of Syria's 18million population are teenagers and they know the old-style, state-controlled economy had no hope of delivering enough jobs to guarantee them any future.

Economic and social revolutions, though, are best carried out in conditions of peace, with international support.

Assad and his government have been struggling to reach some accommodation with the forces arrayed against them. This week a long-delayed trade and political accord with the European Union, Syria's preferred Western partner, was signed. And Damascus has been trying to craft a diplomatic compromise over Lebanon. A much-publicised partial withdrawal of Syrian forces from some of their more visible positions around Beirut was staged last month. Significantly, Assad's key new appointment as Interior Minister, General Ghazi Kanaan, was the previous head of Syrian military intelligence in Lebanon.

Kanaan's new tasks may well include an attempt to reach some face-saving revision of the relationship between Syria and its neighbour.

Meanwhile, despite background sabre-rattling, the US has been holding high-level talks in Damascus over frontier co-operation to stop terrorist infiltration of Iraq. There have even been some moves towards liaison between US and Syrian local commanders on the ground at border posts.

This leaves Israel, Assad's permanent nightmare. For all the hostility between the two countries, their ceasefire lines are notably stable.



## Reform or die for Damascus

Murky rumours of initial contacts between Syrian and Israeli officials surface from time to time. They have been so persistent in Damascus that Assad recently, and very pointedly, had to deny that there had been any peace negotiations.

The Syrian leader's present dilemma is as much ideological as economic. The regime's authority derives from its military-accented nationalism; its new path is welcoming in counter-influences.

Syrians can now see ever more clearly how poor their life conditions remain, by comparison with those of their neighbours. This raises the possibility of backlash, or violent discontent, a possibility much in the thoughts of prominent figures among the political elite.

An extraordinarily frank article by Assad's key intimate, Dr Sami Al-Kheimi, the new Syrian ambassador to London, warns explicitly against the danger of an uprising that would "drown the region in anarchy", and confesses to the regime's past economic failures. "Syria is marching towards reform of all kinds, from economic reform through administrative reform and including political reform," he writes.

"Those who gamble that its efforts will fail are deluded. They forget the hopes our people are pinning on the reform that is being carried out by our will -- and the fear of reform imposed upon it from the outside."

Al-Kheimi's views, now circulating in a Damascus online publication, may be taken as those of the young president. They bear the stamp of prolonged reflection on the lessons of Iraq, and they highlight the Syrian elite's determination to transform itself, while still keeping control.

The brusque Syrians, so often regarded by their Arab brethren as poor country cousins, may well have found a plausible way to gain admittance to the international community without losing their national identity in the process.

## SYRIA SNAPSHOT

Area: 185,000sq km

Capital: Damascus

Population: 18 million

Main religion: 74 per cent Sunni Muslim.

Life expectancy: Women 69, men 66

GDP: \$US22 billion

GDP per capita: \$US1201

Inflation: 2.1 per cent

Unemployment: 5.1 per cent

**Load-Date:** October 24, 2004

**Bush nominated as GOP unites; Schwarzenegger, first lady praise leadership**

Bangor Daily News (Maine)  
September 1, 2004 Wednesday  
Coastal EditionFinal Edition

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**Section:** Pg. A1

**Length:** 1218 words

**Byline:** A.J. HIGGINS OF THE NEWS STAFF

**Dateline:** NEW YORK

## **Body**

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Delegates to the Republican National Convention were brought to their feet Tuesday night when Laura Bush and Arnold Schwarzenegger extolled President Bush as a pillar of confidence in times of great uncertainty.

"You can count on him, especially in a crisis," said the first lady.

"He's a man of perseverance. He's a man of inner strength. He is a leader who doesn't flinch, doesn't waiver, does not back down," the California governor added in prepared remarks that blended high praise for the president with assurances to immigrants that the party welcomes them. "We Republicans admire your ambition. We encourage your dreams. We believe in your future."

Schwarzenegger and the first lady had their turns at the Madison Square Garden podium as 2,508 delegates formally bestowed their nomination on the president for a second term in office. "Four more years," they chanted in unison. The sound system blared the song "Knock on Wood."

Maine's delegates and alternates were thrilled by the double-bill presentations, if not a tad star-struck. Jerry Hudson, an alternate from Brewer, said Laura Bush was "a class act" and a "first-class lady." Hudson said Schwarzenegger "epitomized the American dream."

"He has proven that anyone who's willing to work hard and believe can achieve the American dream," he said.

Schwarzenegger's story has become nearly legendary in America. An enthusiastic body-builder turned action movie star turned politician, Schwarzenegger - born in Austria - quickly gained the admiration of the delegation.

"To stand here and speak in behalf of the president of the United States, that is an immigrant's dream," he said.

The California governor recounted his early years in Europe and living in constant fear "of the Soviet boot." The delegates went wild when he told them a real Republican believed that the United States is the "best hope for democracy and not the United Nations."

The crowd went off the charts as Schwarzenegger reminded them that anyone can prosper as long as they're willing to work hard and take a chance on success.

## Bush nominated as GOP unites Schwarzenegger, first lady praise leadership

"To those critics who are so pessimistic about our economy, I say: Don't be economic girlie men," Schwarzenegger said as the crowd roared, "AH-nie AH-nie" approvingly.

He encountered sharp criticism in his home state earlier this year when he ridiculed Democratic legislators who opposed his budget as "girlie men."

"He understands the issues that face the American people and he knows President Bush is the man that solve them," said Dwayne Bickford, executive director of the Maine Republican Party. "He's incredible."

Other delegates were clearly caught up in the hype, brandishing blue-and-white "Arnold" signs and chanting "four more years."

"This is great," said Philip Roy, a delegate from Fairfield. "Let's terminate those Democrats. Isn't this amazing."

Bush, locked in a tight re-election race, campaigned across three battleground states during the day and worked to extinguish a convention-week controversy of his own making.

"In this different kind of war, we may never sit down at a peace table. But make no mistake about it, we are winning, and we will win" the war on terror, he told an American Legion convention in Tennessee, one day after saying he didn't think victory would be possible.

"I probably needed to be more articulate" in his earlier comments, he conceded in a radio interview with conservative talk show host Rush Limbaugh.

Bush's Democratic rival, Sen. John Kerry, spent the day at home in Nantucket, Mass., as his campaign settled on a plan to place \$45 million in television advertising in 20 battleground states through Election Day.

The commercials will run on broadcast stations and cable, and include appeals to minority voters whom Democrats need to turn out in large numbers on Nov. 2 if they are to deny Bush a second term.

A poll by The Washington Post showed the race to be a dead heat, 48 percent apiece, but found that the president is moving ahead of his rival on national security issues and pulling into a virtual tie on handling of the economy.

Bush arrives in New York on Wednesday, a day ahead of his nomination acceptance speech that is expected to sketch out a second-term agenda. Vice President Dick Cheney addresses the convention tonight.

Both the first lady and Schwarzenegger praised Bush's leadership in terms that bordered on extravagant in speeches that did double political duty.

For the first lady, that meant what aides called a glimpse at the personal side of the commander in chief; for the governor, an attempt to appeal to new and unregistered voters who are not part of the president's conservative base.

"No American president wants to go to war," said Mrs. Bush, neither Lincoln nor Roosevelt nor her own husband.

But in a description of a commander in chief that most Americans never see, she said, "I remember some very quiet nights at the dinner table" after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

"George was weighing grim scenarios and ominous intelligence and potentially even more devastating attacks. ... And I remember sitting in the window of the White House, watching as my husband walked on the lawn below. I knew he was wrestling with these agonizing decisions that would have such profound consequences for so many lives and the future of the world," she said.

In a contentious day in the streets around the convention hall, police made more than 270 arrests on a day of varied protests. Some activists donned pig snouts and rolled around in bogus \$100 bills bearing an unflattering likeness of Cheney.

## Bush nominated as GOP unites Schwarzenegger, first lady praise leadership

Others demonstrated outside the offices of Fox News Channel, which they accused of a right-wing bias. Others protested near the site of the World Trade Center - Ground Zero in the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

Retired Army Gen. Tommy Franks, who guided U.S. forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, was a late addition to the speaking program as the campaign worked to strengthen Bush's claim as a steady commander in chief.

The script also called for something of a Bush family hour, with twins Jenna and Barbara introducing their father the president, who would in turn make remarks by remote hookup to present his wife for her speech.

In her prepared remarks, Mrs. Bush said that Bush's leadership has helped 50 million men, women and children win freedom over the past four years, a reference to wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

"I want to talk about the issue that I believe is most important for my own daughters, for all our families, and for our future: George's work to protect our country and defeat terror so that all children can grow up in a more peaceful world," she added.

Schwarzenegger's praise of Bush echoed his Terminator character mantra of "I'll be back."

"America is back. Back from the attack on our homeland - back from the attack on our economy, back from the attack on our way of life," he said in a reference to the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11.

The world outside the convention delivered jarring news in the global war on terror.

A suicide bomber was blamed for an explosion near a busy subway station in Moscow. Hamas took responsibility for blowing up two buses in Israel.

And a Web site offered a link to a video purporting to show the methodical, grisly killings of 12 Nepalese construction workers kidnapped in Iraq.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2004

**Comment & Analysis: Look past the hijab: Muslims in Britain are trying to establish their own institutions and identity. They need allies**

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

May 10, 2004

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**Section:** Guardian Leader Pages, Pg. 15

**Length:** 1166 words

**Byline:** Madeleine Bunting

## **Body**

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Sheikh Maksud Kangat, the youthful director of education at Tooting's mosque in south London, has around 500 children in four educational establishments under his jurisdiction. But on this particular Friday, Kangat has more on his mind than Ofsted, the national curriculum and devising the new school uniform. His daughter is begging for her lunch box, but he sends her out of the office before he will answer my question about the photographs of Iraqi prisoners being abused in Abu Ghraib by their American captors. "This kind of humiliation . . . from an Islamic perspective, covering is so important." He lowers his voice, he doesn't complete his sentences. "These are things we can't even talk about. I feel so embarrassed."

The subject also comes up next door in the mosque's office, where Sheikh Suleman Gani and the mosque secretary, Farouk Valimahomed, have laid out tea and biscuits for me. "One Muslim brother came up to me in the station. He was very angry about what has happened to our Muslim brothers, and I had to calm him down. I told him that this is a time of testing," said Valimahomed. "In every community, you find a small group who commit crimes. And in the Koran it says don't make the whole people responsible for a crime which one individual has committed."

The strain on community leaders like Valimahomed is evident. "People who had never identified with Osama bin Laden are now thinking again as the news comes - Bush's agreement with Sharon, the Israeli assassinations of **Hamas** leaders, now the photographs. You begin to think there is more to it; I never used to consider there was any justification for Osama bin Laden, but now I'm not so sure. A lot of people feel the US is out for revenge for 9/11."

"There's a pattern of abuse in Guantanamo, Belmarsh. There's more to come out in Afghanistan and Iraq. At first we were doubtful, but it's all coming together," said Gani. In their eyes, the "pattern of abuse" has come all the way to the quiet terraced streets of Tooting. Last December, four youngsters were arrested. In the close-knit Muslim community, the details of the police operation, with helicopters and dozens of police in the night, spread like wildfire. There was considerable publicity surrounding the arrests, but none around their subsequent discharges, and the damage was done - Muslims felt threatened, and they also felt their standing in the neighbourhood was irreparably harmed.

"At a meeting for youngsters of the mosque last winter, I said to them, 'Don't be vociferous, don't talk on the pavement outside the mosque, don't hold extremist views, don't say too much on your mobile phones, because something could happen in this area'," said Valimahomed. But they didn't like what they were being told. "One said, 'It sounds like you are restricting our freedom.'"

Comment & Analysis: Look past the hijab: Muslims in Britain are trying to establish their own institutions and identity. They need allies

Iqbal Sacranie, secretary of the Muslim Council of Britain, has invested over 30 years of his life building up Tooting and its parent mosque in nearby Balham. In that time, Muslims have achieved something not far short of miraculous: self-financing mosques that serve as community centres for thousands of families, running women's health groups, offering advice, education and police drop-in sessions. But now Sacranie and other community leaders find themselves in an increasingly precarious position, having to assure the police and Home Office of their cooperation, on the one hand, and reassure their own community, on the other.

"We have to convince two sets of people. If the government doesn't listen to our points about how and why they make these arrests, then our community asks us, 'What are we getting out of the relationship with the authorities?' They want to see results," says Sacranie. "During the arrests last December, one grandmother of a suspect, in her 80s, was very worried. She asked me, 'Are we all targets now?' I assured her, no, that wasn't the case and I would help."

The issue for Sacranie, Valimahomed and others like them, is how long will they manage to keep the community's trust? The pressure is enormous; there have been 562 arrests since 9/11 under anti-terrorism legislation and only 97 charged. Plus, there has been a huge increase in the use of stop and search under terrorist legislation. In jeopardy are the achievements of a quarter of a century of dogged work to establish a strong, peaceful British Muslim community. In Tooting, the mosque's schools integrate Muslims from every part of the globe - from Nigeria to Turkey and Afghanistan - and make them British. The little five-year-olds in their veils, caps and turbans, their faces beaming, recite English nursery rhymes, while their 15-year-old counterparts upstairs are poring over the Merchant of Venice.

For the past decade, the classrooms have been shoehorned into an old cinema and double up as the mosque at prayer time. Yet their Sats and GCSE results have been spectacular. Most of the children have English as a second language, yet by age 11 they achieved 100% at the government required reading level in 2003. They have finally been granted state funding, and the £7m purpose-built primary school is to open its doors - to Muslims and non-Muslims alike - in September. Kangat dreams of a Muslim sixth-form college, Muslim teacher training and a Muslim university - an entire Muslim educational system. Valimahomed talks of the sports academy they are developing on a 38-acre site for Muslims and non-Muslims.

The struggle by Muslims to establish their own institutions and identity in this country, in the face of hostility and suspicion, is comparable to that of the Catholics at the time of the Irish independence movement in the late 19th century. But the stakes are higher, and the international context and its global repercussions more insistent. So, where are their allies? Who's helping? In the US, interfaith groups have mushroomed in a bid to build understanding between Christianity and Islam, and there have been comparable initiatives here, but they are less significant in a secularised Britain. The allies one might expect on the liberal left hold back. They find the religiosity alienating, they can't get beyond the hijab issue, and in many quarters they're no longer prepared to take up the cudgels on human rights - accepting the government line that such is the threat of terrorism that some rights have to be curtailed.

What the Muslims in Tooting most want is understanding of their faith - of its principles of community, peace and its abhorrence of violence. The same message was evident at an event in central London last week, addressed by the American Muslim convert Hamza Yousef. Over a thousand young Muslims turned up to discuss "Islam, citizenship and the west". There's a battle going on as to what kind of a religion Islam is; schools, public debates and clinics rarely make headlines, while bombs always do. Too many non-Muslims have listened only to the terrorists and have already closed their eyes and ears.

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**Load-Date:** May 10, 2004

Comment & Analysis: Look past the hijab: Muslims in Britain are trying to establish their own institutions and identity. They need allies

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***By Sharon's standards: It was right to hold Israel to account over Jenin. But why are the US and Britain not in the dock over Falluja?***

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

May 5, 2004

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**Section:** Guardian Leader Pages, Pg. 21

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**Byline:** Jonathon Freedland

## **Body**

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I'm not used to feeling sympathy for Ariel Sharon, but I confess to a twinge this week. For Sharon is the latest victim of the Israeli far right. That sounds funny, I know: for decades, Sharon has been the spiritual leader of the Israeli far right. But those years of dedicated service counted for nought on Sunday, when members of his own Likud party rejected him in a referendum, rebuffing him as too much of a peacenik for their tastes.

His crime was to propose that Israel withdraw fully from the Gaza strip, pulling out its troops and, crucially, its illegal settlements. In return, he told his party, he had won a great prize: American permission for Israel to retain its hold over large chunks of the West Bank. But that was not good enough for the fire-breathers of the settler movement, who regard every inch of what they call Greater Israel as divinely promised turf, too holy to give up. They persuaded the Likud to reject their own leader by 60% to 40%.

So I almost felt for Sharon on Sunday night. Of course his plan was flawed: unilaterally imposed, it would have entrenched occupation here even as it ended it there. But now the old bulldozer has had a taste of what Israel's peace camp has swallowed for more than three decades - defeat at the hands of extremists too blind to see that by holding out for a big Israel, they are putting a safe, secure Israel ever further out of reach.

My sympathy deepened when I came across this little gem from the "Middle East analyst" Emanuel A Winston, circulating on the internet and by no means the most extreme example of its kind. "Is Sharon a court Jew?" it asked, wondering if the ultra-hawk had become one of the medieval grovellers of old, desperate to curry favour with his masters. "History," Mr Winston went on, "will likely decide that he has become a quisling to his own people and I would say to his G-d - except he seems to believe in neither."

This is the treatment that has been meted out to Sharon's Jewish and Israeli critics for years now, so one cannot but feel a sense of solidarity with the Israeli PM now that he is in the same, vilified little boat as the rest of us. Truth is, I find it heartening: if these fanatics consider even hard-man Sharon to be a self-hating traitor then we should scarcely lose sleep when they hurl the same charge at the rest of us.

Armed with this new perspective on Sharon, I find myself thinking afresh about one of the Sharon camp's most tireless arguments: that the countries of the world apply a higher standard to Israel than they do to anybody else, including themselves.

So now I notice that when Thai security forces killed 107 Muslim youths - most of them armed only with knives - in a single session last week, it did not make the front pages nor boil up the phone-in programmes with outrage. If



By Sharon's standards: It was right to hold Israel to account over Jenin. But why are the US and Britain not in the dock over Falluja ?

Israel had killed 107 Palestinians, most without firearms, in a single day I have a feeling it would have sneaked its way towards the top of the news agenda. Nor was there a flood of op-ed pieces asking how long the mainly Buddhist country could continue to defy international norms. Strangely, not a single voice called on Buddhists around the world to denounce and distance themselves from Thailand.

I find myself thinking again about Jack Straw's condemnation of Israel's consecutive assassinations of the **Hamas** leaders, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and Abdul Aziz Rantissi. "The British government has made it repeatedly clear that so-called 'targeted assassinations' of this kind are unlawful, unjustified and counter-productive," Straw said after Rantissi's killing. Yet one now learns in intimate detail from Bob Woodward's Plan of Attack that the start of the 2003 war on Iraq was brought forward so that the US could attempt a "targeted assassination" of its own against Saddam Hussein. Once woken to hear of the news, Tony Blair did not read the riot act to Bush, condemning his "unlawful, unjustified" act, but was rather in "expansive mood". One does not instantly recall Straw's scathing criticism of the American move either. Perhaps the UK position is that extra-judicial killings are not wrong in principle - it just depends who's doing the killing.

But the key example is the one that has been playing out these last, bloody few weeks. On March 31, four American security contractors were killed in Falluja and their bodies mutilated. The US response was to lock down the entire city of 300,000 and mount a protracted, military campaign against it. Estimates vary from 300 to 750, but no one doubts that hundreds of Iraqis have died in the subsequent siege. One UN figure says that 90% of the dead are civilians, perhaps half of them **women** and children.

That is not hard to believe when one contemplates the firepower the US trained on Falluja: airforce F-15E and F-16 warplanes, F-14 and F-18 fighter-bombers - between them dropping three dozen 500-pound laser-guided bombs in the space of 48 hours - Super Cobra helicopters unloading Hellfire missiles, AC-130 gunships pounding trucks and cars with howitzers, snipers at every turn, and all of it watched by Britain's own Tornado jets, patrolling the skies overhead.

It was two years ago that every news outlet in the world focused its gaze on the Palestinian refugee camp in Jenin where Israel sought to root out what it called a "nest of terror". The press was kept away and rumours spread of a terrible massacre; there were calls for an immediate UN inquiry. In the end, it turned out that the Palestinians had engaged the Israelis in battle; many were proud of their steadfastness and defiance. A later UN report put the confirmed death toll at 52, suggesting that as many as half that number had been fighters rather than civilians.

During the siege, Jenin stirred global outrage. MPs could not keep away from the television cameras, so determined were they to condemn this heinous act. One British newspaper said that of all the recent atrocities - Bosnia, Rwanda, Chechnya, Kosovo - none was worse than Jenin. Yet now in Falluja, when the death toll is in the hundreds rather than the dozens, these voices are silent.

The Sharon crowd would say that the explanation is simple - people are unfair to Israel - and the solution equally straightforward: the world should get off Israel's back. But I draw a different conclusion. It is right to hold Israel to a high standard, right to expose the daily brutalities of occupation. But that standard must be applied equally. If the battle of Jenin merited a UN inquiry, then surely the shooting-gallery of Falluja requires one too. If the more than 2,880 Palestinian deaths of the intifada since September 2000 are to be properly mourned, then so, surely, are the 30,000-60,000 Iraqi casualties the US military reckons it inflicted in the opening weeks of the war, according to Woodward. As George Bush tells the author: "We had just been mowing them down."

If we condemn Israel, then let's also condemn America and Britain. For now we are occupiers, too.

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**Load-Date:** May 5, 2004

By Sharon's standards: It was right to hold Israel to account over Jenin. But why are the US and Britain not in the dock over Falluja ?

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*Rich legacy;*  
*IN FOCUS : JOHN CORCORAN gives us the lowdown on this year's Writers'*  
*Week Listowel.*

Morning Star

May 19, 2004

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**Byline:** JOHN CORCORAN

## **Body**

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IF THE term "punching above its weight" can be ascribed to a town, then the small Irish country town of Listowel in County Kerry richly deserves the epithet.

Set in a wooded valley on the banks of the salmon rich River Feale, with a population of little more than 3,500, Listowel has produced more writers than seems feasible for such a small place.

Maurice Walsh, who wrote the novel that became the famous Hollywood film *The Quiet Man* starring John Wayne and Maureen O'Hara, came from here.

John B Keane, one of Ireland's most celebrated playwrights, continued to run his small bar in Listowel while writing a string of plays and novels such as *Sive*, *Sharon's Grave*, *The Man From Clare*, *The Year Of The Hiker* and *The Field*.

Before his death in May 2002, Keane was to see his play *The Field* became an international film hit, with Richard Harris playing the land-obsessed small farmer Bull McCabe.

One of Ireland's best loved modern playwrights and novelists, Keane's passing was an occasion of genuine sadness for the Irish people and the vast turnout for his funeral was a testament to the universal respect and affection felt for him and his writing.

The celebrated poet and Trinity College literary scholar Brendan Kennelly originates from just up the road in Ballylongford.

Kennelly's poetry is internationally acclaimed and his collections include *My Dark Fathers*, *Good Souls to Survive*, *Island Man*, *The House that Jack Didn't Build*, *The Boats Are Home*, *Cromwell*, *Judas*, *The Man Made of Rain* and *The Singing Tree*.

A number of other prominent Irish writers, such as the novelist Bryan MacMahon, whose work reveals a warm engagement with all aspects of rural life, spent their lives in this attractive, colourful and lively town.

With such strong literary associations, a writers week event was started in the 1970s, primarily driven by the energy, zeal and enthusiasm of MacMahon and Keane.

Rich legacy; IN FOCUS : JOHN CORCORAN gives us the lowdown on this year's Writers' Week Listowel.

The purpose of the annual festival is to encourage new and aspiring writers, through the provision of workshops and discussions with other writers, both established and aspirant.

Since those early days, it has grown and, now, Writers' Week Listowel is firmly established as Ireland's leading literary festival.

It prides itself on the fact that many of the current galaxy of bestselling Irish authors began their first tentative steps at developing their writing skills at the workshops in Listowel.

This year's literary festival promises to be the biggest yet and will run from Wednesday June 2 to Sunday June 6.

During the festival, the town assumes a carnival atmosphere with poetry, singing, dancing and drama resounding through the streets and pubs.

Listowel's buildings are painted brightly in numerous but curiously matching hues and their decorative early 20th century pro-independence plasterwork is distinctive and welcoming.

The town, in a country renowned for hospitality, is feted for its particularly warm feeling and sense of fun.

Every September, it becomes the venue for one of Ireland's most festive of race meetings and the atmosphere of good humour sparked off by the Writers' Week pervades the town throughout the summer months.

The celebratory flames have been stoked further in recent years when the town has been the venue for the huge annual festival of traditional Irish music, the Fleadh Ceol.

One local writer who values the writers' week experience is local poet Mike Gallagher, a member of a writers group in the town which came together from one of the workshops at the festival.

Gallagher is an engineer who spends a lot of time driving and, in recent times, has found himself reacting to the pro-war bias in the media by composing short pithy political poems in the Japanese haiku style.

In common with many Irish workers, Gallagher spent years working in London. "I enjoyed reading the Morning Star when I was living in Elephant and Castle, " he says. "I also read the Daily Telegraph because it's always good to know what your enemy is thinking."

The Iraq war and its aftermath provoked Gallagher into writing some verses that he hopes that Morning Star readers will enjoy. In response to a recent announcement of US casualties in the Iraq war he wrote:

" Numbers/US-five-five-eight/Iraqis.

Who counts? /Who cares? /It does not add up."

The recent bombing in Madrid prompted Gallagher to question the apparent inevitability of terror begetting terror. "Inevitable? /Madrid: Two hundred/When leaders understand why/Then they will know how."

The killing by Israel of the Hamas spiritual leader provoked this sardonic observation of the differing standards applied by the media to killings.

"Gaza/States do not murder/They execute/Victims miss the nicety."

The election of the Spanish socialists prompted this humorous response.

"Bushwhacked/Dang you for voting /Our puppet out. He was our/Democratic choice."

Gallagher believes that art and politics inevitably mix, a view, he points out, that is not shared by some of the town's other writers. "For me, all writing is political. Verse can be powerful, pithy and thought-provoking, " he says.

Rich legacy; IN FOCUS : JOHN CORCORAN gives us the lowdown on this year's Writers' Week Listowel.

He is just one of the many Irish writers looking forward to the stimulation and encouragement provided by the festival.

Novelist John McGahern, author of the Booker Prize shortlisted novel Amongst Women (1990) and the recent bestseller That They May Face The Rising Sun (2001) will open the festival this year.

Festival chairwoman Joanna Keane O'Flynn, daughter of the late writer, points out that the highlights of this year's event includes writers' workshops, dramatic productions, seminars, art exhibitions and films. She speaks enthusiastically of the eclectic mix of art and "craic" that make the week such a unique event in the Irish literary calendar.

Stars of this year 's week will be prominent Irish writers such as Michael Dibdin, Douglas Kennedy, Maire Cruise O'Brien, Patrick McGrath, Paul Durcan, Hugo Hamilton and Christine Dwyer Hickey.

"There will be a diverse range of workshops available for the would-be, emerging and established writer, the literary festival caters for simply everyone" said writers'week president David Marcus.

Also in attendance will be the shortlisted authors for the Kerry Group Irish Fiction award. These are The Eskimo In The Net by Gerard Beirne, Schopenhauer's Telescope by Gerard Donovan, Skin of Dreams by Evelyn Conlon, All Summer by Claire Kilroy and An Evening of Long Goodbyes by Paul Murray.

Perhaps the most notable aspect of writers'week in Listowel is the fact that hundreds of ordinary people with a desire to write feel that this event is for them. The atmosphere is friendly and not elitist and each year sees a larger contingent of aspirant writers from Britain arriving, many taking advantage of the direct flights now available between London Stansted and Kerry .

Wherever they come from, the festival seems to attract participants back year after year, many saying that this is one of the few literary festivals that is still more about the needs of writers than the interests of the publishing industry.

## Graphic

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CELEBRATED: The small Irish town of Listowel in County Kerry . THROUGH THE AGES: William Trevor, last year's winner of the Kerry Group Irish Fiction award, with a local schoolgirl in Listowel. JOHN B KEANE

**Load-Date:** May 25, 2004

## *A new party steps up*

University Wire

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**Byline:** By Joe Licandro, The Observer; **SOURCE:** U. Notre Dame

**Dateline:** SOUTH BEND, Ind.

### **Body**

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Fed up with both the Republicans and Democrats? Feel as if the 2004 election is another case of choosing between the lesser of two evils? Well, help is on the way. I, Joe Licandro, am officially declaring my candidacy for the 2004 presidential election as the first-ever nominee for the Common Sense Party, aka Get Your Head Out of Your Butt Party.

Because of space restrictions, there is not enough room for me to provide detailed specifics, so, for brevity's sake, I will instead elaborate on a few key political issues certain to weigh heavily on the minds of voters this fall. This is the first article of a two-part series. Today's will outline the CSP's foreign policy goals in the Middle East, while the next will outline my domestic agenda and social platform.

First and foremost, the United States should take the fight to terrorists everywhere around the world. This means working more closely with Europe to bring down Islamic terrorist cells operating there. This means staying in Afghanistan until al Qaeda is destroyed. This also means bombing terrorist camps in countries like Iran, Saudi Arabia and Syria that are not only unwilling to stop them but actively encouraging them. And if we have to do it alone, so be it. When it comes to this nation's security, we should not have to consult the United Nations or ask France for permission before taking pre-emptive action to protect ourselves. To describe our foreign policy platform in one statement, the CSP advocates proactive foreign policy as opposed to reactive.

Moving along. Believe it or not, the United States is less dependent upon Middle Eastern oil than ever before, which is a step in the right direction. But let's take the ultimate step: Let's not buy a single drop of oil from the Middle East. OPEC has far too much influence on the U.S. economy, constantly manipulating output levels to disadvantage the American consumer. The Middle East has been a source of constant trouble for the United States No matter what we do to try and improve our image there, it will remain this way as long as dictatorial regimes remain in power, television stations like Al Jazeera and Al Arabiya rule the airwaves and radical Islamic clerics maintain a death grip on the populations of these countries. By buying oil from places like Saudi Arabia, we in effect are our own worst enemy, keeping in power the "human-rights-abusing, treat-women-like-dogs" royal family, who sits back living in incomparable luxury while the rest of their population suffers in abject poverty. To stay in power and deflect blame, the royal family allows their country's religious leaders to promote a vicious hatred of the United States and the very freedoms we espouse. It's little wonder that 15 of the 19 9-11 hijackers were Saudi Arabian citizens. To accomplish this goal, we need to pursue two courses of action.

## A new party steps up

First, we need to develop environmentally friendly alternative forms of energy so that gas-powered cars become extinct, like dinosaurs. In the meantime, we can stop buying gas-guzzling SUVs and start buying more hybrids. Secondly, until we move away from gas-powered cars, we should start buying oil from other places in the world, like South America and Africa, where deposits of the "black gold" are just now being discovered. Will my plan hurt the U.S. economy in the short run? Possibly, but we'll survive. Consider this, though. Not buying oil from the Middle East will hurt them a lot more than it will hurt us. Here's why: Saudi Arabia and the rest rely on single-export economies.

As for Iraq, it's easy to play Monday Morning Quarterback, criticizing the current administration for miscalculating and underestimating the time and toll of post-war redevelopment and recovery, but it's also a monumental waste of time, just like the 9-11 Commission hearings. What's done is done. Undoubtedly, the United States will continue to experience pockets of hostility while we remain there. But we cannot cut and run. We must remain firm, working as quickly as possible to transfer power over to the Iraqis. Then if they fail to make democracy work, it's their fault, not ours. Provided security is restored following the July 30 scheduled date of power transference, the CSP will set a target date of pulling troops out of Iraq by January of 2008. Each year, the number of troops will decrease. 2008 will not mark a full-scale withdrawal, as the United States should maintain a military base in Iraq similar to ones currently held in Germany, Japan and other parts around the world.

This will serve as a fresh reminder to anti-American neighbors not to interfere with Iraqi affairs, or risk facing devastating consequences. Israel has always been a headache for the U.S. foreign policy makers.

But I'd rather have a headache than the permanent migraine that would result if we were to completely abandon the only democracy in the Middle East. The United States should pressure Israel to abandon its new settlements on the West Bank, as it has pledged to. The United States will support a Palestinian state, but only if it is democratic in nature and does not support violence against Israel. But the United States, unlike the Europeans, will not publicly condemn Israel for building a wall sealing its borders off from Palestinian suicide bombers. Along these same lines, the United States will not publicly or legally challenge Israel for carrying out targeted killings against known terrorist leaders of Hamas and Hezbollah like the recent one against Shiekh Ahmed Yassin. Surrounded by Arab neighbors who would love nothing more to wipe Jews off the face of the earth, Israel is left with no choice but to defend itself aggressively and decisively. Their very livelihood is at stake.

While the United States will remain committed to Israel's security, the United States will not continue to provide it with such high levels of economic aid. Israel is the only first-world nation in the Middle East, yet it receives more monetary aid than any other country in the world. Even in rough economic times, it is capable of supporting itself. On this note, the United States will completely stop giving monetary assistance to Egypt -- the second largest benefactor of American aid. Egypt receives roughly a billion in aid per year from the United States only because it has not undertaken any military action against Israel since it signed the Camp David Accords in 1980. On principle alone, we should not have to pay a country not to attack another. But for the following reason above any other, we should not provide aid to a country led by "Dictator-Elect" Hosni Mubarak, who refuses to stop the Egyptian press from printing hate-filled lies about the United States in their national newspapers equivalent to The New York Times.

The Middle East is only one area of the foreign policy, but it's the most prescient. Unfortunately, I don't have the space to touch on other regions of the world. But in case you have questions, remember -- it's all about practicing a little common sense.

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## News Summary

The New York Times  
October 3, 2005 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 3; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1382 words

### **Body**

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#### INTERNATIONAL A3-10

##### Investigators in Bali Assert Proof of 3 Suicide Bombers

In the first 24 hours after a series of bombs killed 22 people and wounded more than 90, investigators in Bali say they have made rapid progress. As they sifted through bodies and body parts, they found the heads of three men and three sets of legs, the forensic signature of suicide bombings, they said. At least seven of the wounded were Americans, all from one San Francisco family. A1

##### Internal Violence in Gaza City

Palestinian police officers and Hamas gunmen waged running gun battles in Gaza City that began when the police tried to confiscate illegal weapons. At least two Palestinians were killed and about 40 people were wounded in the fighting, the worst internal Palestinian violence since Israel withdrew from the Gaza Strip last month. A10

##### Terrorists Claim a Kidnapping

A terrorist group known as Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia claimed to have captured two marines who fought street battles with insurgents in western Iraq. The group, which has made the claim in a posting on an Islamic Web site, issued a 24-hour ultimatum to American forces to release female Sunni Muslim prisoners. But the Marines said in a statement that, "there are no indications" that the claim is true. A6

##### Kosovo at Crossroads

The United Nations appears to be ready to broker a deal between Serbs and ethnic Albanians and to end its mission in Kosovo. Judging the results of the six-year nation-building effort that cost about \$1.3 billion a year is not easy. A3

##### Some Fraud in Afghan Elections

Election officials and observers said that with 80 percent of the ballots counted in Afghanistan's national and provincial elections, they had found significant incidents of fraud. Whole districts have come under suspicion for ballot box stuffing and proxy voting, said the chief of the Joint Election Management Board. A6

##### Telefonica to Acquire KPN



## News Summary

Telefonica of Spain is in preliminary talks to acquire KPN of the Netherlands for about \$24 billion, in a transaction that could spark another round of consolidation in Europe's telecommunications industry, according to executives involved in the discussions. A10

## E.U. Breaks Off Talks on Turkey

European foreign ministers broke off last-minute emergency talks. They failed to resolve a standoff over Austria's insistence that Turkey be offered less than full membership in the accession talks. If the membership negotiations go ahead, they will be a momentous step in Turkey's 42-year quest to join the E.U. A8

## Conservatives Head for Victory

The Christian Democrats of Angela Merkel were heading toward victory in a delayed election in Dresden for one seat in the German Parliament. The vote was expected to end the bitter disagreement with Chancellor Gerhard Schroder over who will be Germany's next chancellor. A10

## NATIONAL A12-19

## Increase in Life Sentences For Juvenile Offenders

About 9,700 American prisoners are serving life sentences for crimes they committed before they could vote, serve on a jury or buy a lottery ticket -- before they turned 18. More than a fifth have no chance for parole. Juvenile criminals are serving life terms in at least 48 states, according to a survey by The New York Times, and their numbers have increased sharply over the past decade. A1

## New Supreme Court Term

The Supreme Court opens its 2005-2006 term with a new chief justice and amid speculation that President Bush is close to choosing someone to fill a second vacancy on the tribunal. Mr. Bush planned to go to the court for the ceremonial installation of John G. Roberts Jr. A12

## Combat Gear Repayment

The Pentagon has not made final guidelines for allowing soldiers, their families and charities to be reimbursed for the cost of some combat equipment they bought for use in Iraq and Afghanistan, a year after the passage of legislation calling for such a program. The measure, which allows groups and individuals to make claims for up to \$1,100, called for the Department of Defense to set rules for a reimbursement program by February 2005. A14

## Recalling Atmosphere of Abuse

James J. Yee, the former Muslim chaplain at the Guantanamo Bay detention center, says in a new book that military authorities knowingly created an atmosphere in which guards would feel free to abuse prisoners. A13

## New Medicaid Program

A growing inability to pay rising Medicaid costs has led Vermont into an innovative deal with the federal government that critics fear could jeopardize the program, a safety net dating to the Great Society. A15

## New Orleans, One Month Later

Abandoned city buses on deserted streets, doors opened for the boarding of ghosts. Fast-food restaurants, darkened and reeking of rancid meat. Tainted tap water, unsafe for contact with skin. Entire neighborhoods of empty, moldy houses, waiting for that bulldozer's first punch. This is the scene in New Orleans a month after the deluge. A19

## Animals Take Over Highway

There are no people along highway 27 between Cameron, La., and Lake Charles after 6 p.m. In their stead are animals, whose dusk-time proclivity for sauntering brazenly into the two-lane road has contributed to the strict curfew that comes a few hours earlier than those observed an hour to the west. A18

## News Summary

## Flash Flooding in Kansas

A storm poured up to a foot of rain over parts of northeast Kansas, resulting in flash flooding that left people stranded in homes and cars. A13

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-6

## Tour Boat Sinks;21 Passengers Killed

A boat filled with elderly tourists taking a pleasure cruise on Lake George in the Adirondacks capsized suddenly and sank, killing 21 passengers and injuring several more, the authorities said. The Ethan Allen, a 40-foot, glass-enclosed tour boat, went down with 49 people aboard. A1

## New Jersey Motel Fire Kills 3

A fire of unknown origin sent smoke billowing through a crowded motel in Irvington, N.J., killing three people and injuring at least 18 others as residents and firefighters smashed sealed windows to rescue scores trapped inside. B1

## Woman's Body Still Missing

The New York City police spent a fruitless second day scouring a pond, a lake and a golf course in two city parks in their search for the body of a woman whose daughter was abandoned in Queens last week. B1

## SPORTSMONDAY D1-10

## Boston Wins A.L. Wild Card

The Boston Red Sox defeated the Yankees,10-1, and won the American League wild card race, giving them a chance to defend their World Series title in the post-season. D1

## Stewart New Nextel Cup Leader

Dale Jarrett broke a 98-race winless streak by winning the UAW-Ford 500 with a last-lap pass, while Tony Stewart took second place and emerged the leader in the Nextel Cup points standings. D9

## ARTS E1-10

## OBITUARIES B7

## August Wilson

A playwright who chronicled the African-American experience in the 20th century in a series of plays that will stand as a landmark in the history of black culture, of American literature and of Broadway theater, he was 60. A1

## BUSINESS DAY C1-14

## Gap Seen in G.M. Pension

The federal government contends that General Motors' pension fund is \$31 billion short of what it owes its work force, according to closely held government figures, a number in stark contrast to G.M.'s assurances that its pension plans are "fully funded." C1

## New Plan to Digitize Books

An alliance of corporations, nonprofit groups and educational institutions announced an ambitious plan to digitize hundreds of thousands of books over the next several years and put them on the Internet. The effort is being led by Yahoo, which appears to be taking direct aim at a similar project announced by its arch-rival Google. C1

## Promoting Medicare Plans

## News Summary

Hundreds of millions of dollars are likely to be spent trying to get millions of older Americans to sign up for the new Medicare prescription drug benefits that will take effect on Jan. 1. C1

### No New Blockbusters

Early ratings suggest that the new television season will offer nothing to approach the continuing success of last year's hits "Lost" and "Desperate Housewives." C1

### Business Digest C2

### EDITORIAL A20-21

Editorials: Congress and Katrina; Mr. Putin's clouded promise; Nicholas Kulish on the journey to European Union membership.

Columns: Bob Herbert and Paul Krugman.

Autos D10

Bridge E6

Crossword E6

Metro Diary B2

TV Listings E8-9

Weather B8

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

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## **DEMOCRACY IS NOW A CLOAK FOR OPPRESSION**

The Independent (London)

April 19, 2004, Monday

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**Section:** First Edition; COMMENT; Pg. 33

**Length:** 1206 words

**Byline:** YASMIN ALIBHAI-BROWN

### **Body**

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As hostage taking in Iraq becomes the next deadly tactic in this war without end, and increasing panic rises in the coalition countries, we are sure to get evermore self righteous pronouncements from the leaders who planned this illegal occupation. We are daily instructed to express our outrage against the evil hostage takers and other insurgents who, we are told, are motivated only by a hatred of liberty and democracy.

Oh democracy, how they debauch your reputation. Were you ever this callously used as a cloak for those who want to own the earth at any cost?

Democracy can never be perfect, but it is the best chance we humans have for decent governance and progressive politics. Until I was 23 I was only aware in abstract that in some parts of the world people could choose who they would be governed by. It seemed so far away from my own life.

I had absorbed keenly the history of the French and Russian revolutions, the American war of independence, other anti-colonial struggles and slogans such as "No Taxation without Representation". I was an avid reader of books on the suffragette movement, the plight of untouchables in India, later Apartheid and the civil rights movement in the United States. But I had never seen a ballot paper until I came to Britain in 1972.

British rule over us was absolute and undemocratic and the first election when Uganda became independent was the last such event in that blighted country. I was too young to vote. It is still a tremulous moment when I go into the portakabin to declare my choice. And it drives me to distraction to hear that so many people in this country are uninterested in voting, except for Pop Idol. The next few months will bring on feverish voting excitement in many countries. George Bush is already on his campaign for re-election, to add glory to his last dodgy victory. This month, the world's largest democracy, India, goes to the polls. I have just come back from that great country which today is buzzing with optimism and energetic political debates. The South African elections too are a reminder of the transformative powers of the democratic model.

And yet in all the above, and recently in Russia, we can see politicians brutalising the very thing they claim to represent. The ruling party in India attacks Sonia Gandhi, leader of the Congress Party, not for being an unproven politician, or for the many failures of her party, but for being "foreign born". They want to amend the constitution to prevent such "outsiders" getting into positions of power. (By this logic, our Parliament should never have allowed MPs Keith Vaz, or Mohammad Sarwar, or Lord Parekh to take up their seats because they are all foreign born.)

The ruling BJP is also embarked on a mission to elevate Hinduism and relegate the practitioners of other faiths. An Indian friend of mine, who does street theatre with the poor of all backgrounds, has had his hand broken, his skull

## DEMOCRACY IS NOW A CLOAK FOR OPPRESSION

slashed by Hindu warriors who support these fundamentalist politicians. Corruption, intimidation, lies, deceit, the misuse of power and money distort the will of the people around the globe and will, in the end, destroy the democratic process itself, unless we wake up.

Many years ago, the American writer Norman Mailer wrote: "A modern democracy is a tyranny whose borders are undefined; one discovers how far one can go only by travelling in a straight line until one is stopped." How prescient those words, how even more frighteningly relevant today.

In volatile international politics, blatant injustices are now committed invoking the good name of democracy. Al-Qa'ida, Hamas, Hizbollah, Catholic and Protestant paramilitary fighters in Northern Ireland use religion to justify their terrible crimes against humanity. The US, Britain, Australia, Russia and others today use democracy to cover their tyrannical actions and policies. Israel terrorises and murders Palestinians in response to suicide bombers who terrorise and murder Jews. Vladimir Putin's troops crush Chechen communities but there is no condemnation from our leaders. Mugabe's crimes are nothing in comparison to what the Russian leader is getting away with. In all these cases, both sides ignore human rights, fair rules of engagement, various conventions and international law.

You may think it offensive that I suggest there is an equivalence between those we describe as "terrorists" and the actions of civilised democrats. But to be scrupulously fair in this world, one does have an obligation to ask these uncomfortable questions. And we must expect better from those who say they are legitimate rulers who live in an ordered universe.

Passions understandably flare when blameless Italians, Japanese, Chinese, American and other hostages are snatched and held, sometimes cruelly slaughtered by the hidden enemies of the coalition in Iraq. We hear from ex-hostages from previous times how desperate they felt, how they went mad within days of being held. And we denounce these brutes resoundingly.

But these infringements of human rights and laws are simply a replication of what we have been doing in Afghanistan and Iraq, and the US in Guantanamo Bay. Men have been snatched and held without due process, sometimes tortured and killed, by our side. As Baroness Helena Kennedy QC points out in her new book, *Just Law*: "For over two years hundreds of men have been detained in a legal limbo with no access to the writ of habeas corpus to determine whether their detention is legally justified. Links with al-Qa'ida have been made in very few cases. It is believed the majority were men in the wrong place at the wrong time."

Some of these prisoners will undoubtedly have gone mad. Others are "rendered" to countries where they can be tortured more rigorously and may have died. Useful outsourcing you may call this. Hundreds of people, including women and children have been blown up in Fallujah in the past few days. We still don't know how many innocent Iraqis have died or are dying as a result of sanctions and this war.

Do we really believe that such carnage and ruthlessness are OK, understandable, even admirable if perpetrated by democratic nations? Tony Blair and George Bush and Ariel Sharon and Vladimir Putin and others clearly do. They propagandise democracy to suit their own purposes.

Meanwhile dictators, autocrats and various kinds of Stalinists carry on their campaign against the system which could empower their cowed and controlled people.

Thank God for real democrats who refuse to be fooled by the first lot or scared by the second. They will keep the flame alive even in these blasted times, people who remain truly and uncompromisingly committed to genuine political choice, to essential freedoms, to human rights and international laws and conventions, to common standards for all. Tony Blair was once among these spirits. In a book published by the Foreign Policy Centre in 2002, he wrote compellingly about internationalising democracy: "We need to be clear what we mean by justice and community, the values of liberty, the rule of law, human rights and a pluralist society are universal and worthy of respect in every culture." How hollow his words sound today.

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DEMOCRACY IS NOW A CLOAK FOR OPPRESSION

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## LETTERS

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

March 30, 2004 Tuesday

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NATION/WORLD; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1242 words

### **Body**

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Use Original Wording

Regarding "Physician Asks Justices To Drop 'God' From Pledge" (Nation/World, March 25):

By changing the Pledge of Allegiance back to the way it was originally written, we will better state our pledge to our country — "With liberty and justice for all" — regardless of religious beliefs. Not everyone believes in God. If a person refuses to recite the pledge because of the reference to God, he is ostracized. Adults can handle this; children can't.

In this day and age of being politically correct, the pledge must be changed back to its original wording. We are supposed to be a nation united. How can we be united if our pledge to our country separates people because of their belief or unbelief in God?

SUE SLINGBAUM

Tampa

Let Voters Decide

From the first grade on, we were told that the United States was a government "of, by and for the people." This being the case, how is it that a few Supreme Court justices can make the decision to remove "under God" from our Pledge of Allegiance? Why can't we let the American people decide by putting it on the ballot in November? If this change is allowed, what will be next? What will we do about the song "God Bless America" or the words in "America The Beautiful": "God shed his grace on thee"?

Maybe the Constitution needs to be changed. I don't think the writers of our Constitution intended to exclude God from everything.

DANIEL J. WARD

Zephyrhills

Judges' Social Agenda

## LETTERS

Judicial supremacy is nowhere to be found in the ideology of the Framers or in the text of our Constitution. Power of the courts was limited, as were the powers of the other two branches of government. Even so, the travesty of the courts continues to grow. If Supreme Court judges continue to have their way, amending the Constitution will be futile. These activist judges are determined to advance their own social agenda by judicial fiat and continue to trample the basic law. Those who are appointed should be impeached. Those who are elected should be voted out.

JANET ROCKEY

Tampa

Fund Guardian Services

Public guardianship offices provide a much-needed service to vulnerable Floridians. When someone becomes incapacitated — whether because of the aging process, an accident or a disability — he or she may require a guardian. If that person is also indigent and has no willing family or friend to act as guardian, then a public guardian may be appointed to advocate on his or her behalf.

Last year Gov. Bush signed Senate Bill 2568, which transferred the Statewide Public Guardianship Office to the Department of Elder Affairs. Continuing his commitment to helping Florida's most vulnerable, the governor included \$5 million in his budget recommendations to create the "Joining Forces" matching grant program to fund, protect and expand Florida's public guardianship programs.

Earlier this month both the Florida House and Senate released their appropriations bills without funding for the "Joining Forces" program. This oversight jeopardizes public guardianship services and protection for some of Florida's most vulnerable residents.

I urge Floridians interested in defending the rights and interests of vulnerable Floridians to call their legislators toll-free within Florida at 1-800-342-

1827. Let your voice be heard and request they amend their appropriation bills to include matching grant funds for public guardianship.

MICHELLE R. HOLLISTER

Tallahassee

The writer is executive director of the Statewide Public Guardianship Office.

Set Same Standards

Regarding "Prisoner Bemoans Medical Care In Jail" (Metro, March 24):

I think this substandard medical attention that these inmates are receiving is shameful. As far as the death of that newborn on March 5 (Nation/World), the jail officials who made the decision to delay his mother's medical treatment and kept giving her Tylenol should be arrested for manslaughter. It does not matter what kind of criminal history these inmates have: Denying them medical treatment and causing death, or worsening the situation to the point of emergency treatment that would not have been necessary had the problem been addressed in a timely and appropriate fashion, makes the overseeing official just as much a criminal. Hospitals and doctors are sued every day for misdiagnosing a medical problem or for negligence in medical matters, so why is the prison system not held to the same standard?

BARBARA L. DELAYE

Lutz

A "Free' Service



## LETTERS

Regarding "Prisoner Bemoans Medical Care in Jail" (Metro, March 24):

What happened to the women's baby notwithstanding, why on earth is she there in the first place? Because she is a criminal. Some people are working and cannot afford medical care because of the exorbitant costs associated. This woman had the nerve to complain about the quality of her medical care while in jail. Am I the only one who went through the roof when reading this article?

I need good health care, so in order for me to obtain it, I suppose I'll have to "knock off" the corner bank or gas station. I am incensed at the audacity of the person complaining about a free service, albeit at the taxpayers' expense.

DON BISCHOFF

Tampa

Gas Is A Bargain

Gas companies are not gouging the consumer. This information from the Department of Energy shows gas prices adjusted for inflation:

1975: \$1.80

1980: \$2.59

1985: \$1.90

1990: \$1.51

1995: \$1.28

2001: \$1.66

Gas is a bargain. I don't hear people complaining that bread isn't a nickel a loaf, as it was in 1925! The median price of a new car is \$30,000; adjusted for inflation and taxes, gas is the cheapest part of your transportation expense.

C.J. MOFFITT

Odessa

Prices Aren't Justified

Last week a lead story on News Channel 8 was in reference to the prices of gasoline. It reflected how much the price of regular gasoline has risen and how much more it was expected to rise and that it was not expected to go down any time soon.

The MoneySense section of The Tampa Tribune had an article regarding the ranking of corporations on the Fortune 500 listing (March 23); in terms of profits, the top-ranking corporation was Exxon Mobil, posting profits of \$21.3 billion. Two other major oil conglomerates, Chevron Texaco and Conoco Phillips, were also listed in the top 10.

Let me see if I have this straight: Three of the top 10 corporations in the world are oil companies with multibillion-dollar profit margins, and they feel justified in raising the price of gasoline to record levels?

I seem to remember the government of the state of Florida taking gasoline distributors before the law just shortly after the 9/11 disaster, promising large fines and/or other criminal/civil sanctions for gouging the citizens for more expensive gasoline. Isn't there something anyone at the legislative level can do to bring gasoline prices down to more acceptable levels again? Or are our politicians back in bed with the petroleum industry again because it's an election year?

## LETTERS

PAUL G. MILLER

New Port Richey

Blame Our Enemies

Your headline "Inaction Blamed For Sept. 11" (Nation/World, March 24) is misleading. The "blame" is on al-Qaida, Osama bin Laden, **Hamas** and the entire fatalistic fanatic group in the Middle East. Whether you agree or disagree with the administration's policy, we should not lose sight of the fact that the use of passenger jets as missiles was incomprehensible prior to 9/11. Focus the blame on our enemies!

L.S. FRIEDMAN

Land O' Lakes

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## Notes

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LETTERS

**Load-Date:** March 31, 2004

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## *Summit Collapse Leaves Arab Leaders in Disarray*

The New York Times

March 29, 2004 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1267 words

**Byline:** By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

**Dateline:** TUNIS, March 28

### **Body**

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Arab governments were in disarray on Sunday after the Arab League summit meeting, set to grapple with vital regional issues like democratic reform, Arab-Israeli bloodshed and the American occupation of Iraq, was abruptly called off just before it was to open Monday.

The exact reason is a matter of some dispute, but all sides viewed the meeting's collapse -- even as some heads of state were on their way -- as an embarrassment. It was a stark public admission that the commitment to change voiced by Arab leaders risks becoming just more words.

The Arab League is infamous for its fractious gatherings, but even its most experienced bureaucrats described the cancellation as extraordinary. Some commentators thought the collapse inevitable from the start. The very idea of reform remains too divisive, and many nations' governments have yet to decide how to deal themselves with issues like elections.

"Every Arab country has its own deep problems, so I don't believe you can find a general answer," said Khairallah Khairallah, a political commentator and former editor in chief of Al Hayat, a London-based Arabic newspaper.

There were still attempts on Sunday to salvage the collective effort, however. The office of Egypt's president, Hosni Mubarak, issued a statement expressing his "surprise and regret" over the cancellation. President Mubarak offered to have the gathering in Egypt, arguing that differences of opinion were hardly sufficient cause to abort the meeting.

Foreign ministers said they were exploring possible dates in April. Tunisia still objected, however, saying the problem was the issues, not the setting.

Given the the American invasion of Iraq, and spiral of violence in the region, including terrorist bomb attacks from Casablanca to Riyadh, there had been some expectation that Arab leaders might commit themselves to change.

Certainly the Bush administration had hoped for some kind of broad endorsement of reform that might demonstrate that its decision to overthrow Saddam Hussein was having a positive echo.

Senior officials and analysts here said events in Tunis, while not without precedent, represented in stark colors the Arab world's inability to cope with American efforts to redraw the region's political map.

## Summit Collapse Leaves Arab Leaders in Disarray

"You feel they are completely lost," said Mr. Khairallah, the political commentator. "The Arab League is finally feeling the impact of the fall of Baghdad. It took them a whole year."

A reluctance to take the first step toward reform was evident in the two days of preparatory talks about the agenda, which bogged down in details like how to present Arab culture at the Frankfurt book fair next fall, said several foreign ministers who took part.

Meanwhile, crucial issues like a joint statement of principles on political change and the league's reformulated position toward peace with Israel had barely been discussed and remained unresolved, they said.

Late Saturday night, as the 22 foreign ministers were reaching a strained if amicable consensus on those major points, Tunisia pulled the plug, announcing that it would not preside over a gathering willing to make what it called only a tepid commitment to reform.

"There was real horror on their faces," said Nabil Shaath, the Palestinian foreign minister, describing the mood as Tunisia announced its decision. "They felt that despite all their disagreements, this summit was important."

Another foreign minister described the rush to grab cellphones to call home and tell the various kings, presidents and princes due to start arriving Sunday to stay home. Col. Muammar el-Qaddafi, the Libyan leader, was reportedly on his way to Tunis, while the Iraqi delegation, led by a Shiite Muslim cleric in a remarkable break from the past, had journeyed along Iraq's treacherous roads as far as Kuwait.

On the crucial issue of political reform, the general consensus had divided into two broad groups, participants said. One group was made up of those who wanted to resist what was seen as a fiat from the Bush administration for the Arab League to push for sweeping changes. The other group included those who said the call for change was not a Washington monopoly and that a wider demand for greater democracy had to be addressed.

Saudi Arabia, Syria and Egypt, the leaders of the former group, had hammered out a joint call for political reform, insisting it was not being foisted on them by outsiders and emphasizing that each country would develop according to its own cultural norms.

But smaller states, including Tunisia, resented being dictated to by their larger neighbors, several foreign ministers said. The smaller states proposed making the general principles more specific.

Tunisia, angry that its proposal was being shunted aside and worried that more and more leaders, including Crown Prince Abdullah, Saudi Arabia's de facto ruler, and most of his Persian Gulf neighbors were not coming, decided to call off the summit meeting, they said.

Tunisian officials denied acting in pique, saying they merely wanted the summit meeting's final communique to be something of substance. Three hundred fifty million Arabs want a sense that the repression that scars their region is ending, the Tunisians maintained.

"The Arab world will not advance unless it faces to this reality," said an Arab diplomat familiar with the Tunisian assessment. "It's not just the paper you field; it's the attitude."

Many Arab observers considered that stance to be remarkable, as Tunisia's president, Zine el-Abidine ben Ali, suppresses dissent and shows every sign of remaining president for life. On the other hand, Tunisia does have some of the region's most advanced laws for women's equality and has been making changes to modernize its schools for a decade.

The differences were not just over reform, however. The Jordanians and the Palestinians presented a joint proposal to try to reinvigorate the Arab-Israeli peace negotiations despite Israel's killing last week of Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of Hamas. Syria and Lebanon objected, arguing that Arab public opinion would not abide such an overture to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel at a time when he seemed bent on more violence.

## Summit Collapse Leaves Arab Leaders in Disarray

In addition, some of the tension stemmed from the perception of many Arab foreign ministers that Amr Moussa, the league's Egyptian secretary general, was being overly aggressive in pushing changes in the organization itself, and specifically in enhancing his role.

Consensus was reached fairly easily on Iraq, participants said. The foreign ministers had decided to endorse evolving self-rule there and to condemn attacks against civilians. The Iraqi delegation was disappointed at the summit meeting's cancellation; its members had hoped to return home with a clear Arab endorsement for the political steps it is taking.

Arab foreign ministers lined up Sunday to criticize Tunisia, and there were broad hints from analysts that its president must have come back from a visit to Washington earlier this year with specific instructions to wreck the summit meeting.

But other officials suggested that the problem lay elsewhere, that in failing to address the larger aspirations of the Arab world, the area's governments were giving yet another opening to extremists.

"To fail to even hold a meeting is a disaster, taking into consideration all the challenges of the region," said Hoshar Zubairy, the Iraqi foreign minister. "This encourages extremism, when people see that even the formal Arab system is not functioning, not operating. The sense of frustration will only deepen."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Amr Moussa, secretary general of the Arab League, has been pushing for organizational changes. (Photo by European Pressphoto Agency)

After the Arab League summit meeting was canceled yesterday, delegates quickly left the meeting site in the Tunisian capital. (Photo by Associated Press)(pg. A14)

**Load-Date:** March 29, 2004

## *Camaraderie, clashes amid Gaza withdrawal*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

August 16, 2005 Tuesday 0 South Pinellas Edition

Copyright 2005 Times Publishing Company

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

**Length:** 1199 words

**Byline:** SUSAN TAYLOR MARTIN

**Dateline:** NEVE DEKALIM, Gaza Strip

### **Body**

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It began with Jewish settlers screaming "Nazi" and "Gestapo" at Jewish police on the opposite side of a steel and barbed wire fence.

It ended with the two groups on the same side of the barricade, exchanging lollipops and chatting about houses.

"You'll only see that in Israel," marveled Ellen Tova-Allen, a writer who divides her time between here and the United States. "It's a beautiful sight."

Monday marked the start of Israel's momentous withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank. Some 50,000 soldiers and police were supposed to go door-to-door in all 21 Jewish settlements in Gaza, notifying families that they have until midnight tonight to leave peacefully or be physically removed.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has said that it is too difficult to defend the Gaza settlements and their 8,500 residents in an overcrowded area of 1.37-million Palestinians, and that the presence of so many Arabs under Israeli control was threatening the Jewish character of the state.

Several hundred residents of some smaller communities already had left Monday, and security forces entered others with little trouble except for scattered protests that included tire burnings and blockades.

But here in Neve Dekalim, many of whose 2,700 residents passionately oppose the pullout, a potentially ugly confrontation between Jew and Jew was defused when the army and police backed off, if only temporarily.

"They decided it would not be a smart thing to do" to force their way into Neve Dekalim, by far the largest settlement, said a spokesman for the Israel Defense Forces. "We think it is better that both sides talk and then the situation will be much calmer."

The first signs of potential problems came Monday morning when hundreds of pullout foes gathered at the town's massive gate, locked to keep out security forces and plastered with signs saying "Jews Don't Expel Jews." Shortly after 9 a.m., the army positioned a water cannon and bulldozer across the highway from the main entrance, while dozens of Israeli police in black uniforms faced off against the crowd.

"Your uniforms are like the Gestapo's - why did you wear them here?" one young man shouted through the fence.

"Look at my eyes," another demanded of the police. "Who are you fighting? We are just kids."

## Camaraderie, clashes amid Gaza withdrawal

"Nazis! Nazis!" others yelled.

As the rhetoric heated along with the temperature, one settler angrily approached the youths. "Speak properly," she scolded them. "It's our army."

She was quickly intercepted by another woman, who jumped to the protesters' defense.

"I feel it's okay to yell at them because they are the ones implementing this terrible order," said Libby Weinberger, a university employee. "If we can't even express what we feel, we've really gone to a terrorist extreme."

Several of the hecklers wore shirts identifying them as former soldiers themselves. Israelis have a special bond with their security forces because almost everyone, male and female, serves in the army or border police; military experience is often a prerequisite for future success in politics or other fields.

As police sternly stood their ground, the protesters shifted tactics. One by one, dozens of girls in long skirts and boys in yarmulkes slipped through a hole in the fence, walked right up to the officers and started talking to them.

"We love you," a 15-year-old boy said to one. "We are no different from you," a teenage girl told another. "We have homes and families, too."

As the youth offered candy and peanut-flavored snacks, some police accepted them and conversed amicably. Not all responded. There was a small, tense scene when an officer in mirrored sunglasses ignored Mark Kestenbaum, a telecommunications executive who wanted to photograph him for a possible museum exhibit on police expelling Jews.

"I asked him (to) take off his sunglasses but his buddy here" - Kestenbaum pointed to another policeman - "said he was ashamed."

Kestenbaum then tried a second approach to elicit conversation. "Every policeman here has an ancestor who was thrown out of his house by a non-Jew. Where did your ancestors come from? Morocco? Maybe Russia - you look a little Russian. Maybe the czars threw out your ancestors."

The policeman still didn't flinch. Finally, Kestenbaum turned away and said, "Inside, he's got a warm heart. These guys have had two, three months of training; it takes someone 10 years to turn them into an iceman. He knows I'm right."

About noon, military discipline had all but broken down, with protesters freely mingling with police. A rabbi raised a Torah above his head, and protesters thanked God for keeping the security forces out of Neve Dekalim one more day.

"It's true they are just pegs in a machine," Weinberger, the university employee, said of the police.

"But since Nuremburg" - where Nazis were tried for their role in the Holocaust - "the fact that you're following a command is not an excuse. One has to judge whether an order is morally right, and this order is not morally right."

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

## GAZA AND THE WITHDRAWAL

THE LATEST: Israeli soldiers handed out eviction notices telling settlers they have until midnight tonight to evacuate the Gaza Strip voluntarily. Also Monday, Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas set Jan. 21 for long-overdue legislative elections in what was said to be an effort to give militants a strong incentive not to disrupt Israel's Gaza withdrawal. Abbas' main political rival, Hamas, will compete in national elections for the first time.

## Camaraderie, clashes amid Gaza withdrawal

THE GAZA STRIP: 144 square miles, half the size of Pinellas County. The coastline is 25 miles.

POPULATION: 1.37-million, plus about 8,500 Jewish settlers in 21 settlements.

HISTORY: Once ruled by pharaohs, controlled at various times by Philistines, Israelites, Arabs and Turks. From 1920 to 1948, it was part of the British-ruled Mandate of Palestine. Egypt gained control during the Arab-Israeli war in 1948. Israel took control after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

SETTLER WITHDRAWAL: This decision by Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon springs from what the Israelis think are failed peace negotiations with the Palestinians. Sharon has said the withdrawal is designed to allow Israel to hold on to all of Jerusalem and major parts of the West Bank - which raises questions about the prospects for peace, since the Palestinians claim those areas for a state. Palestinians welcome it as a first step to withdrawals from the West Bank. The evacuation of civilians is expected to take three or four weeks, with a similar period set aside for the dismantling and evacuation of military installations.

Sources: CIA World Factbook, World Book, AP, BBC, U.S. Census Bureau.

## ON THE WEB

For more from the Gaza Strip, read Susan Taylor Martin's blog at <http://www.sptimes.com>.

With settlers to the left and Israeli police to the right, an Orthodox Jew prays on the roof of a guard tower in Neve Dekalim in the Gaza Strip as the deadline to withdraw from the region nears. He wears tefillin for weekday morning prayers. The small black boxes contain words of the Torah inscribed on scrolls. One is worn on the head, to be close to the brain, the other is worn on the left arm, near the heart.

## Graphic

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PHOTO, JOHN PENDYGRAFT, (4); MAP; Orthodox Jew prays on the roof of a guard tower in Neve Dekalim in the Gaza Strip.; A Jewish girl wails at the gates of Neve Dekalim.; Settlers in Neve Dekalim show the Torah to Israeli officers posted outside the settlement.; Shortly after 9 a.m.; Monday, the army positioned a water cannon and bulldozer across the highway from the main entrance, while dozens of Israeli police in uniform faced off against the crowd.; map locates the Israel and the Gaza Strip

**Load-Date:** August 16, 2005



**SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY: JIHAD: PLAY THE GAME;  
WESTERN PC GAMES FEATURE US FORCES DESTROYING ARAB  
ENEMIES. NOW ISLAM**

The Independent (London)

August 17, 2005, Wednesday

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**Section:** First Edition; FEATURES; Pg. 38,39

**Length:** 1404 words

**Byline:** REBECCA ARMSTRONG

## **Body**

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Grenades " check. Sniper rifle " check. Prayer mat " check. Gamers may be used to saving the day by taking on alien forces from another universe but a new wave of computer games are more concerned with saving the world from non-believers. With titles like Special Force and Under Siege, these games sound similar to military titles like Medal of Honour that regularly top the UK games chart for best-selling titles. Once people start playing though, it's obvious Special Force and Under Siege are very different both in quality and in content to their mainstream rivals.

Hizbollah, a radical Islamic group, spent two years developing Special Force, a PC game designed to compete with games showing Arabs as enemies and Americans as triumphant heroes. Emblazoned across the cover is the invitation to: 'Be a partner in the victory. Fight, resist and destroy your enemy in the name of force and victory.'

Inspired by actual Hizbollah missions, Special Force takes place during operations on Israeli soldiers. Players have to deal with the same conditions as real Hizbollah fighters, including weather conditions, mines and the number of enemy " Israeli " troops. During training, players can practise their sniping skills on Israeli political and military figures including the Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Mahmoud Rayya, an official from the Hizbollah bureau, explained at the game's launch that 'this game is resisting the Israeli occupation through the media'. The game sold thousands of copies in Lebanon in the first two weeks after its release and has gone on to sell at least 10,000 more since.

Under Siege is another pro-Palestinian first person shooter (FPS) and is the sequel to Under Ashes, a game launched in 2001. Under Siege and Under Ashes were developed by Afkar Media, a Damascus-based software company that claims it creates games to educate as well as eliminate. 'We believe we had to share responsibility in telling the story behind this conflict and targeting youngsters who depend on video games and movies " which always tell the counter side " to build their world knowledge.' Under Ashes went on to sell more than 10,000 copies in the Middle East, as well as being downloaded more than 500,000 times from the company's website.

The game itself is a basic FPS that is billed as suitable for children aged over 13 despite the vast armoury available to players. Radwan Kasmiya, Afkar Media's executive manager, insists the game promotes non-violent methods. 'This is not a game about killing. We are attempting to provide a new sort of digital dignity.' Despite the warfare, the game does have a self-perception seldom found in mainstream military titles. At the end of one level, there is a tagline that reads: 'A real life story or a political propaganda? You have the right to decide.'

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY: JIHAD: PLAY THE GAME; WESTERN PC GAMES FEATURE US FORCES DESTROYING ARAB ENEMIES. NOW ISLAM

While these titles aim to redress the balance to a genre dominated by victorious US soldiers defeating Arab enemies, there are other games available that reflect a wider unease with Western thinking. The Ummah Defence titles are fairly innocuous, with robots as enemies and an Islamic universe under threat. In *The Maze of Destiny*, players battle with an evil wizard named Darlack the Deceiver who has ruined a Muslim utopia where everyone worships Allah by stealing the Book of Allah and imprisoning anyone who knows Allah's teachings. Armed only with their wits and their faith, players must rescue the wise ones from Darlack's dungeons. Challenges include setting bombs to open secret passageways and exploring endless labyrinths. Stylistically, the game is like an early Nintendo title but at its heart is the secular Darlack who plies people with alcohol, drugs, prostitutes and gambling.

All three titles are created by Islamgames, a US-based company that makes titles featuring battles between the defenders of Islam and their opponents. The company explains its stance by stating that: 'Video games are a great learning tool, but many games available teach things contrary to the teachings of Islam. By providing an alternative to the mainstream, we can help our children in a subtle way learn to identify with Islamic values and teachings.'

Islam Fun is a collection of PC mini-games aimed at encouraging children to learn more about Islam. In among *Two Bunny Race* and *Building Blocks* "Build a Mosque" is the more alarming *The Resistance*. Gamers play a farmer in South Lebanon who has joined the Islamic Resistance to defend their land and family from invading Zionists. As the game is aimed at five- to seven-year-olds, it seems this particular mini-game is slightly advanced. In defence of their subject matter, Innovative Minds, the company behind Islam Fun, made this statement. 'The questions in the game educate children not to fall for the Zionist lie that Zionism, Jewishness and Judaism are synonymous but to understand that Zionism, a racist ideology, has nothing to do with Judaism.' There's little danger that hardline titles are going to become bestsellers in the UK, despite their efforts to represent a different ideology. The Video Standards Council, which decides the age and content rating system for UK computer games, does not permit the sale of any game containing material featuring discrimination or incitement to hatred against any ethnic group. Any title that contains material like this is also highly likely to contravene criminal law in the UK and most European countries. But, online boundaries are blurred, as one downloadable game from America, *Ethnic Cleansing*, proves.

Johnny Minkley, the editor of MCV, the trade magazine for the games industry, isn't convinced that religious games are ever going to compete with mainstream titles. 'Video games are becoming a more acceptable mass-market media and a means of expression for more groups. It's natural evolution. Religious games are just one small facet of the games industry.'

John Houlihan, the editor of *Computer and Videogames*, agrees: 'There has been a move towards more religious gaming, both in America and the Middle East. However, these games are still very much a minority interest for the industry. Just like with music, the devil has all the best tunes " and all the best games.'

### nSpecial Force

Developer: Hizbullah Central Internet Bureau

Like *Under Siege*, *Special Force* is a more professional title than, say, *Islamic fun*. Players simulate Hizbollah fighters during military operations against the Israeli army and action is inspired by actual Hizbollah operations. Stalking soldiers, blowing up tanks and full on street battles are the main aspects of the game as players run through a city battleground causing destruction.

([www.specialforce.net](http://www.specialforce.net))

### Islamic Fun

Innovative Minds

A selection of simple games for children that aim to teach them about aspects of Islam. Games like *Building Blocks*, where players create their own mosque, make up the majority. One stand-out mini-game is *The Resistance*,

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY: JIHAD: PLAY THE GAME; WESTERN PC GAMES FEATURE US FORCES DESTROYING ARAB ENEMIES. NOW ISLAM

where players take the role of a farmer in south Lebanon who has joined **Hamas** to defend his land and family from the invading Zionists.

([www.inminds.co.uk](http://www.inminds.co.uk))

Under Siege

Afkar Media

The sequel to Under Ash, Under Siege is a first-person shooter (FPS) game played from the perspective of a Palestinian. In single-player mode, Under Siege is like many FPS games featuring a specific enemy (in this case, the Israeli army), and gives players an arsenal of weapons with which to do battle. Choose from grenades, rocket launchers, sniper rifles and automatic weapons. Graphically, Under Siege is underdeveloped and very basic, so it won't be rivalling Far Cry in the FPS stakes.

([www.underash.net](http://www.underash.net))

Maze of Destiny

IslamGames

In Maze of Destiny, players must battle the evil wizard Darlack to rescue the teachers of the Koran and re-establish the true worship of Allah. Maze of Destiny is reminiscent of Zelda, with its maze-based 2D levels. Gamers have to negotiate labyrinthine dungeons while avoiding being plied with **women** or drink. Simple but effective.

([www.islamgames.com](http://www.islamgames.com))

Ummah Defense 1 & 2

IslamGames

It's the year 2114 and the Earth is united under the banner of Islam. As a member of the Intergalactic Muslim Council, your job is to help co-ordinate Dawa efforts on other planets. But the Flying Evil Robot Armada attacks Earth and it's up to you to save the planet. The first title is a simple, Space Invaders-inspired game, while Ummah 2 is more sophisticated, like an early Mario title.

([www.islamgames.com](http://www.islamgames.com))

**Load-Date:** August 17, 2005

**Gaza withdrawal: Cages at the ready to remove settlers who flout deadline:  
Hard core of Jewish families will be prised out if softly, softly tactics fail**

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

August 15, 2005

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**Section:** Guardian Home Pages, Pg. 4

**Length:** 1314 words

**Byline:** Chris McGreal in Neve Dekalim, Gaza settlements

## **Body**

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For the most diehard Jewish settlers, the last view of their doomed homes on the Gaza coast is likely to be from a cage as it swings high over the uniform red roofs, whitewashed walls and neatly tended gardens to deliver them to the security forces.

At midnight, as the deadline passed for Israelis to leave the 17 condemned settlements in the Gaza Strip and four small ones in the northern West Bank, the government was still banking on most of the 8,000 settlers going quietly.

Prime minister Ariel Sharon has tried to lure them out with generous compensation packages far above the true value of the properties left behind and with appeals to consider the national good.

But at the same time, the army has spent months planning for the unwelcome prospect of prising out those who intend to make a last stand in defence of Israel's most controversial colonies. Tens of thousands of soldiers and police have been trained to remove the settlers "with determination and sensitivity", riot control methods have been softened up from those used against Palestinians, and plans have been laid to move the last settlers by sea if all else fails.

So far, several hundred settlers have left Gaza, mostly from smaller communities, although many more are preparing to go. Starting today, soldiers and police officers will go from door to door to attempt to persuade the rest to leave.

Colonel Erez Katz, the officer overseeing the pullout on the ground, said he believes a good proportion of families have chosen to stay beyond the deadline to register their defiance, but that many will load up their cars and drive away before the removal squads arrive, particularly those parents who do not wish to be arrested in front of their children.

"They will have registered their protest by staying on after the deadline, and if they leave in (the next) 48 hours they will not lose any of the compensation," he said.

But a hard core is expected to remain beyond Wednesday. In Gush Katif, the largest settlement block, local leaders say they will lock the gates to the settlements this morning and have called for a mass turnout to block roads to prevent what the army has named Operation Brotherly Hand from getting off the ground. It may also prevent some of those who want to leave from doing so.

Gaza withdrawal: Cages at the ready to remove settlers who flout deadline: Hard core of Jewish families will be prised out if softly, softly tactics fail

The Gaza settlers who plan to hold out have been joined by several thousand supporters from Jewish colonies in the West Bank, or from Israel proper, many of them young people whose fervour has been sharpened by the closure deadline coinciding with Tisha B'av, the most mournful day in the Jewish calendar, marking the destruction of the ancient temples in Jerusalem.

The army has not said which settlement will be cleared first, but the approach will be the same in all. On the morning of the forced evacuation, the targeted settlement will be surrounded by six rings of security forces. The first will ensure that roads are kept open to allow in the second wave, assigned to clear the colony house by house. The remaining rings will protect the evacuation from Palestinian attack and seal off a wide area around the Gaza strip to keep Israeli protesters at bay.

Each of the squads assigned to clear houses is made up of a combination of 17 soldiers and police officers. A policeman will knock on the door of each home, inform the residents that they are breaking the law and ask them to board a bus. They will be permitted a few minutes to gather belongings.

The approach, the army says, is to be understanding; firm but kind - a side of the Israeli military rarely seen by Palestinians in the neighbouring Khan Yunis or Rafah refugee camps, who are routinely ordered through the loudspeaker of an armoured vehicle to get out of their home minutes before it is bulldozed.

"We will show all the sensitivity that a family forced to leave its home deserves," said Col Katz.

The squads have been practising for weeks what will happen if the residents refuse to move. Adults will be pinned down, with one soldier or policeman on each limb, and lifted out. Only female soldiers and police officers will arrest women or carry children on to the bus.

The authorities believe the settlers have prepared several tactics to resist, such as retreating to one room, sitting on the floor and clinging tightly to each other. Others may barricade themselves in. If so, the squads will go through the windows or hammer their way through the walls.

Through all of this, the settlers are likely to appeal to the soldiers and police officers not to carry out their orders. "Jews don't evacuate Jews" is a common plea.

The removal squads will not be armed and several of the settlements have responded to appeals from the military to hand in their weapons. At the first sight of a gun, the process will be halted and a special negotiating team brought in.

"Even though we simulated some extreme scenarios, we believe most settlers would not resort to violence. Some of them are even waiting for the soldiers with cakes and sweets," said Col Katz.

The army has developed an alternative to rubber bullets, which sometimes kill, by developing rounds using compressed sand that are not nearly so dangerous.

Although some smaller settlements, such as Kfar Darom, are generally the most militant, the hardest to clear may prove to be Neve Dekalim, the largest in Gaza. It is normally home to about 2,600 people, but the number may have doubled or trebled with an influx of evacuation opponents.

Groups such as Land of Israel Loyalists have prepared for a long siege "against the expulsion and transfer plot", with stockpiles of food.

Some of the settlers and their supporters are expected to retreat to the roofs of their homes, or the top of the few multi-storey buildings, such as council offices and a large religious school in Neve Dekalim. The military considers it dangerous for both sides to have to drag resisters down stairs, so they will be forced into large yellow cages lowered on to the rooftops, locked in and swung into the arms of police waiting on the ground.

Gaza withdrawal: Cages at the ready to remove settlers who flout deadline: Hard core of Jewish families will be prised out if softly, softly tactics fail

If the confrontation gets really difficult - with the only road out of Gush Katif blocked by mass demonstrations - the security forces have laid plans to move the settlers out by sea, using hovercraft and military landing craft.

There are other potential complications. Rocket attacks by Hamas or Islamic Jihad would probably bring the evacuation to a halt, particularly if a settler, soldier or police officer were killed. If that happens, the army has threatened to launch an offensive to seize control of Palestinian territory in Gaza, probably delaying the evacuation by days.

Once the settlers have gone, the dead will follow. Col Katz said that under religious law, the 48 people buried in the local graveyard can only be disinterred and moved after the living have left.

The contents of homes will be locked in containers and shipped to a location in the Negev desert for collection. Squads will move in to dismantle the parts of the houses that can be removed, such as water tanks and solar panels, and remove the asbestos found in many of the homes.

Diggers will cave in the roof of each home to make it uninhabitable, but the bulk of the destruction and removal of the rubble will be left to the Palestinians who are keen to use it to provide work.

Synagogues, religious schools and other sensitive buildings will be dismantled as far as possible - with roofs, door frames and windows being removed. Other public buildings, such as administration offices, will be left for the Palestinians.

When they are finally gone, along with the last of the bulldozers, the remaining soldiers will gather beneath the Israeli flag. The national anthem will be played, the Star of David lowered and the Israelis will leave Gaza after a presence that some never imagined would go on so long, and others thought would go on forever.

[guardian.co.uk/israel](http://guardian.co.uk/israel)

**Load-Date:** August 15, 2005

## WORLD REPORT

Windsor Star (Ontario)

February 12, 2004 Thursday Final Edition

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. B2; News; Brief

**Length:** 1180 words

**Dateline:** London; Paris; Rome; Gaza City, Gaza Strip; Sao Paulo, Brazil; Gonaives, Haiti; Los Angeles

### **Body**

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Man gets 3 months for killing swan near crowd

London

A man who killed a swan by beating it and smashing it against a concrete path in front of a crowd of people was jailed Wednesday for three months.

Michael Barnett, 41, pleaded guilty to killing the bird on Dec. 15 in Exeter, southwest England.

"We consider the offence was so serious only a custodial sentence can be justified," said chairman of the bench Geoffrey Harrison at Exeter Magistrates Court. He called the killing "a most horrendous act."

Compiled from Star News Services

Police spokesman Roy Adams said after the case that there were as many as 100 people watching when the incident happened.

Prosecutor Ann Hampshire said Barnett was "substantially in drink" when he killed the swan.

Arafat's wife accused of money laundering

Paris

The Palestinian Authority called accusations of money laundering by Yasser Arafat's wife, Suha, "scandalous" Wednesday after French prosecutors confirmed they are investigating the origin of \$15 million allegedly deposited in Suha's bank accounts in Paris.

The Bank of France alerted prosecutors last September to regular alleged deposits of up to \$1.6 million between July 2002 and July 2003 from Switzerland into Suha's accounts at Arab Bank and the French bank BNP.

Suha, 40, spends most of her time in Paris with the couple's eight-year-old daughter, rarely visiting the Middle East.

Restrictions passed on fertility treatments

Rome

Under pressure from the Roman Catholic church Italy's parliament has passed draconian restrictions on fertility treatments.

## WORLD REPORT

The legislation transforms Italy from a country where a 62-year-old can give birth to one where using donor sperm or eggs is banned, forcing sperm banks to close down and 24,000 embryos to be "put up for adoption."

It was passed amid fierce opposition inside and outside parliament, especially by feminists and gay groups.

As parliamentarians --- including some on the opposition benches with strong Catholic convictions -- voted in favour, some women MPs donned white masks to symbolize the way they said the law attacked women's rights.

Website shows trend of British regional accents

London

Britain is changing its toon.

Recordings of voices from the 1950s, the 1980s and 1990s on a new website show that older pronunciations like "toon" for town and "coo" for cow are fading, replaced with more standard forms, officials say.

But Jonathan Robinson, curator of English Accents and Dialects at the British Library Sound Archive, which runs the Collect Britain site, said regional accents are still strong. He said fans of the Newcastle United soccer team still refer to their club as "the Toon."

The use of "toon" -- which once spread as far south as Yorkshire -- does survive in some of the broader Newcastle accents and in some Scottish pronunciations, he said.

Among other major changes has been the "virtual disappearance" of the Northumbrian burr, the way some residents of northeast England have of pronouncing an initial "r" sound at back of the throat, as in French, rather than the front.

Bardot wants ritual slaughter painless

Paris

Brigitte Bardot, the French film legend turned animal rights campaigner, paid a visit to a Paris mosque Wednesday to ask the Muslim community to make ritual slaughter less traumatic for the animals.

Bardot proposed that the sheep traditionally slaughtered during the Muslim festival of Eid al-Adha be rendered unconscious before their throats are cut.

She met the rector of the mosque, Dalil Boubakeur, who suggested that some sort of anesthetization might be possible -- as long as the animal to be sacrificed could still be killed in the traditional manner.

"This is wonderful, you are giving me the biggest present of my life," Bardot said.

However, Boubakeur told the former actress that the issue must be debated with the French Council for the Muslim Religion, which he heads. The council is an umbrella group representing the main Islamic organizations in France.

Still, he said, "The position of Islam toward animals and nature is one of respect," Boubakeur said.

15 Palestinians killed during Israeli crackdown

Gaza City, Gaza Strip

An Israeli crackdown on Palestinian militants Wednesday erupted into the bloodiest day of fighting in the Gaza Strip in 16 months, killing 15 Palestinians and wounding more than 50.

The violent Islamic Hamas responded with a vow of retaliation, urging all of its cells throughout Gaza and the West Bank to attack. Similar calls in the past have been followed within days -- sometimes hours -- by suicide bombings in Israel.



## WORLD REPORT

Some observers linked the stepped-up violence to Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's proposals for a unilateral pullout from most of Gaza.

Cops focus on rat poison in deaths of zoo animals

Sao Paulo, Brazil

Police are investigating a spate of unusual cases of apparent death by poisoning at the Sao Paulo Zoo, one of the world's largest, where 10 animals including an elephant have dropped dead in a two-week period.

"We can't explain what's happening," said biologist Fatima Roberti, a spokeswoman for the zoo. "We are letting the police sift through the clues."

What police know so far, according to Antonio Silveira of the Sao Paulo Civil Police Laboratory, is that three chimpanzees, three tapirs, three camels and an elephant were found dead between Jan. 24 and Feb. 6.

"These were apparently unnatural deaths," said Silveira. "These animals just dropped dead suddenly."

Death toll hits 46; Aristide won't quit

Gonaives, Haiti

Rebels set ablaze an accused government hitman and shot another person Wednesday, raising the death toll to 46 in a popular uprising that began in this hotbed of revolutionary fervour that has led to the downfall of more than one Haitian leader.

South of Gonaives, police attacked rebels holed up in a slum in the port city of St. Marc and witnesses said gunmen loyal to President Jean-Bertrand Aristide torched homes, killing two people, as looting and reprisals raged.

In northern Cap-Haitien, attackers looted a food warehouse and Aristide militants set up blazing barricades to protect Haiti's second city from a possible rebel incursion.

At his first news conference since the uprising, Aristide on Wednesday refused to resign and said the "terrorists" were allied with the political opposition.

Next hearing for Jackson likely to be more sedate

Los Angeles

Don't expect any dancing at Michael Jackson's next court date. The self-styled King of Pop is staying home.

Friday's hearing is expected to be a sedate affair. Lawyers will discuss a date for a preliminary hearing where the first evidence will be presented, then will take up the issue of whether to open court records to the public.

"We don't anticipate many fans coming," Santa Maria police Lieut. Chris Vaughan said. "There'll really be nothing for them to see."

Hundreds of fans packed the street after Jackson's arraignment on Jan. 16, when he climbed atop his black SUV and danced. The pop star's absence from the hearing might mean fewer fireworks inside the courtroom.

## Graphic

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Suha Arafat; Brigitte Bardot

WORLD REPORT

**Load-Date:** February 12, 2004

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End of Document

**A BATTLE IN BRITAIN;  
AFTER THE JULY 7 ATTACKS, BRITISH STOICISM WAS MUCH ADMIRER.  
DAVID PRYCE-JONES LOOKS, HOWEVER, AT THE COMBUSTIBLE  
TENSIONS BETWEEN MUSLIMS AND WORKING-CLASS WHITES**

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

July 17, 2005 Sunday

FIVE STAR EDITION

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**Section:** EDITORIAL,

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**Dateline:** LONDON

## **Body**

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The British, according to a familiar stereotype, are slow to react. Their immediate steadfastness in response to the July 7 terrorist attacks in London has certainly been remarkable, not to say magnificent. At present count, at least 54 people were killed and many were injured, more than 100 of them seriously, even critically. Yet, by nightfall on the day of the bombings, the city was going about its business more or less normally.

But there is reason to fear that Great Britain may not really be returned to normal life -- that its social fabric may not be as intact as it appears, at least in one crucial regard.

The attacks of July 7 threaten to push beyond the breaking point already strained relations between Britain's large Muslim population and the working-class whites with whom it shares many of the nation's impoverished industrial centers.

These Muslims are struggling with how to assimilate while retaining essential elements of their cultural and religious heritage. Many of them are easily convinced by the arguments of radical Islamist preachers. (In fact, the police now suspect that four Muslim men, all born in Britain and inspired by, if not directly linked to, al-Qaida, carried out the bombings.) Meanwhile, the Muslim community's white, working-class neighbors are suspicious and resentful of the newer arrivals living among them.

This juxtaposition creates vast potential for radicalism -- and violence -- on both sides.

Unfortunately, misguided British government policies that simultaneously make the country a haven for Muslim extremism while stoking white, working-class resentment with their perceived favoring of the larger Muslim community only exacerbate this problem.

In the United States, after the Sept. 11 attacks, there were few anti-Muslim incidents. But, on the day after the London carnage, the inevitable anti-Muslim backlash began. Among a number of confused incidents, a mosque in Leeds is believed to have been firebombed.

# A BATTLE IN BRITAIN ; AFTER THE JULY 7 ATTACKS, BRITISH STOICISM WAS MUCH ADMIRER. DAVID PRYCE-JONES LOOKS, HOWEVER, AT THE COMBUSTIBLE TENSIONS BETWEEN MUSLIMS ....

This suits the Islamists perfectly, allowing them to draw more to their ranks as jihad becomes a reality, and it won't stop until the government reverses course.

The British people know that they are the targets of Islamist hate. They also know that Britain offers refuge for all sorts of Islamist organizations. Hamas, Hezbollah and Hizb Ut Tahrir are tacitly allowed to spread their pro-terrorism gospel, even though the former two are officially banned.

These groups have found a secure base and hinterland in which to implant themselves. In Britain, they see a population of more than 1.5 million Muslims, the majority from Pakistan and Bangladesh, on the whole pious people, primarily out to better themselves. The natural instinct of these immigrants, almost certainly, is to assimilate with English society, or, if that seems too demanding, at least to integrate.

The younger generation, born and educated in Britain, proficient in English, would generally subscribe to assimilation, or at least integration. But discomfort remains.

In particular, a code of conduct enshrining the inferiority of women is a barrier between Muslims and the British, one likely to remain insuperable for another generation or two. Until this issue is resolved, most young Muslims remain unsure whether their primary allegiance is to Britain and its values or to some country of family origin with quite different values.

The Islamists invite the potentially alienated to reject Britain and all its works, and to adopt instead the identity of jihad and the hate that goes with it.

There is something on the order of 1,200 mosques in the country. All serve as community centers, and only a few are in the hands of extremist imams. The most notorious imams -- Abu Hamza and Abu Qatada, both charged with crimes in Britain and abroad -- have finally been taken into custody. They and their ilk act as recruiting officers for jihad.

One follower, a young social worker in Luton by the name of Abdul Haq, recently told the Evening Standard something menacing and prophetic: "As far as I'm concerned, when they bomb London, the bigger the better. I know it's going to happen because Sheik bin Laden said so. Like Bali, like Turkey, like Madrid -- I pray for it, I look forward to the day."

Monitoring such threats, the intelligence services have been issuing regular warnings that a terrorist attack was a certainty, and the only point of doubt was when and how it would happen.

/ Under Islamist influence, the level of violence has been rising slowly but surely. As of March, 732 people have been arrested under the Terrorism Act, and, of these, 259 were charged with criminal offenses, though only 21 have been convicted.

Those recruited to Islamism are not the poor and disinherited, but, on the contrary, those whose intelligence and social advancement allow them to submit to the luxury of an identity crisis.

The response of those in public positions has been mostly feeble or inappropriate.

The Muslims and the locals in the half-ruined industrial towns of the Midlands are on a level footing when it comes to unemployment, welfare and education, but government policy is perceived in some quarters as favoring Muslims in measures like building community centers and sports facilities, and forcing books on Islam (but not on any other religion) into schools. In fact, there are now seven state-run schools exclusively for Muslims.

These schools are attended by fewer than 2,000 students (and some Protestant and Catholic schools have long received state funding), but their creation has aroused resentment and concern. David Bell, the chief inspector of schools, recently worried that "young people are being educated in faith-based schools, with little appreciation of their wider responsibilities and obligations to British society."

A BATTLE IN BRITAIN ; AFTER THE JULY 7 ATTACKS, BRITISH STOICISM WAS MUCH ADMIRER. DAVID PRYCE-JONES LOOKS, HOWEVER, AT THE COMBUSTIBLE TENSIONS BETWEEN MUSLIMS ....

/ Inexorably, those who privilege Muslims on the one hand, and Islamists on the other hand, are combining to shift public opinion toward the counterresponse of violence, which is to say fascism.

Wedded to their parliamentary democracy, the British have always rejected foreign political imports like communism and fascism. No fascist party member has ever won a seat at Westminster, and today's fascists, the British National Party (BNP), fare no better.

Under the impact of rising Islamism, however, and invigorated by the well-meant but foolish patronizing of Muslims by the authorities, the BNP has now acquired a few seats on local municipalities.

In the last European elections, the BNP received over 808,200 votes, an astonishing protest vote, as well as a portent. Some of these new fascists are capable of argument, but most of them resort to the fist, the boot and the petrol bomb.

Nobody has been killed so far in the BNP-inspired race riots in cities with substantial Muslim populations, such as Burnley, Oldham, Derby, Tipton, and Bradford, but mosques and shops and Muslim properties have been vandalized. They are creating a sense (one that played a role in the recent general election) that the country has lost control of its borders and that immigrants, whether legal or illegal, are becoming "an enemy within."

British Muslims are caught between a rock and a hard place. The number who throw their lot in with the Islamists might be infinitesimally small, but even that is enough to arouse much fury and contempt for them at the street level.

In order to be free and equal citizens, they need better leadership and a more realistic government.

In time, this will happen. In another familiar stereotype, the British public will ultimately go in for fair play.

But the time before that day arrives has been made longer still by the terrorist outrage in London.

## Notes

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David Pryce-Jones, a senior editor at National Review, wrote this for The New Republic. His most recent book is "The Closed Circle: An Interpretation of the Arabs."

## Graphic

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PHOTO: Christopher Furlong/Getty Images: Members of the Leeds Muslim Community stand in Millennium Square on Thursday to mark the two-minute tribute to the victims of the London bombings.

**Load-Date:** July 20, 2005

## **CAMPAIGN CONFIDENTIAL**

The Forward  
February 6, 2004

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**Section:** News; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1245 words

**Byline:** E.J. Kessler

### **Body**

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Looking past Saturday's presidential caucuses in Michigan, Democratic strategists were predicting this week that the results in the Wolverine State would point the way for the party's strategy in the general election.

What the Michigan campaign showed, pundits said, was that voters in the center - "white, Catholic men who are disproportionately members of labor unions," in the words of Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf - will determine who wins the White House in November. The campaign also showed, in searching for those voters, that candidates were eager to avoid stepping into ethnic or other squabbles that diverted them from the main goal.

In particular, Democrats tried hard to avoid antagonizing either Jewish or Arab American voters, both of which are heavily represented in Michigan and play active roles on the national stage. As a result, the Israeli-Arab conflict appeared unlikely to figure as a major issue in the fall campaign.

"Michigan is going to decide [the 2004] election," said Sheinkopf. "It's a dress rehearsal for fall."

The state's 100,000 Jews constitute 2% of the population and can make up from "5 % to 10% or more of the Democratic caucus electorate," according to Michigan Democratic Party chairman Mark Brewer. (Since voters have the option of voting by mail or on the Internet before Saturday's caucus date, Sabbath observance should not dampen Jewish turnout. Brewer said 120,000 people had requested ballots by mail or Internet.)

Meanwhile, the Arab American community, which the 2000 census puts at 115,284 souls but communal officials estimate to be at least twice that figure, was seen as a smaller part of the caucus electorate - 2% to 3%, Brewer estimated - but an even more important factor than the Jews in Michigan's general election vote.

Given these demographics, and considering how the Arab-Israeli conflict has burned Democrats already, the candidates apparently concluded they had nothing to gain by foregrounding Middle East issues and avoided them.

Kerry and his longtime chief rival, former Vermont governor Howard Dean, have sparred since September over Arab-Israeli issues, when Kerry ripped into Dean for his famous comments, since retracted, that America "ought not to take sides" in Middle East negotiations and calling Hamas terrorists "soldiers." The remarks damaged Dean's standing among Jews.

Then, in what rival campaigns considered a counter-pander, Kerry gave a speech at an Arab American Institute summit in October in which he called Israel's security fence "provocative and counterproductive" and "a barrier to peace," cheering Arabs and perplexing some Jews. Finally, Kerry antagonized Jewish communal leaders by naming former president Jimmy Carter and former secretary of state James Baker in a list of possible Middle East envoys in

## CAMPAIGN CONFIDENTIAL

a December speech at the Council on Foreign Relations; both men are disliked for what many consider their pro-Arab views.

But Kerry's counter-pander, if it was that, hasn't generated a backlash among Jews, because the senator benefited from the Bush campaign's backchannel assaults on the pro-Israel bonafides of Dean, according to some observers.

"The biggest favor the Bush team could have done for John Kerry is setting up Howard Dean as the bogeyman, so that Kerry is now the savior," said David Luchins, a former aide to the late Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Days before Michigan's February 7 Democratic caucus, the Jewish community appeared to be throwing most of its support to Kerry, with a smaller chunk going to retired general Wesley Clark, local Democrats said. Kerry's moves didn't gain him much with the state's Arab American community. Observers said that community was sticking with Dean, with Clark in second place, despite Dean's over all freefall locally; a Detroit News poll released Tuesday showed Kerry with 56% to Dean's 13% among likely caucus voters, a stark reversal from a month ago.

In a January 16 Zogby poll, Dean drew 36% of the Arab American vote nationally while Kerry drew 6%. That hadn't changed much, according to the Michigan regional director of the Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Imad Hamad, who told the Forward that Kerry hurt himself with Arab Americans by attacking Dean for his remarks. Kerry "seems to be giving rhetoric," Hamad said, while Dean's anti-Washington message resonates.

In Michigan, as elsewhere, Kerry's strategy was to appeal to as wide a cross-section of the electorate as possible, according to his advisers, while sending out emissaries to make personal appeals to both communities. In earlier contests, "we won every demographic group: young/old, women/men, rich/poor," said a Kerry strategist, speaking on condition of anonymity. "We're not looking at [Michigan] as a niche play."

With Arab American support for President Bush falling drastically because of objections to the Iraq war and some of the homeland security measures he instituted after the September 11 attacks, Democrats don't have to worry much about the Arab vote, observers said.

"If you're a Democratic nominee, and you're strategizing, this is a slam-dunk," said Adam Scheingate, a political scientist at University of California Berkeley. "To get the Arab vote, all you have to do is talk about the Patriot Act."

Kerry's campaign sent the candidate's brother Cameron Kerry, who is a convert to Judaism, to Michigan the week before the vote to do outreach to the Jewish community, while sending Bill Shaheen, his New Hampshire chairman, who is an Arab American, to Dearborn to meet with Arab American leaders.

Cameron Kerry, whose wife comes from Detroit's Jewish suburbs, told the Forward that he would be campaigning in the Jewish community with the help of his in-laws, Anne and Joe Weinman. His father-in-law, winningly, is active in the Jewish War Veterans of America.

Dean was looking for a strong showing in delegate-rich Michigan to revive his faltering campaign, but he was not seeking to appeal to Arab American voters on Middle East issues, Dean advisers said. Dean's national campaign co-chairman, Steve Grossman, told the Forward that in Michigan Dean was portraying himself as "the candidate of political empowerment," especially for "disenfranchised people."

"Jewish voters are just as concerned about health care and fairness as any other voter," Grossman said.

Dean was likely to gain the most support among African Americans, on college campuses and in ultraliberal bastions such as Ann Arbor, local Democrats said. Dean had some support among Jews, but the "dustup" over his Middle East remarks hurt him. "Dean makes people nervous," said one pro-Israel Democrat, speaking on condition of anonymity. But the one Dean supporter anyone could identify among Jewish elected officials, State Rep. Andy Meisner, said that while Dean "caught a lot of guff in the Jewish community, it's important to note he retracted that statement, and when he had the opportunity to repeat it at an Arab American Chamber of Commerce meeting, he didn't."

## CAMPAIGN CONFIDENTIAL

As for Clark, according to one of his top Jewish supporters, State Senator Gilda Jacobs, "I don't think he'll be embarrassed. I think he'll see stronger numbers than everyone expects."

Another trend seen around the country also is evident in Michigan: The pro-Israel Democrat said he has been raising a lot of political money - for President Bush. He said that unless Democrats start formulating their foreign policy positions in strong language, they stand to lose more supporters.

## Graphic

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IMAGE

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

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## *Will Israeli Settlements Serve Them, Gazans Ask*

The New York Times

June 14, 2005 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 2; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1166 words

**Byline:** By STEVEN ERLANGER

**Dateline:** KHAN YUNIS, Gaza

### **Body**

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From the farthest edge of the Khan Yunis refugee camp, Palestinians can see the Israeli flag flying proudly over the settlement at Neve Dekalim, atop a huge cement watchtower that commands the line of fire across a wide no man's land.

Israel plans to pull out of Neve Dekalim late this summer, and the refugees at Khan Yunis, like the Abu Reziq family, tell one another tales of what lies inside -- beyond the watchtower, behind the tall cement wall, over the netting that tops the wall and now hides their view of the sea.

Zidan Abu Reziq, 50, used to work in the settlement, until the latest round of the intifada. Asked to describe it to his family, he said: "Ah, it's paradise. Very modern buildings." He paused, shook his head. "It's beyond your imagination."

What does he want most to show his family? "A garden I built for their kids," he said. "When I got back home, I felt grief. I was thinking how I'm building such gardens with swings to comfort the Jewish boys and not mine. If I'm allowed to get in, after the withdrawal, that's the place I want to take my family."

Israel is to withdraw from Gaza in two months, but Palestinians like the Abu Reziqs have mixed emotions. They want to see their own flag over the houses they built and the greenhouses where they worked.

But no one knows even now what will happen to those structures, and the Palestinians worry about the prospect of chaos.

In September 2004, the Abu Reziqs got 10 minutes' warning from the Israelis to evacuate their original house in the refugee camp. Islamic militants were firing mortars and homemade Qassam rockets from Khan Yunis into Neve Dekalim, and the Israeli Army wanted to clear a wider buffer zone by demolishing houses.

In the rush, 5-year-old Ahmed, asleep in his bed, was left behind, but he was retrieved safely an hour later. A brother, Muhammad, 16, was hit by a large-caliber machine-gun bullet as he ran. He was saved by his uncle, Ahmed Abu Reziq, 42, a nurse.

Muhammad showed the knotty cyclone of scar tissue just above his thigh. His uncle said flatly, "He was lucky I was next to him."

## Will Israeli Settlements Serve Them, Gazans Ask

Israeli officials say clearing the houses of noncombatants has been necessary, given the range of mortars and rockets.

But such action is considered illegal by much of the world and by B'Tselem, the Israeli Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, which has said that doing so "flagrantly violates international humanitarian law," "cannot be justified on the grounds of 'pressing military necessity,'" and "constitutes collective punishment."

Israel pays no compensation to families like the Abu Reziqs.

The family rented another house for a time, but United Nations refugee aid was slow to come and so is work, even at less than \$7 a day. "Nobody's happy these days," said the elder Ahmed. "Anyone here who tells you they're happy is a liar."

So with winter over and a new period of relative calm between Palestinian militants and the Israelis, the Abu Reziqs decided to move back into their half-demolished home.

The wall that separates them from the buffer zone and the Israeli guns is missing, but has been replaced by a makeshift barricade of ribbed asbestos roofing sheets, rusted metal doors and chunks of wood.

There is a foot-wide space at the top for light and ventilation; atop the barricade sits a single mint plant, for tea.

The walls are full of holes from bullets and shrapnel. There is no electricity, and at night they use candles; a trench has been dug for sewage through a mound of rubble out into the buffer zone.

Lubna, 14, her eyes bright and her hair covered in a white scarf, described how she and her sisters did the digging. "They won't shoot at women," she said.

She showed a visitor the trench, then pulled him back from walking too far into the buffer zone to take a picture of the Israeli flag atop the cement watchtower, which is a huge sewer pipe set on end.

"I dream about the Palestinian flag replacing the Israeli flag there," Lubna said. "I want us to be happy and to be a developed nation, with the right to live in safety." She wants to be an engineer.

Her cousin Sanaa, 16, was also dressed for school in a white head scarf and long black cloak, the ankles of her blue jeans visible when she walks. "The most important thing for me is that the Israelis get out of here," she said. "Then I hope we'll have a future."

The girls' grandmother, Fatma Abu Reziq, 70, came here in 1948 as a refugee from a village near Haifa; she remembers running, and a long ride on a truck. "I lost my home in 1948, and now I've lost it here," she said quietly. What does she think when she sees the Israeli flag from her broken house? "What do you think I think?" she asked.

A few yards away through the narrow alleys of the camp, Muhammad Abu Reziq, 24, lives with his wife, Asma, their two children, and his parents and siblings. There are 13 people in a house where the kitchen has been cut in half by a blanket to allow the young couple to sleep with a degree of privacy. There are bullet holes in nearly every interior wall.

Muhammad was wounded in Nablus in 2000, at the beginning of this second intifada, and he now works for the Palestinian Authority making \$265 a month, working 9 p.m. to 9 a.m. to patrol the camp and stop Palestinian militants from shooting mortars and rockets over the wall into Neve Dekalim.

"I work all night, and for this great sum I'm looked at by my people as a collaborator," he said bitterly. "I come home and all I can say is, 'Where's the mattress?'"

He expresses disdain for the corruption of the Palestinian Authority. He said that Hamas would take better care of him and his family if he should be hurt or killed than would Fatah, the dominant political faction.

## Will Israeli Settlements Serve Them, Gazans Ask

He misses the authority of Yasir Arafat. "Abu Ammar used to shake the floor," he said, "and he never compromised." He considers Mr. Arafat's successor, Mahmoud Abbas, known as Abu Mazen, weak and without charisma.

Muhammad's mother, Tamam, 48, broke in. "Abu Ammar is gone and Abu Mazen is our president, he's our fate," she said. "I know he'll do things for the people."

Muhammad pointed to his son, Zidan, 3. "This kid will sit drawing a machine gun," he said with disgust. Tamam said: "When he hears bullets, he cries, 'I don't want to die.' This 3-year-old knows about death. What kind of life is this?"

Tamam gestured to her family. "These kids have never been to an amusement park or seen a zoo," she said, as they teased her for describing her own visit to the Cairo zoo, 30 years ago.

A few weeks ago, Israel celebrated its 57th independence day. Every year, Tamam said, "the Israelis have their feast, and we look forward to it so much." Really? Why? "We go to the roof at midnight, and I tell my kids: 'Look!' And it always happens -- the fireworks and the lights over the sea. It's beautiful," she said. Referring to possible Palestinian independence, she added, "It's something they've never seen."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Zidan Abu Reziq, left, head of a large clan of Palestinian refugees in Gaza, remembers working in Neve Dekalim, an Israeli settlement nearby that is to be abandoned. It was a "paradise," he says. (Photo by George Azar for The New York Times)(pg. A8)Map of Gaza Strip highlighting Khan Yunis: Khan Yunis residents are eager to take over an Israeli settlement. (pg. A8)

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2005

## *Follow the road to Damascus*

Sunday Times (London)

October 31, 2004, Sunday

Copyright 2004 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Features; Ecosse; 11

**Length:** 1343 words

**Byline:** Wilma Paterson

### **Body**

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Safe and overwhelmingly friendly, Syria is a joy to behold, from souks and soaps to Aramaic prayer, writes Wilma Paterson

In the incense-laden church of Saints Sergius and Bacchus, a young girl repeats the Lord's prayer in the soft, guttural tones of Aramaic, the language spoken by Jesus himself.

"A-voon de vesh-ma-ya," she begins. I'm in the remote village of Maaloula, high up in the Syrian desert, about 30 miles north of Damascus. The 1,700-year-old church with its beautiful, gilded icons is one of the oldest to have been continuously celebrating mass. The village, with its pastel-blue houses hugging the steep, bare mountain face, is Syria's most enchanting, as well as being one of the last places on earth where Aramaic is still spoken. The girl cannot read or write in her mother tongue - Arabic has been Syria's national language for centuries - but she is proud of it, and, like most of the villagers, happy to recite poems for pilgrims and scholars.

"Aa-meen," the prayer ends. I find it very moving, being transported back 2,000 years in time, in this peaceful place. As we drive away from Maaloula in the sundown, giant neon crosses twinkle on the mountainsides, proclaiming the village's Christianity for miles around.

Contrary to popular misconceptions, Syria is a religiously tolerant country. While France bans the headscarf in schools and Italy imposes fines for wearing veils in public, Syrian Muslims and Christians live in harmony and dress as they please.

Most **women** wear headscarves, fewer wear veils, and many, especially in cities, are bareheaded and wear western clothes.

Syria, to the relief of our small group, is equally relaxed about alcohol, which is freely available everywhere. Local beers are excellent; there are good Syrian red wines (Nektar, St Simeon), some even better Lebanese ones, while the aniseed-flavoured grape spirit Arak makes an excellent aperitif with ice and water.

It was only a week since Izz el-Deen al-Sheikh Khalil, a **Hamas** activist, was killed by an Israeli bomb in Damascus. Friends told me I was crazy to venture into a country that borders Iraq but I have never felt safer, or indeed more welcome.

Everywhere we go -whether it's city, village or desert oasis -we are approached by friendly, curious Syrians, anxious to be hospitable.

## Follow the road to Damascus

"Where do you come from?" they ask, adding courteously, "You are welcome in our country. Please, come to my house." School children tag along beside us, as we examine architectural jewels, eager to soak up our guide's pearls of wisdom. We are a novelty: Syrian tourism has suffered badly at the hands of the prejudiced and ill informed, and we have the entire country and its stunning archaeological sites almost to ourselves. Abdullah, our guide, regrets that in nine days, he can only show us just a few of his country's highlights.

I fell in love with his home town, Aleppo, as soon as we arrived, weary in the dusk of a balmy, jasmine-scented evening. Syria's second city -which claims, as does Damascus -to be the world's longest-inhabited settlement, is exotically eastern, with narrow cobbled alleys, inviting kebab and falafel stalls and handsome stone buildings. From our hotel, a beautifully restored old palazzo built around a cool, central courtyard, we have a breathtaking view of the vast and wonderful citadel that dominates the city.

Lawrence of Arabia stayed not far from here, at the famous Baron hotel, where tourists and expats congregate in the shabby-chic bar; so did Agatha Christie, while writing *Murder on the Orient Express*. Some of her archaeologist husband's finds can be seen in the museum, which is a must if you want to grasp the sophistication of Syrian art and civilisation of the two millennia before Christ.

We have been warned about Aleppo's honey-tongued vendors, but are unprepared for the wonders of the souks -a labyrinthine network of dark passageways, which form the world's biggest covered market. They stretch for miles and sell everything you can think of, from exotic scents and spices, dazzling silver and gold jewellery, to sheep's heads and assorted entrails.

An androgenous voice calls out: "Scarves for men, scarves for women, scarves for in-between." The young man beckons us into his tiny shop and spreads out some diaphanous silks for our inspection. After some obligatory haggling, we buy two scarves. There's an Arabic saying that an Aleppine can get you to buy a dried donkey skin, and it's true that I must buy another bag to accommodate my purchases -rugs from Afghanistan, chunky bars of olive oil soap perfumed with laurel and mint, Bedouin table cloths. But I've encountered little aggression, no dishonesty and less requests for a spare baksheesh than on Princes Street on a Saturday night.

Abdullah tears us away from the souks to visit Qalaat Semaan, the remains of St Simeon's Church, a short drive from Aleppo. These 5th-century ruins incorporating four fine basilicas commemorate St Simeon the Stylite, who spent nearly 40 years upright on the top of a pillar. However, the pillar has been chipped away by pilgrims and is now reduced to a stump.

Our trip collides with a national holiday, so there are lots of local people, Muslim and Christian, enjoying a day out and a picnic. Children -some fair haired with blue eyes reminding us that parts of Syria were occupied by the Crusaders - clamber over the ruins; a few French tourists drink mint tea. As the sun goes down the limestone ruins are bathed in gold.

Syria was ruled by France between the world wars and the language is still quite widely spoken: indeed the French are credited with preserving many of Syria's ancient monuments. Preservation included the eviction of thousands of Syrians from their makeshift homes built among the majestic ruins of Palmyra. Can you imagine a Roman metropolis bigger than Glasgow's west end, with colonnaded streets, vast temples, baths and theatres, in the middle of the desert? Well, that's Palmyra.

Built at the crossroads of an ancient Middle-Eastern trade route, it was ruled by the Syrian queen Zenobia, who dared to defy Rome, resulting in the sacking of the city in AD 273.

Palmyra is one of the most enthralling places on earth, but it is outdone in grandeur by Apamea with its double-fluted columns and Cardo Maximus (main street) of staggering breadth and length. Apamea is, in turn, eclipsed by the perfection of Bosra's huge 2nd-century Roman theatre, which has been preserved within an 8th-century citadel and is still used for performances. The French didn't get round to cleaning up Bosra, where children walk to school down Roman roads and satellite dishes rise above the black basalt remains of ancient gymnasiums.

## Follow the road to Damascus

Our tour, which has taken in more than 1,100 miles, through bleak desert landscapes, olive groves and vineyards and the lush countryside of the Mediterranean coast, ends in sprawling, chaotic Damascus, a city of 4m inhabitants. We walk down The Street Called Straight, which is mentioned in the New Testament in connection with Paul's conversion, and admire the magnificent Umayyad mosque before paying a visit to the souk.

Damascene souks are grander in scale and less intimate than those of Aleppo, but equally alluring. Shafts of light filter in through holes in the glass ceilings.

In an elegant ice-cream shop a white-coated young man is pounding green pistachios in a massive mortar. He sprinkles them over our cones.

We stop to buy pomegranate juice. As usual the man asks us where we come from.

"Robbie Burns!" he shouts, when I tell him I'm Scottish.

"We hear about him in school. He liked women?" I'm amazed that a Syrian juice squeezer is familiar with the sexual predilections of our national bard. Back at the airport, our guide Abdullah gives us a big Syrian hug. "My heart is bleeding," he says, "I have only been able to show you the highlights."

Details: Wilma Paterson travelled to Syria with Voyages Jules Verne. Eight nights with half-board and sightseeing on the Apostles to the Crusades tour, from £595. bReservations: 0845 166 7118; [www.vjv.co.uk](http://www.vjv.co.uk)

## Graphic

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Alive; Escape

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2004

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## *After a tribute, and then chaos, Arafat is laid to rest*

The International Herald Tribune

November 13, 2004 Saturday

Copyright 2004 International Herald Tribune

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1255 words

**Byline:** Steven Erlanger

**Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank:

### **Body**

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Yasser Arafat was buried here Friday amid extraordinary scenes of grief and chaos, as thousands of Palestinians climbed the walls of his compound, the Muqata, surging around his coffin and trying to bear it aloft.

Palestinian security guards fired volleys of gunfire into the sky, but they were unable to hold back a frenzied flow of mourners who poured over the internal courtyard, trampling the red carpet, trying to touch the coffin and engulfing the two Egyptian helicopters that brought Arafat and his entourage back home.

Wails and chants of "We will sacrifice our blood and souls to redeem you," and "Yasser, Yasser," competed with gunfire from scores of young militants in Arafat's Fatah movement.

For well over an hour, Palestinian security forces and political leaders struggled to bring 20,000 mourners under control and move Arafat's coffin to a prepared burial spot of Jerusalem stone and black-and-green marble in the Muqata compound, under five conifers. Finally, it was decided to skip a mourning ceremony for dignitaries altogether, and Arafat's body was lowered into the ground.

The New York Times

These passionate scenes were a remarkable contrast to the official and sterile dignity of Arafat's funeral service in Cairo earlier in the day, which was restricted to heads of state and diplomats.

But the Cairo service was a chance for Arab leaders, in particular, who did not want to travel into Israeli-occupied territory, to pay homage to a man whom many had disliked over his 40-year career and whose goal of an independent Palestinian state they were slow to embrace.

It was also where Arafat's wife, Suha, paid her tearful respects, along with their daughter, Zahwa, aged 9.

The scenes here were a vivid reflection of the grief of a people, many of them young and angry, who had lost the only leader most of them could remember. There were tough young men with black clothes, masks and guns, thin young men with gelled hair and blue jeans and a number of young women, too, in tightly wrapped head scarves.

One of them, Nisrin Dabaka, 25, said simply: "I loved the rais. He is like a father to me, and to me he did not die. He is in my heart, and I will never forget this day in all of my life."

After a tribute, and then chaos, Arafat is laid to rest

But there were also people like Mazen Qutty, a Palestinian Israeli who lives in Jerusalem, who drives a Volvo at home but who walked most of the way here with his son, through Israeli checkpoints that stopped most car traffic.

Qutty, like nearly everyone here, wanted to attend a historic moment in the life of the Palestinian people and to pay his respects, and he wanted to preserve this memory especially for his son.

"This is a sad day, it's sad to lose him, whether you agreed with him or not," Qutty said of Arafat. "But it's also a day to show all the world that Palestinians care for peace and that it is Sharon, not Arafat, who is the real obstacle to peace."

Asked about the legacy of Arafat, Muhammad Halayka stopped and said: "Imagine if he didn't exist. We Palestinians would be a displaced people, dispersed among the Lebanese and the Egyptians and the Syrians. We would have been spread out among the Arabs and be part of a Palestinian minority here and there and everywhere. "It was Arafat who grasped the idea of a unified identity and worked to create for us a homeland."

Daoud Kuttab of Al Quds University in Jerusalem wanted to be at the burial of the man who jailed him for a week in 1997 simply for broadcasting a legislative session about corruption.

"I wouldn't have missed this," Kuttab said. "His charisma and what he's done for the Palestinian people allow us to forgive him his mistakes. I have no bitterness at all."

Palestinians would remember Arafat, who died Thursday in a hospital near Paris, as a man who refused to compromise on principles, Kuttab said. "He refused to give up on Jerusalem, on a recognition of the 1967 borders and a fair resolution of the refugee issue," Kuttab said. "No Palestinian now will accept a Palestinian state without a part of Jerusalem, or one divided into cantons or an unfair resolution of the refugee question."

Arafat's most prominent successor, Mahmoud Abbas, may have different tactics, Palestinians here agreed, especially with his condemnation of terrorism and suicide bombings, but his fundamental political goals are little different.

Palestinians here were also proud of the respect shown to Arafat by the French president, Jacques Chirac, and by Arab and Western leaders in Egypt.

The chaos and frenzy of the event itself made it a people's funeral, suggested Nabil Aburudeineh, the dignified aide who was always at Arafat's side. "It wasn't as planned," he conceded, "but I'm happy that the people here have the full right to come and say goodbye to their leader." Palestinians were grateful to the Egyptians, he said, for the dignity of the ceremony there.

"But all who came here will keep the principles of Arafat, to fight for independence and liberty," Shaath said. "They will continue carrying the flag he raised 30 years ago, and it will be a continuing present."

In Gaza City, Palestinians marched in a symbolic funeral service synchronized with the one in Ramallah. Gazans were prevented by Israeli restrictions from coming to Ramallah.

The event in Gaza began at Arafat's other battle-scarred compound on the Mediterranean coast, where members of his security service put a poster of him in the front passenger seat of his black Mercedes, with his famous checkered kaffiyeh on the headrest.

His guards surrounded the car as it pulled out of the compound, to be joined by a small number of women. They chanted together, "We are going to Jerusalem, a million martyrs," and "Abu Ammar, you are our beloved, give us a Kalashnikov."

Some of the security guards fired intermittently into the air.



## After a tribute, and then chaos, Arafat is laid to rest

The car traveled to the Omari mosque, in the old center of the city, where thousands packed the narrow streets, including members of militant factions like **Hamas**. Two coffins, one draped with the Palestinian flag and the other covered with pictures of Arafat, were then carried by the crowd from the mosque to his compound.

The ceremony in Egypt that began the day was at a military mosque at Cairo's airport and restricted to kings, potentates and diplomats. It was a state funeral service for a man without a state.

Speaking at the mosque prayers, Muhammad Sayed Tantawi, the grand sheikh of Al-Azhar and Egypt's highest religious figure, said brief prayers over the coffin resting on the patterned black-and-white marble floor. "He has served his people all his life, until he faced his God, with courage and honesty," said the sheik. "Let us pray for his soul."

Most of the pantheon of Arab leaders flew in for the occasion, some landing at the very last minute and some choosing to overlook often bitter differences with the Palestinian leader. President Bashar al-Assad of Syria and King Abdullah II of Jordan, both of whose fathers had long sparred with Arafat, attended, as did Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. The presidents of Algeria, Tunisia, Yemen, Sudan and Lebanon were there, along with a host of princes from the royal houses of the Gulf.

From farther afield, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa came, as did the presidents of Indonesia, Bangladesh and Zimbabwe. There was a sprinkling of prime ministers, although European Union nations were represented by their foreign ministers. The United States sent an assistant secretary of state, William Burns.

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Neil MacFarquhar contributed to this report from Cairo and Greg Myre from Gaza City.

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2004

## *Grief from the barrel of a gun as Arafat is sent to his grave*

DAILY MAIL (London)

November 13, 2004

Copyright 2004 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

**Section:** ED\_2ND; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1153 words

**Byline:** ROSS BENSON

### **Body**

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GUNFIRE and grief attended Yasser Arafat throughout his life and their baleful sounds followed him to the grave.

As the helicopter carrying his coffin approached the battle-wrecked compound that had been his headquarters, a great cry of anguish swept through the crush of mourners.

And as it touched down it was greeted with a fusillade from Kalashnikov assault rifles smuggled into the crowd and scenes of almost Biblical grief and rage that fill one with foreboding for the future of the region.

More than 100,000 Palestinians had converged on Ramallah to bid farewell to the man who had been their public face for five decades and there were moments when the cortege was almost swept away in a riot.

Chaos erupted the moment the helicopter door was opened and the mourners suddenly turned into a mob.

I was caught in the middle. A gang of youths surged by me, waving black flags and holding aloft pictures of their unshaven hero, fighting to get close to the coffin. I was trapped in their screeching, heaving midst.

When I tried to break free someone grabbed me and dragged me back into the fray as it broke through the check points and on into the compound. All around me men were beating their chests wildly and women were screaming piercing ululations. A wall collapsed as the crowd succumbed to the surging rhythms of mass hysteria.

It took all of 25 minutes just to open the helicopter door and when the casket at last emerged, the mayhem intensified.

Stretcher bearers struggled to reach the fallen, a young boy next to me narrowly escaped being trampled to death and every one of us jammed into this rubble-strewn graveyard which was once the heart of Arafat's kingdom was in danger of being killed by the hails of bullets being fired into the air which are as lethal coming down as they are going up.

Policemen there to hold back the melee abandoned their posts and hurled themselves forward.

As one mourner threw a black-and-white keffiyeh headdress that Arafat made his trademark on to his coffin, others tore off the Palestinian flag in which it was draped.

They clambered on to it, waving, weeping, chanting, 'with our blood and our soul we will redeem you'.

## Grief from the barrel of a gun as Arafat is sent to his grave

The plan was for the coffin to lay in solemn state for a few minutes to allow his leading supporters to pay their dutiful homage. But in the madness of yesterday, that was impossible.

Safety and dignity had been routed by emotion which had seized even his bodyguards. They broke down and hugged each other when the coffin finally reached the marble and stone tomb.

The multitude were in charge now. They chorused, 'He was our soul, our symbol,' and on this sunbaked afternoon they meant it with all their vengeful hearts.

A young tough wearing the green headband of the **Hamas** terror organisation behind the recent wave of suicide bombings grabbed hold of my arm, rammed his face into mine and shouted, 'He will never die.' But dead he finally is.

Would that the violence he had propagated been laid to rest alongside his mortal remains. There is no sign of that happening. Indeed, from where I was standing yesterday, the opposite would seem likely.

trouble it took just to get his coffin into the ground gave raw witness to the strength of the gunmen and the weakness of the Palestinian Authority which had pledged to stage an orderly and peaceful burial service.

It had issued a stern warning against the discharge of weapons but the young gunmen Arafat secretly financed ignored it. The moment the helicopter touched down they broke through security, engulfed the four-wheel drive vehicle that was to bear away the casket and fired off their volleys.

The Palestinian troops did not move against them. They did not dare. These gunmen are the real power on the West Bank and it took over an hour to force a way just a few yards through the horde and lay to rest Arafat's remains in the compound that has only just been cleared of the burned out shells of cars left over from the last attack by the Israeli army.

He had wished to be enshrined at the Al Aqsa mosque on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem from where, according to the Muslim faith, Mohamed ascended into heaven astride a white horse to converse with God.

The Israelis refused his request.

Instead they have condemned him for what may prove to be an eternity at the Muquata, the ruined former British police station which for the past two years has been his prison in all but name. He had to make do with a few handfuls of earth taken from Al Aqsa and sprinkled on his coffin by clerics.

But for that, he only has himself to blame. At Camp David four years ago President Clinton brokered an agreement that would have given the Palestinians their own nation, including much of the area around the Temple Mount. He turned it down, declaring: 'I did not come back to be the mayor of Jericho.' He was never going to get a better deal, but once again the ruthless, manipulative, stubborn, duplicitous founder of the Fatah fell victim to his own vanity. No wonder that Ehud Barak, Israel's prime minister at the time, says: 'Arafat's leadership was a tragedy to his people and to ours.' His death at 75 has offered the chance of a new beginning.

again, however, an opportunity may have been lost. Arafat's official funeral was held, not on the occupied West Bank, but in Cairo. Britain was represented by Foreign Secretary Jack Straw and even Syria's President Assad, one of Arafat's most hostile critics, paid him the courtesy of attending.

The U.S., on the other hand, chose to downplay the occasion by sending William Burns, an assistant secretary of state. Many Palestinians will take this as an insult, which hardly augurs well for the Bush administration as it tries to piece together the remnants of the so-called-road map' to peace. The greatest stumbling block, of course, is the Palestinians themselves.

Mahmoud Abbas, the ex-Prime Minister named new PLO chairman, was the strategist of the massacre of Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, but in recent years has shown himself willing to negotiate. That has earned him

### Grief from the barrel of a gun as Arafat is sent to his grave

little respect out on the streets of Ramallah where paranoia passes for policy and many suspect him of being an Israeli agent.

'We will follow Arafat's example,' said Musa Suleiman, a member of the local national security force.

Farouk Qadumi, the new head of Fatah, is already warning: 'We have to renew the revolution. The fight has to continue.' As Arafat's concrete coffin was lowered into a tree-shaded grave on a black and white marble platform, I saw a youngster aged about three on his father's shoulders. He was dressed in combat fatigues and a black and white Fatah keffiyeh. He was waving a toy AK-47.

'He is like our beloved leader,' his father said.

Yasser Arafat put his faith in the gun and ignored the terrible grief that resulted. That is no example but that, I fear, may be all that he was able to bequeath to the people who gave him their trust.

## Graphic

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(1) SEA OF MOURNING: THE COFFIN OF YASSER ARAFAT (RINGED) MAKES AGONISINGLY SLOW PROGRESS THROUGH THE 100,000 CROWD AS THE HELICOPTER WHICH DELIVERED IT STANDS NEARBY (2) DISCIPLE: A YOUNG BOY BRANDISHES A POSTER OF THE PALESTINIAN LEADER (3) FANATICS' FAREWELL: PALESTINIAN GUARDS TRY TO PROTECT THE FLAG-DRAPED COFFIN FROM HYSTERICAL MOURNERS

**Load-Date:** November 14, 2004

## *A period of peace after Arafat?*

LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

November 12, 2004, Friday

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**Section:** COMMENTARY,; EDITORIALS

**Length:** 1304 words

**Byline:** Caroline B. Glick, Special to the New Era

### **Body**

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Caroline B. Glick was a member of Israel's negotiating team with the PLO from 1994-1996. She is currently the deputy managing editor of The Jerusalem Post and the Senior Middle East Fellow at the Center for Security Policy in Washington, D.C.

So PLO chieftain Yasser Arafat, the godfather of Islamic terrorism, has died in a French military hospital.

Will the passing of this mass murderer and master propagandist have an immediate impact on the Palestinians' interest and ability to reach an agreement with Israel? Can his death bring about the end of the Palestinian terror war against Israel and perhaps usher in a period of peace in the Middle East?

In his press conference last week, President George W. Bush said that people who don't believe in the applicability of democracy to the Arab world cannot really believe in a two-state solution to the Palestinian conflict with Israel.

That is, as long as the Palestinians remain governed by terrorists, there is no way that they will be willing to live at peace with Israel.

#ARAFAT.LIB#

Is Arafat's retreat from this world all that is required for the Palestinians to achieve a democratic transformation that will enable them to live at peace with Israel?

In answering this question, we should take an example from one of Arafat's guiding lights throughout his career: Adolf Hitler.

Hitler's suicide in his bunker in Berlin in May 1945 was not what enabled Konrad Adenauer to lead a democratic West Germany. Adenauer could not have led, and certainly would never have been a democrat, if all he did was take over the reins of power from Hitler in May 1945. Aside from Hitler dying, the Nazi regime he created was necessarily militarily vanquished to the point of unconditional surrender. As well, Nazi leaders - both political and military - were brought before war crimes tribunals and hung or sentenced to long prison terms.

Adenauer also presided over a German democracy whose borders were determined by the Allies; where the Allied Occupation Forces expunged Nazi propaganda from the schoolbooks; barred Nazis from positions of power and influence in all walks of life; forced the Germans to teach their schoolchildren the evil they had wrought in the war; and outlawed Nazis or anyone espousing a similar racist ideology from entering politics in Germany. That is, Adenauer's ascension to power was only enabled as a result of the total destruction of the Nazi power apparatus.

### A period of peace after Arafat?

This historical precedent for the death of a dictator is pertinent in the case of Arafat not merely because of his ideological affinity with Hitler, but because Arafat, like Hitler, built an entire apparatus of power in Palestinian society in his own murderous image. All of Arafat's presumed heirs - from Mahmud Abbas to Ahmed Qurei to Muhammed Dahlan to Jibril Rajoub - are terrorists.

Abbas and Qurei owe their prominence to the fact that they co-founded the Fatah terror group with Arafat. Abbas, who has been upheld by the U.S. and Israel alike as a "reformer," wrote his Ph.D. dissertation and later a bestselling book explaining why the Holocaust is a hoax. Abbas has overseen and facilitated terrorist attacks for the past several decades, including in the now four-year-old Palestinian terror war.

Qurei, who also has a rich history of terror involvement and apologetics, has been the PLO's chief money man for the past three decades. From Tunis to Lebanon to the Gulf States to the West Bank and Gaza Strip, Qurei has overseen a confidence operation that puts the Sicilian mafia to shame. He has managed to simultaneously shake down Palestinian businessmen for hundreds of millions of dollars and to blackmail the international community into contributing billions of dollars in aid to the PLO. Qurei continues to overtly support and applaud terrorist attacks against Israeli civilians and as recently as September has made open calls for terrorists to murder Israeli civilians.

Muhammed Dahlan, who with his Pierre Cardin suits and his flashing smile easily won the hearts of Israeli and American policymakers alike, is one of the architects of the current terror war. In 1994, Arafat placed him in charge of coordinating activities with Hamas. Dahlan's militia in Gaza has taken an active role in carrying out attacks against Israeli civilians, including the infamous bombing of an Israeli school bus in November 2000 in which three people were murdered and a half-dozen schoolchildren lost their legs and arms. Since then, Dahlan's forces have retained their leadership role in terror attacks, as well as in the weapons smuggling and development in Gaza. For their part, Gazans hate and fear Dahlan for his strong-arm tactics against businessmen and day laborers in Israel.

Jibril Rajoub, Dahlan's counterpart and rival in the West Bank was responsible for setting up the PLO's terror infrastructure in the West Bank from 1994-2000. Since the Palestinian terror war against Israel began in September 2000, Rajoub's men have taken an active role in carrying out terror attacks in Israel while still retaining their salaries from his militia. Like Dahlan in Gaza, Rajoub is despised by Palestinians on the West Bank for his extortion of businessmen, confiscation of farmland and raping of Palestinian girls.

And so on, down the line. There is today not one Palestinian political party that is not a terrorist organization. Of the 12 militias that Arafat formed in the West Bank and Gaza since arriving on the scene in 1994, there is not a single one that is not deeply involved in terror activities. Documents seized by the Israeli army during major combat operations in the West Bank have shown Arafat's generals ordering the carrying out of suicide bombings and authorizing the payment of terrorist cell members.

Under Arafat's leadership, Palestinian society in the West Bank and Gaza Strip has been indoctrinated to jihad in a way that is unmatched throughout the Arab world, perhaps with the exception of al-Qaida training camps. Children have been brainwashed to believe that they should see their lives fulfilled by carrying out acts of genocidal mass murder of Jews. Women have been inculcated with the inhuman belief that, rather than being the sources of life, their wombs are bomb factories.

Through the Palestinian media, the school system, the religious institutions, the sports teams and the iconographers in art studios and on city streets, Palestinian society over the past decade has been brought to believe that their sole purpose as a people is to liquidate the Jewish people. Suicide bombings in Israel are greeted with carnival-like celebrations in the West Bank and Gaza.

There is no remorse, nor regret, no shame and no guilt in the face of the wanton brutality and barbarity of suicide bombings.

And so, in light of the current state of derangement of Palestinian society, does Arafat's passing bear any significance for policymakers?

### A period of peace after Arafat?

On the one hand, the death of an evil man, of a mass murderer, is always a cause for celebration and hope. Yet on the other hand, Arafat's death will only constitute an opportunity for building a better future if the Bush administration uses his disappearance as a catalyst for a true overhaul of Palestinian society. And this requires more than just applying pressure on Israel to meet with and make concessions to a new PLO warlord who was raised on Arafat's knee.

There is no doubt that there are Palestinians alive today who have the potential to be Palestinian Adenauers. But for these leaders to come forward, the apparatus of genocide and terror that Arafat has wrought over the past four decades must first be dismantled. Arafat's heirs have no more chance of bringing peace and democracy to the Palestinians than Hitler's heirs could have brought to Germany.

For peace to arise, Palestinians must make a clean break from their past.

**Load-Date:** December 24, 2004

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## *Egypt Confronts Double-edged Sword of Reform*

The Forward

October 8, 2004

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**Section:** Arts & Culture; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1381 words

**Byline:** Oren Rawls

**Dateline:** CAIRO

### **Body**

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In a spartan office within sight of the Great Pyramids at Giza, the civic education clubs of the Taha Hussein Association are busy working to instill the values of citizenship in today's Egyptian schoolchildren. With a glossy 48-page booklet already in classrooms, director Kamal Mougheeth and his colleagues are trying to mold model citizens, one child at a time.

Such lofty goals were presumably what President Bush had in mind when he unveiled his Greater Middle East and North Africa Initiative in June. The benefits of democracy, so Washington reasoned, will dry up the well of discontent from which terrorism receives sustenance, stabilizing the region and perhaps even dampening Arab animosity toward Israel.

But here in Egypt, which is as close to an ally as Israel has in the Middle East, many citizens are wary of pinning their hopes on the future when the present offers so little promise. The average Egyptian is concerned about putting pita on the table, and a silent majority is putting its faith neither in America nor in its own government, but in the Muslim Brotherhood.

In this part of the world, democracy is a double-edged sword - one on which the Egyptian government, whether out of conviction or political necessity, is struggling to get a handle. Facing unprecedented pressure both at home and abroad for reform, Cairo is warning that shock therapy to the most populous Arab country may result in unwanted side effects.

"If we introduce lots of changes in a short period of time, the people cannot digest it," Osama el Baz, the chief political adviser to President Hosni Mubarak and perhaps Egypt's most respected political figure, told the Forward. "Suppose that somebody has a fever, and he has to take some antibiotics. He is told to take it every six or eight hours. Should he take 48 tablets at once to feel better?"

The long-ruling National Democratic Party offered up a full slate of reforms at its second annual conference, which was convened September 21 under the billing "New Thinking... Priorities for Reform." In an opening-day, nationally-broadcast speech to party delegates, Gamal Mubarak - secretary of the policies committee and the odds-on favorite to succeed his father as president - cited a host of measures the government has taken: the establishment of a National Council for Human Rights, the abolishment of the state security courts and of a number of long-standing military decrees, the curtailment of powers accorded to public prosecutors and the abrogation of hard-labor sentences.



## Egypt Confronts Double-edged Sword of Reform

However, the policy changes did little to silence the rising cries in Egypt for reform. The demand topping most critics' agendas - rescinding the emergency laws by which Cairo has governed since the assassination of President Anwar Sadat in 1981 - was not met. Nor was the demand for an amendment to the 1971 constitution governing presidential selection and powers.

"We have not been able to establish with them a common vocabulary of what reform means, of what is needed," Saad Eddin Ibrahim, director of the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies and Egypt's best-known democracy advocate, told the Forward.

One term heard often these days is multiparty elections. In a country governed since independence a half-century ago by what amounts to one-party rule, a growing chorus of critics is demanding the de-monopolization of the political establishment. Over the years, only a handful of small, ineffectual parties have received approval from the National Democratic Party-led committee that sanctions the formation of political parties.

Within the walls of government, the phrase of choice is separation of mosque and state. The staunch secularism of Egypt's ruling elite has long been a matter of ideology as much as of power, and draws from a centuries-old liberal tradition. From the government's perspective, the introduction of religion into the public arena is simply a nonstarter.

"When it comes to political parties, there should not be any restrictions except one: That political parties are not based upon religious orientation," el Baz said.

In practice, that sole restriction means the official exclusion from government of the Muslim Brotherhood, known in Arabic as Al-Ikhwān Al-Muslimūn. The Brotherhood, banned in 1954 by President Gamal Abdel Nasser, retains its place in many Western minds as the godfather of extremist Islamist groups, though it officially renounced violence a quarter-century ago. During the Mubarak presidency, the Brotherhood has earned widespread support among working-class Egyptians by bridging gaps in government services through its grass-roots network - a brand of social reformism that Hamas, the Brotherhood's Palestinian offshoot, has emulated in Gaza.

Along with providing assistance with jobs, health care and food, however, the Brotherhood dispenses an Islamist message. The group's ultimate aim is the adoption of Sharia, the code of Islamic law, as the law of the land. And therein lies the rub for political reform in Egypt: Given that the Brotherhood would likely carry the day in open elections, pushing for democracy effectively implies an Islamist government in Cairo.

It is not surprising, then, to hear calls from the Brotherhood to heed the word on the street.

"Give the people the right to change by giving them their freedom back to choose their representative, to choose their president, to build their political groups and parties, to be able to reform," said Issam al-Arian, a member of the body that formulates Brotherhood policy, the General Guidance Bureau.

Critics here and abroad are quick to write off the Shakespeare-quoting al-Arian as an unrepentant Islamist who happens to have mastered CNN-speak. Perhaps surprisingly, he and other Islamist moderates have a defender in Ibrahim, the decidedly secular democracy advocate. Ibrahim says it is mainly the government that whips up fears of radical Islamicization by the Brotherhood, using scare tactics to ward off pressure from the West for reform.

Cairo, Ibrahim said, is trying "to scare the West that if they allow reform and democracy as usual, the Muslim Brothers will come in hordes." It uses the same tactic to quiet restive secularists, women and minority Coptic Christians. "None of these fears, in my opinion, is warranted," he said.

And yet, the specter of another Algeria - where Islamists' success at the ballot box in 1991 set off a low-grade civil war that ended only a decade later after 100,000 deaths - lingers in the unfinished sentences heard off the record. Occasionally it surfaces in public conversation, even among those unlikely ever to raise a fist, let alone take up arms.

"I assure you," said Mougheeth, the history teacher turned civic educator, "there will be violence if the government does not allow change."

## Egypt Confronts Double-edged Sword of Reform

As the government weighs long-term political reform, it is aiming to win back public opinion by what appears to be an effort to take - and turn back - a page from the Brotherhood handbook. The Islamist group garnered widespread support by using its social network to plug gaps in government services. Revitalizing those social programs figures prominently in the government's bid to restore public confidence, as evidenced by the slew of recent proposals for increased funding for education, health care and other public services.

"Our people have had enough of promises, of good wishes, of wishful thinking," Mahmoud Mohieldin, Egypt's minister of investment, told the Forward. "People are taking matters very seriously, and they are not satisfied. They cannot count by months and years anymore. They are counting things by days."

The fight for the hearts and minds of Egyptian citizens plays out against the backdrop of heightened American pressure on Cairo and other Arab capitals for democratization. But while Bush's initiative calls for reforms that in many respects mirror the demands of Cairo's domestic critics - increased political choice, transparent governance, economic opportunity and personal freedoms - it is opposition to Washington's impositions that may prove to be the one issue that can unite the country.

"Please," al-Arian said, insisting that he was speaking as an Egyptian and not as a Muslim Brother, "tell the American people that we need one thing from them: Respect our will."

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

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## Emails from the edge

Guardian Weekly

January 28, 2005 - February 3, 2005

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**Section:** WEEKLY REVIEW; The Observer; Vol. 172, No. 6; Pg. 17

**Length:** 2694 words

**Byline:** Rachel Cooke

**Highlight:** An architect's poignant and witty dispatches about living with her mother-in-law in the West Bank have become a surprise publishing success. Rachel Cooke visits the two women in their 'giant prison'

## Body

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Somewhat to her daughter-in-law's relief, 93-year-old Marie Jabaji is blissfully unaware of her new-found celebrity status. In her flat in Ramallah, where she has a view television crews and newspaper reporters alike would kill for -- Mrs Jabaji's balcony directly overlooks the sombre black tomb of Yasser Arafat -- the talk is all of her beloved hobby: embroidery. "Regardez," she says, in her ancient French, a language she must have learned during an enforced exile in Beirut. "Les fleurs du Palestine." She shows me some beautiful tapestries of orchids and lilies, of cornflowers and roses. Her daughter-in-law, biting on an almond sweet, laughs. "She is very proud of her flowers," she says. Her voice is fond, and a little bit protective.

Marie Jabaji has been a refugee for more than half her life. She left her home in Jaffa, which is on the coast of what is now Israel, in 1948, for what she thought was a holiday. Unfortunately, while she was away, the Israelis moved in, and took her house. Marie found herself homeless and stateless. At first, she remained in Beirut. A few years later, she made it to Ramallah, on the West Bank, where she has lived ever since. Not surprisingly, she has never been able to forget her loss. "This is how we do it in Jaffa," she'll say, serving dinner. Under fire, her instinct is always to stay put, because who knows what will happen if she doesn't? In 2002, when the Israeli army invaded Ramallah and began reducing the compound of the PLO leader to so much rubble, it took her worried family a while to winkle Mrs Jabaji out, in spite of the tanks that were lined up in front of her house. "Shall I bring my purple dress?" she dithered, quietly. "Shall we take the lemons? Shall we water the plants?"

It was during this dark time -- I mean this literally; the electricity lines were often cut -- that the seeds of Mrs Jabaji's unlikely fame were sown. Marie went to stay with her daughter-in-law, Suad Amiry, an architect. Trapped in the house together during the long curfew hours, Marie spent her days making marmalade. Her daughter-in-law meanwhile began writing emails -- funny, bleak emails -- to her relatives and friends. She wanted them to know what life was like in a city that was effectively a giant prison. Her friends loved these emails, and began to look forward to them.

One, an Israeli, even asked if she might show them to a publisher. "I was amazed," says Amiry. "I didn't really understand. I'm dyslexic. I have never thought of myself as a writer." Soon after, however, her Ramallah diaries duly appeared between hard covers, in a Hebrew edition. Entitled *Sharon and My Mother-in-Law* they were a critical and commercial success.

*Sharon and My Mother-in-Law* has since been translated into 11 languages (it is ironic that no edition in Arabic is yet available -- though at least this means that the mother-in-law has not yet read the book). It is published in

## Emails from the edge

Britain this month, and was the subject of a recent bidding war in the US. In France it is a bestseller. In Italy its author won the prestigious Viareggio prize (former recipients: Italo Calvino, Primo Levi, Umberto Eco). That there is such an appetite for a book about this most serious of issues, the occupation, is something of a surprise -- until, that is, you pick it up and start reading. Ordinarily, books about Palestine fall into one of two camps: the boringly political (unless, of course, you are into dates and accords and UN resolutions), or the highly lyrical (and to many western ears, these existential accounts of the diaspora, however beautiful, however rich, are hard going -- like wading through jelly). But *Sharon and My Mother-in-Law* is different. In a place where the absurd is a feature of daily life, it takes a particularly sane sensibility to delineate it -- and, for all that those around her may be losing their heads, I have rarely met anyone as sane as Suad Amiry.

She was born in Damascus in 1951, her own family having fled Jaffa at about the same time as Marie Jabaji. Her mother ran a printing press; her father was later the Jordanian ambassador to Egypt. After studying for a degree in architecture in Beirut, in 1981 she accepted a job at Birzeit University, a position that was all part of her "grandiose plan" to live in Ramallah (it was in Ramallah that she met her husband, Salim, sociologist and Mrs Jabaji's adored only son). In 1991 she was a member of the Palestinian delegation at the Washington peace negotiations, and in 1996 she was made deputy minister of culture in the first Palestinian government. These days she runs a remarkable (and unlikely, given the destruction that surrounds her) organisation called Riwaq: the Centre for Architectural Conservation. In 2002 Riwaq's work on the market in the old town of Hebron received the Aga Khan Prize for Architectural Restoration -- a triumph it took the Israeli army a mere two days to dismantle. She is also the author of several esoteric architectural volumes.

Amiry is the antithesis of what most in the West imagine to be a "typical" Palestinian woman. She drinks, she smokes, she does not cover her hair. She does not have children -- "I never felt strongly about it" -- though her tiny terrier, Nura, travels with her wherever she goes. Of course, travel is not something in which one can indulge overmuch should one happen to be a resident of Ramallah. After years of battling -- seven, to be precise -- Amiry was finally awarded Palestinian identity. These papers, however, will not allow her to visit Jerusalem, which is only 10km away, and excursions to other West Bank towns such as Nablus or Bethlehem are all but impossible (thanks to the Israeli checkpoints that now stud the area, each West Bank town is an isolated unit; journeys that should take 40 minutes can last up to three hours, and even then there is always the risk of gunfire, from soldiers or from Israeli settlers). "You know there will be hassle somewhere, and you are not always up to it," she says. "You acquire the psychology of the prisoner. Many times I end up happier to sit at home and do nothing. Even young people feel the same."

As a writer Amiry is adept at conveying this particular psychology: apathy, lethargy and mild anxiety creep in first, to be followed, periodically, by anger, frustration and depression. Occasionally, however, something else bubbles up: a kind of hysteria. In one section of the book, Amiry and Salim are caught driving their car during the curfew. Made to stand in the rain while the soldier examines the contents of their shopping bags, Amiry decides to stare at him, unblinkingly, like some psychotic camel. Unnerved, the soldier takes Salim to see his superior. "His wife was staring at me," he announces, a complaint that sounds ridiculous even to a highly nervous Israeli commanding officer. On the way home, Amiry is rendered almost insensible by laughter. "I laugh, but these things are not funny," she says. "This is a tragedy we have here. There is a disaster going on in this part of the world."

On a prosaic level, Amiry despises the things any of us might object to were we living with an invading army: the restriction of movement, the uncertainty, the sheer impossibility -- sometimes -- of getting the groceries in. In a city of 70,000 people, an hour-long lifting of a curfew does not for easy shopping make. And then, of course, there is the problem of her mother-in-law, who will eat only at certain times, and off certain-sized plates. "Perhaps one day I may forgive you for putting us under curfew for 42 days," she writes to her tormentors at one point. "But I will never forgive you for obliging us to have my mother-in-law for what seemed, then, more like 42 years."

The prosaic, however, is often strangely elusive in Palestine. Amiry tells how her friendly neighbourhood collaborator makes her a present of a huge, electrified tableau of Mecca. She falls deeply in love with this gift: with its glittering red and green lights, it is too kitsch to resist. Later, though, she becomes convinced that it has been bugged by Mossad. She ends up by hiding it in the attic; not even a leftist like her feels able to put out Mecca with the garbage.

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She is aware that, in terms of both style and content, *Sharon and My Mother-in-Law* is in a minority of one, and it delights her. "Salim loves the book now, but at the beginning he was nervous about exposing our private lives, about telling people that we have a cappuccino machine, and a dog. 'Our friends,' he said. 'Maybe you don't have the right to write about them in this way.' But I felt that, either I write it, or not. I'm not here as a historian to write one more book about Palestine." Does she feel that she is bringing her world to a new audience? "Yes, and it's exciting. When you live here, it's easy to feel hopeless. You wonder how you can resist the occupation [she is entirely opposed to violence on the part of civilians]. Then this book comes along, and I think: ah, so this is how I resist the occupation. I have never felt so happy in all my life." She flashes me her dazzling smile. Then, before we venture out into the teeming, potholed Ramallah streets, she gets up to make me yet another dainty cup of sweet, scented Turkish coffee.

Amiry likes to remind people that things always look worse from afar -- and so it is with Ramallah. When Mahmoud Abbas was elected president, the city was in the newspapers every day and, as usual, it looked grim, all rubble and graffiti and young men with guns. The reality is a bit different, though there are big piles of stones everywhere -- Suad jokes that she dreams of being made the "Minister of Rubble".

For one thing the town, which used to be 60% Christian (this figure is now down to 30%), is the most liberal in the West Bank by far. "Never a masculine or a solemn city," writes the great Palestinian poet, Mourid Barhouti. "Always the first to catch on to some new craze." (Or, as one of Riwaq's energetic young architects puts it: "This is a city where you can have lunch in a restaurant with a woman who is not your wife.")

For another, there is a certain amount of money sloshing around it. A severe shortage of land -- for obvious reasons, the city cannot expand -- has pushed the cost of housing sky high. While many still live in abject poverty, and in refugee camps, the smartest new houses in Ramallah cost as much as \$ 500,000. Such places are, I gather, snapped up by entrepreneurs who believe the city to be firmly on the up. (I went to see one; it had been bought by a man from Jaffa, a town he can see from the window of his elegant new home, but which he can never visit.)

With its cypress trees and pleasantly cool mountain climate, Ramallah was once considered one of the most beautiful towns in Palestine, and was much visited by both Gulf Arabs and Palestinian honeymooners. Today it is congested and run down. "I am not upset with the Palestinian Authority that they did not beat Sharon," says Amiry, "I'm upset with them that they did not manage schools, jobs, hospitals."

Still vestiges of the old style remain. Riwaq, for instance, is housed in an elegant turn-of-the-century building of rose stone and wrought iron. Are there restaurants and cafes and bars? Is there culture? Do tourists care to visit? The answer to all these questions is: yes. You can have fajitas and cocktails at a new place called Frescoes or, for traditional Arab food, you can visit the town's smartest restaurant, Darna, the refurbishment of which is rumoured to have cost its owner \$ 800,000. Meanwhile the Khalil Sakakini cultural centre, which houses the office of the poet, Mahmoud Darwish, has also been restored (it was destroyed by the Israelis). As for visitors, Ramallah has always been a popular destination for political tourists; and, right now, the place is full of journalists, election observers and the usual NGO people.

Amiry lives in a book-stuffed, single-storey house in the al-Irsal area of Ramallah, and drives a battered Golf (thanks to the potholes, most people do not invest in new cars, though there are still a significant number of shiny Mercedes to be seen). In the street outside, you can see the marks left by the Israeli tanks. She says that her attitude to the soldiers is gradually changing.

"Maybe this is middle age, but before, I never, never looked at their faces, even when they were checking my identity. If you're upset with someone -- even your mother or your brother -- you can't look at them. It's a way of showing that you're not happy. Now I've started looking at their faces. You think, 'You're so young. Dammit, you could be my son.' I talk to them. If I get the chance, I make a comment. 'Are you enjoying your work?' I'll say. One time, I was crossing the bridge [the Allenby Bridge into Jordan -- the only way she can leave the country]. They take all your shoes and they put them into a bag. Then you have to look for them. Of course you get annoyed, humiliated. So I said to this woman, 'Do you enjoy this?' She freaked out. 'Do you think I enjoy it?' she said."

## Emails from the edge

Does Amiry believe there will be a lasting peace? Strangely, she does. She thinks people -- on both sides -- are tired of fighting, and that those involved are aware of the price that they pay in other aspects of their lives. "I don't believe that you can be violent to people that you don't know and be nice to your family. It can't be done. No, if the solution is not yesterday, it will be today; if it is not today, it will have to be tomorrow. You do feel there will be a solution. It will have to come."

Her hope is that the West will be supportive of Mahmoud Abbas; if not, a vacuum will appear, one that might easily be filled by Hamas. "We have worked very hard to try and convince people that the two-state solution is the right solution. But if your house is being demolished, it's hard to be told to negotiate. If the West doesn't give Abbas a chance, support for Hamas will grow. It's difficult to hold on to your morals if you are under continuous attack."

It is time for me to leave now: the poor woman has been making me hot drinks and feeding me *kanafe* -- cheesecake -- for two days. This time I must brave the Qalandia checkpoint alone, on foot (I arrived in a car, driven by the only one of Amiry's colleagues who has the right papers for Jerusalem -- though, as she takes great delight in pointing out, Nura, her dog, has Jerusalem papers; if only dogs could drive, eh?). She drops me in the chaos, and shoves a box of pastries into my hand, picked up last night in the incongruously named Eiffel Tower sweet shop. Off I troop, in the cold and the rain, horns honking loudly in my ears. My bag is heavy, and the queue is long; women and children must form one line, men another, and only so many are allowed through at a time, for apparently arbitrary reasons. Is it scary, all this being shouted at by men with guns? Not really. Mostly, it is just bloody maddening. Soon, I am in a very bad mood.

If I lived here, I think to myself, I would emigrate, and fast. But, of course, things are not quite that straightforward. Before we set off down the world's worst road -- it makes your bones ache just thinking about traversing the route out of Ramallah -- I had asked Amiry if she'd ever thought of leaving the city. After all, before 1981, all she knew of Palestine was what she had dredged from the memories of her parents. She laughed at this, though she admits that she now summers in Italy, so as to enjoy a little visual respite from all the concrete. "No, I never think of leaving," she said. "It is who I am. I have a certain sensibility, a certain sense of humour. I belong to Palestine culturally. I'm like a flower in its natural habitat, or an indigenous tree." In any case, if she were to leave, who would keep an eye on her mother-in-law?

Sharon and My Mother-in-Law: Ramallah diaries is published by Granta, £ 12.99. To order for £ 12.34, with free UK p&p, call +44 (0)870 836 0885 or visit [observer.co.uk/bookshop](http://observer.co.uk/bookshop)

## Graphic

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Picture 1, Suad Amiry, with mother-in law Marie Jabaji at home in Ramallah, has seen her email accounts of the absurdity and adversity of daily life turned into a bestseller, Photo: Chryssa Panoussiadou/Panos; Picture 2, Guns and roses . . . Everyday life in all its hope and beauty continues in the West Bank against the backdrop of violent occupation, Photograph: Leela Shaid; Map, no caption

**Load-Date:** February 4, 2005

## WHICH OF THESE WILL BE A DOCTOR? AND WHICH A SUICIDE BOMBER?

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### **Body**

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Would you prefer red or white?' the waiter asks.

The men at my table debate it and I dip in and out of the conversation, but my French isn't really up to it.

Soon, a Cabernet Sauvignon is poured into long-stemmed glasses. We switch back to English to talk about centre-Left politics in Europe. It could be an evening with Blairite apparatchiks, circa 1997. Only the smart guys I'm with are members of Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, not New Labour. And the chic restaurant we're at isn't in Westminster, it's in Ramallah, stronghold of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and arguably the world's most notorious town.

I've come to the Middle East with hope but little expectation of meeting the political players in the Palestinians' first democratic, party-based election, in which they will choose a successor to Arafat, who led his people for 40 years until his death in November.

More importantly, I want to see firsthand what it's like in the West Bank and Gaza. Since the start of the latest Intifada (uprising) against Israeli occupation, news footage has crystallised the image of Palestinians into specific types: urchins throwing stones at tanks; fatigue wearing, baby-killing extremists; women in traditional dress wailing over dead children; and Arabic men shouting in broken English. It's an image that has never fared well in the West.

But I want to go beyond those cliched images to find the Palestinian life that doesn't make the news.

At Tel Aviv airport I face tough questioning: who am I here to meet?

Where am I staying? Before I left London I was told that in the past two years, 85 Palestinian Authority guests have mysteriously 'lost' their luggage here after saying they were visiting the West Bank or Gaza.

Sure enough, my suitcase disappears, along with all the bags belonging to a group of guests of the Palestinian Women's Union. Their luggage materialises that evening.

Mine doesn't.

My taxi driver from the airport is Jamal, an Arab living in Jerusalem recommended by a businesswoman from Ramallah I've never met.

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Everyone wants to be helpful to foreigners here. As one elderly man said: 'To take the time from your comfort to come here gives everyone hope they aren't forgotten.' Jamal takes me to the Kalandia checkpoint, which we need to cross to reach Ramallah. Thankfully, the Israeli government had reluctantly agreed with UN observers that while checkpoints would not be opened, passage through them a time-consuming headache for Palestinians would be eased for 72 hours to allow voters to travel to polling stations.

It takes us 'only' 40 minutes to inch to the front of the checkpoint queue where an Israeli teenager with a gun looks at my passport.

'UK?' he says, impressed. 'Yay!' He gives me the thumbs-up. We pass through and suddenly it's dark.

There's no dusk here night just falls with a clang.

The road from Kalandia into Ramallah is the worst I've ever travelled on. We heave and lurch along the churned-up, crater-ridden concrete. Israeli tanks have done this ever since the 2000 incursion. I joke with Jamal that the first thing poll favourite Mahmoud Abbas should do if elected is fix the roads. Jamal sighs: 'This road comes under the Jerusalem municipality. If our authorities tried to fix it they'd force the workers away at gunpoint.'

Palestinians with heavy machinery drilling near Jewish settlements is considered a serious threat to security. Fair enough. So the Israeli authorities will get round to fixing it then? 'They won't fix it ever because Palestinians, not settlers, use it.' When Jamal tries to get home he isn't allowed back through the checkpoint, even in a car with Jerusalem plates. He has all the right paperwork but has to make a long detour to another checkpoint, where he is delayed for more than three hours.

Sunday, January 9, is election day.

In a classroom at the Friends' School polling station two young women vote. Their thumbs are marked with indelible ink, brought in from Europe to prevent repeat voting and the sort of election fraud that sees Arab leaders in other states elected by margins of more than 90 per cent.

Pretty, 20-year-old Hanin Yousef wears makeup and a bright pink tracksuit.

She is studying English translation at Birzeit University, about 15 miles from Jerusalem. She votes for Abbas. 'I hope for a stronger government and an end to the violence,' she says. 'We need peace.' Her dream is 'to go to the old Palestinian religious places and to open the roads: no more checkpoints'.

Just then, a vehicle pulls up. Men in black suits and coats run over to me.

'Hurry, Lauren! We must go now!' It's Amid Al Zuhieri, from the Palestinian Foreign Ministry, and Muhanned Hammouri, from the Protocol Department, both Fatah men.

Their urgency is typical. Inside the checkpoints, life happens at a sprint.

Too much time is spent hopelessly waiting for Israeli permission to move around that when there is a possibility to achieve something, it must be done quickly or not at all.

Amid and Muhanned have taken it upon themselves to introduce me to everyone they know. And luckily for me, they know everyone. We bundle into their car and screech off.

I hang on for dear life as we swerve up tiny side streets, squeal through traffic lights and somehow follow a route apparently dictated by piles of broken stones. There are no street signs here. But there's plenty of rubble.

Mobiles are glued to their ears as frantic arrangements are made.

Phones are loved here, allowed expected even to ring during meals, meetings and high-speed car rides. The more your phone interrupts an important moment, the more important you are.



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We skid to a halt outside a government building. I am rushed upstairs, a door is thrown open and I am introduced to Ahmed Qeri, the Palestinian Prime Minister, who greets me warmly. Today is a significant day for the Palestinians. No longer can their leader, Arafat, be named as an obstacle for peace. It is felt Israel may be forced to return to the 'road map' for peace or risk looking unreasonable to the international community by refusing to meet a new, democratically elected leader.

'We are ready for peace,' Qeri says. 'We are ready for negotiation.'

We want to see an Israeli partner serious about negotiating.' I ask about the ability to control Hamas, the fundamentalist terrorist group behind many of the suicide bombings in the region. The old

gentleman leans forward in his seat, body language that says he's getting serious. The friendly chat is over.

'Look,' he says. 'Tomorrow is a new day.' Pause. 'Tomorrow is a new era.'

Pause. 'Tomorrow is much challenges. There are challenges with the Israelis whether they are serious for peace or not. There are challenges with Hamas.

We look to tomorrow with much hope but . . .' he shakes his head, 'with much suspicion.' Suddenly I'm back in the corridor with Amid and Muhanned. We walk so fast I'm out of breath even before we reach the dreaded car. I don't want to get hurled around Ramallah streets again. I have no choice.

Steering with one hand, Muhanned, phone jammed against his ear, drops me at my hotel. 'We'll call you in one hour. Be ready,' he barks, before they race off in a cloud of dust.

At least, I assume, the hotel will give me a chance to slow down. But just as I sit down, the phone rings. It's Amid. We're on! He has come up trumps and we can meet Abbas, the man set to be the new President of the Palestinian Authority. But, guess what? We have to hurry.

After another breakneck drive, we arrive at a tall building off a main street. Guarding a steel door is a giant dressed like Will Smith in Men In Black. He holds a huge hand out so that we don't take another step. I wasn't going to. He has a big gun hanging from the other.

He says our names into a walkietalkie. 'Hurry,' he snaps, as if we ever travel any other way. Now we're jogging. Twenty feet inside a stone basement we are stopped by more security men with earpieces and guns. Quick Arabic into walkietalkies, head shake, nod, shake.

Eye us with suspicion. Then we're in a metal lift going up. We are bundled into a slightly tatty corridor.

Our bags and phones are taken.

Cameras tested, equipment grumpily admired.

Then I am taken in to meet Mahmoud Abbas. I perch uneasily opposite the grandfatherly presidenttobe. He tells me of his priorities.

'Security. This is very important. We will deal with the withdrawal from Gaza. We are ready to negotiate with the Israeli government.' He calls on the international community to play its part 'as our people are living in a very dire situation. We want to rebuild the schools, the hospitals, offices, everything'. Without outside support, he concedes, 'we can do nothing'. He never raises his voice nor loses his temper; when we talk of Israel his tone barely changes.

'We want the Israelis to remove all their checkpoints. We want them to freeze the settlements. We want them to freeze the building of the separation wall dividing Palestine from Israel. We want them to remove the outpost caravans they position to claim land for new settlements.' He is most emotional about the release of Palestinian prisoners. 'We have 11,000 prisoners in Israel. If they (release them), peace will prevail. It's more important than anything.' The message he gives me, and all journalists, after he is elected is that he is ready to meet anyone, any

## WHICH OF THESE WILL BE A DOCTOR? AND WHICH A SUICIDE BOMBER?

time, anywhere. The important change will come if, unlike Arafat, other leaders will be willing to meet him. Bush has pledged to do so. Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon, however, has already issued his first snub to Abbas by refusing to attend a Middle East summit Tony Blair is planning in London in March.

By 2pm on polling day, my nerves are shredded. To relax, I go to Mukata, Arafat's walled compound the Israelis almost flattened in 2002.

Arafat barely left it in the last years of his life. Now, it's where he's buried, a place of pilgrimage for Palestinians young and old. Today, before they vote, many visit to pay their respects.

He is buried inside a glass room surrounded by three uniformed guards.

'They brought the soil here from Israel,' whispers a fellow journalist, 'so that even though he lies here, he is really buried in Jerusalem.' The sound of a disturbance reaches us from the far corner of the compound, another polling station. On the steps outside there is, unbelievably, a big group of rabbis waving banners. A groan escapes me: 'What now?' Surrounded by a group of stunned voters and amused journalists are the rabbis against Zionism group Neturei Karta. One of the rabbis starts shouting: 'Hundreds of thousands of Jews do not believe Jews should be here.

They believe this is Palestinian land!' The whole thing is so utterly bonkers we start to giggle. As the rabbi quotes the Torah, I almost fall over a man in a wheelchair.

Someone whispers: 'Say something, Lauren. It's the founder of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade!' The armed group, which has targeted occupying Israeli soldiers, is linked to Arafat's Fatah organisation, and the man, Khaled Shawish, is the most wanted in the West Bank.

Ten minutes later, after he has voted, we are invited to follow him to his hideout, so we do. As a huge door at the back of Mukata slams shut behind us we enter another compound. I really, really do not want to go up the narrow stairs into a building so heavily bombed it seems impossible it's still standing, especially as all the men are now heavily armed. But, again, I have no choice.

Down a corridor with more bullet holes on the walls than plaster, we come to a tiny room with a bed.

Shawish has two men lift him on to the bed.

A boy scowls at me from a corner.

The room is clean yet squalid.

I sit anxiously on a plastic garden chair. The day before two Spanish journalists were reported as kidnapped, then released by Shawish's organisation. What am I doing here?

With sweat gathering in the small of my back, I wonder if, with all the killing, he hates all Israelis.

He doesn't make eye contact with any of us. Then he thoughtfully answers my questions. 'I have Israeli friends. I have Jewish friends.' As a young man he went to a high school in Acre. 'I was in love with a Jewish girl. Her name was Hava. We even wanted to get married.' When it became harder for Palestinians to move from town to town, he could no longer see her.

'My Israeli friends are aware of our suffering. I don't have contact with them now, as they could be arrested.' Shawish has nine bullets still lodged inside him. It's these bullets, received during a gun battle with the Israeli Defence Force, that crippled him.

After a while I stop expecting to be led away at gunpoint and relax. He introduces me to his son. I show him pictures of my daughters.

## WHICH OF THESE WILL BE A DOCTOR? AND WHICH A SUICIDE BOMBER?

He dismisses the Spanish abduction story and indeed it is later proved to be false. As I get up to leave, he asks us to stay longer. His son pours coffee into tiny plastic cups. We smoke.

He invites me to visit his wife, to dine with his family, even though he cannot go home himself, since to leave the compound would risk immediate assassination by Israel.

The whole meeting is not horrific, just unutterably sad. Sad for the children of settlers his 'martyrs' have undoubtedly blown up, sad for his own family denied a normal life, sad for the friendships across races crushed by the petty daily cruelty of occupation.

'I am the most wanted man in the West Bank. I have influence over all the men in the Al-Aqsa Brigades. I tell them we want peace.' He prints out a letter pledging allegiance to Abbas. In front of us he ceremonially stamps it with his official seal.

Four days later, his group claims responsibility for a checkpoint truck bomb that kills six Israelis.

But when he says the Palestinians are 'a responsible and educated people', in this, at least, I believe he's telling the truth. The one word I hear from every mouth in every street, house and refugee camp is not 'revenge'. It's not even 'peace', it's 'education'. Through education, the Palestinians say, they will arm themselves for a better future.

Almost 90 per cent of Palestinian 15-year-olds are literate, the highest figure in the Arab world, and almost up to the 91 per cent in Britain. And this despite the fact that for many students simply travelling to class risks being shot by Israeli snipers.

When I travelled to Gaza I met Dina, a tiny eight-year-old at the Jabaliya refugee camp. She stood among the rubble where so many of her friends died last year during an Israeli incursion and proudly counted to ten in English.

'What would you like to be?' I ask.

'A doctor,' she smiled. 'So I can help my people.' After two harrowing days in Gaza, I arrive at the Erez checkpoint. I stand with Palestinians of all ages, UN representatives, doctors and diplomats for seven hours, hungry, and low on water.

I meet two men who are deputy ministers who have missed an essential meeting in Ramallah about funding an airport. It's impossible to see how Abbas can repair Palestine's shattered infrastructure if his ministers cannot travel freely.

With just ten minutes of light left, I desperately call a colleague in Jerusalem and ask for help. At dark, Erez is dangerous as terrified Israeli soldiers will, I'm told, 'fire at anything that moves'.

Suddenly a soldier rushes over to me, laughing gleefully: 'Tony Blair yes?' Someone has told the Israeli Defence Force that a relative of the Prime Minister is here. Minutes later, a car arrives to drive me and the ministers through the checkpoint. We are almost free. I wave goodbye to the doctors left behind.

When I finally get beyond the checkpoint, I burst into exhausted tears. How people cope with this collective punishment, I have no idea.

But despite such humiliations, I remember my days in Palestine with real fondness. I'm in love with the hopeful, bustling young cities of the West Bank. I would like to bring my family here so they can meet these generous, clever people.

## Graphic

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WHICH OF THESE WILL BE A DOCTOR? AND WHICH A SUICIDE BOMBER?

AFTER ARAFAT ... LAUREN BOOTH AT THE FORMER PALESTINIAN LEADER'S GRAVE IN HIS MUKATA  
COMPLEX IN RAMALLAH

**Load-Date:** January 17, 2005

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## *False Messiahs and Whirling Dervishes: A Scholar's Fresh Take on an Old Topic*

The Forward

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**Length:** 1410 words

**Byline:** Allan Nadler

Allan Nadler is the director of the Jewish studies program at Drew University and senior academic adviser to the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. He is currently completing a book on the influence of Spinoza in modern Jewish culture.

### **Body**

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The Sabbatean Prophets

By Matt Goldish

Harvard University Press, 240 pages, \$39.95.

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The following dire, revolutionary proclamation issues forth from a charismatic provocateur in Gaza:

"None will be saved from these tribulations except those dwelling in this place. The [very] name of the place [connoting strength] expresses her nature. And with the advent of her redemption, strength will spread and the people of Gaza will act in this strength."

The response of the leader of the Gazans' enemy, both to this message and to those Jews residing in Gaza, is to remind them that Gaza is a place unworthy of triggering apocalyptic violence, since it is "technically outside the borders of the [biblical] Land of Israel."

At the same time, in a nearby Arab country, classified information, laden with potentially devastating secrets, is conveyed via a shady Middle Eastern businessman named Chelebi.

The latest news from Israel and Iraq? Hardly!

The proclamation from Gaza was issued not by a leader of ***Hamas***, but rather by the 17th-century Jewish kabbalist Nathan of Gaza, who in 1665 became the major prophet of the infamous false messiah from Izmir, Shabbetai Zevi. The proclamation's rebuke was not part of Ariel Sharon's argument for evacuating Jewish settlers from Gaza, but of a ruling by Rabbi Jacob Sasportas, the most outspoken and tireless opponent of the Sabbatean messianic outbreak. And the Chelebi in question was not the now-disgraced White House confidant, Ahmed Chalabi, but rather Raphael Chelebi, an Egyptian Jewish businessman who was the first outsider to whom Nathan of Gaza revealed the "secret" that the messiah had arrived.

## False Messiahs and Whirling Dervishes: A Scholar's Fresh Take on an Old Topic

Matt Goldish traces these tidbits and many other riveting developments in his new book, "The Sabbatean Prophets," a fresh scholarly re-evaluation of the events that led to the wildfire-rapid spread across the Jewish world of belief in Shabbetai Zevi as the Jews' long-awaited king and savior.

It is natural to approach a new, rather thin, volume about Sabbateanism with a certain degree of skepticism. How much more can be revealed about a subject to which the great scholar of Kabbalah, Gershom Scholem, devoted a monumental 950-page study - a work that has itself spawned decades of critical commentary and re-evaluation on the part of Scholem's colleagues and disciples?

As it turns out, however, Goldish, who is the Melton associate professor of Jewish history at The Ohio State University, succeeds in going well beyond the foundational work of previous scholars. He achieves this not by uncovering hitherto unknown Sabbatean texts, but by significantly widening the lens through which the Sabbatean messianic phenomenon is viewed, taking his readers on a fascinating voyage through the turbulent worlds of 17th-century religious enthusiasm and prophetic millenarian thought - Christian, Muslim and Jewish. Goldish contends that it is in the broader context of religious thought in Christian Europe and the Muslim Ottoman Empire that the startling outbreak and rapid spread of Sabbateanism can be best appreciated. Moreover, pace Scholem, Goldish argues that it was not the dissemination of an esoteric Sabbatean version of Lurianic Kabbalah that best accounts for the extent of Shabbetai Zevi's popularity, but the parallel outbreak of widespread ecstatic prophecies on the part of simple Jews, young women in particular.

The intellectual and spiritual turbulence of the early modern period, particularly in Western Europe, gave rise to a dizzying array of novel religious ideas and mystical enthusiasm, most notably a variety of what Goldish broadly defines as new forms of "prophecy." There were many, widely divergent factors that led to this spiritual outbreak, all ably described by Goldish. The Reformation's challenge to the Roman Catholic Church's monopoly on religious truth in the 16th-century eventually led to the rise of a variety of charismatic sects whose leaders relied on direct personal access to the word of God in the 17th century.

Goldish pays particular attention to the probable impact on Jewish thought of the millenarian enthusiasm of Quaker missionaries, rapidly spreading from England to present-day Turkey at precisely the same time that Sabbateanism erupted. But he also notes a host of other small English millenarian religious sects that cropped up in the wake of the end of the Thirty Years War and the English Revolution. They were part of the larger continental atmosphere of millenarian thinking fostered by such groups as the Collegiants, French prophets, Spanish beatas and even the alchemists that pervaded Europe in the mid-17th century.

More surprisingly, Goldish makes the counter-intuitive argument that the scientific revolution - far from leading to estrangement from religion - was deeply and inextricably wound up with a particularly messianic form of spirituality. His discussions of the prophetic postures and messianic expectations of noted scientists such as Isaac Newton and Francis Bacon complicate accepted wisdom about the place of the scientific revolution in the trajectory of early modern intellectual history.

They also contribute richly to Goldish's portrayal of the degree to which 17th-century Christian Europe was rife with expectations of the Second Coming. Additionally, the daring voyages of the great 16th- and 17th-century European explorers led many to imagine that the fabled 10 Lost Tribes of Israel had been discovered, further fueling millenarian excitement and sparking a renewed Christian interest in the secret teachings of kabbalah. This often brought together in a weirdly shared apocalypticism rabbis and churchmen whose only real differences were their respective imaginings of precisely how the imminently expected scenario of salvation would end.

Critics of Goldish's approach almost certainly will argue that while he may have stumbled upon a coincidence of parallel messianic excitement during the same historical moment in both the Christian and Jewish worlds, he has not proved any direct connection between them. Goldish anticipates this problem by appealing to the theory, best articulated in the work of the French historian Jean-Michel Oughourlian, of "universal mimesis," or what nonscholars simply would call, "something in the air."

With the help of his copious translations of documents describing the prophetic experiences of Nathan of Gaza, the lay Sabbatean prophets as well as their Christian contemporaries, Goldish shows just how similar - at times almost

## False Messiahs and Whirling Dervishes: A Scholar's Fresh Take on an Old Topic

identical - these bizarre phenomena were. The dramatic fainting, the convulsions, the losses of pulse, etc. - all inevitably followed by apocalyptic illuminations - were being experienced at precisely the same time by Jews, Christians and Muslims around the globe. Goldish insists that during this period of feverish worldwide travel, it is simply naive, even myopic, to rule out mutual influences:

In such merchant centers as Aleppo and Izmir, filled with Europeans, it is hardly credible that news of the Quakers, various Italian and French ecstasies and other European prophetic groups would not have reached the ears of the Jews. It is even more certain that Sepharadi exiles and escaped conversos, whose culture was Iberian through and through, knew a great deal about similar phenomena among beatas and nuns in Spain and Portugal. In their own environs, they had the models of the Sufis and dervishes. Even if they had not seen such possessions and visions in person, they could hardly have helped knowing about them. For this reason it is probable that the model of Nathan [of Gaza] struck a particular chord.

Aside from vividly describing, and explaining the widespread belief in, Sabbatean messianic prophecies, this book refines both the timeline of Sabbateanism's spread and the exact nature of its heresy. Scholem located that heresy in the convoluted kabbalistic rationalizations by his believers that followed Shabbetai Zevi's conversion to Islam in 1666. Goldish counters that the real heresy began earlier, exemplified by the very existence and growing influence of charismatic figures such as Nathan of Gaza and the lay Sabbatean prophets. It was the shifting of power from rabbis (whose authority was based on sound Talmudic scholarship) to charismatics (whose authority emerged from supernatural prophetic abilities) that represented the real heresy against traditional Judaism. In that sense, the "Sabbatean Prophets" were anti-establishment heretics.

## Graphic

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IMAGE

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

*Jihad: play the game:  
Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam  
is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports*

Belfast Telegraph

August 17, 2005

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## **Body**

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In 'Special Force', players can practise their sniping skills on Israeli political and military figures including Ariel Sharon

Grenades - check. Sniper rifle - check. Prayer mat- check. Gamers may be used to saving the day by taking on alien forces from another universe but a new wave of computer games are more concerned with saving the world from non-believers. With titles like Special Force and Under Siege, these games sound similar to military titles like Medal of Honour that regularly top the UK games chart for best-selling titles. Once people start playing though, it's obvious Special Force and Under Siege are very different both in quality and in content to their mainstream rivals.

Hizbollah, a radical Islamic group, spent two years developing Special Force, a PC game designed to compete with games showing Arabs as enemies and Americans as triumphant heroes. Emblazoned across the cover is the invitation to: "Be a partner in the victory. Fight, resist and destroy your enemy in the name of force and victory."

Inspired by actual Hizbollah missions, Special Force takes place during operations on Israeli soldiers. Players have to deal with the same conditions as real Hizbollah fighters, including weather conditions, mines and the number of enemy - Israeli - troops. During training, players can practise their sniping skills on Israeli



Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

political and military figures including the Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Mahmoud

Rayya, an official from the Hizbollah bureau, explained at the game's launch

that "this game is resisting the Israeli occupation through the media".

The game sold thousands of copies in Lebanon in the first two weeks after its

release and has gone on to sell at least 10,000 more since.

Under Siege is another pro-Palestinian first person shooter (FPS) and is the

sequel to Under Ashes, a game launched in 2001. Under Siege and Under Ashes

were developed by Afkar Media, a Damascus-based software company that claims

it creates games to educate as well as eliminate. "We believe we had to

share responsibility in telling the story behind this conflict and targeting

youngsters who depend on video games and movies - which always tell the counter

side - to build their world knowledge." Under Ashes went on to sell more

than 10,000 copies in the Middle East, as well as being downloaded more than

500,000 times from the company's website. The game itself is a basic FPS that

is billed as suitable for children aged over 13 despite the vast armoury available

to players. Radwan Kasmiya, Afkar Media's executive manager, insists the game

promotes non-violent methods. "This is not a game about killing. We are

attempting to provide a new sort of digital dignity." Despite the warfare,

the game does have a self-perception seldom found in mainstream military titles.

At the end of one level, there is a tagline that reads: "A real life story

or a political propaganda? You have the right to decide."

While these titles aim to redress the balance to a genre dominated by victorious

US soldiers defeating Arab enemies, there are other games available that reflect

a wider unease with Western thinking. The Ummah Defence titles are fairly innocuous,

with robots as enemies and an Islamic universe under threat. In The Maze of

Destiny, players battle with an evil wizard named Dar-lack the Deceiver who

has ruined a Muslim utopia where everyone worships Allah by stealing the Book

of Allah and imprisoning anyone who knows Allah's teachings. Armed only with

their wits and their faith, players must rescue the wise ones from Darlack's

dungeons. Challenges include setting bombs to open secret passageways and exploring

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

endless labyrinths. Stylistically, the game is like an early Nintendo title but at its heart is the secular Darlack who plies people with alcohol, drugs, prostitutes and gambling. All three titles are created by Islamgames, a US-based company that makes titles featuring battles between the defenders of Islam and their opponents. The company explains its stance by stating that: "Video games are a great learning tool, but many games available teach things contrary to the teachings of Islam. By providing an alternative to the mainstream, we can help our children in a subtle way learn to identify with Islamic values and teachings."

Islam Fun is a collection of PC mini-games aimed at encouraging children to learn more about Islam. In among Two Bunny Race and Building Blocks- Build a Mosque is the more alarming The Resistance. Gamers play a farmer in South Lebanon who has joined the Islamic Resistance to defend their land and family from invading Zionists. As the game is aimed at five-to seven-year-olds, it seems this particular mini-game is slightly advanced. In defence of their subject matter, Innovative Minds, the company behind Islam Fun, made this statement. "The questions in the game educate children not to fall for the Zionist lie that Zionism, Jewishness and Judaism are synonymous but to understand that Zion-ism, a racist ideology, has nothing to do with Judaism." There's little danger that these titles are going to become best-sellers in the UK, despite their efforts to represent a different ideology. The Video Standards Council, which decides the age and content rating system for UK computer games, does not permit the sale of any game containing material featuring discrimination or incitement to hatred against any ethnic group. Any title that contains material like this is also highly likely to contravene criminal law in the UK and most European countries. But, online boundaries are blurred, as one downloadable game from America, Ethnic Cleansing, proves.

Johnny Minkley, the editor of MC CV, the trade magazine for the games industry, isn't convinced that religion games are ever going to compete with mainstream titles. "Video games are barely coming a more acceptable mass-market

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

media and a means of expression for more groups. It's natural evolution. Religious games are just one small facet of the games industry."

John Houlihan, the editor of Computer and Videogames, agrees: "There has been a move towards more religious gaming, both in America and the Middle East. However, these games are still very much a minority interest for the industry. Just like with music, the devil has all the best tunes - and all the best games."

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Special Force Developer: Hizbullah Central Internet Bureau

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Like Under Siege, Special Force is a more professional title than, say, Islamic Fun. Players simulate Hizbollah fighters during military operations against the Israeli army and action is inspired by actual Hizbollah operations. Stalking soldiers, blowing up tanks and full on street battles are the main aspects of the game as players run through a city battleground causing destruction.

([www.specialforce.net](http://www.specialforce.net))

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Islamic Fun Innovative Minds

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A selection of simple games for children that aim to teach them about aspects of Islam.

Games like Building Blocks, where players create their own mosque, make up the majority. One stand-out mini-game is The Resistance, where players take the role of a farmer in south Lebanon who has joined **Hamas** to defend his land and family from the invading Zionists. ([www.inminds.co.uk](http://www.inminds.co.uk))

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Under Siege Afkar Media

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The sequel to Under Ash, Under Siege is a first-person shooter (FPS) game played

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

from the perspective of a Palestinian. In single-player mode, Under Siege is like many FPS games featuring a specific enemy (in this case, the Israeli army), and gives players an arsenal of weapons with which to do battle. Choose from grenades, rocket launchers, sniper rifles and automatic weapons. Graphically, Under Siege is underdeveloped and very basic, so it won't be rivalling Far Cry in the FPS stakes. ([www.underash.net](http://www.underash.net))

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#### Maze of Destiny IslamGames

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In Maze of Destiny, players must battle the evil wizard Darlack to rescue the teachers of the Koran and re-establish the true worship of Allah. Maze of Destiny is reminiscent of Zelda, with its maze-based 2D levels. Gamers have to negotiate labyrinthine dungeons while avoiding being plied with women or drink. Simple but effective. ([www.islamgames.com](http://www.islamgames.com))

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#### Ummah Defense 1 & 2 IslamGames

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It's the year 2114 and the Earth is united under the banner of Islam. As a member of the Intergalactic Muslim Council, your job is to help coordinate Dawa efforts on other planets. But the Flying Evil Robot Armada attacks Earth and it's up to you to save the planet. The first title is a simple, Space Invaders -inspired game, while Ummah 2 is more sophisticated, like an early Mario title. ([www.islamgames.com](http://www.islamgames.com))

**Load-Date:** August 17, 2005

**Lifting the veil on Muslim culture; Controversial leader of Hamilton-area Muslims says he is committed to bridging communities**

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

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**Byline:** Carmela Fragomeni

## **Body**

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A relatively unknown Javid Mirza catapulted into the public eye in the aftermath of 9/11.

Hamilton was tackling a racist backlash against its Muslim community. Mirza, president of the Muslim Association of Hamilton since 2000, jumped at the opportunity to help Hamiltonians get to know their Muslim neighbours.

He let them know the community was just as sickened as everyone else by the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City.

Mirza plunged into working with the newly formed Strengthening Hamilton Communities Initiative, (SHCI) in building bridges within the city's diverse populations aimed at eliminating hate crimes and racism in the city.

The Hamilton Spectator

Along the way, Mirza became the voice of the Muslim community and he continues to build bridges.

He also crashes into controversy now and then, most recently surviving a leadership challenge over what critics called politicization of the Hamilton Mosque.

Whatever his intentions, he is driven by what is best for the greater good, he says -- living in harmony.

"We need to know about each other's cultures so we don't offend someone."

Mirza, 44, is praised by civic leaders for opening up the city's once isolated and insular Muslim community and for fostering understanding throughout Hamilton.

More Hamiltonians and faith groups understand more about local Muslims than ever before, they say.

"It's a good thing," says Abdul-Rauf Sanni, the imam, or religious leader, of the Hamilton Mosque. People now know "we are normal people, normal citizens ... We are not terrorists. We are not violent."

The Muslim Association takes care of the day-to-day running of the Hamilton Mosque, the city's largest, and the attached Islamic elementary school. It is considered to represent all of Hamilton's 12,000 to 13,000 Muslims because all seven city mosques follow its lead.

## Lifting the veil on Muslim culture; Controversial leader of Hamilton-area Muslims says he is committed to bridging communities

Members come from 40 nations, the largest group is from south Asia, including Pakistan and India. Others come from the Middle East, Africa and the Balkans.

Sept. 11 spurred Mirza to bring Muslims and non-Muslims together so they could better understand each other. He felt compelled to help because of his own success in life.

"If God has given you everything, you have to give something back to the community."

He's worked with the Hindu and Sikh communities, the school board on prayer, religious, and ethnic issues, with the United Church and many others.

He was particularly praised for building friendships with the city's Jewish community, eventually inviting its leaders last November to a gala dinner marking the end of Ramadan, Islam's holiest month.

"I made it a point to have dialogue with everyone," Mirza says.

"Discrimination is fear of the unknown."

It was that discrimination and fear, in the aftermath of 9/11, that led to hate crimes in Hamilton -- arsonists burned the Hindu Samaj temple they apparently mistook for a mosque, and vandalism at the Hamilton Mosque on Stone Church Road.

Mirza's philosophy is "Once people get to know you, they may still not like you, but they'll think twice about doing something to you."

Hamilton Spectator editor-in-chief Dana Robbins works with Mirza on the SHCI's media committee.

"I don't know if I ever met a more passionate advocate for his community. He has been remarkably effective in bringing Muslim concerns onto the radar in a way unlike others."

Robbins said a prime obstacle to eliminating racism is the ignorance of communities about each other. Mirza "has gone a long way to educate the broader Hamilton community about Muslims."

Mirza is a proud Canadian and Hamiltonian, very comfortable working both in and outside the Muslim community. He said he invites people and the media into the local Muslim world where others, fearful of criticism, try to keep them out.

Mirza was 13 when he came from Pakistan with his family in the early 1970s. There were only about 100 Muslim families in the city, he said.

He attended Hill Park Secondary School and later Mohawk College. He participated in Hamilton peace marches and candlelight vigils at Gage Park.

Mirza proudly calls himself a civil libertarian. As a young Liberal, he joined busloads of people on a trek to Montreal during the first referendum, to help encourage Quebec to stay in Canada.

He married a Catholic, Beatrice, although years later she converted to Islam, and their two young sons now attend the Islamic school at the mosque.

Mirza is also a successful businessman. He travels often, mostly to the United States, as president of Seven Star Sports, a sports equipment manufacturing company he and his six brothers started 15 years ago. Customers include Wal-Mart, Zellers and Toys "R" Us.

Mirza also has political aspirations.

Lifting the veil on Muslim culture; Controversial leader of Hamilton-area Muslims says he is committed to bridging communities

After years of strong Muslim support for Sheila Copps, he persuaded many to back Paul Martin and local MP and cabinet minister Tony Valeri.

Mirza also planned to seek the Hamilton Mountain Liberal nomination until the party cut off registration when incumbent MP Beth Phinney filed her papers.

Mirza's invitations to politicians to speak at the mosque don't sit well with some who say the mosque is for prayer. It was an issue in the recent Muslim association elections, but Mirza is sticking to his beliefs that political connections are important to the Muslim community and that the mosque is a centre for all civic, social and religious activities.

In regard to religion, Mirza says it's his job to stay centre of far left or right beliefs so he can keep people together on common ground.

He believes, for example, the decision to wear the hijab, the required head cover for Muslim women, is really between a woman and God.

Mirza readily admits Muslim society is male dominated, but says it is progressing and compares it to the old North American male dominated society before it changed.

"We're still going through that process."

Mirza believes Muslim women need more rights, and that Canadians of all religions and backgrounds can live harmoniously by interacting with each other.

"People came here to better their lives, not to make others uncomfortable."

Mirza is the oldest of 10 children, seven boys and three girls. All except two live in Hamilton, and there is no question those here form a powerhouse at the Mosque. His sister Yasmin Mirza heads the women's group, a brother is on the Islamic school council and mosque members say Mirza's brothers staunchly defend him if anyone questions him.

There are Muslims who say emphatically that Mirza does not speak for them.

They agree he does good work, but say he is using his prominence to build a political career.

Mirza admits he's "very outspoken," but says friction is part of life.

"You can't please everyone."

He certainly didn't please the city's Jewish community in the wake of Israel's assassination of Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the Palestinian founder and spiritual leader of the militant group Hamas.

Yassin was a hero to Palestinians and there was a massive outcry when he was slain in a rocket attack. Israel countered that he was behind waves of bloody suicide attacks on civilians.

Mirza called for economic sanctions against Israel to protest the killing. But he contends his comment hasn't strained relations with local Jewish leaders.

"It's a very passionate issue (the Israeli-Palestinian conflict). You can still be friends and you don't have to agree on everything and can still work things out.

"We have more in common than differences."

Members of Hamilton's Jewish community contacted by The Spectator wouldn't comment for this story.

Hamilton police Chief Brian Mullan says Mirza has helped police tremendously in race relations.

Lifting the veil on Muslim culture; Controversial leader of Hamilton-area Muslims says he is committed to bridging communities

"He's got a big-picture view. It's always about what will benefit Hamilton, what will reduce tensions, and how to make Hamilton a better place for all of our communities."

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## Graphic

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Photo: Ron Pozzer, the Hamilton Spectator; Javid Mirza, president of the Hamilton Muslim Association, attends morning prayer recently at the Hamilton Mosque.

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2004

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**Executions a sad reminder of home for Iranian author: Human rights activist says hanging of two gay teens shows Canada must get tough with Iran's regime, which she describes as 'a cancer,' writes Aron Heller.**

Ottawa Citizen

August 2, 2005 Tuesday

Final Edition

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**Byline:** Aron Heller, Citizen News Services

## **Body**

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When Ghazal Omid first heard about the public hanging of two gay teenagers in Iran, she instinctively started to cry.

"I was devastated. When I saw those pictures it was like someone putting a hand to my heart and pulling it," said Ms. Omid, 35, a Vancouver-based author and human right advocate from Iran. "That's what the government of Iran does. The government of Iran is about oppression, it's about abusing other people and showing off that 'I can do it, and if you say anything I will kill you, too.'"

On Jul. 19, Mahmoud Asgari and Ayaz Marhoni were executed at a public square in Mashad, in northeast Iran. Iranian officials said both were over 18 and were sentenced for kidnapping, rape and homosexual activities. Prior to their execution, the two were also given 228 lashes each for drinking, disturbing the peace and theft, according to Amnesty International Canada.

Gay rights and Iranian opposition groups, though, said the two were only 16 and 18, and have suggested the rape charges against them were meant to undermine public sympathy. The groups have further suggested the boys made their confessions under torture.

Canada's Foreign Affairs Department has warned same-sex married couples to be wary of the law when travelling or moving to foreign countries, like Iran, that do not recognize their marriages.

Iran enforces Islamic Sharia law, which dictates the death penalty for gay sex.

The incident has sparked outrage around the world, with human rights groups saying this is just the latest example of widespread abuse in Iran's Islamic theocracy.

If anyone knows the horrors of living under the Iranian regime, it is Ms. Omid.

She was born in Abadan, Iran, in 1970, the only daughter in a very religious family. At 12, she says she was raped and molested by her older brother, but could never speak about it. Muslim **women** who have been sexually abused are often killed by their own relatives, for bringing shame upon the family. In high school, she became active in opposition groups and, as a result, was denied entry to medical school or any public university. Ultimately, she

Executions a sad reminder of home for Iranian author: Human rights activist says hanging of two gay teens shows Canada must get tough with Iran 's regime, which....

enrolled at a private university where she continued her resistance, participating in student protests. She was monitored and eventually abducted by the secret police for her activities. She escaped and fled the country, arriving in Canada ten years ago.

Ms. Omid recently published her life story in a book entitled *Living in Hell*. In an interview, she said it was just that.

"How you live, how you breathe, how you have relationships with other people is for government to monitor. Your nails, your outfit, the colour of your outfit, these are the simple freedoms. If these are taken away from you -- it's a hell," she said.

She said she has also had a "brush" with lesbianism and said "if they would have found out, they would have killed me. It's as simple as that."

But the real issue in Iran, she agreed, is not about gay rights in particular, but human rights in general.

"We can not kill other people just because we feel like it," she said. "It's almost like they are paralyzing people to what they want to do. They say that 'I'll decide who lives and who dies.'"

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Hopes were high in 1997 when Mohammad Khatami, a seemingly reform-minded and moderate candidate, was elected president on a platform of reform and democratization.

But with only a few weeks left in his presidency, the consensus among analysts and human right groups is that those efforts have failed miserably. Iran is still governed primarily by a group of hard-line conservative mullahs, loyal to the ways of Ayatollah Khomeini, leader of the 1979 revolution.

In addition to children and homosexuals, women, ethnic minorities and political dissidents are commonly abused and persecuted in Iran, according to human right groups. Aside from its domestic policies, Iran has drawn the ire of the western world, as well, for its aggressive pursuit of development of nuclear weapons and for supporting Islamic terrorist groups such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

Ghazal Omid fears Iran's ideological tyranny will spread, perhaps to next-door neighbour Iraq, and taint the image of Muslims around the world.

She has made the religious pilgrimage to Mecca and still considers herself a devout Muslim despite living a modern, western life.

"Islam is not what the government of Iran does," she says. "The government of Iran says 'you have to cover your head because I say so.' But there is no 'I say so' in Islam."

And she said physical appearance was just the superficial example of this.

"They made Islam look like a bloodshed, look like a monster who wants to eat everybody. What they are doing, the terror and terrorism, is essentially a cancer that is eating the body of Islam," she said.

Canada's interest in the situation in Iran has grown since the case of Iranian-Canadian photojournalist Zahra Kazemi came to light. Ms. Kazemi, 54, died in an Iranian prison in July 2003, about three weeks after being detained for taking photographs during anti-government protests. She was reportedly beaten to death.

Iran's judiciary charged a low-ranking intelligence official with unintentionally killing her during interrogation. The official was cleared of the charge at a trial last July, and, last week, an Iranian appeals court rejected demands for a new investigation into whether Ms. Kazemi's death was premeditated murder, effectively ending the case. Canada has continued to demand a thorough investigation, but many critics have said the federal government needs to take a tougher stand.

Executions a sad reminder of home for Iranian author: Human rights activist says hanging of two gay teens shows Canada must get tough with Iran 's regime, which....

Ms. Omid agreed. "You're talking about a government that does not have any fear of hurting anybody," she said. "How much are we willing to sacrifice for our human rights?"

Canada's policy towards Iran has remained one of "controlled engagement," limited primarily because of human rights concerns.

"Canada is very concerned about Iran's performance -- especially relating to the independence of the judiciary, arbitrary detention, freedom of expression and the treatment of women, inmates and religious minorities," said Marie-Christine Lilkoff, a Foreign Affairs department spokeswoman. "Canada's objective is still to promote and accelerate positive change in Iran. This objective underpins our general approach to Iran's human rights situation."

Ms. Lilkoff said the death sentence for minors violates Iran's obligations under the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which bans executions of persons who were under 18 years of age at the time of the offence.

"Canada calls on Iran to abolish child executions immediately, and to impose a moratorium on all executions, with a view to abolishing the death penalty," she said.

But Ms. Omid said this tough talk is far from enough and called Canada's soft approach toward Iran a mistake.

"This is not the way to go with governments like Iran," she said.

"Something people in this part of the world don't know is when you are dealing with people like mullahs in Iran you absolutely have to be firm and put your foot down and say 'I don't care what is going to come, you are going to do it my way.' That is the only way they are going to understand. Sometimes you need to speak the language of that person in order for them to understand you," she said.

So far this year, Iran has executed at least four people for crimes committed when they were children, including one who was still a child. Amnesty International has recorded 42 executions so far in 2005, but says the actual number is likely higher.

Ms. Omid called he latest incident "a symbolic execution" meant to intimidate and show power.

"I am very sad and very angry that we have come to this point that two kids are hanged publicly and we sort of stand and do nothing," she said.

## Graphic

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Colour Photo: Richard Lam, The Vancouver Sun; Ghazal Omid, author of Living in Hell, says she would have been put to death had authorities ever learned that she a 'brush' with lesbianism while living in Iran.;

Colour Photo: The Associated Press; Blindfolded teenagers Mahmoud Asgari, 16, left, and Ayaz Marhoni were executed at a public square in Mashad, in northeast Iran. They were sentenced for kidnapping, rape and homosexual acts, but human rights groups say the rape charges were trumped up.

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2005

## *Our victory over terror starts with a strong, secure Israel*

Sunday Times (London)

April 25, 2004, Sunday

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**Section:** Features; News; 21

**Length:** 1381 words

**Byline:** Michael Portillo

### **Body**

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Terrorism is the biggest threat we face and the war against it is being fought in cities around the world, in Iraq and on a third front, Israel. Outrages against Israeli civilians, innocent women and children, are not organised by Al-Qaeda, but the battle there is relevant to us because Israel may prove that terror can be defeated. It is hugely in all our interests that it should succeed.

Some people think the whole notion of a war against terrorism is absurd. Its critics argue that the threat is too diffuse to be grappled with. A vigorous response to violence merely breeds more violence, they claim, adding that terrorism has social and economic origins for which we must feel guilt.

On the contrary, while fighting this enemy is complicated, it is no more so than other wars we have won. When we show strength we make ourselves safer and when we are hesitant we increase our vulnerability. Terrorist leaders, who are themselves rich and who shelter in repressive regimes that impoverish their peoples, are using their peoples's sufferings as an excuse for their atrocities.

The Israelis have a grim advantage over the rest of us. Their enemies leave no doubt that their objective is to destroy Israel. Without that clarity it would be difficult for a democracy to take the measures needed to win. Similarly, Americans after September 11 believed that Al-Qaeda's mission was to harm the United States in every conceivable way. Popular revulsion enabled the administration to implement some unusual restrictions, such as the detention without trial of fighters captured in Afghanistan.

Europeans are not so convinced that the terrorist threat is mortal. Tony Blair's decision to deploy troops to Heathrow aroused cynicism. Many were writing before the Madrid bombings that he was exaggerating the danger.

But even Mr Blair sometimes seems not to understand how far we might have to go to combat terror. His government has condemned Israel's action in killing two leaders of Hamas. Jack Straw, the foreign secretary, has described the killings as unacceptable and counterproductive. Some Israelis might see that as Olympian detachment.

While in Northern Ireland it was not our policy to kill the organisers of violence, in the rougher world of the Middle East we are not normally so fastidious. Presumably Mr Blair does not believe that killing Saddam Hussein's two sons was unacceptable or counterproductive. They may have died in a firefight, but at the opening of the Iraq war the coalition flattened a restaurant because we thought Saddam was eating there.

## Our victory over terror starts with a strong, secure Israel

Does anyone believe that we aim simply to detain Osama Bin Laden so he can help us with our inquiries? We would target him with a missile if we had a fix on his position.

Israel understands that its enemies respect only strength. To provide the best conditions for peace, Israel has to convince the Palestinian leadership that terrorism will not succeed and to eliminate all options except negotiation. In Israel's struggle to defeat terror or render it ineffective, it cannot fight by Queensberry rules. Killing those who send suicide bombers to commit mass murder disrupts the enemy. Terrorist leaders fear death more than the simple souls they bamboozle into dying on their orders.

The Western conscience, which revolted against the Iron Curtain, the Berlin Wall and apartheid in South Africa, is conditioned to abhor the forcible separation of human beings. We find the fence the Israelis are building to separate themselves from the Palestinians dreadful. It is an extreme step. But the situation is extreme and the barrier is effective. There has been only one case of a successful attack launched from Gaza since it was erected.

The fence disrupts Palestinian lives and certainly increases their anger. But it does not kill them, whereas the bombers claim many lives whenever they get through. The Israelis say that they will take it down when there is peace and that the line along which it runs has no significance for where new borders will lie. I believe them.

In the road map for peace between the Israelis and Palestinians it is not so much the destination as the route to it that is in doubt. It is agreed that the eventual settlement must produce two states, guarantees of Israeli security, special arrangements for Jerusalem and withdrawal from many Israeli settlements on land that was not Israel's before 1967. There are matters still in dispute, but what makes it so hard to reach the peace destination is the difficulty of synchronising the concessions that each side must make.

In the last meaningful negotiations in September 2000 Yasser Arafat's position was perhaps made difficult because he was offered too much too quickly by President Bill Clinton and the then Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, politicians in a hurry before elections. Arafat conversely needed a hard slog in to satisfy his people he had wrung difficult concessions from his enemies. Alas, soon afterwards he irresponsibly sanctioned a terrorist onslaught on Israel. That betrayal is the background to Sharon's statement on Friday that even Arafat's life might be claimed by an Israeli missile.

When the road map was last unfurled, by President George W Bush after the Iraq war, terrorists obliged both sides quickly to put it away again. That underlines the need to defeat the terrorists.

The European Union craves a role in settling the Middle East, but more for reasons of self-esteem than to be helpful. The French concept of a European common foreign policy is one defined by being different from America's. The EU, inasmuch as it speaks with one voice, therefore speaks to the PLO in a softer tone than America does (or Israel of course). That is unhelpful. The Palestinian leadership has to focus sharply on the need to engage in negotiation with Israel.

As European foreign ministers gathered in Ireland last weekend it seemed likely that anti-Americanism would as usual influence the outcome. Ministers arrived bravely denouncing the agreement between Sharon and Bush on Israel's plan for withdrawal from Gaza. The denunciation is perverse. That Israel should give up Gaza must be a vital part of any final settlement.

The wonder is that there is an Israeli prime minister willing to use his armed forces to drive Israeli voters out of their homes and send in the bulldozers.

Withdrawal from Gaza is a milepost on the road map. You would not have thought so from the general indignation.

The reason that Israel is proceeding without Palestinian agreement to bring about what everyone knows must happen anyway is that there is no Palestinian leader with whom to negotiate, no figure who both opposes terror and has his people's support for peace.

## Our victory over terror starts with a strong, secure Israel

As the ministers' meeting proceeded, wiser counsels prevailed. There was an almost comical panic that the Israelis and Americans would go it alone, leaving no place for the quartet that supposedly links the US to Europe, Russia and the United Nations and is charged with supervising the road map.

The meeting closed with a notably politer tone towards the US because otherwise the Americans would not agree to reconvene the quartet and Europe would be left looking ineffectual. Typically, Mr Blair reached that conclusion well ahead of his dimmer European colleagues, which is why he supported Bush and Sharon during his visit to Washington.

Despite America's setbacks in Iraq, old Europe looks weaker than ever. Intriguing, too, that just as Europe has given another demonstration of its impotence, division and latent hostility to America, Mr Blair risks his career to endorse a new European constitution. The main effect of the new European treaty will be to give the EU a minister of foreign affairs. Mr Blair secretly wants that about as much as a migraine.

If things go badly in the fight against terror in Europe, we may need to take extreme measures to defend ourselves. In Britain we hope to defeat the enemy while keeping most of our civil liberties intact. In that case the fight against terror in Iraq and Israel must succeed, because victory there will weaken the terrorists plotting against our cities.

We should therefore be wary of criticising Israel's tactics in case we merely send a message that we lack resolve.

[michael.portillo@sunday-times.co.uk](mailto:michael.portillo@sunday-times.co.uk)

## Graphic

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Comment; Opinion

**Load-Date:** April 26, 2004

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**BY ENDORSING ARIEL SHARON'S PLAN GEORGE BUSH HAS LEGITIMISED  
TERRORISM;  
WHAT BETTER RECRUITING SERGEANT COULD BIN LADEN HAVE THAN  
THE**

The Independent (London)

April 16, 2004, Friday

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**Section:** First Edition; COMMENT; Pg. 31

**Length:** 1201 words

**Byline:** ROBERT FISK

## **Body**

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So President George Bush tears up the Israeli-Palestinian peace plan and that's okay. Israeli settlements for Jews and Jews only on the West Bank. That's okay. Taking land from Palestinians who have owned that land for generations, that's okay. UN Security Council Resolution 242 says that land cannot be acquired by war. Forget it. That's okay.

Does President George Bush actually work for al-Qa'ida? What does this mean? That George Bush cares more about his re-election than he does about the Middle East? Or that George Bush is more frightened of the Israeli lobby than he is of his own electorate. Fear not, it is the latter.

His language, his narrative, his discourse on history, has been such a lie these past three weeks that I wonder why we bother to listen to his boring press conferences. Ariel Sharon, the perpetrator of the Sabra and Shatila massacre (1,700 Palestinian civilians dead) is a "man of peace" - even though the official 1993 Israeli report on the massacre said he was "personally responsible" for it. Now, Mr Bush is praising Mr Sharon's plan to steal yet more Palestinian land as a "historic and courageous act".

Heaven spare us all. Give up the puny illegal Jewish settlements in Gaza and everything's okay: the theft of land by colonial settlers, the denial of any right of return to Israel by those Palestinians who lived there, that's okay. Mr Bush, who claimed he changed the Middle East by invading Iraq, says he is now changing the world by invading Iraq! Okay! Is there no one to cry "Stop! Enough!"?

Two nights ago, this most dangerous man, George Bush, talked about "freedom in Iraq". Not "democracy" in Iraq. No, "democracy" was no longer mentioned. "Democracy" was simply left out of the equation. Now it was just "freedom" - freedom from Saddam rather than freedom to have elections. And what is this "freedom" supposed to involve? One group of American-appointed Iraqis will cede power to another group of American-appointed Iraqis. That will be the "historic handover" of Iraqi "sovereignty". Yes, I can well see why George Bush wants to witness a "handover" of sovereignty. "Our boys" must be out of the firing line - let the Iraqis be the sandbags.

Iraqi history is already being written. In revenge for the brutal killing of four American mercenaries - for that is what they were - US Marines carried out a massacre of hundreds of **women** and children and guerillas in the Sunni Muslim city of Fallujah. The US military says that the vast majority of the dead were militants. Untrue, say the

BY ENDORSING ARIEL SHARON'S PLAN GEORGE BUSH HAS LEGITIMISED TERRORISM; WHAT  
BETTER RECRUITING SERGEANT COULD BIN LADEN HAVE THAN THE

doctors. But the hundreds of dead, many of whom were indeed civilians, were a shameful reflection on the rabble of American soldiery who conducted these undisciplined attacks on Fallujah. Many Baghdadi Sunnis say that in the "New Iraq" - the Iraqi version, not the Paul Bremer version - Fallujah should be given the status of a new Iraqi capital.

Vast areas of the Palestinian West Bank will now become Israel, courtesy of President Bush. Land which belongs to people other than Israelis must now be stolen by Israelis because it is "unrealistic" to accept otherwise. Is Mr Bush a thief? Is he a criminal? Can he be charged with abetting a criminal act? Can Iraq now claim to Kuwait that it is "unrealistic" that the Ottoman borders can be changed? Palestinian land once included all of what is now Israel. It is not, apparently, "realistic" to change this, even to two per cent?

Is Saddam Hussein to be re-bottled and put back in charge of Iraq on the basis that his 1990 invasion of Kuwait was "realistic"? Or that his invasion of Iran - when we helped him try to destroy Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution - was "realistic" because he initially attacked only the Arabic-speaking (and thus "Iraqi") parts of Iran?

Or, since President Bush now seems to be a history buff, are the Germans to be given back Danzig or the Sudetenland? Or Austria? Or should we perhaps recreate the colonial possessions of the past 100 years? Is it not "realistic" that the French should retake Algeria - or part of Algeria - on the basis that the people all speak French, on the basis that this was once part of the French nation? Or should the British retake Cyprus? Or Aden? Or Egypt? Shouldn't the French be allowed to take back Lebanon and Syria? Why shouldn't the British re-take America and boot out those pesky "terrorists" who oppose the rule of King George's democracy well over 200 years ago?

Because this is what George Bush's lunacy and weakness can lead to. We all have lands that "God" gave us. Didn't Queen Mary die with "Calais" engraved on her heart? Doesn't Spain have a legitimate right to the Netherlands? Or Sweden the right to Norway and Denmark? Every colonial power, including Israel can put forward these preposterous demands.

What Bush has actually done is give way to the crazed world of Christian Zionism. The fundamentalist Christians who support Israel's theft of the West Bank on the grounds that the state of Israel must exist there according to God's law until the second coming, believe that Jesus will return to earth and the Israelis - for this is the Bush "Christian Sundie" belief - will then have to convert to Christianity or die in the battle of Armageddon.

I kid thee not. This is the Christian fundamentalist belief, which even the Israeli embassy in Washington go along with - without comment, of course - in their weekly Christian Zionist prayer meetings. Every claim by Osama bin Laden, every statement that the United States represents Zionism and supports the theft of Arab lands will now have been proved true to millions of Arabs, even those who had no time for Bin Laden. What better recruiting sergeant could Bin Laden have than George Bush. Doesn't he realise what this means for young American soldiers in Iraq or are Israelis more important than American lives in Mesopotamia?

Everything the US government has done to preserve its name as a "middle- man" in the Middle East has now been thrown away by this gutless, cowardly US President, George W Bush. That it will place his soldiers at greater risk doesn't worry him - anyway, he doesn't do funerals. That it goes against natural justice doesn't worry him. That his statements are against international law is of no consequence.

And still we have to cow-tow to this man. If we are struck by al-Qa'ida it is our fault. And if 90 per cent of the population of Spain point out that they opposed the war, then they are pro-terrorists to complain that 200 of their civilians were killed by al-Qa'ida. First the Spanish complain about the war, then they are made to suffer for it - and then they are condemned as "appeasers" by the Bush regime and its craven journalists when they complain that their husbands and wives and sons did not deserve to die.

If this is to be their fate, excuse me, but I would like to have a Spanish passport so that I can share the Spanish people's "cowardice"! If Mr Sharon is "historic" and "courageous", then the murderers of Hamas and Islamic Jihad will be able to claim the same. Mr Bush legitimised "terrorism" this week - and everyone who loses a limb or a life can thank him for his yellow streak. And, I fear, they can thank Mr Blair for his cowardice too.



BY ENDORSING ARIEL SHARON'S PLAN GEORGE BUSH HAS LEGITIMISED TERRORISM; WHAT  
BETTER RECRUITING SERGEANT COULD BIN LADEN HAVE THAN THE

**Load-Date:** April 16, 2004

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## *For Saudis, jihad abroad is terror at home*

The International Herald Tribune

April 24, 2004 Saturday

Copyright 2004 International Herald Tribune

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1332 words

**Byline:** Neil Macfarquhar

**Dateline:** RIYADH:

### **Body**

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Only hours before a suicide bomber demolished a Saudi police building in central Riyadh, the family of a young man was accepting congratulations for his death in the jihad across the border in Iraq, the one that enjoys no small support here.

"He went to Iraq seeking martyrdom because of the recent events there," Abdullah al-Enezi said of his younger brother Majid, who had been training to be a computer technician.

"America's unjust policy toward the Muslims is the main reason," Enezi said by telephone from the family home in Al-Kharj, a town just south of Riyadh. "Everyone feels this humiliation; he's not alone, there are so many young men who wish they could cross over into Iraq to join the jihad, but they can't. Thank God he was blessed with the ability to go."

The New York Times

In Saudi Arabia, a strategic ally of the United States, violence against the occupation in Iraq is seen by many as jihad, or a holy struggle. But virtually no one accepts violence as jihad when it occurs here at home, in what is supposed to be the most Muslim of countries.

In Iraq, attacks by U.S. troops serve as evidence to some that the U.S. occupation of a Muslim land must be reversed. Requests for God to avenge U.S. actions pour down from mosque minarets, and some women university students wear Osama bin Laden T-shirts under their enveloping robes to mark their approval for his calls to resist the United States.

But many Saudis consider the suicide attack here on Wednesday a shocking and unsettling crime, especially since the attackers chose for their first major government target an office building that virtually every adult male must visit to collect a license or license plates.

A group calling itself the Brigade of the Two Holy Mosques posted an unverifiable claim of responsibility on two Web sites on Thursday, bragging in language that closely echoed that of Al Qaeda that the attack rained devastation on the "criminal, apostate" Saudi government, and warning of further strikes. Some viewed the claim as dubious because it did not name the suicide bomber.

Five people, apart from the bomber, died in the attack, the Interior Ministry announced.

## For Saudis, jihad abroad is terror at home

"May God curse you, you vermin, you people of filth and not jihad," said a posting on one of the same Web sites where the responsibility claim was posted, adding a picture of coffins draped in American flags over the caption, "This is jihad."

Experts on the topic believe that most Saudis do not view the violence at home and abroad as even remotely related.

"When people see Israeli operations in Palestine and the American cruelty in Iraq, they feel angry and frustrated," said Abdullah Bejad al-Oteibi, a former fundamentalist now working as a legal researcher. "They cannot control their anger and they admire bin Laden, so that is why many people volunteer for jihad," he added. "But when there are operations here, people feel angry and betrayed."

No officials or analysts have a firm command of how many operate in either sphere. Although it is likely they rely on similar theological underpinnings to justify their actions, anyone acting in Saudi Arabia would have to be far more radical to overcome the heavy sanctions against killing fellow Muslims.

"They might be the same group of people, from the same pool of jihadis," said Jamal Khashoggi, an expert on Islamic groups and adviser to Prince Turki al-Faisal, Saudi ambassador to Britain.

"But to recruit somebody to fight in Saudi Arabia is way more difficult than to fight in Iraq," he noted. "You have to be really militant to believe that a country where religion is practiced day and night is apostate."

The difficulty, some experts believe, refers back to a slightly different interpretation of the concept of jihad espoused by the Wahhabi teachings that hold sway in the kingdom. Whereas most sects in Islam view jihad as necessary only when attacked, the Wahhabis view it as a means to spread their religion.

"You should never initiate fighting without a reason; you undertake jihad when you are 'defending' an Islamic nation, like the situation in Iraq or Palestine," said Abdel Rahem al-Lahem, a lawyer and specialist in militant groups. "All religious scholars agree on this and there are many religious texts to prove it."

But the Wahhabi school believes in smiting your enemy first, he said, although senior clerics started preaching against the idea last year after attacks in Saudi Arabia killed Muslims.

Saudi Arabia has a troubled history with preaching jihad, which was officially sanctioned against the occupying Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s. The ruling Saud family thought it could rid itself of the radical fringe, but instead their sponsorship now haunts them. Afghanistan became the training camp for various elements now seeking to overthrow the royal family.

Hence there is no similar mobilization for going to Iraq.

"We do not believe in the American invasion of Iraq; it is illegal and illegitimate," said Soliman al-Oadah, an Islamic cleric once known for expressing hard-line views whose pronouncements have grown more moderate in recent years.

But, he said, "we see that allowing people to go to Iraq has many negative points. For example, when the war is over, they will be trained and shaped in a way that could go out of control. They might go back to their home countries and act in a bad way."

Fearing just such an outcome, Saudi officials say they are ensuring that the border with Iraq is sealed. They have installed heat sensors to detect movement, one official said, noting that events in Iraq are likely to inspire more problems at home.

"They can't do anything over there, and they think Arab governments are not doing anything," said Sayid al-Harathi, a senior adviser to Prince Nayif bin Abdel Aziz, the interior minister. "They are consumed with anger, which they transfer to their own government. If we let them, thousands would go, not just from Saudi Arabia, but from every Arab country."

## For Saudis, jihad abroad is terror at home

Instead, the government has been trying to let off steam by, for example, allowing otherwise tightly controlled mosque sermons to inveigh heavily against the Americans.

"O God, avenge America; O God, avenge its allies," the prayer leader at Prince Sultan bin Abdel Aziz mosque in Riyadh said last Friday. "O God, order your soldiers to show them torture; O God, divide them; O God, avenge them for what they are corrupting in Iraq."

Enezi, whose 25-year-old brother was killed fighting the Americans in Iraq last Saturday, said he was unaware of any cleric swaying his brother's mind. He simply left one day about a month ago, entering Iraq from Syria. He called periodically, and then his friends called to say he had died in a firefight with U.S. marines.

Even among prosperous, upper-middle-class Saudis it is possible to hear support for such actions, especially after the killing of two **Hamas** leaders in Gaza and President George W. Bush's endorsement of Israeli plans to keep West Bank settlements and to prevent the long-sought return of Palestinian refugees to Israel. Often the anger takes the form of endorsing bin Laden's calls for fighting the Americans.

"Young people are wearing T-shirts with bin Laden's picture on it just the way people used to wear pictures of Che Guevara," said Tufful al-Oqbi, a student at King Saud University. "It's simply because he is the only one resisting. Even if we reject his methods, it's because there is no other way, because this is the only way."

Fowziyah Abukhalid, a sociology professor at the university, has noticed a parallel phenomenon among her students.

"Many young **women** are saying 'My God, bin Laden is so charming' or 'My God, bin Laden is so handsome,'" she said. "He is politically appealing; that is why they view him as handsome."

Such feelings are volatile, though, depending on whether those either directed or inspired by bin Laden carry out their attacks at home or abroad.

"People literally change their minds and feelings every day about bin Laden," said Oteibi, the former fundamentalist.

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2004

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

March 29, 2004 Monday Five Star Late Lift Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; Pg. B6; LETTERS

**Length:** 1263 words

### **Body**

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Hopeful signs from Palestinian moderates

Your article "Palestinian intellectuals urge peaceful protest for statehood" (March 26) was a welcome relief from previous Arab rhetoric. Finally, a group of Palestinians, hopefully influential enough to make a difference, is backing a campaign of peaceful protest instead of a continuation of terrorist suicide attacks on ordinary Israeli men, women and children.

Had the Palestinians initiated this concept years ago instead of embracing terrorism, it is very likely that the entire weight of world public opinion would be on their side, including that of most Americans. Four basic commitments would go a long way toward resolving the disputes in the Middle East.

First and foremost, all Palestinians, specifically including Hamas and Hezbollah, must agree unconditionally to Israel's right to exist, and renounce terrorist attacks. Second, Israel must remove all settlements from Palestinian territory.

Third, any right of return by original Palestinian residents of Israel must either be given up or limited to those individuals who actually lived there. And finally, the United States must be willing to divert some of the billions of dollars that annually provide military assistance to Israel and Egypt to the development of infrastructure and jobs in Palestine.

Rick Lettau

Belleville

Sins of the parents

My thanks to Eric Mink ("Callous hearts rule the Legislature," March 24) for bringing the voting records of (Republican state representatives) Jodi Stefanick, Cynthia Davis and Carl Bearden to our attention. Imagine, legislators who actually expect parents to be responsible for their own children. How shocking.

Terry Deckert

Webster Groves

Reading the papers

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

I heard President George W. Bush state in a television interview that he "rarely" reads the newspapers. This brings to mind an incident involving my favorite president, Harry S Truman.

During the Korean War, Truman read in the paper that a soldier who had been killed in action was denied burial in Sioux City, Iowa, because he was an Indian and not a member of the Caucasian race. Outraged, Truman arranged for the man to be buried in Arlington National Cemetery with full military honors.

My point is, I wish President Bush would read the newspapers. He might find out what is going on.

Virgil Koechner

Tipton, Mo.

Aloha, Don

I see that Don Carty (former head of American Airlines) is trying to take over Hawaiian Airlines. I hope the employees of Hawaiian and the state of Hawaii don't get the same "fair and equitable" deal that the TWA employees and the state of Missouri got from Mr. Carty.

Dan Cooney

St. Charles

The wrong questions

With all the recent partisan bantering over the Sept. 11 commission's investigation, I fear that policy makers and investigators still are not asking the right questions. The failures of intelligence and military operations against al-Qaida are worth investigating. But what about the long history of U.S. policy failures that helped create the threats we face today?

When will an investigation ask questions about U.S. support for Osama bin Laden in the 1980s? Do our unsavory alliances with dictators and abusive regimes in the Middle East encourage desperate acts of violence? Do unilateral actions and our global military and economic dominance breed acts of terror?

How does our determination to maintain an unchallenged nuclear arsenal feed our fears of nuclear terror? Do U.S. vetoes at the United Nations and funding Israel's occupation of Palestinian territory make us more vulnerable and prolong the cycle of violence?

We need a deeper investigation into the causes of terrorism and a more complex understanding of our vulnerability before we can design policy to prevent future attacks. Dividing the world into good and evil, us and them, and a perpetual war on terror will only incite more terror.

Our children and children around the world deserve a more mature and smarter approach to the threats we all face. The right questions are a good place to start.

Bill Ramsey

St. Louis

Those testifying before the 9-11 commission, as well as the members of the commission demonstrating partisan positions, seem to be asking the wrong question. The question is not whether President George W. Bush or President Bill Clinton could have done more to prevent terrorism. Unless there had been zero such attacks, the answer to that question will always be "yes."

The question is: Did they do the best they could in the light of what they knew at the time?

Rev. William P. Clark

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Belleville

The Bible and the law

Shall the Bible be the basis for defining marriage? Then we have some real changing to do. The proposed marriage amendment would itself have to be amended to include the following:

1. Marriage shall consist of a union between one man and as many women as he would like. Genesis, chapter 28.
2. Marriage shall not impede a man's right to take concubines in addition to his wife or wives. II Samuel, chapter 5, and II Chronicles, chapter 11.
3. A marriage shall be considered valid only if the wife is a virgin. If the wife is not a virgin, she shall be executed. Deuteronomy, chapter 22.
4. If a married man dies, his brother has to marry the widow. Deuteronomy, chapter 25.

With thanks to U.S Rep. Jim McDermott, D-Wash., whose biblical notes appeared in the Congressional Record for Feb. 25. There is a reason for the separation of church and state.

Richard Haar

St. Louis

Concealed means secret

One of the stupider of the many stupid anti-gun editorials by the Post-Dispatch is "Secret guns" on March 21. You complain because the Missouri state records on who has a permit for concealed carry are secret. Of course they are secret. Look up the meaning of "concealed" in any dictionary!

To have a record identifying gun owners and-or carriers open to the public is absolutely inviting big trouble. It is almost an invitation to a home break-in by those who would steal to obtain a gun, especially a handgun.

All records of who owns any guns of any kind must be totally closed to all but government officials responsible for law enforcement, and they must have a precisely defined need to know. And all officials with knowledge of names of permit holders must be sworn and held to total secrecy, outside of essential internal government use, forever.

Robert A. Brandon

Creve Coeur

Carter a hero

I take exception to Phil Bolian's comments ("Enough of Carter," March 25). In his post-presidency years, Jimmy Carter has given more of himself to making this world a better place for all mankind than any past president I can think of.

Most just see how much they can sell themselves for on the speakers circuit, while making virtually no constructive impact on anything except their bank accounts.

Linda Reifschneider

Sappington

Reckless defense?

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Now that we have the full story concerning the Lemay "self-defense" shooter, does anyone really think it took seven shots at a teenager armed with a BB gun for this citizen to protect himself--especially since the shots were fired as the "gunman" was running away?

In the process of defending himself, he endangered the lives of everyone who lives in the condo complex, as evidenced by the stray bullet that went through a woman's window and lodged in her bed. She's extremely lucky she wasn't shot and killed.

St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney Robert McCulloch should prosecute this guy for endangering the lives of the public and destruction of private property. What a shame that, to appease the gun obsession of the minority, the citizens of Missouri are no longer safe in their own bedrooms.

Michael Morfeld

St. Charles

## Graphic

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PHOTO; Photo - (former President Jimmy Carter)

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2004



## *Moderate Muslims Seek Foothold in U.S.*

The Forward

June 17, 2005

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**Section:** News; Pg. 7

**Length:** 1536 words

**Byline:** Daniel Treiman

### **Body**

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What happens when you call a mass demonstration and only a few dozen people show up? That's more or less what happened when Free Muslims Against Terrorism organized a Washington rally last month.

The group's founder, Bethlehem-born Kamal Nawash, had hoped that the May 14 rally would send "a very clear message to the Arab and Muslim world that we don't support this madness, we don't support the use of terror." But, according to The Washington Times, the rally only drew about 50 people.

Nawash's outfit is just one group in an increasingly crowded field of new American Muslim organizations that call themselves "moderate," "pluralist" or "progressive." A number have sprung up since the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks - many in the past year - and are now working to find a foothold on the American Muslim scene. Some are stressing the need to condemn terrorism, while others are more focused on pressing internal religious reforms. Several of the new groups are reaching out to the Jewish community, a development that stands in stark relief against the backdrop of long-standing hostility between established American Jewish and Muslim organizations.

Leaders of the new groups bill them as alternatives to the established national Muslim organizations, to which they give various criticisms such as out of touch, overly conservative and even extremist. Some echo the criticisms made by Jewish organizations, which often have had a hostile relationship to the existing Muslim groups, accusing them of being cozy with anti-Israel extremists or of failing to condemn Palestinian terrorism.

While their rhetoric is impassioned, it remains to be seen how large a constituency any of these new groups represents - or whether they have any grass-roots appeal whatsoever. None yet have the capacity, nor necessarily the ambition, to take on the work that more established groups, such as the widely criticized Council on American-Islamic Relations, do on public policy, civil liberties and anti-defamation issues - work that observers say has won the established groups respect in the larger American Muslim community. And while these new Muslim groups share a professed commitment to pluralism, moderation and communal critique, some of their leaders are sniping at each other already.

The Progressive Muslim Union of North America, started last fall by several veteran community activists, is already causing a stir with its liberal religious and political orientation. But it still has no paid staff. That lack of organizational infrastructure is about the only thing it has in common with the Washington-based Center for Islamic Pluralism, launched in March by Stephen Schwartz, a journalist who writes on Islamic extremism for conservative media outlets such as The Weekly Standard. Schwartz, the author of "The Two Faces of Islam: The House of Sa'ud From

## Moderate Muslims Seek Foothold in U.S.

Tradition to Terror," is set to address next week's Washington gathering of the Zionist Organization of America, a group that fiercely opposes Israeli concessions to the Palestinians (see accompanying story).

Schwartz, who embraced the mystical Sufi stream of Islam while working as a journalist in war-torn Bosnia during the 1990s, is an outspoken critic of what he describes as the domination of American Muslim institutions by the Saudi-supported Wahhabi stream of Islam.

Schwartz and Free Muslims Against Terrorism's Nawash already have come under attack by the the PMU's pugnacious vice-chair, Hussein Ibish, who called them "malevolent figures" in a recent article he penned for a Muslim Web site.

Ibish told the Forward that, unlike Schwartz's and Nawash's groups, the PMU is "an authentic grass-roots effort." He also criticized Schwartz's relationship to scholar Daniel Pipes, a hawkish Jewish scholar whom Muslim groups have accused of being anti-Islam. Pipes has insisted he is a critic of extremism and not of Islam in general.

"The so-called Center for Islamic Pluralism is basically a creature of Daniel Pipes," Ibish said.

Schwartz was equally eager to attack Ibish, who previously worked as the communications director for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee. "No organization that has Hussein Ibish involved in it at all could be called progressive or Muslim," Schwartz said. He said that Pipes's Middle East Forum had agreed to allow his center to use its nonprofit certification while its own was pending but that ultimately no money was raised though the forum. And Schwartz vehemently rejected Ibish's assertion that Pipes was responsible for his center's founding. "It was conceived by me alone, and all of the organizational work has been done by me alone," he said.

Ahmed al-Rahim, a founder of the Boston-based American Islamic Congress, attributed the infighting to the different political orientations of the new organizations, as well as to the greater willingness of some to speak out against the established Muslim groups. Still, he said, "any group that condemns violence, that is trying to be part of the American mainstream - forget Muslim American, just being American - I think is a good thing."

Started by a handful of Muslim intellectuals after the September 11 attacks, the American Islamic Congress has maintained a low domestic profile after an initial burst of publicity. The group, with several Iraqi American leaders, shifted its focus after the American invasion of Iraq to education and women's empowerment projects in that country. Now, however, the congress is beginning to turn its attention back to domestic issues with initiatives on hate crimes.

The Iraqi Shiite head of the American Islamic Congress, Zainab Al-Suwaij, was a vocal supporter of the Iraq War and spoke at the 2004 Republican National Convention. In contrast, the PMU's leaders include fierce critics of U.S. foreign policy and American support for Israel.

The new groups also differ in the nature of their critiques of the established Muslim community. Schwartz, Nawash and al-Rahim have been full throated in their respective criticisms of established Muslim groups. In a November 2003 lecture, al-Rahim accused established Muslim groups of promoting hate against America, Jews, Christians and Hindus.

The PMU, for its part, is arguably the ground-breaking of the new groups in its religious and social stances. Last month it co-sponsored a historic woman-led Islamic Friday prayer session, an event that sparked debate throughout the Muslim world and drew harsh condemnations from some overseas clerics. It recently launched a new initiative to encourage more women-led prayer sessions. But some of its leaders - while eager to attack Schwartz - are more restrained in their criticisms of established Muslim groups.

"At PMU we want to challenge the mainstream groups, and we want to provide an alternative to their discourse," Ibish said. "We have a different, much less conservative take on religion and society, but we're not going to gain advantage, lie and say that the mainstream groups are supporters of terrorism when we know, and they know, and I dare say pretty well everyone knows that really they're not."

## Moderate Muslims Seek Foothold in U.S.

Presented with the example of the American Muslim Council's founder, Abdurahman Alamoudi, a self-declared supporter of ***Hamas*** and Hezbollah who was sentenced in 2004 to 23 years in prison in connection with a terrorism-financing case, Ibish backtracked. "Obviously there are a lot of people in the community who have come to realize that some of the attitudes that existed in the leadership and the groups that were established in the early 1990s is not sufficient and sometimes, as in the case of Alamoudi, it could be disastrous," he said.

While they disagree with each other on several fronts, the new groups seem to be of one mind in their willingness to work with Jewish organizations.

The American Islamic Congress's statement of principles calls for a negotiated settlement to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and specifically extends a "hand of friendship" to the Jewish community. The congress seems to echo many supporters of Israel when it calls for "a proportional focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, in the greater context of problems that Muslims and Arabs face in their individual countries." The group joined the Anti-Defamation League in co-sponsoring a 2003 memorial service for slain journalist Daniel Pearl, and now the two organizations are working on an initiative to improve hate-crimes reporting in Massachusetts.

Even the PMU, despite having a board that includes outspoken critics of Israel, has demonstrated an eagerness to engage Jews.

On a Web site he edits, the PMU's executive director, Ahmed Nassef, inaugurated a regular feature called "Hug a Jew" as a rejoinder to antisemitism. Some skeptics have noted that the list of honorees consists largely of fierce foes of Israel, such as far-left scholars Noam Chomsky and Norman Finkelstein. But Nassef also has reached out to mainstream elements of the Jewish community.

Nassef was criticized by some Muslims for speaking at a policy conference sponsored by Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life. In response to critics, he wrote that Muslims cannot rule out talking with the "99.5% of American Jews" who support Israel's existence.

## Graphic

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IMAGE

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

## THE WEEK

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

July 17, 2004 Saturday

First Edition

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### **Body**

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#### WHAT TO SAY ABOUT: WARNEY

Ah, the ability of cricket to bring a nation together. In the week when the Sultan of Spin, The Sheik of Tweak, the Battler from Black Rock - Shane Warne - joined Sri Lanka's Muttiah Muralitharan as the greatest wicket-taker in Test history we find that Mark Latham and John Howard agree on one thing.

In an interview with Inside Sport Latham backed the PM's considered view that Murali was a chucker. "If I was an umpire at square leg I'd be no-balling him a fair bit," he said.

Thankfully Warney made no reference to his rival's action after he equalled the record of 527 wickets in Cairns on the last day of the Test match against Sri Lanka.

But he did tell Malcolm Conn, The Australian's chief cricket writer, about the hard road he has to hoe to keep up with the dastardly Sri Lankans: "The champion leg-spinner pointed out that Sri Lankan pitches were shamelessly doctored to suit Murali, that he bowled half the team's overs and more than 100 of his wickets were taken against Test weaklings Zimbabwe and Bangladesh."

Conn also wrote: "Warne did not say that Murali had been banned from bowling his doosra lest he suffer the fate of his vice-captain Adam Gilchrist and be punished by officialdom for telling the truth about Murali's dodgy action."

After this damning of Murali with faint praise Warney appeared surprised that people might think he and the Sri Lankan were feuding.

In The Age, Mathew Murphy reported: "Shane Warne arrived in Melbourne today playing down a feud with Muralitharan: '[The media] are saying there's a feud between us, [but] Murali and I get along fine. I've said what I've said and he's said what he's said, it doesn't mean we don't get along. We get along fine.'" Silly us.

Home-town paper the Herald-Sun maintained the rage: "The man they call Hollywood correctly points out that his wickets were taken on every type of pitch around the world and against first-class opposition.

"Murali, on the other hand, has taken many of his 527 wickets against teams such as Bangladesh and Zimbabwe and on home pitches that are a spinner's dream."

## THE WEEK

The Herald-Sun omitted the fact that Australia played Bangladesh last year but Warney was a no-show because ... oh, that's right, he had been outed for a year after failing a drug test. Hardly Murali's fault.

The Age thought his remarks were "ungracious" but went on to congratulate Warney.

It was left to Frank Wilkinson, of The Entrance, to put the record into perspective. In a letter to the Herald he said : "Bill O'Reilly played 27 Tests from 1931-45 and took 144 wickets, an average of 5.33 wickets per match. If he had played the same number of Tests as Warne he would have 634 wickets.

"Clarrie Grimmett played 37 Tests and took 216 wickets. If he had played the same number of Tests as Warne he would have 693 wickets. I rest my case." And so do we.

Alan Kennedy

## EDITORIALS

## GIBRALTAR CHRONICLE

## Deeply rooted ties

The entire range of commentary coming from Spain on the visit by the Princess Royal seems to have been contrived to create the impression of a last-minute move by Britain designed to poke Madrid in the eye. In reality plans for a royal visit were substantially advanced in 2003. That the event serves to highlight the failure of the Anglo-Spanish process over Gibraltar is undoubtedly true. But Spain needs to understand that the relationship between Gibraltarians and the British monarchy is deep rooted. Gibraltar, July 12

## KATHIMERINI

## Chain of errors

Yesterday's general blackout was not due to a lack of power but to mistaken calculations in the management of the system of high-tension wires. So we are talking about a chain of errors that meant available power did not reach the consumer on a day when demand was expected to be at its height: the first working day during a heatwave. The incident shows that in Greece we are capable of the best and the worst. It is perhaps positive that the blackout happened in the run-up to the Games, as long as it is a lesson in how things should be done. Athens, July 14

## THE BOSTON GLOBE

## Hands off the constitution

A majority of senators - including John Kerry and John Edwards, as well as several Republicans - [were] prepared to vote against amending the constitution to restrict individual rights for the first time. This is especially laudable considering the political tinge the Bush Administration has given the issue, with the President supporting the amendment [to ban gay marriage]. Even Americans who oppose gay marriage - a majority in most polls - don't think the constitution should be tampered with to ban it. Boston, July 14

## AL AHRAM

## Arab media's crime

Last week The New York Times published a series of articles in which the editors conceded that their support for the war on Iraq was a mistake. The Arab media should concede the crime they have committed against the Iraqi people: the long silence vis a vis the practices of the former Iraqi regime. The silence was a perpetual crime committed by the Arab media which tend to go out of their way to appease not only the regime under which they operate but every other Arab government as well. The overriding viewpoint in the Arab media is that an objective treatment of issues will undermine inter-Arab relations. Cairo, July 8-14

## THE WEEK

## THE FALLOUT

Culture wars: Vietnam's first Pop Idol-style competition, launched last weekend, has unsettled the authorities. The program's makers have been rebuked by the Ministry of Culture for selecting judges whose comments deviated from the ruling Communist Party's principles of "building and developing Vietnam's culture into an advanced culture imbued with national identities".

Roo on the run: An escaped kangaroo has been on the hop in Germany's Bavaria region for weeks. Heidi broke out of her enclosure near Eggenfelden, east of Munich, three weeks ago. She left behind a lovesick male kangaroo, Hermann the German, who has refused to eat properly since his Heidi escaped.

Free speech: Trespassing charges against two people who wore anti-Bush T-shirts to the President's July 4 rally at the West Virginia Capitol were dropped because a city law did not cover trespassing on state grounds. Nicole and Jeff Rank were removed after taking off an outer layer of clothes to reveal T-shirts that had Bush's name with a slash through it and "Love America, Hate Bush" on the back.

Keep your shirts off: ***Female*** German politicians have tabled a motion demanding footballers be allowed to show their bodies without getting a yellow card. Portuguese star Cristiano Ronaldo was booked for whipping off his shirt during Euro 2004. The referee said it was "unsportsmanlike conduct".

## QUOTES

Only the British can manage inquiries like this that admit to errors that absolutely no one committed.

An editorial in Arab News commenting on the Butler Inquiry.

I have to accept, as the months have passed, it seems increasingly clear that at the time of invasion, Saddam did not have stockpiles of chemical or biological weapons ready to deploy.

British PM Tony Blair.

We owe it to our Australian friends, they have been with us through thick and thin, and this is our way of saying, "Thanks, mates."

Dana Rohrabacher, a Californian Republican, during the free trade agreement debate in the US Congress.

I don't believe the shark should be killed just for the sake of what happened. I don't think he can be revenged by killing the shark.

Stephen Smith, whose brother Bradley was killed by sharks in Western Australia last week, speaking out against the shark hunt that followed.

Law is a very gentle profession compared to politics.

Senator Helen Coonan on her elevation to the communications portfolio.

I feel like I could break another record. I'm not quitting any time soon. As long as I can get up in the morning I will run and walk.

Philip Rabinowitz of South Africa, who this week became the world's fastest 100-year-old when he broke the record for centenarian sprinting by clocking 30.86 seconds over 100 metres.

The career of David Kemp is somewhere between a plastic bag and a chainsaw.

Australian Greens leader Bob Brown on the performance of outgoing Environment Minister, David Kemp.

I have been trying to rebuild my life. I guess people don't realise that I am not trying to drag out my "15 minutes", but I did get interrupted for a while.

## THE WEEK

Monica Lewinsky.

## THE WALL WORLDS APART

Aaron Klein

Israel Insider, July 13

The United Nations has outdone itself again. In an almost unanimous decision, the International Court of Justice ruled that Israel's security fence, credited by even Hamas with keeping suicide bombers out, violates international law and must be dismantled. But to all the Israeli and American Jewish leaders throwing a hissy fit about the crazy court ruling, I say, calm down. The only thing The Hague accomplished was to affirm to the civilised world that its court, like the UN itself, cannot be taken seriously when it comes to Middle East issues.

Janine Zacharia

Jerusalem Post, July 15

The House of Representatives has passed a resolution 361-45 deploring the UN General Assembly's "misuse" of the International Court of Justice at The Hague, which last week advised Israel to tear down its security fence after the UN body referred the question of the barrier's legality to the court.

Editorial

Daily Star, Lebanon, July 14

The International Court of Justice's ruling that the West Bank separation wall is illegal was a landmark decision the Palestinians must now capitalise on. The Palestinians, however, seem to be dormant diplomatically. It is often overlooked that the 56-year-old conflict has been a diplomatic, albeit bloody, struggle and this is where efforts to resolve it should be made. If there was a time for Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation to get involved in serious diplomacy, it is now.

Editorial

Mmegi Gaborone, Botswana, July 14

The response of Israel and its chief ally - the United States - to last week's ruling of the International Court of Justice was very predictable. True to form, Israel's hawkish Prime Minister, Ariel Sharon, boasted that his country would continue building the West Bank separation barrier despite the ruling that the wall must be brought down. With such powerful backers, is it any wonder that Israel continues to flout all the UN Security Council resolutions that call for the Jewish state's withdrawal from the Palestinian land? As usual, where American interest is concerned, there is a set of rules for America and its friends, and another set for the rest of the world.

## HOUSING PRICE SETBACK

John Garnaut

The Sydney Morning Herald, July 16

The Reserve Bank has confirmed Sydney house and apartment prices fell over the first half of this year, paving the way for stable interest rates until the federal election. New preliminary data in the bank's monthly bulletin - its most authoritative analysis of the market to date - showed Sydney and Melbourne prices fell in the March quarter, and probably fell more in the three months to June. It rejected speculation that the market had regained steam after cooling during summer.

David Uren

## THE WEEK

The Australian, July 16

House prices have not fallen as far, or as fast, as the Reserve Bank earlier suggested and may have recovered during the past three months. The Reserve's latest monthly bulletin, released yesterday, included heavily revised figures from the consulting firm it has contracted to provide information on house prices. Whereas its May monetary policy statement suggested house prices may have dropped by 8.4 per cent in the March quarter, yesterday's bulletin cited Australian Property Monitors figures of just 2.4 per cent.

Lisa Pryor

The Sydney Morning Herald, July 13

Tax breaks for property owners need to be slashed if the housing affordability problem is to be fixed, academics have warned. They say grants for first home buyers do not help enough. Perks for investors - such as negative gearing - were "excessively generous" and escalated the cost of housing rather than making it cheaper for renters, said Neil Warren, an associate director of the Australian Taxation Studies program at the University of NSW. "All this tax advantage gets capitalised. In other words it's built into the price of the owner-occupied home. It's built into property investments."

Editorial

The Age, July 12

Tax breaks have encouraged private investors to buy housing, which has contributed to the upward spiral in prices and to the difficulty of low-income earners making their own down payment on a property. But given that most people own their own home and have therefore benefited from the recent bonanza, the major parties have little to gain, politically, from changing the rules. On the other hand, continuing with the status quo is likely to entrench existing divisions. Last week, the Opposition Leader, Mark Latham, said a Labor government would provide \$400 million on public housing to ease the "housing crisis". While this investment is welcome, it does not tackle the underlying problem. According to the Reserve Bank, 40 cents in every dollar lent for housing goes to investors. Those who can have made profits, but the result is a less equal Australia.

THE NATION

QUEENSLAND

Backing for swim coach

The Attorney-General, Rod Welford, has said a NSW review of the child-sex abuse claims involving Scott Volkens had "cured" the controversy. Mr Welford said "whatever reservations one may have held about that process, it has, in effect, been cured by subsequent reviews, including the NSW assessment". The review by the NSW Director of Public Prosecutions, Nicholas Cowdery, QC, and one of his senior prosecutor, Margaret Cunneen, has been condemned by experts in sexual abuse, law, medicine and psychiatry for being basically wrong.

NORTHERN TERRITORY

Feral tenants

A Territory Housing worker says she has been threatened with a knife and a pitbull terrier by public housing tenants. The woman, who did not want to be named, said a tenant threatened to dismember her because she left a business card on the door. A CLP spokesman, Denis Burke, said that Territory Housing was a breeding ground for gangs.

NSW

Sober decision



## THE WEEK

A product that promises to get people drunk 10 times faster without a hangover or calories has been banned by NSW. Billed as the "ultimate party toy", alcoholic vapour has been a hit in London. But the NSW Gaming Minister, Grant McBride, said AWOL - alcohol without liquid - sends an irresponsible message about alcohol consumption.

## VICTORIA

## Compensation claim

Construction giant Leighton Holdings is expected to seek millions of dollars in compensation from taxpayers over the troubled Spencer Street Station project, pictured. It says State Government inaction has led to delays and cost blow-outs. Leighton Holdings' chief executive, Wal King, said the Government had breached its guidelines by treating the partnership as a "master-slave relationship".

## ACT

## Students bypass the capital

Tertiary students are choosing not to study in Canberra because of a shortage of affordable housing, a working party set up to tackle the ACT's student accommodation crisis has learnt. The working party has identified difficulty in finding affordable housing as one of the major deterrents for interstate students coming to Canberra.

## SOUTH AUSTRALIA

## Let's hear it for science

Scientists will have a "catalyst" to voice their issues to the media, politicians, big business and educators, the Science Minister, Trish White, has said. Project Catalyst is based on a science media centre in London and the Government will hire a science communicator for the next 12 months to promote science and its issues to the community.

## TASMANIA

## Cable car plan up in the air

The architect of Mt Wellington's cable car plan says his revised project should not cause the furore that killed it almost 10 years ago. A Hobart engineer, Tim Burbury, says advances in cable car technology and the list of community concerns have resulted in a different project this time. However, a South Hobart resident, Ted Cutlan, who led the campaign that stopped the 1995 project, says he's prepared to do it again.

## WESTERN AUSTRALIA

## Brothers move out

The Christian Brothers order will pull out of all its WA schools after receiving a directive from its international head that it should no longer be involved in education in Australia. The West Australian reports that the Christian Brothers deputy province leader for WA, Brother Dean McGlaughlin, admitted that cases of sexual and physical abuse in Christian Brothers' orphanages in the 1950s and '60s might have influenced the decision.

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2007

## 1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

DEFENSE and SECURITY (Russia)

March 16, 2005, Wednesday

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**Section:** TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

**Length:** 1579 words

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### **Body**

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Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice is getting a special gift for March 8, International Women's Day. At least, her gallant counterpart, Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov, has definitely prepared something for her: a collection of recorded Russian television programs. Firstly, Rice the Russia specialist could always do with some help in keeping up her knowledge of the Russian language. Secondly, it's just a nice thought. Then again, there are no coincidences in big-time diplomacy. The US State Department recently released another report on the state of democracy around the world; this contained harsh criticism of Russia's policies, especially those related to media freedom. Foreign Minister Lavrov has chosen to provide some evidence for his counter-arguments: the recordings include some "seditious quotes" from Russian television programs - in Lavrov's view, these refute the State Department's conclusions.

Russia's foreign policy seems to have taken on a new style, and to all appearances, other countries are responding well. The essence of it is simple: all ideology aside, resolving serious regional problems has to be based on a mutual awareness that in many cases, excluding Russia would make solutions extremely difficult to achieve. This observation is supported by the talks Lavrov held last week in Luxembourg with the European Union's "top three," and a meeting of the international "quartet" in London at a conference on the Middle East. These meetings showed that Russia's deck of cards has enough aces to succeed in this foreign policy game.

Itogi, No. 10, March 7-13, 2005, p. 30

Negotiations between Russia and the European Union in Luxembourg frustrated some observers, who expected a serious debate between European officials and their counterparts from Russia: first of all, about the policy of Russia in the CIS, Russian-Iranian nuclear agreement and Russia's armament supplies to Syria. Contrary to expectations the parties were in a perfect mood being obviously happy with each other. No objections to supplies of Russia's fuel for nuclear reactors of the Iranian nuclear power station in Bushehr were heard in Luxembourg. (According to our sources, there were no such objections from Condoleezza Rice either. The publicity stunt of certain US Congress members regarding this contract is a different story, having nothing to do with big-time politics.)

The West cannot do without Russia in solving the problems of the so-called Greater Middle East, from which terrorist threats for the whole world originate. We need to say that Moscow uses this interest of the partners very successfully. Along with this, Middle Eastern regulation costs Russia relatively cheap, unlike for the West.

In London representatives of 23 countries discussed assistance to the new Palestinian authorities. As a result, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas undertook written obligations to accelerate economic reforms and to ensure control over situation in Gaza and in the Western Bank of Jordan after withdrawal of Israeli forces from there.

### 1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

International community sick and tired of these quarrels, undertook allocation of \$1 billion for this purpose and comprehensive support to Abbas. Among the main sponsors are the US, which has promised \$350 million, and the European Union, which has promised \$300 million. Russia's contribution is writing off of the debt of the Palestinian Embassy in Moscow (\$1 million), construction of two schools on the Western Bank of Jordan, training and equipment of Palestinian security agencies and arrangement of practice of Palestinian diplomats in Russian higher educational institutions. The issues of participation of Russian companies in economic reanimation of Palestinian territories and restarting of armament supplies to Palestinians were not settled yet.

It is especially interesting that despite such a low budget of Middle Eastern diplomacy Moscow manages to remain in the supreme league of the peacekeepers. The meeting of the "quartet" of international intermediaries was remarkable in this respect. This meeting buried the rumors about the quick death of the tool created according to Russia's initiative together with its "road map," that is the plan of Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation approved by the parties of the conflict, which had not started working yet. For example, many observers presumed that the new US Administration would take the regulation under its personal guardianship and everything would end with separation of Israel from Palestinians done at its own discretion. In any case, this did not happen. The Iraqi experience obviously did not pass unnoticed for the US. The Peacekeepers confirmed that the "road map" remained the only compass for regulation and the "quartet" remained its main curator. It is the "quartet" that will command the work of the international group of assistance to the Palestinian Autonomy and Israel in security and under its control there will be transition to fulfillment of all provisions of the "road map" (its essence being creation of independent and democratic Palestine peacefully neighboring Israel). Moreover, all participants of the conference agreed that the "quartet" was needed today as it had never been before, partially because it represented Russia enjoying confidence of both Arabs and Israelis.

For Russia, such a turn of events is extremely important. A mechanism is being started in the framework of which it has not only unique intermediary opportunities but also a good possibility and good chances to strengthen its positions, primarily economic ones, in the Middle East.

#### Syrian gambit

Syria became the anti-hero of the day. The Anglo-Saxons accused it of all mortal sins from patronage of terrorists to involvement into the murder of former Prime Minister of Lebanon Rafik Hariri and a recent bombing in Tel Aviv. British Prime Minister Tony Blair announced that Syria had the last chance left to obey demands of the international community: to close offices of the terrorist organizations HAMAS and Islamic Jihad in Damascus, to disarm Hezbollah based in Lebanon (Syrian troops are stationed there) and to withdraw troops from Lebanon. Incidentally, it was very funny to hear the calls to close offices of the radical from Blair because there were more than enough of such offices in London.

This way or the other, clouds are rapidly growing thicker above Syria and friendship of Moscow with Damascus against the background of growing accusations of Syria from the main partners of Russia in the antiterrorist coalition look, to put this mild, ambiguous. For example, this is the recent generosity of Russia that wrote off the major part of the Syrian debt to it and decided to sell Strelets close-range air defense missile systems to Syria.

Is it possible that such promotion of Russia's interests harms the cause of peace in the region, international antiterrorist operation and the image of Russia? Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Saltanov told us that in general, Russia prefers to take accusations addressed to any country with reservations as long as there is no convincing evidence. The visit of the Syrian President to Russia and his talks with President Putin demonstrated "presence of a serious positive potential in Damascus that needs to be demanded and used in the interests of common goals of the international community regarding achievement of strong peace."

According to Saltanov, decisions on developing military technology cooperation with any particular country are made in Moscow by "very responsible people" who would never transgress certain borders. First of all, Russia develops any military technology cooperation on the basis of stringent observance of the voluntarily undertaken international obligations regarding limitation of supplies of certain kinds of weapons. With regard to Middle East, armament supplies there do not lead to breaking of the current configuration of forces (there is no balance there

## 1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

and indisputable advantage belongs to Israel). Besides, signing such deals Moscow always takes care that they did not exceed the limits of necessary defense and were not excessive. Finally, last but not least: the Russian authorities will never supply weapons, technologies or dual-use equipment that might be used against Russia's national interests. For example, the Strelets is a stationary air defense missile system, not a portable one. As to the limitations on sale of portable air defense missile systems on which Russia agreed with America in the framework of joint efforts for combating terrorism, Moscow observes them.

We remember how very experienced expert on Middle East Yevgeny Primakov kept repeating: we should not drive to the corner countries with a not irreproachable reputation, infuriating them by sanctions and psychological pressurizing. This only creates additional and more complicated problems: when such regimes have nothing to lose they grow extremely dangerous. It is necessary to develop normal relations with them involving them into a civilized search for compromise solutions. The Russian Foreign Ministry obviously remembers this advice well. Primarily due to such tactics, Russia managed to claim one of the main roles in Mideast peacekeeping: the role of "good cop" for the Arabs. The absence of this would make it very difficult for the international community to solve regional problems. It seems that Europe and the United States now understand this.

Translated by Pavel Pushkin

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## 1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

What the Papers Say. Part A (Russia)

March 14, 2005, Monday

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### **Body**

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Negotiations between Russia and the European Union in Luxembourg frustrated some observers, who expected a serious debate between European officials and their counterparts from Russia: first of all, about the policy of Russia in the CIS, Russian-Iranian nuclear agreement and Russia's armament supplies to Syria. Contrary to expectations the parties were in a perfect mood being obviously happy with each other. No objections to supplies of Russia's fuel for nuclear reactors of the Iranian nuclear power station in Bushehr were heard in Luxembourg. (According to our sources, there were no such objections from Condoleezza Rice either. The publicity stunt of certain US Congress members regarding this contract is a different story, having nothing to do with big-time politics.)

The West cannot do without Russia in solving the problems of the so-called Greater Middle East, from which terrorist threats for the whole world originate. We need to say that Moscow uses this interest of the partners very successfully. Along with this, Middle Eastern regulation costs Russia relatively cheap, unlike for the West.

In London representatives of 23 countries discussed assistance to the new Palestinian authorities. As a result, Palestinian President Mahmud Abbas undertook written obligations to accelerate economic reforms and to ensure control over situation in Gaza and in the Western Bank of Jordan after withdrawal of Israeli forces from there. International community sick and tired of these quarrels, undertook allocation of \$1 billion for this purpose and comprehensive support to Abbas. Among the main sponsors are the US, which has promised \$350 million, and the

## 1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

European Union, which has promised \$300 million. Russia's contribution is writing off of the debt of the Palestinian Embassy in Moscow (\$1 million), construction of two schools on the Western Bank of Jordan, training and equipment of Palestinian security agencies and arrangement of practice of Palestinian diplomats in Russian higher educational institutions. The issues of participation of Russian companies in economic reanimation of Palestinian territories and restarting of armament supplies to Palestinians were not settled yet.

It is especially interesting that despite such a low budget of Middle Eastern diplomacy Moscow manages to remain in the supreme league of the peacekeepers. The meeting of the "quartet" of international intermediaries was remarkable in this respect. This meeting buried the rumors about the quick death of the tool created according to Russia's initiative together with its "road map," that is the plan of Palestinian-Israeli reconciliation approved by the parties of the conflict, which had not started working yet. For example, many observers presumed that the new US Administration would take the regulation under its personal guardianship and everything would end with separation of Israel from Palestinians done at its own discretion. In any case, this did not happen. The Iraqi experience obviously did not pass unnoticed for the US. The Peacekeepers confirmed that the "road map" remained the only compass for regulation and the "quartet" remained its main curator. It is the "quartet" that will command the work of the international group of assistance to the Palestinian Autonomy and Israel in security and under its control there will be transition to fulfillment of all provisions of the "road map" (its essence being creation of independent and democratic Palestine peacefully neighboring Israel). Moreover, all participants of the conference agreed that the "quartet" was needed today as it had never been before, partially because it represented Russia enjoying confidence of both Arabs and Israelis.

For Russia, such a turn of events is extremely important. A mechanism is being started in the framework of which it has not only unique intermediary opportunities but also a good possibility and good chances to strengthen its positions, primarily economic ones, in the Middle East.

#### Syrian gambit

Syria became the anti-hero of the day. The Anglo-Saxons accused it of all mortal sins from patronage of terrorists to involvement into the murder of former Prime Minister of Lebanon Rafik Hariri and a recent bombing in Tel Aviv. British Prime Minister Tony Blair announced that Syria had the last chance left to obey demands of the international community: to close offices of the terrorist organizations HAMAS and Islamic Jihad in Damascus, to disarm Hezbollah based in Lebanon (Syrian troops are stationed there) and to withdraw troops from Lebanon. Incidentally, it was very funny to hear the calls to close offices of the radical from Blair because there were more than enough of such offices in London.

This way or the other, clouds are rapidly growing thicker above Syria and friendship of Moscow with Damascus against the background of growing accusations of Syria from the main partners of Russia in the antiterrorist coalition look, to put this mild, ambiguous. For example, this is the recent generosity of Russia that wrote off the major part of the Syrian debt to it and decided to sell Strelets close-range air defense missile systems to Syria.

Is it possible that such promotion of Russia's interests harms the cause of peace in the region, international antiterrorist operation and the image of Russia? Deputy Foreign Minister Alexander Saltanov told us that in general, Russia prefers to take accusations addressed to any country with reservations as long as there is no convincing evidence. The visit of the Syrian President to Russia and his talks with President Putin demonstrated "presence of a serious positive potential in Damascus that needs to be demanded and used in the interests of common goals of the international community regarding achievement of strong peace."

According to Saltanov, decisions on developing military technology cooperation with any particular country are made in Moscow by "very responsible people" who would never transgress certain borders. First of all, Russia develops any military technology cooperation on the basis of stringent observance of the voluntarily undertaken international obligations regarding limitation of supplies of certain kinds of weapons. With regard to Middle East, armament supplies there do not lead to breaking of the current configuration of forces (there is no balance there and indisputable advantage belongs to Israel). Besides, signing such deals Moscow always takes care that they did not exceed the limits of necessary defense and were not excessive. Finally, last but not least: the Russian

## 1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

authorities will never supply weapons, technologies or dual-use equipment that might be used against Russia's national interests. For example, the Strelets is a stationary air defense missile system, not a portable one. As to the limitations on sale of portable air defense missile systems on which Russia agreed with America in the framework of joint efforts for combating terrorism, Moscow observes them.

We remember how very experienced expert on Middle East Yevgeny Primakov kept repeating: we should not drive to the corner countries with a not irreproachable reputation, infuriating them by sanctions and psychological pressurizing. This only creates additional and more complicated problems: when such regimes have nothing to lose they grow extremely dangerous. It is necessary to develop normal relations with them involving them into a civilized search for compromise solutions. The Russian Foreign Ministry obviously remembers this advice well. Primarily due to such tactics, Russia managed to claim one of the main roles in Mideast peacekeeping: the role of "good cop" for the Arabs. The absence of this would make it very difficult for the international community to solve regional problems. It seems that Europe and the United States now understand this.

Translated by Pavel Pushkin

**Load-Date:** March 14, 2005

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End of Document

## *The hoped-for handshake*

Guardian.com

February 9, 2005

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**theguardian**

**Length:** 1446 words

**Highlight:** Welcome to the Wrap, Guardian Unlimited's round-up of the best of the day's papers.

### **Body**

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#### THE HOPED-FOR HANDSHAKE

The events of yesterday must have posed the papers with one of those rare dilemmas: Ellen MacArthur's triumphant return to Falmouth, or the hope of peace in the Holy Land? The most common compromise was a picture of the woman we must now call Dame Ellen at the top, with a story on the Israeli-Palestinian summit below. Still, the pictures from Sharm el-Sheikh were no less exciting than those from Falmouth - a handshake between Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas.

It is, in the Guardian's headline, the "handshake .that. halts the violence" and sealed two separate but interlinked declarations from the two leaderships. As the two announced what is effectively a ceasefire, Mr Sharon went further than expected to announce an unqualified end to all Israeli attacks on the Palestinians.

The hope is now that Mr Abbas can persuade **Hamas** and the other Palestinian militants to make permanent their interim truce and announce an end to their war on Israel. From there, the internationally-backed road map to a Palestinian state can be picked up again.

"Hope" - with all its optimistic and fragile meanings - is a word that has been used before about Israeli-Palestinian relations, but there is a feeling that this time it may be different. The FT observes that while "ceasefires in the region have a bad habit of collapsing" this one may stick as it reflects "mutual exhaustion with this round of the decades-long Middle East conflict". Over 4,000 have died in the more than 50 months of fighting.

A lot is also down to Mr Abbas. The Guardian says he called Mr Sharon's bluff when, two weeks after his election, he secured a truce from the militant groups that forced the Israeli prime minister to follow suit or be blamed for thwarting efforts at peace.

The Independent's Robert Fisk is, as can only be expected, more disparaging than other commentators about the summit (he rails against the "fantasy world of Sharm el-Sheikh", he puts "peacemakers" in inverted commas) but points out there is a lot left on the table: the fate of the Israeli settlements, the Palestinian refugees and the other issues that derailed the last peace process. The handshake is only the beginning.

\* Handshake halts the violence



## The hoped-for handshake

- \* Handshake of hope
- \* Ceasefire is first step - but will the chance for peace be grasped?
- \* FT: Sharon and Abbas announce end to violence

## THE DAME WHO DID IT HERSELF

And so to Dame Ellen. As you would imagine, she is everywhere. In the epic feats of Fleet Street, however, the Telegraph is the record holder as it dispatches a commemorative 10-page "Ellen MacArthur: Taking on the World" supplement with the rest of its broadsheet.

The FT finds space not just for Dame Ellen herself but Gerry Murphy, the chief executive of Kingfisher PLC, for sponsoring the unknown sailor in 1998 and now having his two DIY brands - British B&Q and French Castorama - plastered all over the endeavour. Certainly, he has got good value. The boat is called B&Q / Castorama and images of the dual corporate logos are hard to avoid in today's papers.

The Independent has a good piece on this and estimates the brands got GBP75m in free advertising over the last four days of print and airtime, with GBP2m from yesterday morning's saturation television coverage alone. Needless to say, it worked for me: I'll certainly bear the DIY chain in mind next time I'm looking to buy a yacht.

- \* Sun finally shines on MacArthur
- \* FT: MacArthur sponsorship deal proves plain sailing
- \* Independent: Sail of the century

## CAMPBELL TRIPS UP ON BLACKBERRY

The phoney election campaign continues. Today at least, Michael Howard has reason to be pleased - the Telegraph previews Michael Cockerell's biographical film on the Tory leader with the following line: "Critics play on his 'something of the night' Dracula image but a new film reveals that Michael Howard is a former 'dashing' lover who can make light of such slights."

The news is not so good for Alastair Campbell. His accidental email to BBC journalists questioning his involvement with the flying pig campaign posters (dropped after accusations they were anti-Semitic) that they should ".word omitted. off and cover something important you .word omitted." has not lessened his reputation for being abrasive - or persuaded anyone to cover anything but his involvement in the campaign.

The Telegraph seems pleased to have him back: "Like one of those ageing former heavyweight boxing champions, he cannot resist the lure of one more big fight," it says. "Admirers will have been gratified yesterday to read the text of an email showing that, despite a 17-month absence from frontline politics, he has lost none of his aggression.

"That he did not intend to the email to be seen by journalists is largely irrelevant."

The other pre-election news is that, according to the Mirror, Tony Blair has been urged to take advantage of favourable opinion polls and go to the country sooner than the widely-expected May 5. There is also some surprise the Tories want to sue the Times over its article alleging Lynton Crosby, their campaign manager, said the party could not win the next election. "In terms of cretinous things to do in the run-up to an election, is suing a Murdoch newspaper more or less obviously suicidal than, say, Neil Kinnock's Sheffield rally?" asks the Guardian's diary of Conservative Central Office. The answer is politer than Campbell's, but you can't help thinking the sentiment was the same.

- \* Campbell suffers the curse of the Blackberry emailer
- \* Telegraph: Profile portrays Howard as dashing Mr Nice Guy

## The hoped-for handshake

\* Telegraph: Alastair Campbell is back and this time it's personal

\* Mirror: Blair told to call a snap election

## BUSINESS STILL UNDECIDED OVER EU CONSTITUTION

The European constitution referendum was supposed to keep the EU out of the 2005 general election, but stories on the treaty keep cropping up. The FT - more interested than most - publishes a poll suggesting that three quarters of UK business leaders admit to knowing little about the document, but while 49 percent expected to vote no (and 29 percent yes) three quarters of them were open to persuasion.

One of the Guardian's leader columns applauds the foreign secretary, Jack Straw, for yesterday making the kind of strong case for British engagement in the EU that pro-Europeans have long been urging. It says the "rightwing, little England anti-European cause has been allowed to dominate debate for too long .and. it is high time the more optimistic and practical pro-European case was heard more loudly."

The Herald Tribune runs a comment piece on how eurosceptics could push Britain out of the EU. It says an "extraordinary historical shift" would then see Britain retreat to the global sidelines "confused, nationalistic and rather powerless".

MPs will debate legislation that would pave the way for the constitution this afternoon.

\* Straws in the wind

\* FT: UK business leaders undecided by EU treaty

\* IHT: The sceptics could push Britain out of the EU

## SVEN TAKES ENGLAND BACK TO VILLA PARK

Sailing is not just on the front pages, but the back ones too. It hasn't been this way since Great Britain won an Athens gold in the women's Yngling. The more landlubbing sports, however, cruise through and there is much anticipation of tonight's England-Holland friendly at Villa Park.

The Mirror's take is that Sven Goran Eriksson, England's football manager, returns to the ground where he began his tenure still searching for the winning formula.

\* Square pegs for square holes

\* Mirror: Sven needs Villa Spark

## ASTROLOGICAL TIMES

The Times' third leader considers the Chinese Year of the Rooster, which begins today. It is hard to disagree with its assessment that the association of the bird of the dawn call with a fresh start could be a positive message for the world. But when it wishes readers a "rooster-booster" of a year, the Wrap wonders whether it would have done the same when it was a broadsheet.

In a Dame Ellen-esque vein, the Guardian has a look at sponsorship in sport - in particular, the deal made between snooker champion Jimmy White and the manufacturers of HP Brown Sauce. He has not plastered logos on his waistcoat and trousers, nor named his trusty cue after his paymasters. He has, however, changed his name. He will now be competing as Jimmy Brown.

\* Brown is the new White in saucy promotion

## COMING UP ON GUARDIAN UNLIMITED TODAY

## The hoped-for handshake

>>> A car bomb has exploded in Madrid.

>>> A soldier accused of abusing Iraqi prisoners will take the stand for the first time at a court martial in Germany.

>>> A 34-year-old man will appear in court accused of supplying the car used by the Real IRA to plant the Omagh bomb in 1998.

**Load-Date:** May 17, 2005

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***Chistmas Puzzles 2004:***  
***See what you can remember of this hectic and eventful year with the***  
***Morning Star's annual Christmas quiz.***

Morning Star  
December 24, 2004

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**Section:** Pg. 10 11

**Length:** 1353 words

## **Body**

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Q 1 Which EU commssioner's position was Blair crony Peter Mandelson appointed to in July?

Q2What substance is believed to have been behind the poisoning and disfigurement of Ukrainian presidential challenger Viktor Yushchenko?

Q3The recent backbench rebellion over ID cards saw 19 Labour MPs defy the party line. How many rebellions has the Blair government suffered since 1997?

Q4The Lancet medical journal estimates that around 98,000 Iraqi civilians have been killed since last year 's invasion. How many British troops have been killed?

Q5 BBC chairman Gavyn Davies and director general Greg Dyke (below) resigned following the Hutton report into the death of Dr David Kelly. Who replaced them?

Q6 Whose death this year did former Home Secretary David Blunkett say that he felt like cele - brating with a glass of champagne?

Q 7 How much money does Chancellor Gordon Brown claim will be saved by his decision to axe 104,000 civil service jobs?

Q8How much money does the Daily Telegraph have to pay to George Galloway MP in libel damages?

Q9In September two Fathers 4 Justice campaigners staged a protest at Buckingham Palace.

What were the pair dressed as?

Q10 Which MP had to apologise for a racist joke about Chinese cocklers before being allowed back into the Tory fold?

Q 1 1 Which Labour politician branded parents who drive children to school in gas-guzzling 4x4s as "idiots?"

Q12 Coca Cola shelved plans to sell bottled tap water in Britain following revelations of bromate contamination, but what was the name of the product?

Q13 Which right wing US states - man, who had been suffering Alzheimer 's disease for a decade, died in June?

Christmas Puzzles 2004; See what you can remember of this hectic and eventful year with the Morning Star's annual Christmas quiz.

Q14 What was the name of the Hamas leader who was assassinated by the Israeli government this year?

Q15 What was the name of the group set up to rubbish the Vietnam War record of US presidential contender John Kerry?

Q 1 6 What policy was overwhelmingly backed by delegates at this year 's Labour Party conference but instantly rejected by ministers?

Q17 Who quit as leader of the Scottish Socialist Party this year to spend more time with his new child?

Q18 What is the name of the Westminster-based peace protester who irritated former home secretary so much that he is considering changing the law to have him removed?

Q19 Which ban came into effect in the Irish Republic at midnight on March 29?

Q20 What were Ron Davis and Guy Harrison arrested for in the House of Commons?

Q21 Which election-winning foreign political leader turned down the job of prime minister after listening to an "inner voice"?

Q22 Name the US general who was accused by sacked A b u Ghraib prison commander Brigadier General Janis Karpinski of seeking to impose Guantanamo-style interrogation techniques at the notorious jail.

Q23 In which country did former action film star Fernando Poe Jnr make an unsuccessful bid to be elected president?

Q 2 4 Name the top United Nations official whose telephone was reportedly tapped by the Bush administration and the UN agency which he heads.

Q25 For what was Israel found to be acting illegally by the International Court of Justice?

Q26 Which side voted No to a UN-sponsored plan to reunify Cyprus?

Q27 In which country was British old Etonian and former SAS officer Simon Mann jailed for his role in a plot to overthrow Equatorial Guinea's president?

Q28 When US Secretary of State Colin Powell insisted: "He was not kidnapped. We did not force him onto the airplane. He went onto the airplane willingly and that's the truth, " who was he talking about?

Q 2 9 Name the prime minister who won re-election for a fourth consecutive term.

Q30 Which prestigious prize did Michael Moore's anti-Bush docu - mentary Fahrenheit 9/11 at the Cannes film festival?

Q31 What brought a million pro - testers onto the streets of Rome earlier this month?

Q32 Name the right-wing Italian politician whose homophobic and sexist views forced him out of new European Commission president Jose Manuel Barroso' s proposed executive team after MEPs threatened to block the new commission from taking office.

Q33 In which new EU member state were there angry protests by Roma in the run-up to the country joining the EU?

Q34 Name the US serviceman who was court-martialed for desertion over his defection to North Korea in 1965?

Q35 In which breakaway region of Georgia was local leader Aslan Abashidze forced from office following a confrontation with Georgian President Mikhail Saakashvili?

Christmas Puzzles 2004; See what you can remember of this hectic and eventful year with the Morning Star's annual Christmas quiz.

Q36 Which country's president was reinstated by the Constitutional Court after the opposition-controlled parliament had impeached him?

Q 3 7 Name the US former general who made an unsuccessful bid for the Democratic presidential nomination?

Q 3 8 Leaders of which violent separatist group called on it to abandon armed struggle?

Q39 In which tiny Pacific Ocean island did Afghan refugees seeking asylum in Australia end a month-long hunger strike in January?

Q40 Where was this year's World Social Forum held?

Q 4 1 In What position did England's Rugby Union team finish last seasons Six Nations Championship?

Q 4 2 Name the sprinters who won Britain's 4x100m gold medal in Athens.

Q43 What was the final score in Europe's Ryder Cup victory over the US?

Q44 Which Brazilian won the 2004 FIFA player of the year award and who came second?

Q45 Where did Britain come in the medals table at the Athens Olympics?

Q46 Which was the only nation to fall more than Scotland's 32 places in this year's FIFA world rankings?

Q47 Who scored a debut Test century both at home and away for England this year?

Q48 Where was the 2004 British Open Golf tournament held?

Q49 And who was the unfancied winner?

Q50 Who rode North Light to victory in this years Epsom Derby?

Q51 How many premiership teams did Millwall defeat in reaching this year's FA Cup final?

Q52 Name the Cuban boxer who beat 17-year-old Amir Khan for the lightweight gold medal at the summer olympics in Athens?

Q53 Who won this year's Grand National?

Q54 Saint Helens won this year's Rugby League Challenge cup by defeating who?

Q 5 5 Who scored the winning goal for Greece in the Euro 2004 Championships in Portugal?

Q56 How many Formula One World Championships has Michael Schumacher now won?

Q57 Who won the 2004 men's singles final at Wimbledon?

Q58 And which Russian teenager won the women's?

Q59 How many Gold medals did Britain win at the 2004 Paralympic Games in Athens?

Q60 Where did that total place them in the medals table?

Q61 Which band released the album How to Dismantle an Atomic Bomb this year?

Q62 Name the actress who plays Clementine in Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind.

Q63 Who won this year's Turner Prize for art?

Christmas Puzzles 2004; See what you can remember of this hectic and eventful year with the Morning Star's annual Christmas quiz.

Q 6 4 Which London theatre is staging Philip Pullman's His Dark Materials for the second year running?

Q65 Which former Beatle headlined Glastonbury festival this year?

Q66 Which famous writer's birthday centenary was celebrated in October this year?

Q 6 7 Whose journeys around South America was the 2004 film The Motorcycle Diaries based upon (right)?

Q68 Which British rap artist had a hit with Fix Up Look Sharp?

Q69 The animated film Shrek 2 was released in July.

What colour is Shrek?

Q70 What was the title of the Manic Street P r e a c h e r s 2004 album?

Q71 Which hotly tipped new band released their debut album entitled Kasabian this year?

Q72 John Ravenscroft died this year aged 64. Who was he better known as?

Q 7 3 Which quirky TV show recently won the Comedy Prize?

Q74 Which neurotic thirty-some - thing character reappeared in November in the sequel to her 2001 movie?

Q75 Which 2004 film did Morning Star critic Jeff Sawtell rate as "the best British comedy since Monty Python's Life of Brian?"

Q 7 6 Which charming man launched his comeback and hosted London's Meltdown festival this year?

Q77 What was the name of this y e a r 's pantomime at Dundee's Byre theatre?

Q 7 8 There have been three large-scale productions of a Shakespeare tragedy this year.

Name the play.

Q 7 9 Which flamboyant Congolese musician went to court this year, accused of people smuggling?

Q80 Who wrote the expose on the US PR i n d u s t r y Toxic Sludge is Good for You?

**Load-Date:** December 29, 2004

## *Outlook for 2005: Tests to foreign policy loom large*

USA TODAY

January 3, 2005, Monday,

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NEWS;; DEBATE

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### **Body**

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Iraq

Iraq will be the most important subject on American minds for 2005.

It should have been since 2002, when the final plans to enter Iraq were probably being tweaked.

As retired military officers of the Vietnam era, my husband and I were dumbfounded by the apparent naivete of the American public and our leaders. There seemed to be an inexplicable ignorance about war and cultures, about how these things are never that simple and about the realistic limits of American capability. In short, as a country, we seemed to be dumb, arrogant and irresponsible in how we were about to use our power.

It appears that our Congress, news media and citizens bumbled right along with our president's "plan."

At the least, the United States owes the world, particularly the innocent civilians of Iraq, and our military an apology and restitution.

Mary Collier

Beavercreek, Ohio

'Determination and courage'

It is tragic that journalists are sometimes excessively cynical about President Bush's plans for Iraq.

The president's leadership style reflects boldness in military actions against international terrorist threats. The media struggle to offer a comprehensive picture of Bush's effectiveness because current events lead journalists to focus on a small slice of his work. The war in Iraq represents a major challenge to the president's legacy because U.S. soldiers continue to die and the region remains unstable.

Bush's idealism in foreign affairs is sometimes misunderstood as being a source of weakness. Instead, it reflects his determination and courage to rebuild Iraq in the midst of extremely difficult circumstances.

Americans appreciate having political leaders who are visionary and single-minded in their international policies. There are numerous people who do not like our war in Iraq, but the world is a safer place because of our military presence.

Brent Muirhead



## Outlook for 2005: Tests to foreign policy loom large

Alpharetta, Ga.

'Hopes and wishes'

My outlook for 2005 is shaped by my hopes and wishes.

As we embark on a new year in our war in Iraq, I wish that the daily toll in lives, especially those of innocent women and children, declines. I hope the upcoming elections can be held under some semblance of security and legitimacy, and that they will mark the beginning of reconciliation, of law and order, and of peace -- not necessarily of democracy, as we seem to be mandating.

I hope the Iraqis themselves, assisted by a coalition of the truly willing, not the coerced, will be able to maintain their own security and make it possible for our brave but overstretched troops to begin the journey home.

Finally, I hope that our leaders will at long last start leveling with the American people on the true reasons, costs and consequences of this and any other contemplated conflict. I hope that they begin to learn from past mistakes, even if they do not admit to ever making any.

Dorian de Wind

Austin

Middle East

With the passing of Yasser Arafat and the subsequent void in the Palestinian Authority, the Middle East players have the best chance in recent memory to forge ahead with a renewed peace initiative.

I'm very optimistic that new Palestinian leadership will err on the side of wisdom by choosing peaceful negotiations rather than the tools of terrorism.

It will be a decisive year as new moderate leaders attempt to gain peaceful co-existence with the Israelis while dealing with extremist groups within their ranks, such as Hamas and the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade.

The year 2005 will be a "make or break" year for the Middle East. If things go well between the Palestinian Authority and Israel, it could provide the impetus to deal with the bigger reality of worldwide terrorism.

If things do not change and the cycle of violence continues in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, then 2005 will be no different from previous years.

Tensions may initially get worse, but I am optimistic that significant strides to the "road map to peace" will begin in 2005.

Paul Golden

Clarks Summit, Pa.

'Pivotal' time in struggle

The year 2005 will prove to be pivotal in our struggle against terrorism and radicalism in the Middle East.

As numerous independent reports have indicated, U.S. policies toward Iraq and Israel have been extremely unpopular throughout the Middle East and have been a boon to radical groups that capitalize on widespread resentment of the United States to find willing recruits.

The surest way to curb our unpopularity, stabilize Iraq and prevail over terrorism is to broker a fair solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict -- one that satisfies basic Palestinian rights to freedom, statehood and restitution.

## Outlook for 2005: Tests to foreign policy loom large

We must end the double standard we have demonstrated through nearly four decades of financing and condoning Israeli occupation and settlement of Palestinian land.

We must join with the international community and demand that Israel abandon its illegal settlements and wall in the West Bank and work with Palestinians and Arab states to achieve a comprehensive peace.

We cannot afford to continue to allow the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to undermine our efforts to stabilize the region.

The success of our troops in Iraq and the triumph over radical ideologies will depend on our ability to demonstrate to the Arab and Muslim world that freedom and human rights are universal principles that apply equally to Palestinians -- not simply convenient slogans used to advance political interests.

Ken Galal

San Francisco

Great need for peace

Considering the links among terrorism, the Middle East and Iraq, I see a great need for an Israeli-Palestinian resolution.

Should a fair peace, land rights and a reconstruction policy be enacted, much of the wind will come out of the radical Islamists' sails.

Aside from deflating the false charges made by these radicals against the United States, an honest rapprochement of the Israelis and Palestinians with a program for housing, jobs and utilities could spur the disparate ethnic and religious groups in Iraq to cooperate to create a better country.

This would stabilize the oil supply in Iraq and weaken Osama bin Laden's invective against production and supply from Saudi Arabia.

Why not expect Israel to become an honest broker for a more egalitarian society and a supplier of goods, technology and ideas for its neighbors?

Mitchell Bernard

Altavista, Va.

Terrorism

Terrorism will remain the No. 1 concern in the coming year. Everything else will be subject to it.

Just the threat of terrorism affects economies, industries, foreign relations and our personal security. And, sadly, the odds are good that many Americans will die from terrorism in 2005.

Terrorism will be defeated only when those who practice it, and those whom they care for, feel more terror than they convey. Far more international cooperation will be needed to accomplish this. There can be no national, local or family sanctuaries for terrorists.

Until terror's defeat, our way of life and each day we celebrate are opportunities for others to do us harm.

Mel Maurer

Westlake, Ohio

Economy

## Outlook for 2005: Tests to foreign policy loom large

It's the economy that will be most on my mind in 2005. Rising oil prices, the falling dollar, inflation, rising interest rates, declining homes sales, high unemployment, layoffs, salary freezes, the flat or falling stock market, the ever-growing national debt and dwindling Social Security are some aspects of the economy that will keep me tossing at night.

Will I still have a job? Will I be able to afford a house? Will my 401(k) and Social Security be around when I am ready to retire? How high will oil prices and interest rates go? And will Medicare take care of me in my old age?

I have a lot of questions, and I would like action on these issues. They are intertwined in the economic equation that affects all of us. It's the economy -- it's definitely the economy.

Diane E. Alter

Long Branch, N.J.

U.S. Supreme Court

Without a doubt, appointments to the U.S. Supreme Court should be considered the main issue for 2005.

Embryonic stem cell research is going to change the future, leading to better medicines, better treatments and the possibility of generating new organs along with spinal-cord-injury repair.

Whether *Roe vs. Wade* is changed will undoubtedly be a crucial issue for the next appointee.

While not advocating abortion, I do believe in a woman's right to choose. President Bush should realize that abortions will continue, legally or not. ***Women*** facing perhaps the most traumatic decision they'll ever have to make should continue to receive proper medical attention.

And if we, as a society, can help cure such illnesses as Parkinson's disease, diabetes and Lou Gehrig's disease with the use of embryos that would have been discarded, or embryos that will forever be frozen in fertility clinics, then let's take that step into the future.

I only hope that the first person to benefit from stem cells will be the ailing relative of an ultra-conservative right-winger.

Jeff C. Sell

Louisville

## Graphic

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GRAPHICS, B/W (ILLUSTRATION) (5)

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2005

## *Taste Trends: Our columnist peers into the culinary crystal bowl for 2005*

The Calgary Herald (Alberta)

January 12, 2005 Wednesday

Final Edition

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**Length:** 1395 words

**Byline:** Dee Hobsbawn-Smith, Calgary Herald

### **Body**

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Trends are driven by lifestyle and evolution -- in technology, in migratory patterns, whatever influences the planet as a whole. Trends tend to have staying power, and spread organically, like grass. Trendy styles, in contrast, are a flash in the pan; they evolve artificially, "from the top down," and are short-lived because they don't really suit our lifestyles.

In food, trends are influenced by a number of hot topics: consumers' demand for convenience, an increase in ethnic populations, increased interest in gourmet cooking and increased awareness of health and wellness, for both the planet and individual lives. Here's a peek into the culinary crystal bowl to see what lasting trends cooks can expect in the coming year.

#### Convenience

- Gourmet soup, vacuum-packed, dried and canned, has taken several leaps ahead from the red and white label of childhood.
- Pre-cut produce, like diced and sliced onions, showed up at food service trade fairs two years ago, a sure sign that home consumers would be next.
- Home meal replacements (HMRs), aimed at over-achieving double-income families with busy kids, continue to fill supermarket shelves and specialty shops. Caveat emptor.

#### Ethnic Influences

- Asia and the Mediterranean in particular have captured cooks' imaginations.
- Sake, hot and iced, is here to stay. (Chef Tojo of his eponymous Vancouver restaurant and sushi bar, brought his own private reserve sake to Calgary in fall 2004 for a specialty dinner at River Cafe.)
- French food never really went away. Thank you, Julia, thank you, Madeleine, thank you, Escoffier and Careme. The enduring appeal of French cuisine is apparent in the proliferation of bistros that continue to flourish, with paeans to la cuisine bourgeoise: frites, cassoulet, charcuterie, nut oils and infused vinegars.
- Spanish food and ingredients hold the spotlight for many reasons, including the cutting-edge work of El Bulli's brilliant chef, Ferran Adria, hailed as an innovator by Time magazine. Look for Spanish cheeses (Manchego,

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Cabrales, Roncal, Essau Iraty), peppers (piquillos), pepper products (smoked paprika), cured ham (Jamon Serrano or Iberico), varietal olives and olive oils (Arbequina, Hojiblanca or Cornicabra), figs, salted cod and vinegar-cured "white" anchovies.

- Global integration/pan-regionalism means that restaurants offer pan-Asian, pan-Mediterranean, pan-Hispanic/Latin American border-blending menus that still manage to be true to their origins and culture.
- Small plates let us taste some of everything. Hallelujah! Call them tapas, meze, hors d'oeuvres, antipasti or mezethes, but pass them over here to share.
- Garam masala, ras el hanout, Chinese five spice, and other Indian/Asian spice blends add mystique without mess.

## Gourmet

- Specialty salts -- from additive-free kosher to Hawaiian red, with stops in Brittany and England in between for fleur de sel and Maldon sea salts -- are cool.
- Apple and orange varietals, cross-breeds, clones and old-time heirloom varieties, are flooding market baskets by the bushel. Last year, it was Pink Lady apples; this year, look for Honeycrisp. Sweet Meyer lemons, lively Dancy tangerines and knobby-ended Mineola tangelos are top-tree citrus varieties worth noting.
- Oysters, those bivalves from the sea, beloved of Lewis Carroll's walrus and carpenter, are succulent and sexy, with a reputation as aphrodisiacs. And they all taste different, depending on their estuary, bay or cove of origin: salty, sweet or cucumber-like. Hama Hamas or Royal Miyagis from the West Coast, Tatamagouches or Malpeques from the Atlantic, oysters have earned their mystique.
- Taste in cooking methods comes and goes. This year, look for more braised beauties, rich roasts and the indefinable appeal of smoked and grilled meats and vegetables.

## Health and Wellness

- Locally produced food uses up fewer resources to arrive on the market shelf, is fresher, riper and tastier.
- The growth of organic food, with its trackable provenance, is a direct result of the food source scares, including avian flu, BSE and concern over the safety of wild versus farmed fish.
- "Food for wellness" is much more than eating blueberries for their antioxidant value. Now, dieticians are touting the phytochemicals in beans, broccoli and cousins (cauliflower, cabbage, brussels sprouts, and kale). Cancer-fighting vegetables are the dark green leafy ones, like spinach, romaine lettuce. Vitamins C, E, and A are found in oranges, avocados, and apricots. Mom was right: eat your fruits and vegetables.
- Gender vending (his/hers foods) takes aim mostly at women, traditional family shoppers and tenders of the wellness flame. Look for teas for women in various life stages, from pregnant and nursing moms to menopause, as well as soy-supplemented exercise snacks, shakes and smoothies.
- The return of the carb in its whole, natural state, is good news. Expect to see more whole grains on the home front and in restaurants.
- White tea, higher in antioxidants than green tea, is also more expensive. Made from the dried buds of the Chinese-grown tea plant (camellia sinensis), white tea is prized for its high antioxidant levels and delicate, mildly sweet flavour that shows none of the grassy nature of green tea.

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## Recipes

## Taste Trends: Our columnist peers into the culinary crystal bowl for 2005

## Roasted Snapper With Walnut and Coriander Sauce

Based loosely on muhammara, a classic Turkish relish, this spread-cum-sauce has migrated throughout the Mediterranean basin as a garnish for grilled bread, fish, meats, or as a resplendent solo star appetizer.

1/4 lb. (112 g) fresh walnut halves

1/4 cup (60 mL) diced tomato

2 tbsp (25 mL) pomegranate molasses

1 tsp. (5 mL) toasted and ground cumin

1 tbsp (15 mL) honey

1/2 tsp. (2.5 mL) sumac

The juice of 1 lemon

1 garlic clove, minced

1/4 cup (60 mL) extra virgin olive oil

2 tbsp (30 mL) walnut oil

4 tbsp (60 mL) minced cilantro

salt and hot chili flakes to taste

1 lb. (450 g) red snapper fillets

Preheat the oven to 350 degrees F (180 degrees C). Put the walnuts on a baking sheet in a shallow layer and toast the walnuts for 10-15 minutes. Remove from the oven and cool thoroughly, then chop with a knife. Set aside.

Whisk together the tomato and pomegranate molasses, then stir in the cumin, honey, sumac, lemon juice and garlic clove. Add the oils, whisking well. Stir in the cilantro and walnuts. Add the salt and hot chili flakes. Set aside.

Increase the oven temperature to 450 degrees F (230 degrees C). Lay the fish fillets in a single layer on a parchment-lined baking sheet with a lip. Spoon 2-3 tablespoons of the sauce over each piece of fish, spreading thoroughly to cover all surfaces. Put the baking sheet and fish into the oven and roast until the fish is just cooked through, about 10 minutes per inch of thickness. Remove from heat, garnish with additional sauce and serve warm or cold. Serves 4.

## Butter Chicken

My version of this rich Indian classic uses a spice blend (garam masala or ras el hanout), chicken thighs and fresh tomatoes. Don't flinch at the large amount of cream in this dish. Serve with basmati rice, flatbread and lentils.

4 tbsp (60 mL) butter

2 onions, minced

4 cloves garlic, minced

1 tbsp (15 mL) grated ginger root

4 tbsp (60 mL) mild garam masala or ras el hanout

8 boneless chicken thighs, cut into 1" (2.5 cm) cubes

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4 ripe tomatoes, seeded and diced

2 tbsp (30 mL) tomato paste

1 cup (250 mL) water or stock

2 cups (500 mL) whipping cream

Lemon juice to taste

Kosher salt and pepper to taste

2 tbsp (30 mL) minced parsley or cilantro

Melt the butter in a large heavy-bottomed pan. Add the onions and half the garlic, half the ginger and half the garam masala. Cook gently over medium heat until the onions are tender but not browned, about 10 minutes.

Meanwhile, sprinkle the remaining garlic, ginger and garam masala on the chicken pieces and mix thoroughly in a bowl. When the onions are tender, add the chicken.

Stir well and simmer for five minutes. Add the tomatoes, tomato paste, water and cream. Mix well. Partly cover and simmer for 1-2 hours, or until tender, stirring from time to time and adding additional water, stock or cream if the liquid level drops too low. Taste, adjusting the balance with lemon juice, salt and pepper. Garnish with chopped herbs and serve hot. Serves 8 to 10.

## Graphic

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Photo: Calgary Herald Archives; In the next year, expect to drink more sake, above, as Canada's multiculturalism influences our food and drink. Health and wellness, convenience, grains, tapas and white tea are other watchwords in food for 2005.;

Photo: Calgary Herald Archives; (See hard copy for photo description).

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## **Weekend: 2004 THE YEAR IN WORDS**

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### **Body**

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#### JANUARY

A British soldier attempts to secure the area as fire rages on the oil pipeline between Basra in southern Iraq and the Gulf

The New Year began familiarly, with a taped message from Osama Bin Laden and bad news from Iraq, which would continue to dominate the year. Two US helicopters were brought down in the increasingly familiar Falluja, and British troops exchanged fire with insurgents in Amarah; this was accompanied by bomb explosions in Baghdad and numerous dead Iraqis - officially unaccounted for, as usual.

Nor was there much respite to the north, where an earthquake killed some 30,000 people and made another 100,000 homeless in and around the Iranian city of Bam. Ironists and existentialists joined in the rejoicing when a 97-year-old woman was found alive after surviving eight days under the rubble. Her first request was for a cup of tea. Out of this world, there was not so much as a yelp after Beagle 2 landed on Mars.

Tony Blair suggested that proper consideration should be given to the "the totality" of his remarks about whether or not he had authorised the leaking of the name of Dr David Kelly, the government scientist and popular media source on Iraq and weapons of mass destruction. Lord Hutton's report of the totality surrounding Dr Kelly's subsequent suicide confounded many of his lordship's admirers by contriving to blame everyone but Mr Blair and his government, which also survived a Commons vote on its plans to charge university students top-up fees. The governor and the director-general of the BBC resigned. Harold Shipman, the Manchester GP who had murdered at least 200 patients, was found hanged in his prison cell. David Blunkett, the Home Secretary, confided that on hearing the news he had wondered if it was too early to "open a bottle".

Britney Spears got married. The Barclay twins agreed to buy Lord Black's newspapers, which include the Daily and Sunday Telegraph; much of the rest of the year was taken up with negotiations, legal manoeuvrings and insights into the Black way of life, including his wife's habit of charging tips to the company and her ownership of 100 pairs of Manolo Blahnik shoes and 12 Hermes Birkin handbags, for which there is a waiting list of two and a half years. "Since when was greed a criminal offence?" asked Lord Black. An HB handbag was also the chosen arm accessory of Martha Stewart, the upper-middle-American style maven, for her court appearance on fraud charges. One of only 30 Norwegian robins known to have visited Britain since 1919 was eaten by a cat in a London garden. Stone slabs thought to be evidence of the first Viking settlements in Britain turned out to be the remains of a 1939 patio. Britney Spears got unmarried.



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## FEBRUARY

A 63-year-old retired businessman and former French foreign legionnaire from Frome became the oldest man to walk to the South Pole. "I don't give a damn if I never see another fucking snowflake again in my life," he said. Armin Meiwes was found guilty of manslaughter rather than murder after a German court found that his victim had consented to being eaten. At least 21 Chinese cockle pickers drowned after being trapped by Morecambe Bay's capricious tides.

Mel Gibson's film in Aramaic about Christ's Passion aroused much in others. The Russian Orthodox Church ruled that chess was not the work of the devil. Pigeons were revealed to be using roads to navigate: "Every Saturday you can see flocks of pigeons flying up the M5," said one fancier.

Jonathan Aitken declared himself moved, amazed, humbled and hoped he did not seem absurdly immodest in recognising the merits of a petition by 200 party activists urging him to put himself forward as a prospective candidate for his old constituency. After the blood had drained back, Michael Howard declared him a non-runner. A Tokyo undertaker beat his aunt to death with a golf club because he needed the business. Scientists in South Korea were acknowledged to have successfully cloned human embryos. Thousands wept as Microsoft ran into trouble with its new software and the MyDoom virus.

## MARCH

Demonstrations in more than 300 cities marked the first anniversary of the Iraq war. Ten bombs exploded within 15 minutes in four commuter trains in Madrid, killing 201 people and injuring 1,647. A quarter of Spain's population took to the streets to demonstrate against the outrage. Three days later, the country's socialist party defeated the conservative government of Jose Maria Aznar and announced as its first act the withdrawal of its troops from Iraq. Suicide bombers mounted a co-ordinated attack on Shia mosques in Baghdad and Karbala, killing more than 140 people and injuring more than 400. This latest attempt to detonate Iraq's divisions was blamed, like much else, including the Madrid bombs, on the Jordanian militant, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, whose infamy status would over the year come almost to match that of Bin Laden, his ally or rival, depending on the source.

A **Hamas** suicide bombing left 10 dead in Ashdod. Israeli air strikes killed Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the **Hamas** spiritual leader, and Abdel-Aziz al-Rantissi, the **Hamas** leader in Gaza. Tony Blair shook hands with Colonel Gadafi in a tent south of Tripoli.

Clare Short claimed that Britain had bugged Kofi Annan, the UN secretary-general, in the run-up to the war in Iraq. The Cabinet Secretary said he was "extremely disappointed" with her. The Sun sent a reporter dressed as a bug to follow her. "What a ridiculous way to earn a living," said Ms Short. "You could always do something else," said the Sun reporter. It wasn't long before she was.

President Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti flew to the Central African Republic after a revolt and pressure from the United States and France. There were two additions to the Blair myth: Cherie Booth revealed that her husband had once spent a night on a park bench, and Carole Caplin's nickname for him was said to be "Toblerone".

New Britons from Afghanistan, Kenya, Poland and elsewhere took part in the country's first citizenship ceremony at Brent Town Hall, watched by the Prince of Wales, while a brass band played the theme from Four Weddings And A Funeral. The editor of Prospect magazine argued against too much cultural diversity. A molecular biologist revealed he had given it up for a better paid job as a plumber. Coca-Cola conceded that Dasani, its new bottled water, came out of taps in Sidcup. John F Kerry confirmed his position as Democrat challenger to George W Bush in the Super Tuesday primaries. One of only 12 American robins known to have visited this country was eaten by a sparrowhawk in Grimsby soon after landing.

Lord Falconer found himself appointed Lord Chancellor after he tried to persuade the Lords to abolish the post of Lord Chancellor. In an interview with Gary Younge, Jayson Blair, former New York Times journalist, blamed his lying and inaccuracies on drink and cocaine. Five of the nine Britons held at Guantanamo Bay for two years after their arrest in Afghanistan returned to Britain without charge. Germany was reported to be overrun with racoons

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descended from a pair introduced by Herman Goering. A brain surgeon was accused by the NHS of helping himself to an extra bowl of soup in the hospital cafeteria, and suspended.

## APRIL

Numbers of one-legged Romanian roofers and fingerless Bulgarian electricians were said to be at large in the country as a result of a relaxed Home Office policy towards vetting visa applications from foreign workers eager to service Britain's overheated economy. Someone had to leave: it was Beverley Hughes, immigration minister.

Michael Grade was appointed BBC chairman. England's cricketers won a test series against the West Indies. England's rugby union players lost to Ireland. Tony Blair played quoits in Bermuda on one of his freebies. Germany won the world marbles championships in Sussex.

Tony Blair finished the quoits, checked in at the White House and returned to Britain in time to read an open letter from 52 former British diplomats condemning the "illegal and brutal occupation" of Iraq and his support for Ariel Sharon's "one-sided and illegal" policy of retaining West Bank settlements. Despite not having a reverse gear, he then announced that there would be a referendum on the new European constitution after all, confiding that "I'm going to have to eat shit for a few days", which seemed a little optimistic. Ron Atkinson was doing some of the same after airing some ill-favoured views on racial characteristics.

A PA with Goldman Sachs was found guilty of stealing £4.3m from her employers, who hadn't noticed. There were reports of massacres in Darfur. Altogether, it was revealed, Britons take 8m days off a year to get over the death of pets.

## MAY

Europe welcomed 10 new members to its Union, including the Greek bit of the disunion of Cyprus. Picture followed picture of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison in Baghdad being humiliated by American guards employing electrodes, hoods, dogs and anything else that took their fancy. An American contractor became the first in a series of beheadings on video carried out by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, who said he was avenging the "satanic degradation" at Abu Ghraib. George Bush said Donald Rumsfeld, the US Defence Secretary, was doing "a superb job". British indignation at Abu Ghraib was tempered by 30 cases of alleged brutality by its forces. Piers Morgan, editor of the Daily Mirror, was sacked after publishing faked photographs purporting to show British soldiers mistreating Iraqis.

It was seven years since Tony Blair became prime minister, 10 years since John Smith died, and 25 years since Margaret Thatcher became prime minister. Gordon Brown and John Prescott spent 90 minutes admiring the view from the car park of the Loch Fyne Oyster Bar and definitely not discussing shifting tectonic plates or their leader's faltering grip. Robert Mugabe called Tony Blair "an anachronism"; Fathers 4 Justice threw purple flour-filled condoms at him in the Commons. Celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Roger Bannister's four-minute mile ran into rival claims: a costermonger called Parrot was said to have done it in Shoreditch High Street in 1770, also in May, and Mr Ken Wood of Sheffield said he'd done it on a training run 29 days before Sir Roger, but "didn't regard it as all that important" at the time. John Scarlett, the spy whose dossier more than slightly exaggerated the case for war against Iraq, was appointed head of MI6. Opinion was divided on whether he was stupid or a stooge. No one seemed to be asking whether he might be, perhaps, a double-stooge. The object of similar doubts, Maxine Carr, was released from prison.

Sonia Gandhi renounced her claim to be prime minister of India, despite the victory by her Congress party in the general election there. St Helens crushed Wigan to win the Powergen Challenge Cup Final. Arsenal won the Premiership without losing a game. Le Figaro celebrated the centenary of the Entente Cordiale by arguing that the clarity and unambiguity of French made it superior to English, which seemed quite unfair. A school in Mansfield arranged an abortion for a 14-year-old pupil without consulting her parents. The Pope canonised a woman who sacrificed her life so that her child might be born.

Oil and house prices continued to rise while pensions declined. The worth of that old maxim "Never hold a wedding party if there are American forces within 100 miles" was proved once again when more than 40 guests were

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killed by helicopter fire near the Syrian border. George Bush disproved the one about never forgetting how to ride a bicycle and grazed his nose. Figures showed that the average Briton is caught on CCTV camera 300 times a day. Big Brother started again. A new show on UKTV Style featured paint drying.

## JUNE

The UK Independence Party, bolstered by the cosmetic support of Robert Kilroy-Silk and Joan Collins, achieved 7% fewer votes than Labour and 1% more than the Lib Dems in the European elections. An average of more than one car bomb a day was exploding in Iraq. Poland recruited American Navajo scouts to track illegal immigrants from Ukraine. The Momart warehouse in London, storing works by Hirst, Emin, Heron and the Chapman brothers, went up in flames to predictably divided opinion. The England soccer team retired from Euro 2004, hurt by a dodgy pitch, a dodgy ref, Wayne Rooney's dodgy metatarsal and dodgy players. Jonny Wilkinson revealed that England rugby union players use moisturiser. Frank Lampard's armpits, meanwhile, were revealed to be waxed.

The former American president Ronald Reagan died and was discovered to have saved the Free World. The crisis in Darfur was rediscovered, again. Sovereignty was restored to Iraq under the prime-ministership of Iyad Allawi, a long-exiled former Ba'athist. He had provided the exaggerated intelligence supporting invasion that hadn't been contributed by the disgraced Ahmad Chalabi, now accused of working for Iran. Saddam Hussein was formally handed over by the Americans, although they continued to guard him. Philip Green, of BHS and much else besides, battled to take over Marks & Spencer. Big Brother went on.

## JULY

Saddam Hussein appeared, grey-bearded and crisply shirted, in court in Baghdad to answer charges for crimes against the peoples of Iraq and Kuwait. He said he had invaded Kuwait because the Kuwaitis were trying to turn Iraqi women into prostitutes. Lord Butler found serious flaws in the quality, assessment and application of the intelligence that led to the war in Iraq and criticised the working practices of Downing Street and the Joint Intelligence Committee, but, being a highly experienced former civil servant, blamed it on incompetence rather than intention. Tony Blair blamed the 60s.

John Kerry chose Senator John Edwards of North Carolina, who also had great hair, as his running mate. Michael Howard chose (Everything I Do) I Do It For You and All You Need Is Love on Desert Island Discs. A 100-year-old man ran 100 metres in 28.7 seconds in Cape Town. Israel's security fence was ruled illegal by the International Court of Justice and condemned by the United Nations. Laughing children played in the Diana Memorial Fountain in Hyde Park after it had been officially opened by the Queen.

Charles Clarke, the education secretary, outlined some education reforms exhibiting a particularly bravura new Labour retro-futuro choice-mix involving public-private schools, faith schools, specialist schools, uniform, and public school houses. Harry Potter seemed to be the target pupil. The Commission for Racial Equality discovered that it was least likely to promote black employees. Laughing children stopped playing in the Diana Memorial Fountain after it flooded.

Dame Shirley Porter, who claimed she had only £300,000 to put towards to the £42m she had been ordered to pay in compensation for gerrymandering wodes of Westminster, somehow scraped together £12.3m, which was accepted.

Eric Williams, 60, blacked out and crashed his car into Gordon White's living room in Cleckheaton, West Yorkshire, a year after he had done it the first time. Peter Mandelson returned to public life, the scene of several previous accidents. The Football Association's Soho HQ appeared to have taken key aspects of local industry enthusiastically on board. Philip Green withdrew his offer for Marks & Spencer, making some robust suggestions about what should be done with the chairman's head. Martha Stewart was sentenced to five months and compared herself to Nelson Mandela. A grandmother in San Francisco foiled a burglary by showing the intruder pictures of her family until he fell asleep on the sofa. Darfur continued. Tony Blair stayed at Sir Cliff's villa in Barbados, despite his views on the 60s.

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## AUGUST

Three weeks of heavy fighting in Najaf between US forces and the Mahdi army of the radical Shia cleric Moqtada al-Sadr were ended by the return of Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani to the holy city after medical treatment in London. Some said this set a hopeful precedent for other cities and flashpoints. More doubted it. Notting Hill continued its headlong descent into respectability by lending its name to a group of ambitious young Tories. Hurricane Charley devastated Florida. A flash flood devastated Boscastle. John Prescott rescued a canoeist. Google floated. The Princess Diana Memorial was reopened but laughing children were no longer allowed in it, although they could dangle their feet from the sides.

Sheep in Yorkshire were reported to be rolling across cattle grids, just as they are every summer on a slack news day. Coal from Russia was carried to Newcastle. The Olympics returned to Athens. There was an alleged accident involving a motorcycle bearing Greeks who seemed less than keen on drugs tests. Britain became the first western country to permit therapeutic cloning. Tony Blair's Summer Holiday moved on from Sir Cliff's place to that of another famous crooner, Silvio Berlusconi. The usual complaints about dumbing down greeted the A-level results. George W Bush, on the campaign trail, tried to eat raw corn. A popular T-shirt at the Democratic convention sported the legend, "One of Texas's villages is missing its idiot." Mark Thatcher, also famous for being missing, and for having no A-levels, was arrested on suspicion of financing an attempted coup in Equatorial Guinea, something he denied, although it wasn't clear if his defence was that he didn't know where it was. Michael Owen found his way to Real Madrid. Paula Radcliffe lost hers in Athens, but Kelly Holmes won, Amir Khan came second, Matthew Pinsent wept, and Big Brother finished. Up roar and amazement greeted a blind man having sex with an American.

## SEPTEMBER

Terrorists, assumed to be Chechen separatists, killed 331 people, 172 of them children, after seizing a school in Beslan, North Ossetia. One in five Germans wanted the Berlin wall rebuilt. Serbia banned the teaching of Darwinism in schools for the rest of the year. Charles Clarke proposed that schools should be open from 8am to 9pm, including the holidays, to provide child care for working parents. It was unclear whether this influenced Alan Milburn's decision to spend more time with his prime minister. Britney Spears got married.

A figure in a Batman outfit carrying a large ladder failed to arouse the suspicions of the guards at Buckingham Palace. Kofi Annan said the invasion of Iraq had been illegal. Britain's ambassador in Rome was said to have described George Bush as "the best recruiting sergeant ever for al-Qaida". Tony Blair went to Brighton and apologised for having misled himself over the intelligence. He also spoke of "a problem of trust" and said Gordon Brown was "a personal friend". Melvyn Bragg, another personal friend, revealed that the prime minister had been close to quitting earlier in the year due to family pressures. Iyad Allawi went to Washington and told congress that he and they were succeeding in Iraq. Attacks by insurgents were averaging 70 a day. A British engineer, Kenneth Bigley, and two American colleagues fell into the hands of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. The two Americans were beheaded shortly afterwards.

Here, they were bothered about foxes again; five pro-hunting protesters, including Bryan Ferry's son, invaded the floor of the Commons and were apprehended after a vigorous struggle with the gentlemen-at-arms, henceforth and delightfully known as the Men in Tights. Hurricane Ivan blew through Jamaica, Grenada and the southern states of the US, while Jeanne ravaged Haiti. Jack Straw stopped wearing spectacles and shook hands with Robert Mugabe. The United States accused the Sudanese government of genocide. Laughing children were stood down again as the Princess Diana Memorial Fountain closed again. There were the usual stories about conkers being dangerous.

## OCTOBER

Tony Blair had a heart operation after saying he didn't want to serve a fourth term, and bought a house without a garden for £3.6m. His wife earned £30,000 for a 40-minute speech to insurance brokers in West Virginia. Labour just won the Hartlepool by-election caused by Peter Mandelson's move to Brussels. Michael Howard's Conservatives were forced into fourth place by Ukip. John Howard's Liberals were re-elected in Australia, even though or because he and his government had been described by the leader of the opposition as "a conga line of suckholes".

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Bob Geldof spoke up for marriage. A rich American joined rich Irishmen in wanting to run Manchester United. Kenneth Bigley was beheaded. Commentators were disturbed by the "frenzy" and "indulgence" of the reaction in Britain, particularly in the dead man's home city, Liverpool, whose inhabitants were accused by the Spectator of possessing a deeply unattractive psyche and contributing to the Hillsborough disaster through drunken behaviour. The magazine's editor, also a Tory spokesman on the arts, was ordered by Michael Howard, a keen supporter of the Liverpool team, to go to the city and apologise. He complied, but it did not go well, and subsequently went worse when a robust but economical reaction to reports about his private life led Michael Howard to sack him.

Margaret Hassan, a British aid worker married to an Iraqi who had lived in Iraq for 30 years, was kidnapped. Labour's plans to deregulate gambling and allow large Las Vegas-style casinos, which had been bumbling along since at least 2001, suddenly, in the way of these things, caused an outbreak of apoplexy, principally from the Daily Mail. The first man was discovered to have been Asian. There were said to be only about 800 women called Maude left in the country.

Tony Blair announced that one of the last duties of the Black Watch before it fell victim to defence cuts would be to support the uncomplicated approach of the US to the insurgency in Falluja. Some thought this dangerous but highly symbolic demonstration of support would help George Bush win the imminent American election, which, following the candidates' debates, was said to be very, very close. Paul Gascoigne announced that he was now to be known as G8. Rumours that Chelsea Clinton would now be known as SW3 proved unfounded.

Arsenal lost their unbeaten record at Old Trafford and introduced a new phrase following an incident involving Sir Alex Ferguson and some pea broth: "And then the soup really hit the manager." Parents everywhere were impressed when Prince Harry claimed to have done some of his A-level coursework. Tony Blair was said to be considering converting to Catholicism. And you thought the top job he was after in Europe was the federal presidency? A man in Beccles developed a jet-propelled shopping trolley. An ICM survey disclosed that one in 10 people in Britain thinks the Battle of Trafalgar was fought in Trafalgar Square. Kylie Minogue beat Salman Rushdie at Scrabble.

## NOVEMBER

John Kerry got 55% of the vote, with George Bush trailing in with a sorry 5%. Unfortunately, this was the result of a worldwide internet poll. In the real event, George did rather better, thanks or no thanks to a valiant effort by Guardian readers to swing it by launching letters at Clark County, Ohio. London published its detailed bid for the 2012 Olympics. Athens's debt after the Olympics stood at euros 7bn, euros 1,900 for each Greek household.

Despite pleas from every quarter, including that of Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, Margaret Hassan was murdered by her kidnappers. There was more attention devoted to fox hunting. The bill to ban it was forced through after the government invoked the Parliament Act, a statute of dubious legality designed to resolve constitutional crises. The Queen entertained President Chirac at Windsor in the Music Room, known when President Chirac is not there as the Waterloo Room. England's cricketers visited Zimbabwe. Fortunately, Robert Mugabe decided against playing.

The Prince of Wales was revealed to believe in a meritocracy that knows its place. Rocco Buttiglione's belief that homosexuality is a sin raised questions of tolerance that were not entirely answered by the refusal of MEPs to countenance his appointment as a EU commissioner. A plague of locusts reached southern Europe from northern Africa. Theo van Gogh was shot and stabbed to death in Amsterdam by a Muslim man after making a film alleging sexual and physical abuse of Muslim women. Twenty-four soccer teams comprised entirely of people called Patel played a tournament for charity in Leeds. Yasser Arafat died and was buried in Ramallah. To this date, nearly 3,500 Palestinians and 1,000 Israelis had been killed since September, 2000. Nearly 1,500 members of the coalition forces had died since the invasion of Iraq, and still no proper count, but somewhere between 10,000 and 100,000 Iraqis. The Black Watch's mission added five soldiers and an interpreter.

Farmers in India were spraying their crops with Coca-Cola as a cheap alternative to pesticides. A 10-year-old toasted cheese sandwich supposedly featuring an image of the Virgin Mary was put up for auction on eBay, then removed on grounds of taste, even though the owner said it had remained completely uncorrupted during its 10 years. Coca-Cola moved on from the Sidcup tapwater debacle by proposing to lay a pipeline through an area of

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outstanding natural beauty to get at some more Malvern water. Elsewhere in bottled water, the Fijian variety, flown in from 10,000 miles away, was proving popular. The miraculous toasted cheese sandwich was reinstated and sold to a casino for \$ 28,000.

Two sets of extraordinary people confounding previous theories about evolution were discovered in the Pacific: skeletons of a tiny, hairy species of human were found in Indonesia, while Queensland was the setting for I'm A Celebrity . . . Get Me Out Of Here.

Seven people died when a driver parked his car on a level crossing in Berkshire. The north-east showed a marked inclination against devolution. The government showed a marked inclination against devolution in other areas, proposing more phone-tapping, compulsory drug-testing, smoking bans, chewing gum restrictions and identity cards. Not everyone was convinced by the argument that these measures were justified because all anti-social behaviour, from over-eating to suicide-bombing, was intimately and causally connected. Others looked forward to a world where thinner non-smokers would gamble and drink all night. This boundary dispute between public responsibility and private liberty was then piquantly pointed up by the confusing behaviour of its chief prosecutor, the aforesaid American-involved blind man. The speed and keenness to order another inquiry was not matched over the continuing scandal at Deepcut Barracks. A fall of 8% in the annual burglary figures was attributed to a decline in demand for secondhand goods. These bad times for the trade were compounded when the burglary of former burglar Ozzy Osbourne prompted calls to allow any retaliation short of ritual disembowelling (which would probably be all right if it was done from the front).

## DECEMBER

Orange-bedecked Ukrainians who had taken to the streets of Kiev to protest against the defeat of their candidate in the presidential election celebrated after a re-run was ordered amid claims of interference from both east and west.

Orange-bedecked Ulstermen did not take to the streets of Belfast to celebrate a power-sharing agreement between Ian Paisley's DUP and Gerry Adams's Sinn Fein.

Jeanette Winterson opened a delicatessen. Pizza producers complained that the Atkins Diet had doubled world cheese prices in two years. Darfur and other troubled parts of sub-Saharan Africa were still hungry. Bob Geldof was still angry. Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, "the Lennon and McCartney of global development" according to Bono, raised hopes that Britain's presidency of the EU and the G8 in 2005 might just possibly spare us another cover of Do They Know It's Christmas?, which was still number one. That is if, of course, they have any time over from sorting out Iraq, helping George Bush with his CO2 habit, general nursing duties and winning the next election.

Comedians protested that yet more Home Office legislation would prevent them from making jokes about religions, for God's sake. The Seven Dwarves threatened to quit the Dresden Xmas fair after Snow White was sacked for posing topless. Father Christmas delivered his gifts in Clackmannanshire on behalf of the Alloa Round Table with the help of a police escort after a series of attacks in past years on his sleigh by youths armed with bottles and other missiles, while in Llanelli he was monitored by a camera in his grotto to prevent possible allegations of child abuse.

Have a happy one yourself!

**Load-Date:** December 18, 2004

**Saturday Review: Religion & politics: My brother the quarryman: Arnold Wesker salutes a book that attempts to look impartially at the problems of the Middle East: The Other Side of Despair: Jews and Arabs in the Promised Land by Daniel Gavron 224pp, Rowman & Littlefield, £17.95**

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

May 29, 2004

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**Section:** Guardian Saturday Pages, Pg. 13

**Length:** 1406 words

**Byline:** Arnold Wesker

## **Body**

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This seemed to me an important book when I read it; post-Madrid and post-Sheik Yassin, it is an urgent book to read. As Daniel Gavron writes: "Although it is the bombs and bullets that capture the headlines, numerous examples exist of friendly cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians." We are desperately hungry to know about them. This book is a kind of Jewish Via Dolorosa. David Hare spent a few weeks in Israel and interviewed a motley collection of Jews and Palestinians. Gavron, London born, has lived for 43 years in Israel, where he has worked as a journalist, written five books of non-fiction and two novels about life in Israel and its history, and was a founding member of the team that established the Palestine-Israel Journal. In his hugely intelligent and originally structured book he has interviewed and drawn portraits of 16 remarkable Palestinians and Jews. His conclusions are startling.

The late Professor Talmon of the Hebrew University once gave a lecture attempting to explain how the sociological and political development of the previous centuries led up to the Nazi holocaust. In it he used a very interesting phrase: "Release from awe and respect". European civilisation, he argued, had gradually evolved a state of mind in which "the group" was considered the instrument for either good or evil. There were no individuals, there were only groups. Attempting to evaluate the virtues and failings of each individual took too much time. It was simpler, cosier, to declare that "the group" was at fault. For some it was "the bourgeoisie" that was the instrument of suffering, while the working class was the instrument of change for the better. To the Protestants it was Catholics who caused the world's ills; for the Catholics the Protestants were to blame. Such thinking, Talmon argued, led to a release from that awe and respect which the individual could command. The group was too nebulous to require it, whereas the individual face forced us to have awe and respect. Confronting him or her made judgment a complex affair; it was easier to judge a group, which conveniently had no individual human face - no eyes to look into, no individual life to care about, no conscience to question.

The delight, optimism and sheer relief of Gavron's book is that it draws our perception away from the group - "the Arabs", "the Jews", "the Palestinians" - and focuses our attention on individuals. Instantly our hearts warm, and instead of our phobias about groups, our intelligence comes into play, we have awe and respect. And against a historical background, how well he's knitted their reported and actual speech, and how vivid and attractive they emerge, offering fresh pictures of Israeli/Palestinian life.

Saturday Review: Religion & politics: My brother the quarryman: Arnold Wesker salutes a book that attempts to look impartially at the problems of the Middle East....

It is true that suffering exists on both sides. Gavron is not afraid to spell it out. "Although the Palestinians have suffered far more than the Israelis, both sides have been harmed. There has been enormous damage to the Israeli economy; the Palestinian economy has been all but destroyed; the continuous disruption of both societies has resulted in irreparable harm to both national psyches."

To Gavron the basic problem is simple: "Two peoples lay claim to the same piece of real estate. Somehow it has to be shared, and the complications emerge in working out how . . . Israelis and Palestinians live among each other, entwined in a deadly, unbreakable embrace . . . There is no right or wrong here - simply different angles of vision."

In this clearly assembled, imaginatively researched selection of interviews Gavron offers those different angles of vision, many of which were, to me at least, unknown. How many are aware, for example, that Palestinians produced most of the world's Arabic computer software? How many know that in 1948 David Ben Gurion, the first prime minister of Israel, "smashed the main Jewish dissident organisation, the Irgun Zvai Leumi"? - unlike the Palestinians' President Arafat, who refuses to disband the Arab dissident organisation Hamas.

His interviews begin with personalities from the past, such as Nasser Eddin Nashashibi, a Palestinian Arab of the old school and a member of one of the two most influential families in Palestine, the other being the Husseinis. Between them they owned urban real estate, olive and citrus groves, farms and businesses, and were fierce rivals. On his first meeting with Gavron in 1987, Nashashibi boomed out: "Good morning Mr Gavron. What a bloody mess! I don't know what the hell is going to happen, do you?" Although he's one of "yesterday's men", despite living through distress, disappointments and failed attempts to reconcile his people with the Jews, he is still able to declare: "My dear sir, it is nonsense to talk of unsolvable problems. Every problem has a solution. Reason can solve everything. But bombs, rockets and bullets have no place any more."

Such reasoning is echoed by another Palestinian, Tariq Essawi, who observes: "Whatever happens in this country, you are going to be here tomorrow morning, and so am I." What makes this rational observation poignant is that Essawi is one of two bereaved parents interviewed by Gavron. The other is an Israeli, Yitzhak Frankenthal. Both lost their sons. Essawi has a nephew who is planning to study law at the Hebrew University. That's an image few conjure up at the mention of the Palestinian/Israeli conflict - a Palestinian going to an Israeli college to study law.

Gavron's book is full of such fresh images: Lova Eliav, an Israeli pioneer and long-standing member of the Labour party who was once in line to take over the leadership, lost his position and prospects, and shocked his comrades, when he proposed the idea of a confederation of Israel, Palestine and Jordan, and even laid out a practical programme for joint exploration of resources; Adi Eilat, an Israeli refusenik who decided it was not soldiers who kill mothers and children that are to blame - they are merely frightened, jumpy young men in an abnormal battlefield. "It is the situation we have to change."

Samir Huleileh is the marketing and export manager of Nassar Jerusalem Stone, the largest quarry and stone-processing factory in the Middle East. Gavron records that: "It buys 40% of its raw materials from Israel, sells a third of its products to Israel, and exports to 32 countries via Israeli ports." Another fresh image, of life continuing through trade. An Israeli businessman says of Huleileh: "These guys are amazing. With all the curfews and closures, they keep operating. If there are only four available hours in a day, they will use them to the full. It's a pleasure to do business with them."

And what is one to make of Menahem Froman, a rabbi and passionate Zionist on intimate terms with both Ariel Sharon and Arafat, as well as with the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and the former Archbishop of Canterbury, now Lord Carey? Froman thinks that the Jews should give up the conventional concept of national sovereignty and favours both an Israeli state and a Palestinian Arab state in all of Palestine. Jerusalem, he maintains, is too big for either Israel or Palestine. It can be the religious and cultural capital of the world.

The conclusion that Gavron reaches from listening to these diverse, reasonable and imaginative voices (13 men, three women) is that the Israelis and Palestinians have proved not only that they can live side by side but have declared that they want to live side by side; there is no other way. Most of them think it should be in two separate states. Gavron thinks otherwise. He believes - and this is what is startling - that they should live side by side in a



Saturday Review: Religion & politics: My brother the quarryman: Arnold Wesker salutes a book that attempts to look impartially at the problems of the Middle East....

single state, to be called Jerusalem. "The borders are already irrelevant," states Gavron in his final paragraph. "I am suggesting that Israeli and the Palestinian territories can be merged into a dynamic, multi-ethnic, culturally rich nation with new forms of co-existence between its different constituents . . . We must repudiate our phobias and prejudices and make a quantum jump . . . vaulting beyond despair." The Jewish, Palestinian and Christian voices within his book reaffirm a humane sanity of which we are all desperately in need.

To order *The Other Side of Despair* for £15.95 plus p&p call Guardian book service on 0870 836 0875. Arnold Wesker will have a five-night residency at the Guardian Hay Festival, starting this evening. See [www.hayfestival.com](http://www.hayfestival.com) for details.

**Load-Date:** May 29, 2004

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***New formula for terror?; U.S. authorities have been tracking a nationwide theft ring specializing in shoplifted infant food and over-the-counter medicines. The money trails run to 'fences' with Middle Eastern ties.***

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

July 2, 2005 Saturday Final Edition

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**Section:** FOCUS; Pg. F04; News

**Length:** 1578 words

**Byline:** Mark Clayton

## **Body**

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On the day terrorists destroyed the World Trade Center, a Texas state trooper pulled over a rental van driven by a Middle Eastern man going towards Houston. Opening the cargo door, the officer found a huge load of ... baby formula.

False alarm? Not really. Police later identified the driver as a member of a terrorist group and linked him to a nationwide theft ring that specialized in reselling stolen infant formula, says Sergeant Johnnie Jezierski of the Special Crimes Service of the Texas Department of Public Safety.

Proceeds were wired to the Middle East. The driver is still under investigation.  
The Christian Science Monitor

Operation Blackbird, as Texas investigators dubbed their multistate baby-formula investigation, has since led to felony charges against more than 40 suspects, about half illegal immigrants. Authorities have seized some \$2.7 million in stolen assets, including \$1 million worth of formula.

Blackbird was just the beginning. In the nearly four years since 9/11, police have uncovered and dismantled a growing number of regional and national theft rings specializing in shoplifted infant formula, over-the-counter medicines and personal-care products.

At least eight of the major baby-formula cases have involved "fences" who are of Middle Eastern descent or who have ties to that region, according to a Monitor review of congressional testimony, news accounts, and a study by the National Retail Federation released Tuesday.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation has traced money from these infant-formula traffickers back to nations where terrorist groups, such as ***Hamas*** and Hezbollah, are active, investigators say. Then, the trail usually goes cold.

Once funds enter such countries, there's often no way to track them.

FBI director Robert Mueller first talked of a possible link in a speech last fall. He did it again in testimony before the Senate Committee on Intelligence in February, saying: "Middle Eastern criminal enterprises involved in the organized theft and resale of infant formula pose not only an economic threat, but a public health threat to infants, and a potential source of material support to a terrorist organization."

New formula for terror?; U.S. authorities have been tracking a nationwide theft ring specializing in shoplifted infant food and over-the-counter medicines. The ....

So far, most officials are unwilling to draw conclusive links between proceeds from shoplifted formula and terror financing, saying only that they're "likely" or "probable" in some cases. "Just because you have an infant-formula operation doesn't mean it's a terror-funding operation," says Jezierski. "But to say there's no terrorist funding isn't the case either."

While many terrorist groups eschew criminal commerce because it tends to attract police attention, other groups finance themselves with theft, fraud and smuggling. The Irish Republican Army, Colombia's FARC and Hezbollah all have engaged in criminal enterprises, says Matthew Levitt, a former FBI counter-terrorism analyst, now director of terrorism studies at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy.

Some Al-Qaeda cells, at the fringes of their operations, have engaged in criminal self-financing, he says. "Important operational funding can come from these criminal activities ... If you are funding yourself, it's freeing up the home organization."

Less convinced is Mardi Mountford, executive director of the International Formula Council, an Atlanta-based trade association that represents infant formula manufacturers in the United States. "We've heard that speculation, but we're not aware of a direct connection."

Theft of baby formula from store shelves has risen over the past decade, costing retailers billions of dollars. Formula was the fourth most-often-shoplifted item last year, according to a survey by the Food Marketing Institute, a Washington, D.C., trade group.

In the wake of several cases in North Carolina and Florida, some retailers have transferred formula from store shelves to behind the counter. One big grocery chain, Albertsons Inc., now keeps a few cans on the shelf -- along with a sign directing customers to the courtesy counter.

Calling it "a serious security issue" for retailers, the National Retail Federation unveiled its 200-page report highlighting "organized retail theft" of infant formula. At least seven of the report's 10 case studies detail fencing operations run by citizens of Middle Eastern origin.

"The rings I identified dealing in stolen infant formula are operated mostly by Middle Easterners," says Charles Miller, a loss-prevention consultant and author of the report. They typically organize the rings, pay the shoplifters (who are mostly from Latin America), repackage the formula, and resell it. Out of \$30 billion in annual retail theft, about \$7 billion of infant formula is stolen and resold for profit, Miller estimates.

The scheme works this way: A shoplifter may get \$5 for a can of formula from his fence, who then reboxes the loot and sells that to a dishonest retailer for \$9 a can. That retailer then sells it for perhaps \$15 or \$16 a can. The result may be a \$6 or \$7 profit a can for the dishonest retailer -- instead of pennies a can for the honest merchant, Miller says.

Several Middle Eastern businessmen have already been charged or convicted in connection with baby-formula thefts.

Mohammed Khalil Ghali was sentenced in February to 14 years in prison, convicted on 15 counts that included transporting stolen goods and money laundering. A search warrant states that money generated from the sale of the goods was wired to banks in the Middle East, "specifically Jordan, Egypt, and Palestine."

Nine of the 11 individuals indicted in the case are of Middle Eastern descent, according to the Department of Homeland Security.

Samih Fadl Jamal was a fixture in Phoenix, until investigators discovered that his company gained \$11 million in profits from the sale of \$22 million of stolen baby formula from 2001 to 2003, prosecutors say.

New formula for terror?; U.S. authorities have been tracking a nationwide theft ring specializing in shoplifted infant food and over-the-counter medicines. The ....

In all, 27 people connected to the Jamal Trading company scheme were indicted, most from Iraq, Jordan or Lebanon. Some are naturalized U.S. citizens; others overstayed student or visitor visas, the National Retail Federation report said.

Investigators' wiretaps indicated that about \$8 million was funnelled to countries in the Middle East, where it disappeared. Jamal, a naturalized U.S. citizen born in Lebanon, was convicted in April of 20 counts of conspiracy to transport and receive stolen property and other related charges, as well as money laundering.

Of course, just because the money goes to the Middle East doesn't mean it's going to terrorists, some groups point out.

"To say that -- 'Oh, there's a chance that these funds went to fund terrorism because there are terrorist groups active in this country' -- is irresponsible," says Rabia Ahmed of the Council on American-Islamic Relations in Washington. "We've seen many cases like this, where a prominent Muslim leader has been charged with horrible things, but it ends up being some kind of immigration technicality."

First identified in the early 1980s, organized retail theft is a key feature of baby-formula theft. Teams of professional shoplifters may travel 300 to 400 kilometres over a week or more, Miller says. Typically each has a shoplifting list of specific brands of infant formula, medications, shaving products and batteries given them by their fences.

Shoplifting teams may involve five or six women or young men. Typically they disperse into a store in pairs or separately, posting lookouts to watch for store security. Then a separate team loads carts of formula and goes straight to the exit where a vehicle is waiting, investigators say.

Formula is a favourite of theft rings mostly because of the steady demand, high cost and large profit margins. Its price is also supported by the U.S. Department of Agriculture's \$4.9 billion Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program.

To battle this trend, Texas authorities mandated that retailers participating in WIC must purchase their infant formula from approved WIC wholesalers or the manufacturers themselves. U.S. Republican Representative John Carter of Texas sponsored legislation included in the WIC Reauthorization Act of 2004 that aims to eliminate the market for stolen infant formula with a similar mandate. But those measures have not been implemented in most states.

As of May, the USDA has mandated that stores nationwide use a licensed wholesaler, say Oklahoma officials, where a recent burst of formula shoplifting has drawn attention even though Oklahoma is one of the few states that require stores to buy from a licensed wholesaler.

A key problem is that many local law enforcement officers view baby-formula theft as petty shoplifting -- and shoplifting laws tend to be soft, experts say. Few shoplifters go to jail.

But there are signs that that attitude is changing. The Retail Industry Leaders Association in March testified before Congress, asking for tougher laws to crack down on organized shoplifting. Major retailers like Wal-Mart, Kroger, Walgreens and others reported to be losing millions on shoplifted baby-formula have internal teams focused on the problem.

Although the FBI has also deployed teams nationwide to crack down on organized retail theft, some investigators say the problem is growing -- and moving onto the Internet.

On Monday, the online auction house eBay carried more than 1,000 offers of Enfamil baby formula. "This problem is getting worse, no question," Miller says. "It is in every state in the union, and neither law enforcement nor the retailers have their arms around it."

New formula for terror?; U.S. authorities have been tracking a nationwide theft ring specializing in shoplifted infant food and over-the-counter medicines. The ....

## Graphic

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Photo: Canadian Press File Photo; Trained teams of shoplifters travel up to 400 kilometres a week and, using in-store strategies, steal millions of dollars in infant formula.

**Load-Date:** July 2, 2005

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## LETTERS

The Forward

April 23, 2004

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**Section:** Editorial; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1440 words

### **Body**

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#### Reports on Genocide Will Engender Action

The Forward published an eye-opening and crucially important article and an accompanying editorial in the April 16 issue about the ethnic cleansing campaigns in Rwanda 10 years ago and the one currently going on in Darfur, Sudan today ("Groups Question Own Inaction on African Killings"; "Genocide and Conscience"). We commend the Forward for bringing what threatens to be today's worst humanitarian crisis to the fore and we hope that the Jewish community is stirred into action as it was during the crisis in Bosnia.

We agree that the Jewish voice has been too silent in response to these tragedies; however we are terribly disappointed that even though the Forward spoke to me about the American Jewish World Service response, we were not mentioned in the piece. Such an omission is a slap in the face to the American Jews who did respond to the Rwanda genocide by supporting our efforts.

The American Jewish World Service sent more than \$130,000 worth of humanitarian assistance to Rwanda and is currently raising funds for emergency relief for the 1 million displaced people of Darfur in western Sudan. In addition, through our advocacy efforts we have joined a coalition of international relief organizations that has been instrumental in motivating the American government to negotiate a cease fire in Sudan and allow humanitarian organizations to provide relief.

There are many reasons that the Jewish and American response to these crises has been slow in coming. Not the least of them are the speed with which the ethnic cleansing campaigns are being conducted under the cover of civil war and the fact that journalists and humanitarian organizations have been denied access. We believe that as the American people, and particularly the Jewish community, hear about the gruesome ethnic cleansing of black African farmers by Arab militias in Darfur, they will respond.

Then our voices will unite once more, "never again."

Ruth Messinger

President

American Jewish World Service

New York, N.Y.

Nitpicking on President Misses Historic Stance

## LETTERS

The April 16 editorial about President Bush's press conference on counterterrorism makes me think that I must have watched a different press conference than the Forward ("Bush and the Terrorists"). I thought that the president handled the questioners, who obviously had a political agenda, very well. The editorialist's criticisms of the president show a 20-20 hindsight.

What was lacking in the editorial was the failure to thank Bush for being the first major non-Israeli government official to recognize that Israel was not required to return to its indefensible 1967 boundaries, to recognize that Yasser Arafat is a terrorist, and to support Prime Minister Sharon's decision to leave Gaza, even if it means expanding Israel proper into the West Bank.

Sandor Shuch

Phoenix, Ariz.

#### Sarcastic Report Masks Campus Show's Success

I was saddened to read the April 9 feature article commenting on Hillel of Georgia's Campus SuperStar event ("Campus SuperStar' Sexes Up College Life With Song"). It amazes me how anyone could be so negative - and not manage to find one positive quote - about an evening that was magical and a program that is transformative.

Why would the Forward denigrate the "celebrity" of the judges, which included Steve Koonin, CEO of TNT and TBS, and Grammy award-winning music executives from Nashville? Not impressive enough for him? The contestants and audience seemed pretty stoked by their participation.

And that "cheesy" set was a real Coca-Cola Red Room (donated by Coke), the first of its kind to appear anywhere other than on "American Idol." How cool is that?

Many students partnered with community volunteers to stage SuperStar, one of the truly creative, ambitious, multicultural outreach and fundraising programs ever to be launched by a Hillel. The semi-final on my campus attracted 700 people - a great boost to our image - and proceeds from SuperStar has already helped fund a \$14,000 Israel awareness program.

So: What was the point in being sarcastic about what should be a model program for the entire country?

Missy Ball

UGA Hillel Student President

University of Georgia

Athens, Ga.

#### Nothing Heroic About Sharon's Gaza Bluff

Although he is surely entitled to choose anyone he likes, Rabbi Eric Yoffie's choice of Prime Minister Sharon as his hero "at this moment" seems a bit dubious. Better, as someone who describes himself as a dove, that he had chosen one of the Palestinian or Israeli negotiators of the Geneva Understandings or other peace proposals as his hero - or all of them, for that matter - for they have quite literally risked their lives for peace. Sharon himself has given the Geneva group credit for inspiring his proposal to withdraw from Gaza.

But it clearly requires a leap of faith to anticipate that most of the tents of settlement are about to be folded by the man who pitched them. Most commentators interpret Sharon's putative withdrawal from Gaza as a way of hardening Israel's claim and commitment to its settlements on the West Bank. That was the thinly veiled meaning of the letters exchanged between the Israeli leader and President Bush. And that was the explicit interpretation with which Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu and other hard-line Likudniks gave approval to the prime minister's

## LETTERS

plans: extending the security fence eastward right into the heart of the West Bank to encompass Ariel and Emmanuel, thereby securing enmity and conflict into the indefinite future.

Sharon's tactical moves are in service to a strategic goal that Yoffie has rightly opposed: Israeli settlements deep in the heart of Palestinian territory. Soon enough, if Sharon has his way, his self-fulfilling prophecy will be complete. There will be no Palestinian prime minister - whose position was demanded by Israel and the United States - with whom to negotiate; no moderate Palestinian voices who are ready to contend, not just with the treacherous Yasser Arafat, but with the bloody executioners of Hamas as well. There will be no heroes - Palestinian or Israeli - left to do what is right.

Charney Bromberg

Executive Director

Meretz USA

New York, N.Y.

#### Significance of Shoah Lost in Book Review

Although I have not read Zosia Goldberg's memoir, "Running Through Fire: How I Survived the Holocaust," - and perhaps won't read it, for such accounts rouse many painful memories in me - I felt compelled to comment on Paul Auster's introduction to the book, as reprinted in the April 16 issue ("A Female Odysseus Tells Her Story").

I did not suffer as much under the German/Austrian Nazis as Goldberg, but I spent nearly a year in Vienna under Nazi persecution as a young boy and endured enough to feel that my voice may count for a little bit too. Let me add that although the Nazis destroyed the life of my family and robbed us of everything, I have never broad-brushed all German individuals, even of those times, as necessarily evil. As early as my service in the British army in World War II, for which I volunteered, I treated German prisoners of war decently and without prejudice - as hard as that was for me at the time.

Auster writes that Goldberg's account "contradicts nearly everything we have been told about German conduct during the war," and that (therefore) "the stark black-and-white picture we have drawn of the Holocaust dissolves into a muddled terrifying gray." He arrives at this conclusion by comparing two occurrences, namely isolated incidents of good conduct of some German individuals that mostly carried little risk (and sometimes did) with isolated incidents of bad conduct of some Jewish individuals, as if the two events belonged to the same domain of meaning.

In doing so, Auster forgets the real significance of the history of the Holocaust, which apparently needs to be restated again and again: Among the German/Austrian population, there were vast numbers of people who actively carried out the murder of Jews and millions of others.

This greased the wheels of the most organized and single-minded mass murder of any population, putting Jews under incredible pressures that required at times super-human bravery and endurance to just go on "living."

Many of us did show character and dignity under conditions hard to imagine for anyone who had not witnessed them. I can assert this of my own family, as narrated in my three-hour long testimony videotaped by the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in December 1990.

Auster's comments saddened me. They show how easy it is for even the well-intentioned to fail to comprehend the essence of what really took place.

Henry Schmelzer.

Somerset, N.J.



LETTERS

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

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## *Is black-market baby formula financing terror?*

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

June 29, 2005, Wednesday

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**Section:** FEATURES; CURRENTS; Pg. 01

**Length:** 1583 words

**Byline:** By Mark Clayton Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

### **Body**

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## Is black-market baby formula financing terror?

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Calling it "a serious security issue" for retailers, the National Retail Federation unveiled its 200-page report highlighting "organized retail theft" of infant formula. At least seven of the report's 10 case studies detail fencing operations run by citizens of Middle Eastern origin.

"The rings I identified dealing in stolen infant formula are operated mostly by Middle Easterners," says Charles Miller, a loss-prevention consultant and author of the report. They typically organize the rings, pay the shoplifters (who are mostly from Latin America), repackage the formula, and resell it. Out of \$ 30 billion in annual retail theft, about \$ 7 billion of infant formula is stolen and resold for a tidy profit, Mr. Miller estimates.

The scheme works this way: A shoplifter may get \$ 5 for a can of formula from his fence, who then reboxes the loot and sells that to a dishonest retailer for \$ 9 a can. That retailer then sells it for perhaps \$ 15 or \$ 16 a can. The result may be a \$ 6 or \$ 7 profit a can for the dishonest retailer - instead of pennies a can for the honest merchant, Miller says.

Several Middle Eastern businessmen have already been charged or convicted in connection with baby-formula thefts.

Mohammed Khalil Ghali was sentenced in February to 14 years in prison, convicted on 15 counts that included transporting stolen goods and money laundering. A search warrant states that money generated from the sale of the goods was wired to banks in the Middle East, "specifically Jordan, Egypt, and Palestine." Nine of the 11 individuals indicted in the case are of Middle Eastern descent, according to the Department of Homeland Security.

Samih Fadl Jamal was a fixture in Phoenix, until investigators discovered that his company gained \$ 11 million in profits from the sale of \$ 22 million of stolen baby formula from 2001 to 2003, prosecutors say.

In all, 27 people connected to the Jamal Trading company scheme were indicted, most from Iraq, Jordan, or Lebanon. Some are naturalized US citizens; others overstayed student or visitor visas, the National Retail Federation report said. Investigators' wiretaps indicated that about \$ 8 million was funneled to countries in the Middle East, where it disappeared. Mr. Jamal, a naturalized US citizen born in Lebanon, was convicted in April of 20 counts of conspiracy to transport and receive stolen property and other related charges, as well as money laundering.

Of course, just because the money goes to the Middle East doesn't mean it's going to terrorists, some groups point out.

"To say that - 'Oh, there's a chance that these funds went to fund terrorism because there are terrorist groups active in this country' - is irresponsible," says Rabia Ahmed of the Council on American-Islamic Relations in Washington. "We've seen many cases like this, where a prominent Muslim leader has been charged with horrible things, but it ends up being some kind of immigration technicality."

## Is black-market baby formula financing terror?

First identified in the early 1980s, organized retail theft is a key feature of baby-formula theft. Teams of professional shoplifters may travel 200 to 300 miles over a week or more, Miller says. Typically each has a shoplifting list of specific brands of infant formula, medications, shaving products, and batteries given them by their fences.

Shoplifting teams may involve five or six women or young men. Typically they disperse into a store in pairs or separately, posing lookouts to watch for store security. Then a separate team loads carts of formula and goes straight to the exit where a vehicle is waiting, investigators say.

Formula is a favorite of theft rings mostly because of the steady demand, high cost, and large profit margins. Its price is also supported by the US Department of Agriculture's \$ 4.9 billion Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program.

To battle this trend, Texas authorities mandated that retailers participating in WIC must purchase their infant formula from approved WIC wholesalers or the manufacturers themselves. US Rep. John Carter (R) of Texas sponsored legislation included in the WIC Reauthorization Act of 2004 that aims to eliminate the market for stolen infant formula with a similar mandate. But those measures have not been implemented in most states.

As of May, the USDA has mandated that stores nationwide use a licensed wholesaler, say Oklahoma officials, where a recent burst of formula shoplifting has drawn attention even though Oklahoma is one of the few states that require stores to buy from a licensed wholesaler.

A key problem is that many local law enforcement officers view baby- formula theft as petty shoplifting - and shoplifting laws tend to be soft, experts say. Few shoplifters go to jail.

But there are signs that that attitude is changing. The Retail Industry Leaders Association in March testified before Congress, asking for tougher laws to crack down on organized shoplifting. Major retailers like Wal-Mart, Kroger, Walgreens, and others reported to be losing millions on shoplifted baby-formula have internal teams focused on the problem.

Although the FBI has also deployed teams nationwide to crack down on organized retail theft, some investigators say the problem is growing - and moving onto the Internet. On Monday, the online auction house eBay carried more than 1,000 offers of Enfamil baby formula. "This problem is getting worse, no question," Miller says. "It is in every state in the union, and neither law enforcement nor the retailers have their arms around it."

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**Load-Date:** June 28, 2005

## ***Saudis Support A Jihad in Iraq, Not Back Home***

The New York Times

April 23, 2004 Friday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 2; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1421 words

**Byline:** By NEIL MacFARQUHAR

**Dateline:** RIYADH, Saudi Arabia, April 22

### **Body**

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On Wednesday morning, just hours before a suicide bomber demolished a Saudi police building in downtown Riyadh, the family of a young man was accepting congratulations for his death in the jihad over the border in Iraq, the one that enjoys no small support here.

"He went to Iraq seeking martyrdom because of the recent events there," Abdullah al-Enezi said of his younger brother Majid, who was training to be a computer technician.

"America's unjust policy toward the Muslims is the main reason," Mr. Enezi said by telephone from the family home in Al Kharj, a town just south of Riyadh. "Everyone feels this humiliation; he's not alone, there are so many young men who wish they could cross over into Iraq to join the jihad, but they can't. Thank God he was blessed with the ability to go."

In Saudi Arabia, a strategic ally of the United States, violence against the occupation in Iraq is seen by many as jihad, or a holy struggle, but virtually no one accepts violence as jihad when it unrolls here at home, in the heart of what is supposed to be the most Muslim of countries.

In Iraq, attacks by American troops serve as evidence to some that the United States occupation of a Muslim land must be reversed. Requests for God to avenge American actions pour down from mosque minarets, and some women university students sport Osama bin Laden T-shirts under their enveloping abayas to show their approval for his calls to resist the United States.

But many Saudis consider the attack here on Wednesday a shocking and unsettling crime, especially since the attackers chose for their first major government target an office building that virtually every adult male must visit to collect a license or car plates.

A group calling itself the Brigade of the Two Holy Mosques posted an unverifiable claim of responsibility on two Web sites on Thursday, bragging -- in language that closely echoed Al Qaeda's -- that the attack rained devastation on the "criminal, apostate" Saudi government and warning of further strikes. Some viewed the claim as dubious because it did not name the suicide bomber.

## Saudis Support A Jihad in Iraq , Not Back Home

The toll rose to five overnight, apart from the bomber, after a police captain died, the Interior Ministry announced. Saudi television also showed a pitched gunfight between security forces and militants in a residential neighborhood in the coastal city of Jidda in which three militants were reported killed.

"May God curse you, you vermin, you people of filth and not jihad," said a posting on one of the same Web sites where the responsibility claim was posted, adding, in case anyone missed the point, a picture of coffins draped in American flags over the caption, "This is jihad."

Experts on the topic believe that most Saudis do not view the two battles as even remotely related.

"When people see Israeli operations in Palestine and the American cruelty in Iraq, they feel angry and frustrated," said Abdullah Bejad al-Oteibi, a former fundamentalist now working as a legal researcher. "They cannot control their anger and they admire bin Laden, so that is why many people volunteer for jihad. But when there are operations here, people feel angry and betrayed."

No officials or analysts have a firm command of how many operate in either sphere. Although it is likely they rely on similar theological underpinnings to justify their actions, anyone acting within Saudi Arabia would have to be far more radical to overcome the heavy sanctions against killing fellow Muslims.

"They might be the same group of people, from the same pool of jihadis," said Jamal Khashoggi, an expert on Islamic groups and an adviser to Prince Turki al-Faisal, Saudi Arabia's ambassador to London.

"But to recruit somebody to fight in Saudi Arabia is way more difficult than to fight in Iraq," he noted. "You have to be really militant to believe that a country where religion is practiced day and night is apostate."

The difficulty, some experts believe, refers back to a slightly different interpretation of the concept of jihad espoused by the Wahhabi teachings that hold sway in the kingdom. Whereas most sects in Islam view jihad as necessary only when attacked, the Wahhabis view it as a means to spread their religion.

"You should never initiate fighting without a reason; you undertake jihad when you are 'defending' an Islamic nation, like the situation in Iraq or Palestine," said Abdel Rahem al-Lahem, a lawyer and specialist in militant groups.

The Wahhabi school, on the other hand, believes in smiting one's enemy first, Mr. Lahem said, although senior clerics preached against that idea last year after attacks here killed Muslims.

Saudi Arabia has a troubled history with preaching jihad, which was officially sanctioned against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980's. The ruling Saud family thought it could rid itself of the radical fringe, but instead their sponsorship now haunts them. Afghanistan became the training camp for elements now trying to overthrow them.

Hence there is no similar mobilization for going to Iraq.

"We do not believe in the American invasion of Iraq, it is illegal and illegitimate," said Soliman al-Oadah, a cleric once known for expressing hard-line views but whose pronouncements have grown more moderate in recent years. "We see that allowing people to go to Iraq has many negative points. For example, when the war is over, they will be trained and shaped in a way that could go out of control. They might go back to their home countries and act in bad way."

Fearing such an outcome, Saudi officials say they are ensuring that the long border with Iraq is sealed. They have installed heat sensors to detect movement, one official said, noting that events in Iraq are likely to inspire more problems at home.

"They can't do anything over there, and they think Arab governments are not doing anything," said Sayid A. al-Harhi, a senior adviser to Prince Nayif bin Abdel Aziz al-Saud, the interior minister. "They are consumed with anger which they transfer to their own government. If we let them, thousands would go, not just from Saudi Arabia, but from every Arab country."

## Saudis Support A Jihad in Iraq , Not Back Home

Instead, the government has been trying to let off steam by, for example, allowing otherwise tightly controlled mosque sermons to inveigh heavily against the Americans.

"Oh God, avenge America, oh God, avenge its allies," the prayer leader at Prince Sultan bin Abdel Aziz mosque in a northern Riyadh neighborhood said last Friday. "Oh God, order your soldiers to show them torture, oh God divide them, oh God avenge them for what they are corrupting in Iraq."

Mr. Enezi, whose brother, 25, was killed fighting the Americans last Saturday, said he was unaware of any cleric swaying his brother's mind. He simply left one day about a month ago, entering Iraq from Syria.

"It was very normal, just like any other tourist crossing to Iraq," said Mr. Enezi. He called periodically to check in, and then his friends called to say he had died in a firefight with American marines near Qaim on the Syrian border. He was buried there.

"People are calling all the time to congratulate us -- crying from happiness and envy," Mr. Enezi said.

Even among prosperous, upper-middle-class Saudis it is possible to hear support for such actions, especially after the string of events in the past month with the killing of two **Hamas** leaders in Gaza and President Bush's endorsement of Israeli plans to keep West Bank settlements and to prevent the long-cherished return of Palestinian refugees to Israel. Often the anger takes the form of endorsing Mr. bin Laden's calls for fighting the Americans.

"Young people are wearing T-shirts with bin Laden's picture on them just the way people used to wear pictures of Che Guevara," said Tufful al-Oqbi, a student at King Saud University. "It's simply because he is the only one resisting. Even if we reject his methods, it's because there is no other way, because this is the only way."

Fowziyah Abukhalid, a sociology professor at the university, has noticed a parallel phenomenon among her students. "Many young **women** are saying 'My God, bin Laden is so charming,' or 'My God, bin Laden is so handsome,' " she said. "He is politically appealing, that is why they view him as handsome."

Such feelings are volatile though, depending on whether the attacks are inside or outside the kingdom. "People literally change their minds and feelings every day about bin Laden," Mr. Oteibi said.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

**Load-Date:** April 23, 2004

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## *Egypt keeps Muslim Brotherhood boxed in*

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

June 7, 2005, Tuesday

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 01

**Length:** 1594 words

**Byline:** By Dan Murphy Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline:** CAIRO

**Highlight:** Cairo is open to political reform, but won't include Islamic group.

### **Body**

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Egyptian Prime Minister Ahmed Nazief is explaining to a small group of reporters his government's commitment to democracy. He promises that restrictions on political parties will soon be eased to allow for real political competition.

But when asked if the regime will legalize the Muslim Brotherhood, Egypt's most popular and best-organized opposition group, a bit of steel creeps into his congenial tone. "Never," he says. The Brotherhood "will never be a political party."

The Brotherhood - which has provided the intellectual seeds for peaceful Islamist political organizations throughout the world as well as Islamist terrorist groups - is at the center of calls for more democracy not just in Egypt, but in much of the Arab world.

And in this restless Arab spring, the 77-year-old organization, which favors Islamic law and says it's committed to democracy, has been roused from a public slumber. Worried that the proactive steps taken by secular Egyptian reformers like the Kifaya (Enough) Movement could cost the Brotherhood its position as Egypt's leading opposition movement has stirred the organization into action.

In recent months it has organized demonstrations and in turn been hit hard by the government. Thousands of leaders and activists have been arrested in the past two months and more than 800 remain in government custody. In an interview, senior Brotherhood leader Abdul Moneim Abul Futuh alleges one of the arrested, who has since been released, was "severely" tortured while in custody.

Brotherhood leaders say democracy isn't possible unless they and their vast constituency are allowed a voice. The Egyptian government is just as forceful in asserting that any system that allows them a route to power will end in a new form of dictatorship.

A violent past

In most of the Arab dictatorships, Islamist organizations are the principal opposition, and if they come to power are likely to dramatically reconfigure their societies and their relations with the US.



## Egypt keeps Muslim Brotherhood boxed in

That unpredictable potential shift frightens not only entrenched regimes but the US and secular opposition groups. While the US has spoken out against Egyptian attacks on secular demonstrators, the words "Muslim Brotherhood" rarely pass US officials' lips in public. Both Arab regimes and secular opposition groups say the stated support for democracy by Islamists is a chimera.

The Brotherhood, which has branches in almost every Muslim country, favored assassination of political opponents and violent tactics in its early decades, but abandoned terrorism in the 1950s. It hasn't been involved in political violence in Egypt since, though it does support political violence by Palestinians and by Iraqis, which it views as legitimate resistance.

Egypt is not alone in outlawing the group. In Syria, where the local Brotherhood is one of the strongest opposition groups, the movement is illegal and membership is punishable by death.

On a day-to-day basis, the Brotherhood's leaders in Egypt have adopted a discourse of democracy - both practical and ideological, if their leaders are to be believed. "For the Brotherhood, the issue of freedom is at the top of our agenda now," says Mahdi Akef, the Muslim Brotherhood's soft-spoken supreme guide. "Freedom is at the heart - it's the principal part - of Islamic law."

According to Mr. Akef, the Brotherhood has evolved a fairly unusual view of Islamic law. Most Islamic orthodoxy holds that apostasy - leaving Islam - is a punishable crime, and is never to be allowed. But asked if his idea of freedom includes allowing a Muslim to choose another religion, or no religion at all, he says, "of course."

Yet almost every non-Islamist in Egypt fears them. "I'm not ready to sacrifice my nation to these people," says Said al-Kimmi, an author and historian of Islam who says he favors democracy for Egypt, but limits on religious parties.

"They may say to you they support democracy, but if you look at the history of their beliefs, democracy really doesn't fit with Islam. The sharia is antidemocratic - the rights of women would be attacked and they'd cut people's throats. If my choices are Mubarak's corrupt regime or them, I'll stick with what we have now."

### Brotherhood's quandary

While the secular democracy activists of Kifaya are a narrow and elite strata in Cairo and a few other large cities, the Brotherhood's roots run deep throughout the country. There are 7,000 official chapters and a network of mosques and charities that run schools, provide medical services, and give aid to the poor.

No one knows precisely how many members the movement has, but a Brotherhood rally against the US invasion of Iraq in 2003 drew more than 100,000 protesters. Prime Minister Nazief says he thinks that 10 percent of Egyptians support the group, at most.

Ali Abdel Fatah, the Brotherhood's burly and gregarious chief organizer in Egypt's second city of Alexandria, laughs at the quandary of his organization. He says the Brotherhood is doing everything in its power to convince Egyptians of its commitment to democracy, but concedes that it's difficult to disprove allegations that every democratic promise is part of a conspiracy to trick the people and seize power.

"The Brotherhood should be the ones who are afraid," he says. "We haven't had the trial of power, we aren't the ones who've formed military courts to jail opponents, executed peaceful activists, destroyed Egypt's civil society, or transformed the state into a series of personal fiefdoms. All we want is an open and fair system."

Mr. Fatah grew up in a secular household, and became religious at college in the 1970s, at first under the influence of the Gamma Isalmiyah, a more radical group that favored political violence. Like many in his generation he was disillusioned with secularism after Egypt's defeat in its 1967 war with Israel.

By the late 1970s, he'd grown closer to the Brotherhood because of what he said was its more humane and open approach. "For instance, if someone was drunk in public, the Gamma would want to have him whipped. The Brotherhood, instead, would want to talk to him and explain [that] what he's doing is wrong."

## Egypt keeps Muslim Brotherhood boxed in

Fatah and other Brotherhood leaders point to their management of Egypt's professional syndicates as evidence that they're committed to democracy. The syndicates - quasiofficial professional groups that are a cross between unions and licensing organizations - hold periodic elections. Members pay fees to the syndicates, which run both charities and pension plans for their members.

## 'An Islamic democratic model'

In the 1980s, the Brotherhood began organizing to take control of the syndicates at the ballot box under the tutelage of Mr. Futuh, a member of the Brotherhood's organizing board and a probable successor to Akef, who is 83, as the organization's supreme guide.

Futuh, who once ran the doctor's syndicate and remains a senior official there, points out that when the Brotherhood has lost syndicate elections it peacefully ceded control. In recent doctors and lawyers syndicate elections, the Brotherhood ran fewer candidates than it could have, essentially inviting representation from both pro-government factions and secular opposition groups onto the boards.

"We changed from wanting to dominate the syndicates to allowing more plural boards because, even though we know we could win control easily with total Brotherhood slates we'd be excluding a lot of people," he says. "What we want out of our involvement in the syndicate is to give an Islamic democratic model, to show that it works in practice."

Brotherhood leadership of these organizations has generally reduced mismanagement and improved their financial condition, but has also provided the Brotherhood with a source of funds to advance its own agenda. In recent years, the doctor's syndicate, for instance, has sent a large amount of aid to Palestinians, winning goodwill for the Brotherhood in the process.

And while the doctor's syndicate board may have fewer Muslim Brotherhood members than it used to, the organization's downtown offices remain a bastion for the brothers. The hallways are covered with panoramic photos of the Brotherhood's 2003 protest against the Iraq war and pictures of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the assassinated leader of the Palestinian militant group Hamas.

## The pace of change

Futuh says Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak is so deeply opposed to his organization because of America, which he claims largely controls the Egyptian regime. He says the US knows the Brotherhood would change Egypt's policy toward Israel and probably overturn the two countries 20-year peace deal if it won power.

But while he and other Brotherhood members express frustration at the slow pace of change, they also say they remain committed to the organization's long-term strategy in Egypt, which has put preservation of the movement's core above risking an all-out conflict with the government that could see them destroyed. Fatah says the organization expects it to take decades to rise to power, but it's willing to wait.

Ibrahim al-Hudaiby, a Brotherhood member whose grandfather and great-grandfather ran the organization until their deaths, is a student at American University in Cairo. The movement's democracy rhetoric is no trick, he says, and that the Brotherhood is unlikely to push for more open conflict with the government.

"Revolutions don't really lead to democracies, just look at Iran," he says. "The Brotherhood really wants a democracy in Egypt, and it's willing to wait to make that happen peacefully."

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**Load-Date:** June 6, 2005

## *borders on ridiculous*

The Sunday Herald

March 28, 2004

Copyright 2004 Scottish Media Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Pg. 20

**Length:** 1403 words

**Byline:** Alan Taylor

### **Body**

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TO the Creative Scotland Awards, the apex of the arts calendar, at the Hub in Edinburgh, where eight artists are each given (pounds) 30,000 to spend on pet projects. It is my infinite good fortune to find myself seated at dinner next to Euan Robson, MSP for Roxburgh and Berwickshire and deputy minister for parliament, who is described in the latest issue of Holyrood magazine as "the worst minister in the Executive", which is saying something, and "a tub of lard". On neither of these assertions am I a fit person to comment. What I will say, however, is that Mr Robson is probably the best-informed person I have ever encountered on the topic of litter in hedgerows in the Borders.

STV will have wee Bryan on his knees

THE Awards were hosted by Bryan Burnett, presenter of Scottish Passport, who perhaps for the first time in his short life was wearing long trousers. Mr Burnett said what a great pleasure it was to be in a room with so many creative people, in contrast to working at Scottish Television. Expect, henceforth, to see on the wee screen unflattering shots of Mr Burnett's knees. The Meenister for Culture, Frank McAveety, also broke a record, by not mentioning football in his speech. This was not the case at the National Library where, while announcing a £ 6.5 million grant to help purchase the papers of the publisher John Murray, he drew an analogy between Lord Byron's philandering and Footballers' Wives.

Mr McAveety is due soon to publish a much-anticipated cultural review, of which great things are expected. In particular, the existence of the Scottish Arts Council is rumoured to be in the balance. Recently, various literary bodies formed a pressure group, the Literature Forum for Scotland, which wants a new body, Literature Scotland, to take literary matters out of the hands of the SAC. Curiously, the SAC's literature department provided secretarial help for the Literature Forum. This is what's technically known as shooting yourself in the foot.

James Boyle, the SAC's chairman, likened the expectation of the report to plays by Samuel Beckett - including Waiting For Godot, Endgame and Krapp's Last Tape - none of which offered much cause for optimism. Mr Boyle, whose first term in office will soon be up, argued - apropos the cultural review - for the creation of a new award, which he called the Viagra Award, because it is sure to pop up some time.

How to put a kilt on a bowl of soup

I am heartened to see that the ancient practice of putting a kilt on a story is still with us. Following up the report about a surgeon who was suspended for taking an extra helping of soup in a hospital canteen, The Herald came up with the amazing revelation that the soup which caused the controversy was made by Baxters from Fochabers.

## borders on ridiculous

Jings crivvens! A spokesperson for Baxters said: "It is impossible to comment without first ascertaining all the facts." How very Confucian.

Kemp's literary career takes off

ACE fiddler - in the musical sense - Kenny Kemp, who in another existence ran this organ's business pages, won the business book award in this year's WH Smith People's Choice Awards for Go: An Airline Adventure. This stupendous achievement put Mr Kemp in the same room, if not quite yet the same league, as JK Rowling and Terry Pratchett.

His book was co-written with Barbara Cassani, who founded Go and who is now fronting London's bid to host the Olympics in 2012. Whether Ms Cassani will remain in charge is a moot point. Last week the Daily Telegraph reported that she said at the awards that Tony Blair is "not that bright" and is eager to see beach volleyball on Horse Guards Parade. Lawyers, I gather, are circling.

Meanwhile, Ms Cassani's legendary reputation for financial prudence remains intact. She and Mr Kemp split the £ 5000 prize money. She is worth in excess of £ 12 million, which was what she received for her stake in Go. He, I think we may safely assume, is not.

All things in moderation

THEY do things differently in the Kirk, where Alison Elliott will make history later this year when she becomes the first woman Moderator. Down the decades, consorts of the Moderator have always been female, but who knows what will transpire in the years ahead? I suppose it's just about conceivable - given current attitudes in the Kirk - that we could have a gay Moderator (if we've not, unbeknownst to us all, had one already) whose consort, presumably, would be of the same sex. But let's not get ahead of ourselves. This year the Moderator's consort is male, following in the tradition of Prince Philip, Dennis Thatcher and whoever the poor fellow is who toddles around after Anne Robinson. Mrs Elliott's husband is called Jo, a merchant banker based in Charlotte Square in Edinburgh, which is very handy for the church HQ.

As in previous years, a sum of money is available to help with the Moderator's expenses and those of their consort, who might be grateful for help in sprucing up her wardrobe.

I gather, however, that Mr Elliott has declined all financial assistance, which is very decent of him. (I can't believe I've just written that about a merchant banker. Forgive me Lord, for I know not what I do.)

All aboard the Tartan gravy train

NEXT weekend embraces Tartan Day when the United States of Amnesia celebrates its ginger roots. So successful has this event become that it has grown exponentially into six days that are all more or less bedecked in tartanalia. Our peedie parliament is, of course, sending a five-man - nae wummin - delegation which a Holyrood insider has kindly agreed to gloss for our American cousins.

Heading the list of the liggers - ahem, distinguished guests - is Donald Gorrie who, I'm told, is currently regarded as "the most reviled man in the parliament", following his U-turn on Airborne and his baleful remarks about Donald Dewar. Then there is Kenny McAskill, whose adventures with another battalion of the Tartan Army saw him miss a match at Wembley after he'd taken "a surfeit of sarsparilla". In contrast, Michael McMahon is regarded as "a safe pair of hands in the vicinity of a half pint". He is also, I see from The Scotsman Guide To Scottish Politics, the only MSP to have a photograph of his assistant, the lovely Nicole, on his website. David McLetchie, the Tory leader, is also going, though it will mean he will not witness his beloved Hearts slaughtering Celtic at Paradise. And finally, there is George Reid, a chain smoker, who must seek out the restaurant in fag-free Manhattan which provides a limo into which smokers may repair to inhale and respond to other urges. In a just world, similar facilities could be made available in the Lawnmarket to the Presiding Officer.

Dear diary, I'm Stihler sleep

borders on ridiculous

KEEN jogger, Catherine Stihler MEP, is also a dedicated blogger - online diarist - who shares her thoughts over the ether, however half-baked. "Woke up," she wrote on March 22, "to hear the news about **Hamas** leader, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, being killed by an Israeli missile. I think that this will have serious consequences." No kidding.

Neds woodwork but can't be bothered

MY undying gratitude to novelist Andrew O'Hagan for his definition of neds ("razor-cropped hooligans with a happy average of one O-grade in woodwork between them") and referring me to a ned website ([www.chavscum.co.uk](http://www.chavscum.co.uk)). The latter, which is "devoted to Britain's burgeoning peasant underclass", offers many synonyms for neds, including chavs, townies, kevs, skangers and scallies. It also contains helpful advice about how to spot neds, who invariably wear baseball caps, Burberry garb, trainers, gold pendants and big earrings. And it explains that neds are not exclusively male. Among the top celebrity neds are Christina Aguilera, Jade, Jordan, Jodie Marsh (whose ambition is to be the "new Jordan") and Daniella Westbrook. The Beckhams are rated the most famous ned couple. Is there nothing at which they don't excel?

The editor's decision is final

THREE cheers for Sheridan Morley, son of the more portly Robert, who was fired a year ago as theatre critic of The Spectator. In a letter in the latest issue of the magazine, Mr Morley denounces his successor, Toby Young, who has noted his "inability to locate the National Theatre" and "stay through a play until the end", and appeals to the editor, flaxen-haired half-wit Boris Johnson, to acknowledge he made "a momentary lapse of editorial judgement". Pigs, I fear, will fly first.

## Graphic

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Christina Aguilera ranks high as a celebrity ned Photograph: Michael Thompson/AP

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2004

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## **HYPOCRITE**

Mail on Sunday (London)

February 29, 2004

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**Section:** FB; Pg. 1; Pg. 4; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1410 words

**Byline:** SIMON WALTERS

### **Body**

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THE Labour MP who exposed a Tory colleague's sick joke about the deaths of Chinese cockle-pickers himself broadcast tasteless jokes about Muslims over the Internet.

Nick Palmer, an aide to Environment Secretary Margaret Beckett, made lewd remarks about the sexual habits of Arabs, mocked the Koran, joked about groping Muslim priests and ridiculed their custom of praying to Allah.

The Broxtowe MP, who last week led the attacks on Mrs Winterton's tasteless remarks, emailed his jokes to more than 1,000 people and posted them on his official Labour Party website just five weeks after the attack on the World Trade Centre on September 11, 2001.

It came at a time when political leaders were calling for restraint to prevent a violent backlash against Muslims in Britain in the wake of the outrage in which nearly 3,000 people died. Mr Palmer's Broxtowe constituency is on the edge of Nottingham, which has a sizeable immigrant community.

The Muslim Council of Britain last night condemned Mr Palmer's 'tasteless' jokes. 'Following the tragic events of September 11, many people who would not normally say these things jumped on the anti-Muslim bandwagon,' said a spokesman. 'It is a shame Mr Palmer was one of them. These jokes are not funny, they are cheap and tasteless.' Mr Palmer was one of two Labour MPs at the private dinner where Mrs Winterton, the backbench Conservative MP for Congleton, retold

the sick joke from an email she had received about the 20 Chinese cockle-pickers who died at Morecambe Bay. The punchline was a hungry shark asking: 'Fancy going to Morecambe for a Chinese?' Mr Palmer, 54, toured the TV and radio studios last week, condemning her behaviour. He said: 'She needs to apologise. Most people may tell a joke privately which they wouldn't want broadcast. But when people have died in such a horrible way it seems awful to joke about it.' But he had no such reservations when he posted on the Internet a spoof Taliban TV schedule, which we recreate on the facing page.

'With apologies to those who think that one should never make jokes in a crisis, or fun of anyone's religious views, even the Taliban's (or indeed that it should be illegal to do so), I can't resist forwarding this,' he said. At the time, America was still mourning those who died in the attacks on the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon. Tony Blair and George Bush were preparing to attack Afghanistan's Taliban regime while urging people to treat law-abiding Muslims and the Islamic faith with respect.

## HYPOCRITE

Mr Palmer, who is a member of Labour's ruling national executive, last night denied he was guilty of double standards. 'That would have been true if I had been making fun of people who were killed in the World Trade Centre but I didn't,' he said. 'The Taliban are a perfectly legitimate target for satire.'

'I thought it was funny. This was a long time ago and I was making fun of the oppressors, not the victims. It was about fundamental extremists, not about Muslims. What worried me about Ann Winterton's joke was that it was about people who had recently died tragically.' Mrs Winterton said last night: 'This is a case of the biter bit. I will leave it to others to make up their minds about what happened.' Mr Palmer's spoof Taliban TV sketch was posted on his Labour Party website, BroxtoweInfo on October 19, 2001.

The joke schedule includes: '2am. The Gaza Strip. The adult hour where couples discuss their favourite strategic positions. 3am: A Book At Bedtime.

The Koran. Again. 6am: G-Had TV. Morning prayers. 9am: Shouts Of Praise. More prayers.' It features a programme starring 'Xena, a modestly dressed housewife' while a Middle East version of University Challenge called Madrasah Challenge features Bambah Kaskhain saying: 'Starter for ten, no praying'.

The Taliban TV soap is Middle-East Enders in which 'the entire cast is jailed for unislamic behaviour'.

Mr Palmer was educated in Austria and Denmark and was head of Internet services for genetically-modified crops giant Novartis at their Swiss HQ before becoming an MP in 1997.

Last week he revealed that Novartis pay Pounds 3,000 a year to finance his constituency newsletter in return for his help with 'occasional discussions on political issues relating to life sciences'.

Mr Palmer lists 'computer games' as one of his recreations and has spoken of the importance of using the Internet to keep in touch with local voters. 'I send an update to up to 1,400 constituents a week by email. It's hugely beneficial to have this sort of dialogue,' he said.

Asked to state his own religion, Mr Palmer declined to answer. His mother fled Russia after the revolution, and the family migrated to Britain via Poland and Germany.

The cat lover who fought for bicycle bells

ONE of Mr Palmer's achievements as an MP was to campaign for laws to make it compulsory for bicycles to be fitted with bells.

He backed moves to legalise cannabis and ban fox hunting and called for restrictions on the possession of air guns to 'reduce the wholesale slaughter of family pets.' During a debate on curbing child employment, he spoke in favour of allowing 13-year-olds to be paid to do computer work.

He has written a cook book made up of recipes from Labour MPs, and has also written two books about his favourite pastime, wargames, and edited a magazine about them.

He is a member of the Cats Protection League and Compassion in World Farming and is vice-chairman of the Labour Movement for Europe.

## TALIBAN TV

THIS is mainly to say that I've now replied to half the 300 messages which Yahoo squirrelled away (those which people inadvertently sent to the Yahoo robot instead of to me) and the rest will get answers within the next two days. I hope that those who have emailed me in the last two days will accept my apologies for a slight delay before I get back to them.

## HYPOCRITE

In the meantime, with apologies to those who think that one should never make jokes in a crisis, or fun of anyone's religious views, even the Taliban's,(or indeed that it should be illegal to do so) I can't resist forwarding this.(Before we get too smug, though, I suggest it also works as a satire on our wonderful television programmes...) Nick

## ONLY AVAILABLE TO SUBSCRIBERS OF SKY DIGITALIBAN

06.00 G-Had TV.Morning prayers.

08.30 Talitubbies.Talitubbies say 'Ah-ah'.Dipsy and Tinky-Winky repair a Stinger missile launcher.

09.00 Shouts of Praise.More prayers.

11.00 Jihad's Army.The Kandahar-on-Sea battalion repulse another attack by evil,imperialist,Zionist backed infidels.

12.00 Ready,Steady,Jihad! Celebrities make lethal devices out of everyday objects.

12.30 Panoramadan.The programme reports on America's attempts to take over the world.

13.30 Xena:Modestly dressed Housewife.Xena stays at home and does some cooking 14.00 Only Fools and Camels.Dhal-Boy offloads some Chinese rocket launchers to Hamas.

14.30 Green Peter.The total number of Kalashnikovs bought by the milk bottle top appeal is revealed.

15.00 Madrasah Challenge.Two more Islamic colleges meet.Bambah Kaskhain asks the questions.

'Starter for ten,no praying.' 15.30 I Love 629.A look back at the events of the year,including the Prophet's entry into Mecca,and the destruction of pagan idols.

16.00 Question Time.Members of the public face questions from political and religious leaders.

17.00 Koranation Street.Deidre faces execution by stoning for adultery.

17.30 Middle-EastEnders.The entire cast is jailed for unislamic behaviour.

18.00 Holiday.The team go on pilgrimage to Mecca.Again.

18.30 Top of the Prophets.Will the Koran be No.1 for the 63,728th week running?

19.00 Who wants to be a Mujahadin?

Mahmoud Tarran asks the questions.Will contestants phone a mullah,go 'inshallah', or ask the Islamic council?

20.00 FILM:Shariah's Angels.The three burkha-clad sleuths go undercover to expose an evil scheme to educate women.

21.30 Big Brother.Who will be taken out of the house and executed this week?

22.30 Shahs in their Eyes.More hopefuls imitate famous destroyers of the infidel.

23.30 They think it's Allah over.Quiz culminating in the 'don't feel the Mullah'round.

00.00 When Imams attack.Amusing footage shot secretly in mosques.

The filmers were also secretly shot.

00.30 The West Bank Show.Arts programme looking at anti-Israel graffiti art in the occupied territories.

01.30 Bhuffi the Infidel Slayer.



## HYPOCRITE

02.00 The Gaza strip. The adult hour where couples discuss their favourite strategic positions

03.00 A book at bedtime. The Koran.

Again

END

**Load-Date:** March 1, 2004

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## LETTERS

The Forward  
February 20, 2004

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**Section:** Editorial; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1444 words

### **Body**

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#### Harsh Tone of Bible Not Reserved for Gays

Columnist David Klinghoffer, it seems to me, adds to the confusion he so scorns when he cites Leviticus and "ancient Jewish midrashic tradition" to argue that Judaism condemns homosexuality ("Communal Confusion," February 13).

Yes, the Lord is alleged to have said, by the writers of Leviticus, "You shall not lie with a male as with a woman; it is an abomination" (18:22). Abomination seems to be a very strong word, but it is used more than once in the same book to tell us that "Everything in the waters that has not fins and scales... is an abomination to you" (11:10-11:12). Is Klinghoffer as exercised about the eating of shellfish by Jews as he is about the condoning of homosexuality and homosexual marriage by Jewish individuals and organizations?

Leviticus also tells us that "you may buy male and female slaves from among the nations around you" (25:44) and worse yet that we shall "put to death" he "who blasphemes the name of the Lord...." Indeed, "all the congregation shall stone him... to death" (24:16). And what are we 21st-century Jews to make of these explicit instructions?

Gerald Sorin

Director, Jewish Studies

SUNY New Paltz

New Paltz, N.Y.

David Klinghoffer takes liberal Jewish organizations to task for preaching a religion of "comfort" far removed from true Judaism when it comes to gay rights issues. Marc Stern of the American Jewish Congress seems to have swallowed this argument whole, suggesting that the conflict over gay rights is one between people whose morality is "purely secularly derived" and those whose morality is "determined religiously" ("Big Groups To Address Gay Rights Questions," February 13).

"Justice, justice shall you pursue" (Deuteronomy 16:20), "In the image of God" (Genesis 1:27) and "Love your neighbor as yourself" (Leviticus 19:18) are just three of the many passages from Jewish tradition that hold sway over my moral compass, and each leads me in the same direction.

The conflict over gay rights is not between secular and religious worldviews; rather, it is between two religiously derived worldviews that are in conflict with one another. To borrow Abraham Joshua Heschel's language, it is

## LETTERS

between those who seek to live by their understanding of "God's inner motives" and those who dwell only (or primarily) upon "His historical decisions."

Rabbi Larry Bach

El Paso, Texas

David Klinghoffer looks at Jewish support for secular recognition of gay couples and sees heresy, but a Jewish position opposing government discrimination against homosexuals should resonate for anyone who has seen photographs of the emaciated survivors of Nazi camps, some with yellow stars and some with pink triangles.

Whether or not there is a single Jewish position on homosexuality is not the point. All Jews should be able to agree that the state has no business legislating who can or cannot marry: Marriage is a spiritual, religious union and not a question for civil government.

Argue over whether a rabbi should honor the unions of these and those, but don't argue over whether the government should intervene.

Neil Litt

Princeton, N.J.

#### A Plan That Supporters Of Israel Should Back

The only thing misleading about the recent Americans for Peace Now survey of Jewish Americans regarding the Geneva initiative is Zionist Organization of America President Morton Klein's letter responding to it in your newspaper ("Poll Presents Geneva in a Misleading Light," February 13).

First, Geneva is not a product of "the Israeli far left," as Klein would have readers believe. It is supported by a wide range of Israelis, including former army chief of staff Lieutenant General (res.) Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, Major General (res.) Gidon Shefer, Brigadier General (res.) Giora Inbar, Knesset member and former Knesset speaker Avraham Burg, Knesset member Amram Mitzna, Knesset member Yuli Tamir and former justice minister Yossi Beilin.

Second, on the issue of Palestinian refugees, Klein fails to mention that while Geneva does indeed discuss U.N. General Assembly Resolution 194, U.N. Security Council Resolution 242 and the Arab peace initiative as the basis for solving this problem, it goes on to say that the parties agree that the rights mentioned in these resolutions "are fulfilled according to Article 7 of this agreement." In other words, regardless of whatever issues are raised in those documents, they are considered met by the terms laid out in Geneva.

Third, Klein fails to mention that the Arab peace initiative specifically talks about an "agreed upon" solution to refugees, meaning that Israel has the right to determine what a final formula for addressing refugees entails.

Fourth, Klein fails to give full weight to Israel's sovereign rights regarding how many refugees it would be required to absorb under the Geneva plan. The passage on this matter says that the option for refugees to move to Israel "shall be at the sovereign discretion of Israel and will be in accordance with a number that Israel will submit to the International Commission.... As a basis, Israel will consider the average of the total numbers submitted by the different third countries to the International Commission." Under no circumstances would Geneva require Israel to absorb any refugees if it didn't want to - that's the meaning of sovereignty. Israel may consider what other nations are doing with refugee numbers and still decide to accept no refugees. Hamas and Islamic Jihad understand that, which is why they object to this provision.

Fifth, Klein fails to mention that elsewhere in Geneva, the Arab neighborhoods of East Jerusalem would become the capital of a new Palestinian state. So even if Israel did decide on its own to take in a few thousand Palestinian refugees, those numbers would be more than offset by the several hundred of thousands of Arabs in East Jerusalem who would become citizens of a new Palestinian state.

## LETTERS

The Geneva initiative offers Israelis and Palestinians a working model for peace that will preserve Israel's future as a Jewish, democratic state - something that true friends of Israel should welcome.

Mark Rosenblum

Founder and Policy Director

Americans for Peace Now

New York, N.Y.

Overlooking Jewish Women Athletes

Let's hope that forthcoming celebrations of the 350th anniversary of the arrival of Jews in America will be more inclusive than your recent tribute to Jewish sports heroes ("In David's Footsteps," February 6). Just a little research would have demonstrated why Jewish women's role in sports history deserves more than a single paragraph on figure skaters at the 2002 Olympic Winter Games.

A short list of Jewish American women sports stars would include Lillian Copeland, one of the greatest track-and-field athletes of the early-20th century; Basketball Hall of Famer Nancy Lieberman, the youngest player in history to win an Olympic medal for basketball and the first woman to play in a men's league; tennis legend Julie Heldman, founder of the Virginia Slims Tour; Deena Drossin, the fastest female marathoner in American history and Helen Hines, who has won the wheelchair divisions of the New York Marathon three times and the Boston Marathon twice. To carry on the Mendoza tradition, there's boxer Jill "The Zion Lion" Matthews, one of pro boxing's top females in the 1990s.

Jewish women were major leaguers in "America's Game." At least five Jewish women played in the All-American Girls Professional Baseball League (memorialized in the film "A League of their Own"). One of the league's top players was 1946 all-star Gertrude "Tiby" Eisen, a pioneering American sportswoman and an outfielder who averaged 70 stolen bases a season.

Jewish Olympic glory? Who could forget gymnast Kerri Strug in Atlanta 1996? After sustaining a leg injury on her first pass, she courageously vaulted the U.S. team to gold on her second, an instant Olympic legend.

In commemorating the history of Jews in sports, the Forward should have recognized that Jewish women have made history here, as they have in nearly every field.

Nancy F. Vineberg

Director of Communications

The Hadassah-Brandeis Institute

Brandeis University

Waltham, Mass.

Unbaptized in Romany

In Joshua Cohen's interesting travelogue about Sighet, Romania ("Sighet and the Middle Ages," January 23), he reports that the local Romany (Gypsy) word for "Jew" is "Biboldo, derived from the same Latin root as biblio, meaning library, and liber, meaning book." Nice if it were true, but in Romany bi- means "un-" and boldo means "baptized" (from a verb meaning "dunk"). And biblio- comes from the Greek word meaning "book."

Robert A. Rothstein

Professor of Comparative Literature

LETTERS

University of Massachusetts Amherst  
Amherst, Mass.

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006

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## Letters to the Editor

UK Newsquest Regional Press - This is Bradford

January 16, 2004

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**Length:** 1342 words

### **Body**

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Bradford violence 'vastly reduced'

SIR - I am writing in response to Marsha Singh's claims regarding "booze-fuelled" anti-social behaviour in the city centre.

Being a so-called "youth" I feel well discriminated against. I believe that violence and anti-social behaviour has vastly reduced recently compared to the violent times of the late 1990s. I think the police's presence in the city centre has helped and people are drinking more responsibly.

The bars and "clubs" (do we have any of the latter?) have become more upmarket and the West End is now a thriving zone that needs to be further enhanced to bring more money and employment into Bradford.

The statements against seem to be from people who do not enter the bars and only read statistics. Personally I believe that more bars and clubs need to be introduced to scatter people around therefore reducing chances of anti-social behaviour. The existing bars are becoming too full and causing problems. We need to take advantage of this and invest in new development.

Nightlife and social relaxation could be a catalyst to boost Bradford to higher levels. How can we be a city of culture without any aspirations to improve social areas?

Simon Whitley Cedar Drive Wyke.

Centre a 'midden'

SIR - Having just read Mike Priestley's comments in his most excellent column (T&A January 10) regarding the sad decline of the former Brown Muffs' building I have to say that he is absolutely spot-on.

I'm sorry to be brutal but in my opinion the city centre is at the moment an absolute run-down midden. It needs a miracle not just a new shopping centre.

Do they really think that the new proposed Broadway shopping development/Rawson Quarter will be the answer to Bradford's decline? What is wrong with the buildings we already have or had? Another waste of money!

When I was a child going into Bradford city centre on a Saturday afternoon was to me nothing short of a real treat: Busby's Brown Muffs Kirkgate Market etc etc.

I have lived here all my life and watched with great sadness the gradual decline of this once-great city to the wreck it is now.

## Letters to the Editor

If we had followed Leeds's example Bradford wouldn't be in this state. Regarding Brown Muffs my uncle and late auntie worked there for many years having started at the "bottom of the ladder".

I have been in many times and it was the jewel in the crown.

Sadly those days are long gone. Ah well we can but keep that flicker of hope alive can't we?

Mark S Breen Bolton Hall Road Wrose..

Jigsaw complete

SIR - At last Bradfordians will hopefully unite and back the plans to transform Odsal and its surroundings. The city needs it.

As the gateway to Bradford this will also enhance the city centre when the regeneration plans are completed.

This is the final piece in the jigsaw enabling the green land of West Bowling Golf Club to be returned to Green Belt in the UDP for Bradford.

David A Robinson Greenacre Drive Wyke.

Mistrust for CRE

SIR - Is the outcry about Robert Kilroy-Silk's article ridiculous or is it ridiculous? In previous articles he has criticised just about every nationality on this planet yet apparently he is not allowed to criticise Arabs.

Why? Are Arabs somehow uniquely omnipotent and above any form of criticism? Unfortunately the Commission for Racial Equality has now got its talons into this which means that governments officials ministers MPs in fact anyone frightened to death of appearing to be in the slightest way politically incorrect will be jumping about like scared rabbits.

I have always mistrusted the CRE as being more likely to create unrest than solve it and this is exactly what it has done. If the CRE had left things alone only a few Sunday Express readers would have seen the article and either agreed or disagreed for surely that is still our right in this country.

Malcolm Wood Westercroft View Northowram.

Arab atrocities

SIR - The now notorious Kilroy-Silk article was an essay in ham-fisted generalisations which predictably called down upon his head the full wrath of the race relations establishment including sadly the BBC.

All the sound and fury however must not be allowed to drown out the legitimate argument which Kilroy however clumsily was trying to advance.

The insane butchers of 9/11 were not Martians nor do Hamas suicide bombers come from Estonia. Cutting off the hands of thieves and the public beheading of miscreants is not the norm in the Canary Islands. Australian women are not deprived of their basic human rights and treated as little more than bond slaves.

Yet all these atrocities unarguably occur among Arabs and Arab regimes. If it is deemed racist or Islamophobic to condemn such crimes against humanity then I must hold my hands up and plead guilty as charged.

And I would like to think the BBC has axed Kilroy's show simply because it is a lousy programme!

Peter Wilson Thornhill Grove Calverley.

Sickening acts

## Letters to the Editor

SIR - It seems that hardly a day goes by in Bradford when there isn't a report of Asian gangs attacking a white person either during a car-jack mugging or common assault. Then they disappear like rats to the sewer but by themselves they are as cowardly as a mouse.

If this phenomenon was perpetrated by whites on Asians it would be a national scandal with the CRE demanding - and getting - high-profile action from the police.

Religious ministers of all faiths politicians of all colours and people of the politically-correct variety would be screaming from the rooftops.

Why the silence when it's happening from the other side? It's got to the stage when I dare not look indigenous people in the eye despite the fact that they are intelligent enough to realise that it's only a sizeable minority.

I say "sizeable" because there are far too many. There are many in the community close enough to them to shop them to the police. But they don't and it sickens me to the stomach.

I can only expect more public figures like Kilroy-Silk speaking their mind in the future and distorting the truth a little. But who can blame them?

M Zafar Fairbank Road Bradford.

Fair play needed

SIR - The suspension of Mr Kilroy-Silk and his programme is an outrage. It shows how far these "bleeding heart" politically-correct people will go bending over backwards to kow-tow to those who don't give a damn about this country.

Instead of doing good the Campaign for Racial Equality is causing more racial tension and hatred. In fact it is a mirror image of the BNP.

They have turned a blind eye to all the Muslim clerics who are travelling around the country preaching hatred of the infidels. Ban the CRE because they are dangerous.

In Bradford this week a centre has been set up for disabled people of Asian origin only. I'll bet the CRE won't complain about that but if it had said for "whites only" they would be screaming it as racist.

Equality is a two-way street and I would like to see more fair play.

N Brown Peterborough Place Undercliffe.

Book sale plea

SIR - Your report on the Central Library's decision not to sell local books raises part of a wider problem of how difficult it is for local publishers such as local history groups to sell their publications.

Since the major bookshops like W H Smiths and Waterstones ceased to stock local publications (unless massive discounts in the order of 35 per cent-50 per cent were offered which are impossible for small groups) the Central Library has been the only place in Bradford where local publishers could sell their wares for a small discount.

This was a welcome and much-appreciated service. It is a great loss to the community that this last "shop window" is no longer available.

Bradford has a rich variety of groups that promote local culture through publishing. Examples are Redbeck Press J B Priestley Society Bradford Historical and Antiquarian Society the Bronte Society not to mention dozens of local heritage groups and local authors who self-publish.

Surely the local library service should support local culture? Particularly books!



Letters to the Editor

Bob Duckett (Editor Bradford Antiquary; Aspects of Bradford) Holden Lane Shipley

**Load-Date:** January 16, 2004

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**VILE WORDS OF HATE THAT SHAME TOP UNIVERSITY Daily News Special  
Report on Anti-Semitism Charges at New York's Most Prestigious Seat of  
Learning**

Daily News (New York)

November 21, 2004 Sunday

SPORTS FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 4; DAILY NEWS SPECIAL REPORT

**Length:** 1614 words

**Byline:** By DOUGLAS FEIDEN DAILY NEWS STAFF WRITER

## **Body**

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IN THE WORLD of Hamid Dabashi, supporters of Israel are "warmongers" and "Gestapo apparatchiks."

The Jewish homeland is "nothing more than a military base for the rising predatory empire of the United States."

It's a capital of "thuggery" - a "ghastly state of racism and apartheid" - and it "must be dismantled."

A voice from America's crackpot fringe? Actually, Dabashi is a tenured professor and department chairman at Columbia University. And his views have resonated and been echoed in other areas of the university.

Columbia is at risk of becoming a poison Ivy, some critics claim, and tensions are high.

In classrooms, teach-ins, interviews and published works, dozens of academics are said to be promoting an I-hate-Israel agenda, embracing the ugliest of Arab propaganda, and teaching that Zionism is the root of all evil in the Mideast.

In three weeks of interviews, numerous students told the Daily News they face harassment, threats and ridicule merely for defending the right of Israel to survive.

And the university itself is holding investigations into the alleged intimidation.

Dabashi has achieved academic stardom: professor of Iranian studies; chairman of the Middle East and Asian languages and cultures department; past head of a panel that administers Columbia's core curriculum.

The 53-year-old, Iranian-born scholar has said CNN should be held accountable for "war crimes" for one-sided coverage of Sept. 11, 2001. He doubts the existence of Al Qaeda and questions the role of Osama Bin Laden in the attacks.

VILE WORDS OF HATE THAT SHAME TOP UNIVERSITY Daily News Special Report on Anti-Semitism  
Charges at New York 's Most Prestigious Seat of Learning

Dabashi did not return calls.

In September in the Egyptian newspaper Al-Ahram, he wrote, "What they call Israel is no mere military state. A subsumed militarism, a systemic mendacity with an ingrained violence constitutional to the very fusion of its fabric, has penetrated the deepest corners of what these people have to call their soul."

After the showing of a student-made documentary about faculty bias and bullying that targets Jewish students, six or seven swastikas were found carved in a Butler Library bathroom last month.

Then after a screening of the film, "Columbia Unbecoming," produced by the David Project, a pro-Israel group in Boston, one student denounced another as a "Zionist fascist scum," witnesses said.

On Oct. 27, Columbia announced it would probe alleged intimidation and improve procedures for students to file grievances.

"Is the climate hostile to free expression?" asked Alan Brinkley, the university provost. "I don't believe it is, but we're investigating to find out."

But one student on College Walk described the campus as a "republic of fear." Another branded the Middle East and Asian languages and cultures department the "department of dishonesty."

A third described how she was once "humiliated in front of an entire class."

Deena Shanker, a Mideast and Asian studies major, remains an admirer of the department. But she says she will never forget the day she asked Joseph Massad, a professor of modern Arab politics, if Israel gives warnings before bombing certain buildings so residents could flee.

"Instead of answering my question, Massad exploded," she said. "He told me if I was going to 'deny the atrocities' committed against the Palestinians, I could get out of his class."

"Professorial power is being abused," said Ariel Beery, a senior who is student president in the School of General Studies, but stresses he's speaking only for himself.

"Students are being bullied because of their identities, ideologies, religions and national origins," Beery said.

Added Noah Liben, another senior, "Debate is being stifled. Students are being silenced in their own classrooms."

Said Brinkley: If a professor taught the "Earth was flat or there was no Holocaust," Columbia might intervene in the classroom. "But we don't tell faculty they can't express strong, or even offensive opinions."

Yet even some faculty members say they fear social ostracism and career consequences if they're viewed as too pro-Israel, and that many have been cowed or shamed into silence.

One apparently unafraid is Dan Miron, a professor of Hebrew literature and holder of a prestigious endowed chair.

He said scores of Jewish students - about one a week - have trooped into his office to complain about bias in the classroom.

"Students tell me they've been browbeaten, humiliated and treated disrespectfully for daring to challenge the idea that Israel has no right to exist as a Jewish nation," he said.

"They say they've been told Israeli soldiers routinely rape Palestinian women and commit other atrocities, and that Zionism is racism and the root of all evil."

One yardstick of the anti-Israel sentiment among professors, critics say, is the 106 faculty signatures on a petition last year that called for Columbia to sell its holdings in all firms that conduct business with Israel's military.

## VILE WORDS OF HATE THAT SHAME TOP UNIVERSITY Daily News Special Report on Anti-Semitism Charges at New York 's Most Prestigious Seat of Learning

Noting that the divestment campaign compared Israel to South Africa during the apartheid era, Columbia President Lee Bollinger termed it "grotesque and offensive."

That didn't stop 12 Mideast and Asian studies professors - almost half the department - and 21 anthropology teachers from signing on, a review of the petition shows.

To identify the Columbia faculty with the most strongly anti-Israel views, The News spoke to numerous teachers and students, including some who took their courses; reviewed interviews and published works, and examined Web sites that report their public speeches and statements, including the online archives of the Columbia Spectator, the student newspaper.

Their views could be dismissed as academic fodder if they weren't so incendiary.

[dfeiden@nydailynews.com](mailto:dfeiden@nydailynews.com)

Graphic: Columbia's firebrands

Nicholas De Genova, who teaches anthropology and Latino studies. The Chronicle of Higher Education calls him "the most hated professor in America."

At an anti-war teach-in last year, he said he wished for a "million Mogadishus," referring to the slaughter of U.S. troops in Somalia in 1993.

"U.S. patriotism is inseparable from imperial warfare and white supremacy," he added.

De Genova has also said, "The heritage of the victims of the Holocaust belongs to the Palestinian people. ... Israel has no claim to the heritage of the Holocaust."

De Genova didn't return calls.

Bruce Robbins, a professor of English and comparative literature.

In a speech backing divestment, he said, "The Israeli government has no right to the sufferings of the Holocaust."

Elaborating, Robbins told The News he believes Israel has a right to exist, but he thinks the country has "betrayed the memory of the Holocaust."

Joseph Massad, who is a tenure-track professor of Arab politics. Students and faculty interviewed by The News consistently claimed that the Jordanian-born Palestinian is the most controversial, and vitriolic, professor on campus.

"How many Palestinians have you killed?" he allegedly asked one student, Tomy Schoenfeld, an Israeli military veteran, and then refused to answer his questions.

To Massad, CNN star Wolf Blitzer is "Ze'ev Blitzer," which is the byline Blitzer used in the 1980s, when he wrote for Hebrew papers but hasn't used since.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon can be likened to Nazi Minister of Propaganda Joseph Goebbels, he once declared.

"The Jews are not a nation," he said in one speech. "The Jewish state is a racist state that does not have a right to exist."

Massad didn't return several calls. On his Web site, he says he's a victim of a "witch hunt" by "pro-Israel groups" and their "propaganda machine."

VILE WORDS OF HATE THAT SHAME TOP UNIVERSITY Daily News Special Report on Anti-Semitism  
Charges at New York 's Most Prestigious Seat of Learning

George Saliba, a professor of Arabic and Islamic science. His classroom rants against the West are legendary, students have claimed.

One student says his "Islam & Western Science" class could be called "Why the West is Evil." Another writes that his "Intro to Islamic Civilization" often serves as a forum to "rail against evil America."

A recent graduate, Lindsay Shrier, said Saliba told her, "You have no claim to the land of Israel ... no voice in this debate. You have green eyes, you're not a true Semite. I have brown eyes, I'm a true Semite."

Saliba did not return calls.

Rashid Khalidi, who is the Edward Said professor of Arab studies. He's the academic heir to the late Said, a professor who famously threw a stone from Lebanon at an Israeli guard booth.

Columbia initially refused to say how the chair was funded. But The United Arab Emirates, which denies the Holocaust on state TV channels, is reported to have provided \$200,000.

When Palestinians in a Ramallah police station lynched two Israeli reservists in 2000 - throwing one body out a window and proudly displaying bloodstained hands - the professor attacked the media, not the killers.

He complained about "inflammatory headlines" in a Chicago Sun-Times story and called the paper's then-owner, Conrad Black, who also owned the Jerusalem Post, "the most extreme Zionist in public life."

Reached at Columbia, Khalidi declined to comment on specifics.

"As somebody who has a body of work, written six books and won many awards, the only fair thing to do is look at the entire body of work, not take quotes out of context," he said.

Lila Abu-Lughod, a professor of anthropology, romanticizes Birzeit University in the West Bank as a "liberal arts college dedicated to teaching and research in the same spirit as U.S. colleges."

But it is well-established that Birzeit also is the campus where Hamas openly recruits suicide bombers, stone-throwers and gunmen.

As in her published works, Abu-Lughod gave a carefully nuanced response when reached Friday by The News:

"The CIA has historically recruited at Columbia, but that's not the mission of Columbia. The mission of Birzeit is to educate students, and they're working under very difficult circumstances to do that."

## Graphic

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GRAPHIC;LIST, MIKE ALBANS DAILY NEWS [Columbia University] Many students say Columbia Prof. Hamid Dabashi, a department chairman, has bullied and threatened them for defending Israel.

**Load-Date:** November 22, 2004

## LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

Coventry Evening Telegraph

April 20, 2004, Tuesday

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**Section:** First Edition; FEATURES

**Length:** 1492 words

### **Body**

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PIC OF THE PAST: HERE'S a rare view of the M1 - with not a traffic jam in sight.

Britain's first official motorway had its first section opened in 1959 and was then extended in stages to its present length of the country from London and through the Midlands heading north to Leeds.

Among the milestones in its construction was the opening of this stretch in October 1964 - the Lutterworth extension near Rugby. Further north, a section through Leicestershire was subsequently opened in January 1965.

Were you among the first to sample life in the fast lane with the opening of Britain's new north-south link road? Do you remember what motorway driving used to be like in the early days of these six-lane superhighways?

If you have any memories prompted by our Pic of the Past, write to the Letters Editor, Evening Telegraph, Corporation Street, Coventry CV1 1FP.

Outdated prejudice is so hard to believe

CAN Ian Callaghan (Textline, April 15) be serious when he says he would call for a ban on all women drivers?

I didn't think it possible that anyone could hold such out-dated and prejudiced views!

It's a matter of public record that male drivers have more, and more serious, accidents, than female drivers do.

Young men between the ages of 18 and 25 account for more motoring accidents than any other group, a fact reflected in their higher insurance premiums.

A quick look through the Evening Telegraph's In The Courts column on Friday seems to bear this out.

Of 12 reported motoring offences, including dangerous driving, drink driving, driving without insurance, and driving without due care and attention, 11 were committed by men.

The 12th, Nicky, could possibly have been a woman, but looking at his/her record I doubt it.

Barbara Moore, Marlborough Road, Stoke.

Matter of opinion

RE: 'Councillor resignation call for "racist" radio comments' (Evening Telegraph, April 3).

## LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

What a hypocritical attitude of Cllr Akeister to say that Cllr Ravenhall's standpoint regarding his criticism of Coventry Airport owner TUI is unacceptable - because it unlawfully discriminated against someone, failed to treat people with respect and damaged the reputation of Rugby Borough Council.

Is Cllr Akeister's action in reporting Cllr Ravenhall to the National Standards Board, apparently behind his back and without prior consultation, considered to be treating Cllr Ravenhall with respect?

To some of us that read the many letters of Cllr Ravenhall, he is known as "Ravin' Ron", but he knows it is not said with malice.

And that is the problem today. Every word and phrase is analysed by the 'politically correct brigade' looking for some hidden meaning where none exists.

I disagree with Cllr Ravenhall regarding his views about environmental issues, but I support him in what he said on the Ed Doolan show and as far as I'm concerned he has nothing to apologise for.

Here is an idea guaranteed to get Cllr Akeister a ticket on the PC bandwagon - force Network Rail to change the name Waterloo station, but not yet, it drives the French nuts!

John R Lynch, Grendon Drive, Rugby.

... WHAT is wrong with having an opinion? I read the report about Cllr Ravenhall 'Councillor resignation call for "racist" radio comments'.

Cllr Akeister's comment about Cllr Ravenhall's comments going against the council's code of conduct is in itself a form of racism.

What the likes of Cllr Akeister mean is this: If you don't agree with what he believes to be right then YOU must be at fault.

I suppose the fact that I don't think this country should be swamped with asylum seekers makes me a racist as well does it?

History is part of our past as a nation and like it or not we all have opinions. In a democracy we should be able to speak them without fear or prejudice, not just agree with the likes of Cllr Akeister.

Cllr Ravenhall is right that discrimination and fascism is perpetrated by those who continually bulldoze their way against local opinion.

Rick Medlock, Mickleton Road, Earlsdon.

Peace in the Middle East is a fading hope

I KNOW it's very British to support the underdog and, in the case of the beleaguered Palestinians so-called cause, also very politically correct.

But how much longer are we going to delude ourselves into believing Hamas and Hezbollah are freedom fighters instead of acknowledging them for what they really are.

Yes, the Israelis should withdraw from the occupied territories - they have no right to colonise them. However, even if they did withdraw totally from these areas, would that see the end of the terror campaign that has been waged against them for so long?

People should recognise that what the Israelis do when they assassinate a leader of their enemies is only what we tried to do to the Nazi hierarchy during our own desperate struggle for survival 60 years ago ie. reduce their enemy's ability to inflict damage and therefore protect themselves better.

## LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

Eddie Morgan, Melbourne Road, Earlsdon.

Where are my letters?

I AM still waiting for three letters posted from Walsgrave hospital on Feb 18 and 25 and March 5. I am now on record as not attending my appointment.

After phoning Royal Mail, Bishop Street, Coventry, about my missing letters, I was told someone would phone me back the next day.

That was a week ago and I'm still waiting for that call.

Maybe someone from Royal Mail can explain what's happening to our mail.

Julie Wale, Farren Road, Wyken.

to the point

SUPERMARKETS are taking the heart out of our communities. Instead of walking to the local shop, we now drive for 10 minutes down the road to our nearest supermarket, which leads to a loss in community spirit and closure of small local shops.

These supergiants press farmers for low prices and their savings are not passed on to us. Time and again studies find that - from bananas to minestrone soup - the small, local shop often offers better value. The supermarkets keep a few key items cheap.

I encourage people to support the Green Party campaign to use their local shops more often to keep Midlands' communities alive.

Chris Williams, Green Party member, Birchley Rise, Solihull.

Wishful Thinking

If Jesus came down to earth today,

What would he do, what would he say?

He would heal the sick, the blind to see,

There would be hope for you and me.

There would be no fighting, brother against brother,

As Jesus taught us to love one another.

Oh let us pray,

For this beleaguered land,

And take Jesus by the hand,

Give him the love he gave to you,

For he is good and pure and true.

Mrs Freda Chinn

Kelmscote Road, Keresley.



## LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

RE: Sky blues plan to buy back ground - and bosses hope to sell it on again at a profit

(Evening Telegraph, April 3).

This prompts me to ask the question that is on many people's lips: How can the Sky Blues football club have sold their ground in the first place, never mind buying it back for resale at a higher value? Surely the ground should belong to the people of Coventry and be sold by the council, with the money being set against the vast sums being put up by the same council.

I just don't see the club getting an excellent venue and keeping the proceeds of the old one.

Brian M Phillips, Hipswell Highway, Wyken.

IF it's true what they say happened between David Beckham and Rebecca Loos then he's scored an own goal.

J Young, Curtis Road, Wyken.

Late show worth catching

David Hindley, aged 48, of Abbey Road, Whitley:

NYPD Blue, Channel 4.

THE series began in 1992 and follows the lives and careers of the squad of detectives in a precinct house (police station) in New York City.

The main character is Andy Sipowicz a middle-aged widower with a five- year-old son.

Each episode features two stories of different cases the teams are investigating plus their personal dramas.

The plots are very satisfying and have a realistic feel to them.

The plots can be very brutal at times, but the characters are always sympathetic and you really care what happens to them.

This is not a review of a particular show, but a piece to encourage people to watch an excellent drama.

I am glad Channel 4 is showing NYPD Blue, but unless you own a video it is almost impossible to catch this excellent show.

Robert Simpson, aged 53, of Bridgeacre Gardens, Coventry.

Black Books, Channel 4.

WHO would have thought that 'Debbie' from the Archers would be part of a classic, irreverent comedy that defies categorisation.

Along with the sublime Bill Bailey and the brilliant Dylan Moran, also one of the creators, Black Books provides pure escapism from the mundane, predictable programmes that swamp most channels most of the time.

After three series it is probably time to stop. Much like Fawlty Towers and Father Ted, preserving this gem for future viewing will ensure its legendary status.

Each episode, based mainly in a bookshop, provides the perfect location to insult customers, each other and anything else that moves. Without plots, rhyme or reason, just bathe in the glory of originality, a rare gift in these predictable times.

LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2004

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### *Little soldier girl*

The Times (London)

March 26, 2005, Saturday

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**Section:** Features; Weekend Review 10

**Length:** 1595 words

**Byline:** Janine di Giovanni

## **Body**

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Valerie Zenatti was looking forward to teenage life in the discos and boutiques of Nice when her parents emigrated to Israel. Within years she was risking her life as an Israeli army spy. Janine di Giovanni met her.

Adolescent fiction is a strange genre. What does one read when one is 17, spotty and riddled with angst? The classic Bildungsroman *The Catcher in the Rye*? *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*? Or even, on a more popular level, Judy Blume, who cornered the teenage American girl market in the 1970s with novels such as *Are you There, God? It's me, Margaret*, which tackles the themes of early love, sexual initiation and finding one's identity in a cold and isolated world? All track the spiritual, moral or physiological development of their characters.

Valerie Zenatti, a French-Israeli writer, brings all these topics to light in *When I was a Soldier: One Girl's Real Story*. But Zenatti adds a twist: her heroine, also called Valerie, comes of age in the Israeli Defence Force. And while she grapples with first love, first rejection, first friendship, she is also grappling with more profound issues, such as the responsibility for her country's security.

It's a tough job for someone who had her first kiss just a year before.

"Can you imagine being 18 years old, a little girl, really, and being told that you are responsible for the security of your mother, your father, your little brother, your grandmother, your grandfather, your country?" Zenatti asks, pausing over lunch in a bistro in the Marais district of Paris. "You have to be a responsible adult, but you are really a child."

At times, *When I was a Soldier* is Zenatti's own story, but it is also the story of every young Israeli girl. "It's me, but it's not me," she says. "It's my history, but I wrote it like a novel. It's not an exact memoir."

Her own history is exotic. Born into a French Sephardic Jewish family in Nice in 1970, Zenatti came home one day, aged 13, to find her parents planning to emigrate to Israel. One year later, they settled in Beersheva, a depressing town in the middle of the Negev Desert in the south of the country, placed there by the Jewish Agency, which recruits Jews throughout the world to settle in Israel.

She arrived not speaking a word of Hebrew, and one week later was installed in an Israeli high school where she was teased for her French accent. It was, she says, a culture shock. But she was also a dreamy teenager and had hoped the move would alter her vision of the world. "I went to Israel thinking I would become another girl from the French one who lived in Nice," she says. "I thought I would be different. But I was not."

## Little soldier girl

Gradually, she began to fit in. She learnt Hebrew and English, and began to think of herself as an Israeli. Five years later, she kissed her new friends -mainly other immigrants from countries such as Uzbekistan and Moldova - goodbye and trotted off to do her mandatory military service. She was taught how to shoot an Uzi machinegun and do guard duty, who to fire on and when to hold fire.

Highly intelligent, she was also selected to be part of an elite group working in military intelligence in a village outside Jerusalem. It was the height of the first Palestinian intifada and Zenatti's job was to spy on Jordanian pilots speaking English. "Once I listened in on King Hussein when he was flying," she recalls. "His English was perfect."

Soldier habits are hard to shake. Almost two decades later, she smiles mysteriously and shakes her head when I ask how the Israelis managed to get so close to the Jordanians. "I can't tell you that!" she protests. "It's state security."

Zenatti's heroine shares the same experiences as a young soldier. The book opens with her innocence being shattered by a failed romance with a French emigre called Jean-Davide. There are loving portraits of her friends. There is her dreary job at a pharmacy. There are her hopes and dreams.

Then, suddenly, she is thrust into the real world. She takes her exams; then packs her kit and leaves her parents, entering a strange world that every Israeli must pass through: the army. She describes the initiation as "a passport to the nation". On weekends, she gets to go home and play tennis with her mother. But on Sunday afternoons she and other 18-year-olds head back to their military base.

"I'd discovered that on Sundays the whole country is like a huge military base with soldiers dashing in every direction, leaping on buses," she writes.

It's no surprise that half way through her military intelligence training, Valerie has a breakdown and is treated in hospital. But this is not Girl, Interrupted territory. No plush loony bins, no indulgent shrinks, no Prozac. It's back on the job fast, with a stiff upper lip. There is a country to defend. "In Europe, you begin to be yourself at 18," she explains. "You travel, you work. Maybe you still live with your parents. You are free. But in Israel you go to the army. And armies are not meant to give you freedom."

Then there is the first love, Jean-Davide. Valerie wants back the boy who dumped her, so she heads to Jerusalem for the weekend where they sleep innocently together like brother and sister, both wearing T-shirts. Then she finds out that he has another girl. Broken heart is followed by burning inspiration to write. She goes everywhere with her notebook and pen. An Israeli Stephen Daedalus.

And then, one day, she finishes her training and goes home. She is initiated. She was a soldier.

The real Valerie Zenatti finished her military training and university studies in Jerusalem. But after the first Gulf War, she found the atmosphere in Israel oppressive and returned to her native France. "I was so very tired after my military service, after the Gulf War," she says. "I just wanted to live somewhere normal."

In her early twenties she met and married her Polish husband, Raski, while working for a Jewish radio station. She has two children. She still loves Israel and still feels like a "French Jewish Israeli", but she does not want the life of her parents, who still live in the apartment in Beersheva that she describes in the book. When her children were born, she says, she knew they would not be soldiers.

"It's not that I don't love the country; I do," she says. "But you cannot just live simply there. You are never really free of politics, of fear, of war. When you are in Israel or Palestine, a country at war, you are not allowed to live your life, to be yourself." She is thoughtful. "There is this constant question: what is it to be Jewish? And you have 100 different answers."

Instead, Zenatti morphed into French-ness again, working as a Hebrew teacher and writing children's books at night. She finished seven. She does not think this is such a major feat. "I have to write," she says. "And if I am not writing physically, putting the words on to paper, then I am writing in my head. So it is better to get it out." She also

## Little soldier girl

did not find it difficult to write books with eight-year-olds as the main characters. "When I am writing for a child, I try to get profoundly into the head of a child. I have a very sensitive memory. When I am writing for children, inside this 35-year-old woman is an eight-year-old."

Then she decided to turn to a period of her life that still haunted her: her military years. But, more importantly, she points out, "that special period between teenager and adult". She wanted to write about the friendship that exists between young women and chose to merge it with her own experience as a soldier.

The interesting thing about When I was a Soldier is the lack of politics in the book. There are no lectures, no propaganda, no history. Simply a young girl joining an army and missing her mother's food or her boyfriend. The same book could have been written by an 18-year-old Chechen rebel or an 18-year-old from Ohio serving in Iraq. It is about emotion rather than politics.

Zenatti says that she did this deliberately. She began writing in the summer of 2000, a few months before the second Palestinian intifada in which thousands of people have been killed. At that time, Israel was relatively quiet. There was still a sense of hope that peace might be achieved. "I did not want to write a political book or a militant book," she says. "I just wanted to describe what it is like to be 18 and a girl."

When the intifada hit, Zenatti stopped writing because she felt that her words were trivial compared with the horror. "I was afraid people would criticise me, say that I no longer lived in Israel," she says. An editor friend took her aside and convinced her to go on.

Her new book, A Bottle in the Gaza Sea, is more political. It is the story of a young Palestinian who lives in Gaza but has no interest in radical groups or politics, who wants only to be a doctor. It is a difficult topic to handle, given that Zenatti was in Gaza only once, when she was six years old. But she says that is not the issue. Imagination is far more important.

"People asked me how I could get in the head of a 20-year-old Gaza boy," she says.

"I just described what it was like to live in Gaza. To not be Hamas or Fatah, to just be a boy who wants to study and grow up and heal people's suffering."

She finishes her lunch and smiles. She has to get back to her young son, who is home on school leave. But she has one final point to drive home. "I just want to write about life," she says, with a surge of passion. "The human vision."

When I was a Soldier by Valerie Zenatti (Bloomsbury, £5.99; offer Pounds 5.09, call 0870 1608080)

**Load-Date:** April 29, 2005

## *Shimon Peres: Time Is Running Out for Likud Party*

The Forward

January 16, 2004

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**Section:** News; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1497 words

**Byline:** Chemi Shalev

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

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Shimon Peres is once again aiming to become the next Israeli prime minister. He won't admit it, perhaps even to himself, but there is no doubt that Peres can already envision the evolving circumstances that might catapult him once again, against all odds and expectations, to the nation's top office.

Peres would have to overcome formidable opposition from a host of other Labor contenders, who believe his retirement is overdue. But at 80, Peres is still one of Israel's wildest and most vigorous politicians, and he wouldn't go down without a fight.

In an exclusive interview with the Forward this week in his Tel Aviv office, Peres pulled no punches in castigating what he views as the failed policies of the current Israeli administration.

Standing on the Knesset podium this week, Peres lambasted the Sharon government in scathing vintage-Peres form, as if he was a young and aspiring politician rather than his nation's elder statesman.

Peres believes in negotiations, anytime, anywhere and with anyone willing to talk. He would negotiate concurrently with both Syria and the Palestinians, and he believes the time is ripe. Surprisingly, though, Peres does not support the forced evacuation of Jewish settlements in the territories. As someone trained to aim for the impossible, he believes that even this obstacle can be overcome, simply by talking.

\* \* \*

Q. Mr. Peres, have we, at last, reached the "New Middle East"?

A. One hundred percent. The crux of the idea of the "New Middle East," philosophically speaking, is my belief that - while Islam can confront other religions and remain strong - extremist and fundamentalist Islam cannot confront the new age and remain intact. This is the main confrontation - with fanatics who want to maintain outdated lifestyles and don't understand that one cannot survive with them. One cannot sustain antiquated agriculture, discrimination against women, and unelected leaders who are cowards and who are paralyzed. Just like all other cultures that have faced new eras, Islam has no choice but to adapt.

The process has already started, in certain places, like Turkey, and to some degree in the Pakistani army, and in Egypt to a certain extent. Now everything is beginning to fall like a house of cards. The Americans are in Iraq - not because they wish to conquer Iraq but because they want to prevent terror and weapons of mass destruction.

## Shimon Peres : Time Is Running Out for Likud Party

I'd like to make a historical analogy, which encompasses both: I doubt whether the United States would have used nuclear weapons in Hiroshima were it not for the kamikazes, because a few dozen pilots destroyed their navy. That was the straw that broke the camel's back. On the other hand, one can just imagine what would have happened to the world if Hitler had possessed a nuclear bomb before Roosevelt. In essence, the United States is trying to prevent both things now in the world - no kamikazes, and no nuclear weapons in the hands of the kamikazes.

I also see the European Union arriving in the Middle East within five years, because the moment Turkey becomes a member, the E.U. will have common borders with both Syria and Iraq. I think that what happened with Gadhafi is amazing, and even the cease-fire in Sudan is very interesting.

So Israel could end up with no enemies. And that, of course, is a very big problem for the Likud.

Q. Is Israel reacting adequately to the situation?

A. I think not. In the beginning of his term, Sharon said he needs seven days of quiet in order to launch negotiations with the Palestinians. Now he's had 70 days, and nothing is happening. Each time, the conditions for negotiations are toughened. And if someone says that he will negotiate only when terrorism stops, he can be sure that terrorism will continue and that there will be no negotiations.

Q. We can see some changes in [Syrian President Bashar al-Assad's] attitude as well.

A. Yes, Assad has been orphaned from both his parents, both the Iraqi and the Egyptian, and like Sholom Aleichem he is proclaiming: "Oh joy, I am an orphan."

Q. But the Israeli government is not responding.

A. I don't think it is capable. It can make some formalistic response, but I don't think this government is capable of withdrawing from the Golan Heights, or even from parts of the Golan. If it cannot withdraw from Gaza, how will it withdraw from the Golan? In the Golan there aren't 1.2 million Palestinians. In Gaza there are.

Q. Aren't you disappointed with the Palestinian side as well?

A. I'll tell you the truth - I'm hardly interested. Only a person who is suicidal is disappointed. As long as you're alive, there's no room for disappointment. A year ago, I did not believe that there would be such dramatic change in Iraq, or in Libya. It forces me to be modest. But not just me. My critics as well.

Q. Should we then launch negotiations with the Palestinians immediately?

A. Of course. They shouldn't have been broken off even for a minute. Even Arafat, whom we criticize so much, fought in 1996 against the Hamas. Twenty activists were killed, thousands were arrested, their beards were cut off, and he confiscated weapons and archives. Anything is possible.

Q. Do you support the prime minister's concept or plan for unilateral disengagement?

A. I don't believe such a plan exists. I know that the ultimate in unilateralism is war, while the ultimate in peace is bilateralism. How will he disengage? Why should they disengage from us? What will he do with them? It's as if someone is being seized by a bear and says, I'm in favor of disengaging. You have to discuss the bear, not just the person.

Q. So you think the plan is unwise, or do you think Sharon isn't serious?

A. I think he intends something completely different. He has a miniature plan, to give the Palestinians 42% of the territory, to build an eastern fence as well, and to annex the land up to 15 kilometers from the Jordan River. He doesn't really hide his intentions. The Americans are aware of this, and they are worried, and that's why they are conducting a battle against the fence.

Q. They are criticizing the fence, but in the meantime it is being built.

## Shimon Peres : Time Is Running Out for Likud Party

A. The eastern side isn't being built yet. And, in any case, Israel will have a major problem at the International Court of Justice in the Hague, and the Americans are well aware of this. We built a barricade in the West Bank so that we can climb on one in the Hague.

Q. Do you think Sharon will evacuate settlements?

A. I have a completely different view of the settlement issue. I think we should tell the settlers they have three choices: They can move to a bloc of settlements that we will build, they can move back to Israel proper, or they can stay where they are and we will take care of their security. I am opposed to coercion. There is no need for it. Why impose coercion on ourselves? Let them decide. Whatever they want.

Q. As you know, I am moving to Australia for a few years, and I must admit I am taken aback by the spontaneous outbursts of envy that I hear from everyone I tell. Generally speaking, aren't you concerned about the angst, the malaise, the bad feelings that are so rampant today in Israeli society?

A. As long as we are immersed in terror, in corruption, in rejectionism - we will pay the price. Israel could be a fascinating pearl, a country living on science and not territories. It should immediately embark on a major project of nanotechnology, which I am trying to advance. It should be a model to others, a small country that is like a big family. Our role model should not be the United States, but countries like Denmark or Finland, or Holland or Austria. These countries have a high standard of living, a policy of social welfare, a tradition of dialogue and not coercion.

We can be a brilliant and dramatic country. And I believe it's better to live in the Israeli drama than in pastoral Australia.

Q. But how will things ever change?

A. In Israeli politics, a party does not win its way to power, but rather loses its place in power. The Labor Party did all it could to lose power and grant victory to the Likud. I must admit, in fairness, that the Likud is now doing all that it can to lose power in the near future.

Q. But elections are to be held only in 2007.

A. The current situation can't last until 2007. The Likud has more time than reality does. This is a blind, tired government, intellectually and operationally paralyzed.

Q. So perhaps one should join them in the effort?

A. I don't think this government is interested. It is happy in its current situation. And there is no point in joining without a change in policy; it is better to fight for change from the outside than to join without any change.

Q. And when the next elections are held, who will be the Labor candidate? Shimon Peres, perhaps?

A. Whoever is selected. If there is someone else, better than me, so much the better. I am not seeking a title, I am seeking peace. As you know, I didn't fight for my current position. I was almost forced into it, simply because there was no other choice.

## Graphic

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IMAGE

**Load-Date:** June 14, 2006



## Shimon Peres : Time Is Running Out for Likud Party

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## *The mod squad*

The West Australian (Perth)

January 1, 2005 Saturday

METRO

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**Section:** MAGAZINE; Pg. 17

**Length:** 1565 words

**Byline:** GRIFFIN LONGLEY

### **Body**

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If your hobby happens to be tweaking with computer games, there could be a pot of gold waiting over the horizon.

The bush beneath Will Dowling's family home in Boya creaks under the heat of summer. A piano leans against a timber wall and a pile of jarrah rounds lies un-split in the pergola garage. The scene is quintessentially Australian.

But 19-year-old Dowling isn't tweaking a V8, kicking a football or picking off parrots with a .22. Instead he's sitting at a desk, fingers rumbling over a keyboard, eyes scrolling over screen after screen of programming code like something out of the Matrix.

He is part of an international 11-person team building a computer game over the internet which could, perhaps, one day find its place in the multi-billion-dollar games industry.

Most of the team have never met. Meeting would be tough considering that 16-year-old Koko775 lives in Texas; 14-year-old Gainix is in Britain; Chobusa, 18, is from Atlanta; Crazytrain, 22, and Norguard, 21, are from Canada; Hydn18 (who's actually 19) is from Germany; Landmass is from Finland and Fnolis is from Poland. And even though Cobber, 20, is somewhere in Perth and Kill-Time (aka 20-year-old Warren Higgins) is a Kalgoorlie lad, they rarely meet. But then again, they don't need to.

Between studying computer science at Curtin and building the occasional website Dowling sifts through the programming, or games engine, of a popular game called Half-Life, lifting out lines for the team to use in their game. Meanwhile, Higgins and others around the world use their spare time to create computer models based on the Japanese animated TV series Evangelion, which are then laid over the top of the programming. The result is a unique game, called Evangelion, driven by the game engine of Half-Life. Sound like piracy? Not at all.

"I started doing this sort of thing about three years ago, so it was before I went to uni," says Dowling. "None of us have any real formal training. You just pick it up. You pick the programs up from somewhere and you just start playing with them."

Valve Software, the creators of Half-Life, welcome these would-be hackers with open arms, offering their game engine and a do-it-yourself plagiarism kit free over the internet. The only catch is, anything the "modders" create remains Valve's property; effectively turning every computer whiz kid's bedroom into an outsourced research and development lab.

## The mod squad

"Basically Valve has respect for (the online modding community). And it goes the other way too. Like Half-Life2 was hacked before it was released and we could have been using that in our game, but we waited until it's release because we respect them."

Valve's strategy has paid handsomely. The company's most successful game, Counter Strike, is a Half-Life mod created by a bunch of US teenagers who are now among the company's highest-paid employees. And, while Dowling and his online mates don't expect to cash in from their game, it's a hobby that could see them launched into an industry which harvests \$2 million every day from Australian wallets. That's more than we fork out on films, music, dvds or personal computers.

And gamers are not all teenagers anymore. These days, most are between 19 and 39, 15 per cent are over 50, 38 per cent are women and they are all spending big. Even Australia's thin slice of the game development industry pie is worth \$100 million.

But for Australian game developers it's still no small feat to get a place at the table. Hobbyists like Dowling and Higgins rarely progress to paid work and even full-time developers like Fremantle brothers Rene and Andrew Seeberger struggle to keep afloat.

For two years their company, Bungarra Software, has worked on their PlayStation2 title Tidal Riders. It's still at least eight months from hitting the shelves.

"We were originally signed with Electronic Arts to do a PS2 surfing title," Rene Seeberger says. "But they closed up shop in Australia and we changed direction because Kelly Slater's surfing game and Transworld Surf had made surfing games a very competitive area."

The Seebergers' new version is based on the tidal wall phenomenon. Players ride a tidal wave as it crashes through terrain all over the world, letting players grind on landscapes from villages to cities and canyons. Sony is keen on the game, but getting investors on board has not been easy and, so far, the Seebergers have got by with a skeleton staff.

"We've raised and spent close to \$2 million to date, and have done a huge amount of the work already. We have a publisher and we are working closely with Sony in the UK. And we're working on forming a viable tax concession plan (like those for Australian film investors) which will help bring in substantial investment."

It's a critical time for Bungarra, and for the whole Australian games industry, according to Game Developers Association of Australia executive director Evelyn Richardson. By the end of 2006 the next generation of game consoles will be out and that means bigger budgets, fewer titles and fiercer competition.

"As we move into a PS3 XBox2 environment, you are looking at project budgets of \$15-20 million and project teams of 120 people full-time for two years. In Australia, we must grow to the next level and create the critical mass to continue to compete in that space, otherwise we are going to be relegated to being a niche player in the global market."

There are about 40 serious game developers in Australia. The biggest is Queensland's Krome Studios which employs 130 people. Krome has developed a game for the movie King Arthur, but its major title is Ty the Tasmanian Tiger. It is working on Ty 2 and has signed a deal with the makers of The Simpsons to turn the game into an animated TV series.

The games are becoming increasingly sophisticated and are routinely tied in with Hollywood blockbusters. Queensland studio Blue Tongue is producing a game for the Tom Hanks film Polar Express, South Australian outfit Ratbag is working on a Dukes of Hazzard game and Melbourne's Atari spent months on the set of the Matrix sequels developing the Enter the Matrix game.

And there are some very big players in the games industry, none bigger than the US army, which channels about \$1.1 billion a year into recruitment and training software, much of which ends up re-dressed and sold as shoot-em-

## The mod squad

up games. Full Spectrum Warrior, released in June, started life as the Pentagon's urban-combat strategy trainer Full Spectrum Command.

But the US is no orphan when it comes to using games to blend training, propaganda and fun. You can play at fighting Israelis as a **Hamas** guerilla in Kaboom!

But not all games are flag-waving shoot-em-ups. Like every other are of entertainment, they cover the full spectrum from G-rated kiddie fun, like WA game developer Fun-ed's Plop Shop, to the psychotic Manhunt which was banned nationally in September.

According to Fun-ed director Jean De Buisson, game play is naturally educational and computer games have the bonus of cementing the computer literacy fundamental to finding a job. He has no doubt some games are dangerous for young players but says it is up to players and parents pick the content that suits them, as they do with TV and film.

"There is an extremely creative and interactive side to playing games," he says. "In a good game you must allow the player to do the unexpected to win."

The Bassendean-based company has published 38 numeracy-based games and exports all over the world.

This year Murdoch University became the first WA institution to offer a bachelor degree in games technology. Its arrival on campus single-handedly arrested a decline in IT student numbers.

"The jobs that will be there for students in IT in the future will be in that area of entertainment," says Associate Professor Arnold Depickere. "Entertainment is the fastest growing area of information technology . . . Games have always been there, it's just that now we have hardware powerful enough to make them very real and very compelling."

Computing power has been doubling every 18 months since 1965, says the Gartner Institute's Bob Hayward. "If you think that the XBox game console has the same power that the world's most powerful computer had in 1993, which took up a whole floor and was used for nuclear weapons research, you start to get the picture of the hardware progress we are looking at," Hayward says.

"By late 2005 the technology in today's super-computers will be in game consoles."

According to Tom Lubin, the founder of the Film and Television Institute of WA's Centre for Advanced Screen Animation and Interactive Game Design, WA is well placed to take part in the burgeoning games industry.

"The tyranny of distance is not as limiting in a field like this as it can be in other industries and it doesn't have to take a lot of money to start up," he says. Small teams of highly committed people can make inroads in the PC games industry without the huge budgets needed for developing PS3 or XBox2 games.

Meanwhile, Dowling is still mucking around with Evangelion as the bush dries, as Higgins feels the heat building in Kalgoorlie's red earth and Crazytrain watches the winter snow fall on Ontario. They're not exactly motivated and they're not exactly trained but it's a good hobby.

Dowling has started working on his own game engine. "It's a little complicated," he says, "all that physics, math and games logic stuff."

## Graphic

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## The mod squad

Bungarra Software game developers Dan Ederveen and Andrew Seeberger.; Modder Will Dowling.; A scene from Tidal Riders.; Dan Ederveen and Andrew Seeberger Pictures by Astrid Volzke and Lee Griffith

**Load-Date:** January 3, 2005

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## **ARAFAT IS BURIED IN CHAOTIC SCENE IN THE WEST BANK**

The New York Times

November 13, 2004 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; THE DEATH OF ARAFAT: THE FUNERAL

**Length:** 1494 words

**Byline:** By STEVEN ERLANGER; Neil MacFarquhar contributed reporting from Cairo for this article and Greg Myre from Gaza City.

**Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank, Nov. 12

### **Body**

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Yasir Arafat was buried here on Friday in an extraordinary scene of grief and chaos, with thousands of Palestinians climbing the walls of his compound, surging around his coffin and trying to bear it aloft.

Despite firing volleys of gunfire into the sky, Palestinian security guards were unable to hold back a frenzied flow of mourners who poured over the internal courtyard, trampling the red carpet, trying to touch the coffin and engulfing the two Egyptian helicopters that brought Mr. Arafat and his entourage back home.

Wails and chants of "We will sacrifice our blood and souls to redeem you" and "Yasir, Yasir" competed with gunfire from scores of young militants in Mr. Arafat's Fatah movement.

For well over an hour, Palestinian security forces and political leaders struggled to bring some 20,000 mourners under control and move Mr. Arafat's coffin to a prepared burial spot of Jerusalem stone and black-and-green marble in the compound, under five conifers. Finally, it was decided to skip a mourning ceremony for dignitaries altogether, and Mr. Arafat was quickly lowered into the ground.

These passionate scenes were a remarkable contrast to the official and sterile dignity of Mr. Arafat's Cairo funeral service, earlier in the day, which was restricted to officials. But the Cairo service was a chance for Arab leaders in particular, who did not want to travel into Israeli-occupied territory, to pay homage to a man whom many had disliked over his 40-year-career and whose goal of an independent Palestinian state they were slow to embrace. And it was where Mr. Arafat's wife, Suha, paid her tearful respects, along with their daughter, Zahwa, 9.

The scenes here were a vivid reflection of the grief of a people, many of them young and angry, who had lost the only leader most of them could remember. There were tough young men with black clothes, masks and guns, thin young men with gelled hair and blue jeans and a number of young women, too, in tightly wrapped head scarves.

One of them, Nisrin Dabaka, 25, said, "I loved the rais," using the Arabic word for president. "He is like a father to me, and to me he did not die. He is in my heart, and I will never forget this day in all of my life."

But there were also people like Mazen E. Quity, a Palestinian Israeli who lives in Jerusalem, who drives a Volvo at home but who walked most of the way here with his son, through Israeli checkpoints that stopped most car traffic.

## ARAFAT IS BURIED IN CHAOTIC SCENE IN THE WEST BANK

Mr. Qupty, like nearly everyone here, wanted to attend a historic moment in the life of the Palestinian people and to pay his respects, and he wanted this memory especially for his son.

"This is a sad day, it's sad to lose him, whether you agreed with him or not," Mr. Qupty said of Mr. Arafat. "But it's also a day to show all the world that Palestinians care for peace, and that it is Sharon, not Arafat, who is the real obstacle to peace." He was referring to Ariel Sharon, Israel's prime minister.

Asked about the Arafat legacy, Muhammad Halayka stopped and said: "Imagine if he didn't exist. We Palestinians would be a displaced people, dispersed among the Lebanese and the Egyptians and the Syrians. We would have been spread out among the Arabs and be part of a Palestinian minority here and there and everywhere. It was Arafat who grasped the idea of a unified identity and worked to create for us a homeland." Daoud Kuttub of Al Quds University in Jerusalem also wanted to be at the funeral even though Mr. Arafat jailed him for a week in 1997, simply for broadcasting a legislative session about corruption. "I wouldn't have missed this," Mr. Kuttub said. "His charisma and what he's done for the Palestinian people allow us to forgive him his mistakes. I have no bitterness at all."

Palestinians will remember Mr. Arafat fondly as a man who refused to yield on certain basic principles, Mr. Kuttub said. "He refused to give up on Jerusalem, on a recognition of the 1967 borders and a fair resolution of the refugee issue," Mr. Kuttub said.

Mr. Arafat's most prominent successor, Mahmoud Abbas, may have different tactics, Palestinians here agreed, especially with his condemnation of terrorism and suicide bombings, but his fundamental political goals are little different.

Palestinians here were also proud of the respect shown to Mr. Arafat by the French president, Jacques Chirac, and by the Arab and Western leaders in Egypt. "Who else had three funerals like this?" asked Hisham Abdallah. "First France, then Cairo, then here." It showed that Mr. Arafat was not irrelevant, as Israel and the United States insisted, but a global figure, Mr. Abdallah said.

The Israeli government sent no officials to the ceremonies for Mr. Arafat, whom Israel reviled as a terrorist. "I do not think we should send a representative to the funeral of somebody who killed thousands of our people," said Yosef Lapid, the Israeli justice minister, according to Reuters.

But Israeli networks carried wall-to-wall coverage. Channel 1 opened its broadcast at 8 p.m. by noting that the Palestinian security officers had struggled to restrain the throng and wondered, "Is this a sign of things to come?"

The chaos and frenzy of the event itself made it a people's funeral, suggested Nabil Abu Rudeineh, the aide who was always at Mr. Arafat's side. "It wasn't as planned," he conceded, "but I'm happy that the people here have the full right to come and say goodbye to their leader."

Israeli troops were nowhere to be seen in Ramallah on Friday but monitored checkpoints in and out of the West Bank.

Palestinians in Gaza, prevented by Israeli restrictions from coming to Ramallah, held a service of their own, marching in a symbolic funeral synchronized with the actual one in Ramallah. It began at Mr. Arafat's other battle-scarred compound on the Mediterranean coast, where members of his security service put a poster of him in the front passenger seat of his black Mercedes, his checkered kaffiyeh on the headrest.

His guards surrounded the car as it pulled out of the compound, to be joined by a small number of **women**. They chanted together, "We are going to Jerusalem, a million martyrs," and "Abu Ammar, you are our beloved, give us a Kalashnikov."

Some of the security guards fired intermittently into the air.

## ARAFAT IS BURIED IN CHAOTIC SCENE IN THE WEST BANK

The car traveled to the Omari mosque, in the old center of the city, where thousands packed the narrow streets, including members of militant factions like Hamas. Two coffins, one draped with the Palestinian flag and the other covered with pictures of Mr. Arafat, were then carried by the crowd from the mosque to his compound.

The ceremony in Egypt that began the day was at a military mosque at Cairo's airport and restricted to kings, potentates, foreign officials and diplomats. The public was not allowed anywhere near, with traffic halted and armed security forces stationed on all rooftops and even in mosque minarets on the brief 150-yard route of the funeral march on Cairo's main airport road. Homeowners in apartments lining the road were evidently told not to even open their windows.

It was a state funeral service for a man without a state.

Speaking at the mosque prayers, Muhammad Sayed Tantawi, the grand sheik of Al Azhar and Egypt's highest religious figure, said brief prayers over the coffin as it rested on the patterned black-and-white marble floor. "He has served his people all his life, until he faced his God, with courage and honesty," the sheik said. "Let us pray for his soul."

Most of the pantheon of Arab leaders flew in for the occasion, some landing at the last minute and choosing to overlook often bitter differences Mr. Arafat. President Bashar al-Assad of Syria and King Abdullah II of Jordan, both of whose fathers had long sparred with Mr. Arafat, attended as did Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia. The presidents of Algeria, Tunisia, Yemen, Sudan and Lebanon were there, along with a host of princes from the royal houses of the Persian Gulf.

From farther afield, President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa came as did the presidents of Indonesia, Bangladesh and Zimbabwe. There were a few prime ministers, though European Union nations sent their foreign ministers. The United States sent Assistant Secretary of State William J. Burns.

Yossi Beilin, a dovish Israeli politician and former peace negotiator, said of Mr. Arafat: "It's very rare, when a leader dies, that an era actually does die with him. But in this case, today, it would appear actually to be true. And the new era depends to a great extent on us, on us and on the Palestinians, and we have a great responsibility."

Shlomo Avineri, a philosopher and former Israeli Foreign Ministry official, said Mr. Arafat had failed, unlike Anwar Sadat, to "reach out to Israelis and address their fears and hopes." Mr. Arafat was more like Fidel Castro, Mr. Avineri said. "He gave his people a symbol, but he failed them in real life."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: A crowd surrounded Yasir Arafat's coffin in his compound in Ramallah yesterday as it was carried from a helicopter that had arrived from Egypt. (Photo by James Hill for The New York Times)(pg. A1)

A crowd estimated at 20,000 waited yesterday as Egyptian helicopters arrived at Yasir Arafat's burial site in his compound in Ramallah, in the West Bank, to deliver his coffin and an entourage from his funeral in Cairo. (Photo by James Hill for The New York Times)

Palestinians climbed a wall yesterday, top, to reach Yasir Arafat's burial site and try to catch a glimpse of his coffin. Soldiers and others at graveside after the burial, with his head scarf resting above his coffin. (Photo by James Hill for The New York Times)



## ARAFAT IS BURIED IN CHAOTIC SCENE IN THE WEST BANK

(Photo by Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)(pg. A6)

**Load-Date:** November 13, 2004

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## *Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004*

The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

December 31, 2004 Friday

Final Edition

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**Section:** WEEKEND EYTRA; Pg. E1

**Length:** 3396 words

**Byline:** The Canadian Press

### **Body**

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The death toll continues to mount in Iraq -- American losses alone hit the 1,000 mark in September -- and violent incidents occurred in Russia and Spain as well. Kidnappings and assassinations add to the horror and chilling images bring home the conflict.

A nightmare of devastation enshrouds southeast Asia.

On the political front, Paul Martin's Liberal government returned with a minority, Stephen Harper was elected first leader of the Conservative Party, Vladimir Putin and George Bush were re-elected to lead their countries, and Ralph Klein surprised no one when he was returned in Alberta. And, MP Svend Robinson left politics under unusual circumstances.

On the bright side: Colleen Jones won the the world curling championships, Team Canada won the World Cup of Hockey and Nelly Furtado won a Juno.

And pop star Janet Jackson popularized the expression "wardrobe malfunction."

Here is the year in review with files from The Canadian Press:

- - -

#### JANUARY

5 -- U.S. defeats Canada 4-3 in gold medal game at world junior hockey championships.

17 -- Hollinger International Inc. fires Conrad Black as chairman and files \$200-million US lawsuit against him and right-hand man David Radler.

18 -- Truck bomb explodes outside U.S. headquarters in Baghdad, killing at least 31.

24 -- NASA rover Opportunity lands on Mars three weeks after landing of twin rover, Spirit.

27 -- Cpl. Jamie Brendan Murphy, 26, of Newfoundland is killed in suicide bomb attack on jeep in Kabul.

28 -- Judge exonerates British government, condemns BBC over report on "sexed-up" dossier on Iraqi weapons.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

29 -- Stelco Inc. secures court-ordered bankruptcy protection from its creditors.

## FEBRUARY

1 -- More than 250 Muslims die in stampede during hajj pilgrimage in Saudi Arabia. Suicide bombers kill 109 people at Kurdish political offices in Irbil, Iraq.

5 -- Haitian militants seize city of Gonaives in revolt against government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

10 -- Auditor General Sheila Fraser reports massive abuses in federal sponsorship program run by Public Works Department; Prime Minister Paul Martin orders independent judicial inquiry into the scandal. France's National Assembly votes to banish religious emblems such as Muslim headscarves, Jewish skullcaps and large Christian crosses from state schools.

13 -- Conrad Black launches \$850-million defamation suit against members of Hollinger International board, claiming he has been made a "loathsome laughingstock" by media coverage of accusations against him. San Francisco becomes first U.S. jurisdiction to issue marriage licences to gay couples.

18 -- Train carrying chemicals derails and explodes in northeastern Iran, killing 320 people. Pakistan and India agree on road map for talks aimed at ending decades-old enmity.

19 -- Nova Scotia and P.E.I. declare state of emergency because of blizzard. Outbreak of avian flu discovered in poultry farm in B.C. Fraser Valley.

20 -- Hard-line clerics win majority in Iran's parliamentary elections which were boycotted by reformers.

24 -- Three heads of Crown corporations -- Andre Ouellet of Canada Post, Marc LeFrancois of Via Rail and Michel Vennat of Business Development Bank of Canada -- are suspended over sponsorship scandal. More than 500 people are dead after earthquake flattens villages in northern Morocco.

29 -- Lord of the Rings: The Return of the King wins 11 Oscars; Canada's The Barbarian Invasions, directed by Denys Arcand, wins best foreign film. Haitian President Jean Bertrand-Aristide flies into exile in the face of rebellion led by former police and army officers.

## MARCH

1 -- Via Rail chairman Jean Pelletier is fired after calling Olympic gold medallist Myriam Bedard a "pitiful" single mother. U.S. and French troops move into Port-au-Prince to restore order after departure of Haiti's president.

2 -- Suicide bombings kill at least 143 Iraqis at shrines in Baghdad and Karbala.

5 -- Martha Stewart is convicted of obstruction and conspiracy in stock-trading trial.

6 -- Former deputy prime minister Sheila Copps loses Liberal nomination battle to Tony Valeri in Hamilton riding.

7 -- Perdita Felicien of Pickering, Ont., wins women's 60-metre hurdles at the world indoor track and field championships.

11 -- Railway bombings by terrorists in Madrid kill 191, injure more than 1,800. NHL suspends Vancouver Canucks' Todd Bertuzzi for attack on Steve Moore of Colorado Avalanche.

14 -- Vladimir Putin re-elected in Russia's presidential election.

17 -- Bombardier Inc. says it will cut 6,600 jobs in restructuring of its rail division.

19 -- Quebec becomes the third province to allow same-sex marriages after Ontario and British Columbia.

20 -- Stephen Harper is elected the first leader of the new Conservative party.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

22 -- **Hamas** founder Sheik Ahmed Yassin is killed by Israeli missiles in Gaza City. PM Paul Martin announces \$1-billion bailout for farmers hit by mad-cow disease.

29 -- Estonia, Lithuania, Latvia, Romania, Bulgaria, Slovenia and Slovakia join NATO.

31 -- Federal Court rules that swapping songs on the Internet for personal use does not break the law.

## APRIL

4 -- Nelly Furtado's Powerless wins best single at Juno Awards; Sam Roberts' We Were Born in a Flame wins best album.

5 -- Federal government orders slaughter of 19 million chickens and turkeys in B.C. Fraser Valley to wipe out avian flu.

6 -- Canada defeats U.S. in gold medal game at **women's** world hockey championships.

11 -- Week of fighting between U.S. forces and militants in Fallujah leaves more than 600 Iraqi civilians and 59 U.S. soldiers dead, say reports.

14 -- African National Congress led by President Thabo Mbeki wins South African general election.

15 -- NDP MP Svend Robinson admits he pocketed jewelry at a public sale, announces he is taking leave from politics.

17 -- Israel assassinates **Hamas** leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi. Dalai Lama, exiled leader of Tibet, arrives in Vancouver for a 19-day visit to Canada.

18 -- Spain's new prime minister, Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero, orders 1,300 Spanish troops pulled out of Iraq.

19 -- United States lifts ban on Canadian beef products.

20 -- Ontario Superior Court judge delivers report on SARS epidemic, saying Ontario's public health system was woefully inadequate.

24 -- Halifax's Colleen Jones and her rink win **women's** world curling championship.

26 -- Newfoundland government introduces back-to-work legislation to end 27-day strike by public sector workers.

27 -- Libyan leader Moammar Gadhafi, in Brussels on his first trip to Europe in 15 years, urges countries to follow his lead in abandoning weapons of mass destruction.

28 -- Telecom giant Nortel Networks fires chief executive Frank Dunn and two other senior executives after internal investigation found problems with its financial reports.

30 -- PM Martin meets with U.S. President George W. Bush in Washington to discuss trade, border co-operation, national security.

## MAY

1 -- Former Communist countries Hungary, Poland, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania join European Union. At 24th annual Genie Awards, The Barbarian Invasions wins best film, Remy Girard best actor, Sarah Polley best actress.

2 -- B.C. government and Hospital Employees' Union reach agreement to end illegal walkout.

5 -- Picasso's 1905 painting Boy With a Pipe sells for \$104 million US at Sotheby's New York, breaking the record for an auctioned painting.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

- 6 -- President Bush apologizes for abuse of Iraqi PoWs by American soldiers.
- 9 -- Team Canada beats Sweden to win men's world hockey championship. Chechen president Akhmad Kadyrov is killed in bomb explosion in Grozny.
- 10 -- Retired bureaucrat Chuck Guite, ad executive Jean Brault charged with defrauding federal government of almost \$2 million in federal sponsorship scandal.
- 11 -- Beheading of U.S. hostage Nicholas Berg is shown in video posted on website linked to al-Qaida.
- 13 -- Former prime minister Joe Clark spends last day in House of Commons.
- 17-- Massachusetts becomes first U.S. state to legalize same-sex marriage.
- 20 -- Air Canada reaches agreement with Canadian Auto Workers, clearing the way for company to emerge from bankruptcy protection.
- 26 -- Labrador Inuit ratify land claim agreement allowing self-government in area the size of New Brunswick.
- 31 -- Montreal Archbishop Andrew Hutchison is elected national leader of Anglican Church of Canada.

## JUNE

- 1 -- Former B.C. judge David Ramsay is sentenced to seven years in jail for sex crimes against underage aboriginal prostitutes. U.S. unveils new interim Iraqi government.
- 4 -- Toll of dead and missing from two weeks of floods in Haiti and Dominican Republic reaches more than 3,300.
- 6 -- Veterans and political figures attend ceremonies marking 60th anniversary of D-Day invasion in northern France.
- 7 -- Tampa Bay Lightning wins Stanley Cup, defeating Calgary Flames in Game 7.
- 8 -- UN Security Council votes to end occupation of Iraq on June 30 and authorizes U.S.-led force to remain after that to keep the peace. Venus makes first transit across sun in more than 100 years.
- 17 -- Michael Briere, 36-year-old software developer, is sentenced to life for murder of Holly Jones, 10, of Toronto.
- 18 -- European Union leaders agree on first constitution.
- 21 -- SpaceShipOne becomes first private, manned craft to reach space.
- 25 -- Canadian Beckie Scott is awarded gold medal for 2002 Olympic cross-country event after two Russians are stripped of medals for doping violations.
- 28 -- Paul Martin's Liberals win minority in federal election. U.S.-led coalition transfers sovereignty to interim Iraqi government.
- 29 -- Alberta alderwoman Dar Heatherington is convicted of public mischief for misleading police with story of being stalked. UN court sentences Serbian leader Milan Babic to 13 years in prison for role in ethnic cleansing against Croats in 1991.
- 30 -- U.S. gives legal custody of Saddam Hussein to Iraqi government.

## JULY

- 1 -- In his first court appearance, former Iraqi president Saddam Hussein is charged with crimes against humanity.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

6 -- U.S. fighter pilot Harry Schmidt is found guilty of dereliction of duty for mistakenly bombing Canadian troops in Afghanistan, killing four. Democratic presidential hopeful John Kerry picks John Edwards as running mate.

9 -- International Court of Justice rules that Israel's West Bank security wall violates international law. U.S. Senate report says CIA provided false information about Iraqi weapons that the Bush administration used to justify invasion of Iraq.

11 -- Rain and hailstorm in Edmonton causes tens of millions of dollars in property damage, shuts down West Edmonton Mall.

12 -- Quebec crime tabloid Allo Police ceases publication after half a century due to poor circulation.

13 -- CRTC cancels licence of Quebec City radio station CHOI-FM for repeatedly broadcasting offensive comments. Canada recalls ambassador to Iran after Canadians are barred from observing trial of man charged in death of Montreal photojournalist Zahra Kazemi.

15 -- Yukon becomes fourth jurisdiction in Canada to allow gay and lesbian marriages. Emergency is declared in Peterborough, Ont., because of widespread flooding.

16 -- Atlanta Thrashers star Dany Heatley is indicted on vehicular homicide in 2003 wreck that killed his teammate Dan Snyder.

18 -- Judge declares mistrial in second trial of Kelly Ellard, accused of killing 14-year-old Reena Virk in 1997, after jury says it is deadlocked.

22 -- Student from Shanghai is charged with murder of Cecilia Zhang, nine-year-old girl who vanished from her Toronto home. Molson Inc. and Denver-based Adolph Coors Co. announce plans to merge.

23 -- Federal government announces it will pay \$3.2-billion for Sikorsky S-92 helicopters to replace military's fleet of Sea Kings.

24 -- Iranian court clears secret agent Mohammad Reza Aghdam Ahmadi of killing Montreal photojournalist Zahra Kazemi due to "lack of sufficient evidence."

28 -- Massive car bomb kills at least 68 people outside police station in Baqouba, north of Baghdad.

29 -- John Kerry accepts Democratic party nomination as U.S. presidential candidate.

30 -- Premiers propose national, Ottawa-supported drug plan.

## AUGUST

3 -- The Statue of Liberty in New York, closed since Sept. 11, 2001, reopens with new security measures.

6 -- Former NDP MP Svend Robinson pleads guilty to stealing a ring, is given a conditional discharge and ordered to perform 100 hours of community service.

9 -- Oklahoma City bombing conspirator Terry Nichols is sentenced to life without possibility of parole.

12 -- Andre Ouellet resigns as president of Canada Post after audit reports said he did not properly account for expenses.

13 -- Olympic Games open in Athens. Hurricane Charley hits Florida Gulf Coast, killing 16.

18 -- Saskatchewan reports its first human cases of West Nile virus, but the numbers are much lower than they were the year before.

19 -- Nortel Networks announces 3,500 more staff cuts.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

24 -- Two Russian airliners crash almost simultaneously after taking off from Moscow, killing 90; Islamic group claims responsibility.

25 -- CRTC postpones closing Quebec City radio station CHOI-FM until spring 2005. Bank of Canada unveils new \$20 bill with anti-counterfeiting features.

29 -- Summer Olympics conclude in Athens; Canada wins 12 medals, three of them gold. Massive demonstrations held in Manhattan as Republican delegates arrive for national convention.

30 -- Louise Charron and Rosalie Abella are appointed as judges of Supreme Court of Canada following first-ever parliamentary review.

31 -- Special committee looking into allegations against Hollinger International's board accuses Conrad Black and other controlling shareholders of looting the company of millions. Former Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic begins his defence against war-crimes charges.

## SEPTEMBER

2 -- President Bush accepts presidential nomination at Republican convention in New York.

3 -- Russian commandos storm school held by Chechen separatists in Beslan, North Ossetia; at least 350 people are killed, nearly half of them children.

7 -- U.S. military death toll in Iraq passes 1,000.

9 -- Nick Lysyk, former Edmonton banker who defrauded Bank of Montreal of \$16.3 million, is sentenced to seven years in jail. Court awards Melissa Crawford, 20, a severely disabled Ontario woman brain-damaged at birth, \$10 million in largest personal injury award in Canadian history.

13 -- Ontario court approves Canada's first same-sex divorce. Death toll from hurricane Ivan's six-day journey across Caribbean rises to 68.

14 -- Team Canada wins World Cup of Hockey, defeating Finland 3-2.

15 -- First ministers complete agreement that will see Ottawa pump an additional \$18 billion into medicare over six years. NHL board of governors approves a lockout of players.

16 -- Court decision makes Manitoba the fifth jurisdiction in Canada to allow same-sex marriages. Hurricane Ivan slams into U.S. Gulf Coast, kills 22 more people.

20 -- Quebec's Liberal government loses three out of four byelections.

21 -- Wheelchair athlete Chantal Petitclerc of Montreal sets world record and wins gold medal for women's 100 metres at Paralympics in Athens.

22 -- Fairuz Yamulky, Canadian woman held hostage for 16 days in Iraq, is released.

23 -- Death toll in Haiti from hurricane Jeanne rises to more than 3,000.

24 -- Nova Scotia becomes sixth province or territory to allow same-sex marriages following court ruling.

27 -- Crude oil price hits \$50 US a barrel for first time.

29 -- After 36 seasons, Expos play their last baseball game in Montreal before the club moves to Washington. Imperial Oil announces it will shift its head office to Calgary from Toronto, affecting 1,500 employees.

30 -- Merck & Co. pulls its arthritis drug Vioxx from pharmacies after discovering the drug increases the risk of heart attack and stroke. Air Canada emerges from 18 months of bankruptcy protection.

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

## OCTOBER

- 5 -- Lieut. Chris Saunders dies after fire hits HMCS Chicoutimi, a submarine bought from Britain, in North Atlantic.
- 7 -- Bombardier Aerospace cuts about 2,000 jobs because of slowing demand for its Canadair jets.
- 8 -- Martha Stewart begins serving five-month prison sentence for lying about a stock sale. After 16 years, Elizabeth Weir steps down as leader of New Brunswick NDP.
- 12 -- Nearly 100,000 members of Public Service Alliance of Canada join thousands of other PSAC members already on strike across the country.
- 18 -- Anglican Church commission urges Canadian and American dioceses to stop blessing same-sex relationships.
- 19 -- Margaret Hassan, director of CARE International's Baghdad operations, is abducted.
- 20 -- Canadian dollar breaks through 80 cents US for first time in 11 years.
- 26 -- Public inquiry finds that aboriginal teenager Neil Stonechild was in police custody just before he froze to death outside Saskatoon nearly 14 years ago and that the case was closed prematurely.
- 27 -- Boston Red Sox win World Series baseball championship for the first time since 1918.
- 29 -- Conrad Black says he will resign as chairman and CEO of Hollinger Inc. to help pave way for privatization of the company. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat is flown to Paris for emergency medical treatment.
- 31 -- Mirabel International Airport near Montreal is closed to passenger traffic.

## NOVEMBER

- 2 -- U.S. presidential election; President George W. Bush emerges as winner.
- 3 -- Hamid Karzai is declared winner of Afghanistan's Oct. 9 presidential election.
- 5 -- Saskatchewan becomes seventh jurisdiction in Canada to allow same-sex marriages.
- 7 -- U.S. and Iraqi forces launch major offensive to seize insurgent strongholds in Fallujah. Landmark environmental report says global warming is occurring in the Arctic at twice the rate of the rest of the world.
- 8 -- A pregnant mother and her seven children are killed in a fire at their farmhouse in West Lincoln, Ont.
- 9 -- Halo 2, one of the most eagerly anticipated video game releases ever, hits store shelves.
- 11 -- Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, 75, dies at age 75. His most senior lieutenant, Mahmoud Abbas, is elected PLO chairman.
- 14 -- More than 100,000 homes and businesses lose power after heavy snow and freezing rain bring down transmission towers in Nova Scotia.
- 16 -- Arab station Al-Jazeera says it has received video showing the execution of Margaret Hassan, director of CARE International in Iraq. U.S. President George W. Bush names Condoleezza Rice as next secretary of state, replacing Colin Powell.
- 17 -- Gen. Ray Henault of the Canadian Forces is chosen NATO's chief military adviser.
- 18 -- Prime Minister Paul Martin kicks MP Carolyn Parrish out of the Liberal caucus after she says she has no loyalty to the party.



### Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

19 -- Supreme Court rules that B.C. government is not required to pay for costly special autism treatment. British House of Commons ends almost 700 years of fox hunting in England and Wales.

21 -- Toronto Argonauts defeat B.C. Lions 27-19 to win the Grey Cup in Ottawa.

22 -- Ralph Klein's Conservative party wins 10th consecutive majority in Alberta election.

23 -- Ukraine's opposition leader declares himself winner of presidential election as about 200,000 supporters gather in Kyiv to protest election fraud.

26 -- The Ontario Court of Appeal rules that denying retroactive same-sex benefits to widowed gays and lesbians violates their rights and is unconstitutional.

30 -- U.S. President Bush arrives in Ottawa on his first official visit to Canada. Stan and Frank Koebel, who ran the water system in Walkerton, Ont., during one of Canada's worst public-health disasters, plead guilty to common nuisance.

### DECEMBER

1 -- President Bush thanks people in Halifax for welcoming Americans after Sept. 11 attacks; asks Canada to support his missile defence shield. Ukraine parliament passes a vote of no confidence, bringing down Prime Minister Viktor Yanukovich's government.

2 -- Ontario's Appeal Court orders new trial for Robert Baltovich, convicted 12 years ago in the murder of his girlfriend.

3 -- Ukraine's Supreme Court orders new vote for Dec. 26.

9 -- Supreme Court of Canada says a proposed bill to legalize same-sex marriage is constitutional.

10 -- A Canadian Forces pilot is killed when two Snowbird jets collide in mid-air during a training exercise near Moose Jaw, Sask. The London Knights set a Canadian Hockey League record of 30 games without a loss after a 0-0 tie with the Guelph Storm.

13 -- CBC's crime drama Da Vinci's Inquest wins Gemini for Canadian TV's best dramatic series while Showcase's Trailer Park Boys takes the comedy series award.

## Graphic

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Colour Photo: Lord Conrad Black is fired as chairman of Hollinger International Inc.;

Colour Photo: Former Iraqi President Saddam Hussein is transferred from U.S custody to the legal responsibility of the Iraqi government.;

Colour Photo: U.S. soldier holds a dog in front of an Iraqi detainee at Abu Ghraib prison.;

Colour Photo: Margaret Hassan, the kidnapped director of CARE International in Iraq, appears in this image made from television in a videotape aired by the Arabic television station Al-Jazeera. She was killed by her captors.;

Colour Photo: Mississauga Liberal MP Carolyn Parrish was dumped from the Liberal caucus after denouncing the prime minister, the party and the U.S. administration.;

## Strange brew: Dark shadows and lighter notes from 2004

Photo: Martha Stewart is sentenced to five months in prison and five months of home confinement for lying about a stock sale.; Colour

Photo: Dar Heatherington, Lethbridge city councillor, was found guilty of public mischief for fabricating a stalker and writing lurid letters to herself in a saga that crossed borders and made international headlines.;

Colour Photo: Chuck Guite, the public works official who ran the federal sponsorship program until 1999, is called to testify before the Commons public accounts committee looking into the \$100 million sponsorship scandal.;

Colour Photo: Vancouver Canucks' Todd Bertuzzi has tears as he apologizes for sucker-punching Steve Moore of the Colorado Avalanche during an NHL game.;

Colour Photo: AS THE WAR IN IRAQ DRAGS ON, SCENES LIKE THIS BECOME MORE COMMON: U.S. Marines pray over a fallen comrade at a first- aid point after he died from wounds suffered in fighting in Fallujah.;

Colour Photo: People injured by an explosion in a train wait for aid outside the train station of Atocha in Madrid, Spain, The toll from the bombings was 191 dead and more than 1,800 injured.;

Colour Photo: Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat boards a Jordanian Airforce helicopter as he prepares to leave his headquarters in the West Bank town of Ramallah on his way to medical treatment in France.;

Colour Photo: An injured schoolgirl, who escaped in September from the seized Russian school in Beslan, is comforted by a cross. More than 330 people, mostly children, died in the siege.;

Colour Photo: Janet Jackson suffered a "wardrobe malfunction" during the half-time performance at the Super Bowl in February.

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2004

**Obituary: Yasser Arafat: Dedicated to the liberation struggle of the  
Palestinian people, he strayed far from its original ideals**

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## **Body**

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From an early age, Muhammad Abdul Raouf Arafat al-Qudwa al-Husseini, the sixth child of a Palestinian spice, incense and grocery merchant, sensed that a high destiny awaited him. It did - but Yasser Arafat, who has died aged 75 of natural causes, assuredly earned it by his own endeavours too. By the standards of lifelong, indefatigable, and for him courageous dedication to a cause, he deserved the title of Mr Palestine, which he held for a whole generation of his people's struggle. But by the standards of ultimate achievement, he did not: rarely can a "liberator" have strayed further from the original ideals of "liberation".

Biographers, looking into his childhood for the father of the man, easily found it in his early personality traits. He was born in Cairo, where his father had settled for business reasons, but on his mother's death, the four-year-old was sent to Jerusalem to live with his uncle in a house by the Wailing Wall and al-Aqsa Mosque.

The Zionists' passionate struggle to have exclusive control of the traditionally Muslim-administered Wall made these holy places the most emotionally charged arena of the wider struggle for Palestine unfolding under British mandatory rule. Arafat witnessed family debates about the country's future, and saw something of the "great rebellion" of 1936-39, the armed uprising of a dispossessed peasantry which served as an inspiration for the later, equally unavailing "armed struggle" of his own making.

In 1937, on his father's second marriage, he returned to Cairo, where middle-class comforts were more than offset by the emotional troubles of an unloved stepmother. When his father married yet again, his elder sister Inam brought up her siblings.

The dominating role of **women** in Arafat's early life probably contributed to a compulsive desire to dominate and lead himself. Inam soon concluded that he was "not like other children in playing or in his feelings . . . he gathered the Arab kids of the district, formed them into groups and made them march and drill. He carried a stick and he used to beat those who did not obey his commands."

Outside Palestine during "the Catastrophe" - the rise of the original, 1948 Israel upon some 78 per cent of the country - he did not directly suffer the terrors of mass flight and exile. But before that he was steeping himself in political and military affairs. By 1946, the 17-year-old realised that, with the Zionists pressing their armed violence, the Palestinians would have to fight. He became a key, intrepid figure in smuggling arms from Egypt into Palestine.

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But his adolescent exploits were wasted. As Arab armies entered Palestine, "an Egyptian officer came to my group and demanded that we hand over our weapons . . . we protested . . . but it was no good. . . in that moment I knew we had been betrayed by these regimes."

He plunged into preparation for the coming struggle - convinced that if Palestinians relied on others to decide for them, they would never recover their homeland. He set about creating decision-making institutions. He took over the Cairo-based League Of Palestinian Students.

Tireless, wily, domineering, he exhibited another trait which helped shape his career, and Middle East history. At a congress in Prague, he suddenly donned the keffiyeh , or traditional chequered headdress, which, as well as hiding his bald pate, became his emblem. The gesture sprang from his delight in surprise and theatrical gesture; there was surely an intrinsic affinity between this and a remarkable ability to adapt himself and his movement, suddenly, spectacularly, to new goals and policies. In Prague, the 26-year-old student was already advertising his sense of destiny, referring to himself, only half-jokingly perhaps, as "Mr Palestine".

Yet he might well have eschewed politics, and become a self-made man of a more conventional kind. Armed with a Cairo University engineering degree, he went to Kuwait in 1958, one of those stateless Palestinians searching for work in the remote, undeveloped, but newly oil-rich, British-protected emirate. He began as a public works department junior site engineer. Then he set up his own company, subsequently claiming that he had been "well on the way to becoming a millionaire".

An exaggeration, perhaps, but his brief business foray later consolidated a carefully cultivated, if genuine, aspect of his personality. As the leader of his people, he disposed of billions and made canny use of them as an instrument of policy and patronage, but led the most spartan of private lives. Similarly, for all his reputed liaisons with women, he could claim that, at great cost in contentment, his only marriage was to his Revolution.

Helped by the funds, he took the first steps that led to his emergence as one of the household names of the age: the incarnation, however flawed, of all their aspirations to most Palestinians; of evil and the would-be destruction of their state to most Israelis; of their most sacred, exasperating, and unavoidable obligations to most Arab regimes; of a conversion from "terrorist" to politician, even statesman, in the eyes of an outside world.

In Kuwait, in 1959, with his close friend Abu Jihad, he began publishing a crudely edited magazine, Our Palestine, which lamented the Palestinian refugees' plight and the inaction of Arab regimes, and trumpeted the ideal of the Return, with a full-scale "population liberation war" as the only means of achieving it. Together they formed the Fatah guerrilla organisation's first, five-man underground cell. On January 1 1965, ill-trained, pitifully short of weapons and funds, the Feyadeen (those who sacrifice themselves), mounted their first trans-frontier raid into the "Zionist gangster-state".

Arafat's guerrillas were always a much greater challenge to the Arab regimes than they were to the Israelis. In theory, the regimes, too, were preparing to liberate Palestine - but by conventional military means in their own good time. The first "martyr" fell victim, characteristically, to the Jordanian army. Upon his return from a raid, Arafat himself had a spell in a Syrian gaol, amid rumours that the new Syrian defence minister, one Hafiz al-Assad, wanted to hang him.

These early Arafat exploits, though mere pinpricks, gave Israel another reason to fight a war that would end with the country gaining the remaining 22% of Palestine - East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza - which had eluded it in its "war of independence". Even after the shattering Arab defeat in the 1967 war, his guerrillas never put down roots in the newly occupied territories. Arafat is said to have made his getaway across the Jordan river disguised as a mother carrying a baby.

After the battle of Karamah, a small Jordanian town, in which, on March 21 1968, a small, ill-armed band of guerrillas inflicted heavy casualties on a vastly superior force of Israeli invaders, the Fedayeen became the Arab world's darlings. Fatah became a state within the Jordanian state, with Arafat as its "spokesman".

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Soon he became chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), that assembly of generally docile notables which Egypt's President Nasser had established in 1964. Too many fledgling "freedom-fighters" took to swaggering around Amman, advertising their ambition to replace the Hashemite kingdom with their own revolutionary order - and Arafat fell victim to his meteoric success. His movement suffered from organic defects typical of too rapid growth - together with those of his haphazard leadership style. In "Black September", 1970, King Hussein unleashed his Bedouin soldiers against him - an Arab army dealing Arafat the first of his great reverses.

In a new, Lebanese exile, exploiting that country's divisions, he built himself a stronger power base. Yet he was now further from his natural Palestinian environment, and his goal of "complete liberation" through "armed struggle". After the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, that partial Arab military comeback that engendered a serious bout of American peace-making, he began edging away from Revolution Till Victory towards a "doctrine of stages". He sought what "immediate gains" he could from a political settlement without renouncing the "historical" right to all of Palestine. It was the beginning of a "moderation" that was to take him further than he could have imagined.

In 1974, King Hussein, his historic Arab rival, recognised the PLO as "the sole legitimate spokesman of the Palestinian people". Two weeks later, he addressed the UN general assembly at its first full-dress debate on the "Palestine question" since 1952, the first leader of a "national liberation movement" to be so honoured.

That triumph was followed by diplomatic stagnation and more military-strategic reverses, inflicted first by Arabs, then Israelis, then Arabs again. He took sides in the Lebanese civil war. When his proteges, the Muslim leftists, were getting the upper hand, Syria's President Assad switched sides, sending in his army to help the rightwing Christian Phalangists. The civil war's first phase ended in 1976 with the siege and fall of the Palestinian refugee camp of Tal al-Zaatar. At an emergency summit, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait rescued Arafat from Syrian onslaughts.

In 1982, it was the Israelis who invaded Lebanon. In the three-month siege of Beirut, they hunted the PLO leader in person, using F15s as flying assassination squads while their quarry slept on the beach and in parks to evade them. Two hundred people died when, with a laser-guided vacuum bomb, they flattened an apartment block he had left moments before.

With the loss of his last Lebanese politico-military power base, Tunis became his headquarters. Though the Phalangist pogrom of defenceless refugees in the camps of Sabra and Chatila followed his exile, his bleakest moments came 15 months later, after he had slipped back into the Syrian-controlled part of Lebanon, where Assad had helped foment a rebellion against him in the Fatah ranks. Arafat's bold stroke failed: bombarded by Israel from the sea, besieged by Syria, he sailed from Tripoli under a European-arranged safe passage.

Three years of seemingly growing irrelevance lay ahead. And in 1985, Israeli F15s killed 73 people at his seafront Tunis headquarters. His nose for danger had supposedly saved him yet again: he had been out "jogging" at the time. But his political fortunes were sinking to their lowest ebb - at Arab hands. At a 1987 summit, to his fury, Arab leaders for the first time put something other than Palestine - the Iraq-Iran war - at the top of their agenda.

But within weeks, the great survivor was savouring a sweet recovery. With the spontaneous, non-armed intifada as his new asset, he found himself in a stronger position than the long, costly "armed struggle" ever conferred on him; the stones that youngsters hurled at Israeli soldiers were more potent than Kalashnikovs. In 1988, he proclaimed his adherence to the "two-state" solution, involving the Palestinians' renunciation of 78% of their homeland. He recognised Israel's right to exist. There began a long-dreamt-of US-PLO dialogue; he called it the Palestinians' "passport to the world".

His historic offer was a delusion, such was the continuing weakness of Palestinians - and Arabs. For Israel, he was the unregenerate terrorist; and Washington would not ginsay its protege.

Arafat looked more to a militarily powerful, increasingly militant Iraq. And when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in 1990, he backed him, a fatuous miscalculation. In American eyes, he forfeited much of the moral and diplomatic respectability he had slowly garnered. If he had taken the other side, he would have been better placed to secure Palestine's place in the "new world order" the US sought to bring into being.

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Still, it was a measure of his personal ascendancy that he persuaded the Palestinians to go to the 1991 Madrid peace conference, the first time Israel and its Arab neighbours had talked to each other across a table. But they did so at the price of historic concessions. The Israelis chose which Palestinians they talked to: there was no place for PLO members, let alone Arafat. They also largely set the agenda; the Americans backed their refusal to discuss anything suggesting the Palestinians might benefit from such a fundamental, 20th-century right as "self-determination".

Madrid got nowhere. It became tempting to speculate that Arafat was tiring of his devotion to the revolution, when, at 62, and to the often disapproving surprise of his people, he took a 28-year-old Palestinian Christian wife, Suha Tawil. Tempting, but wrong. He kept up his end lessy airborne routine. In 1992, his aircraft crash-landed during a Libyan sandstorm. The crew sacrificed themselves to save him. For many Palestinians, the relief and joy was genuine enough. Yet before long it was the Israelis, re-casting him as an enemy, who gave them much more than they had dared to hope.

He began the secret talks that astonished the world as the Oslo Agreement. Some of his officials whispered that the crash had pushed him into this last extremity of "moderation". Weaknesses in Arafat the man now impinged on the cause he embodied.

Individualism, vanity, deviousness, authoritarianism, a mystical belief in his infallibility had long been apparent. But it became clearer just how primary a concern to Mr Palestine was the destiny of - Mr Palestine; what he wanted, and was ready to pay almost any price to secure, was to come back into the game from which the terms of Madrid, the rise of the "insider" leadership, and the appeal of Hamas fundamentalists threatened to exclude him.

On September 13 1993, he won his accolade as a world statesman; in the signing ceremony on the White House lawn, the 64-year-old former "terrorist" chieftain shook hands with Yitzhak Rabin, prime minister of the Jewish state he had once made it his mission to remove. The price was immense. He claimed that, with Oslo, he had set in train a momentum inexorably leading to Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied territories; the Palestinians were on the road to statehood; he saw the beckoning spires and minarets of its capital, East Jerusalem.

Nine months later, he did at least achieve a strictly physical proximity to them. He returned "home". But the self-governing areas he returned to, and on which he was to build his state, were fragments, in Jericho and Gaza, not merely of original, 1948 Palestine, but of the post-1967 area. Oslo provided for a series of "interim" agreements leading to "final-status" talks. An Israeli commentator said of the first of them: "when one looks through all the lofty phraseology, all the deliberate disinformation, the hundreds of pettifogging sections, sub-sections, appendices and protocols, one clearly recognises that the Israeli victory was absolute and Palestine defeat abject."

It went on like this for six years, long after it had become obvious that his "momentum" was working against, not for him. It had been bound to do so, because, in this dispensation that outlawed violence, spurned UN jurisprudence on the conflict, and consecrated a congenitally pro-Israeli US as sole arbiter of the peace process, the balance of power was more overwhelmingly in Israel's favour than ever.

Meanwhile, he was grievously wanting in that other great, complementary task, the building of his state-in-the-making. His vaunted Palestinian "democracy" was no different from the Arab regimes he had so excoriated for the abuse of his own people and their own; more people were then dying, under torture and maltreatment, in Palestinian gaols than in Israeli ones. His unofficial economic "advisers" threw up a ramshackle, nepotistic edifice of monopoly, racketeering and naked extortion which enriched them as it further impoverished society at large, and reduced the economic base for all. In 1999, unprecedentedly, 20 leading citizens denounced not just high officials and their business cronies, but the "president", who had "opened the doors to the opportunists to spread their rottenness through the Palestinian street".

With his fortunes again at such a dangerous low ebb, he was approaching another critical point: persist in policies and methods which were slowly undoing him, or revert to some form of a strategy of militancy and confrontation - and rely anew on the support of his people, rather than the favour of the US, to carry it off. But it was less he, than Israeli prime minister Ehud Barak, who imposed this choice.

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Barak conceived the fantastically overweening notion of telescoping everything - the "interim" stages which had fallen hopelessly behind schedule as well as the "final-status" ones which had been left to the end precisely because they were so intractable - into one climactic conclave. This would "end the 100-year conflict" at a stroke. In July 2000, at President Clinton's Camp David retreat, he laid before Arafat his take-it-or-leave-it historic compromise. In return for his abjuring, in his people's name, all further claims on Israel, Israel would acquiesce in the emergence of a Palestine state, covering even less than the 22% of the original homeland to which he had already agreed to confine it; without real sovereignty, East Jerusalem as its capital, or the return of refugees. Most of the detested, illegal settlements would remain.

After 15 days the conference collapsed. Arafat had stood firm, evidently deciding that it had been bad enough, and tactically ruinous, to cede historic goals temporarily; but quite another to cede them, for all time, in the context of a final settlement. He might be Mr Palestine, but he had no Palestinian, Arab or Islamic mandate for ceding Jerusalem's sovereignty or abandoning the rights of four million refugees.

From this collapse grew the second intifada, essentially a popular revolt, first against the Israeli occupation, and the realisation that the Oslo peace process would never bring it to an end, and, potentially, against Arafat and the Palestine Authority (PA), which had so long connived in the fiction that it could.

It took on its own life and momentum. Arafat was in, at best, nominal control; its true leaders were men of a younger generation such as Marwan Barghouti. As a member of the secular, mainstream Fatah organisation, he owed Arafat formal allegiance, but his growing popularity gave him a measure of autonomy; his objective was confined to ending the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and, that being so, he confined his followers' attacks to the soldiers and settlers who were the symbols and instruments of it.

The intifada's other activists were the fundamentalists of Hamas and Islamic jihad; they did not oppose Arafat, but nor did they owe any allegiance to him, and their suicide exploits inside Israel proper betokened the much larger meaning which the intifada carried for them: that "complete liberation" to which, in his early years, Arafat had subscribed.

The death toll mounted beneath the Israelis' overwhelmingly superior firepower: from small-scale attrition of sniper and small arms fire, through systematic assassinations, to tanks, helicopter gunships and F16s unleashed on targets in civilian neighbourhoods. Poverty, hatred and despair mounted too.

Most Israelis saw the intifada as an existential threat. And they all blamed Arafat. For the peace-seeking left, he had betrayed them, and all their strivings, with a resort to violence just when a historic breakthrough seemed within grasp. For the right, he had revealed himself once more as the unregenerate killer they always held him to be. This consensus led, in February 2001, to the rise of Ariel Sharon, the "hero" of Sabra and Chatila, at the head of Israel's most extreme, belli cose government in history.

Sharon had one ambition: to suppress the intifada by as much brute force as he could risk without antagonising the Americans or his Labour coalition partners beyond endurance. And he did not mind if he was to bring Arafat and the PA down; he would escape from any obligation to pursue the peace process by eliminating the only party with whom he could pursue it.

Like Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, the events of September 11 2001 were another of those unforeseeable cataclysms that impinge on the Palestinian arena. This time Arafat was determined to put himself on the side of the angels. Endorsing America's "war on terror", he sought to end the intifada; his police arrested militants who broke the ceasefire and shot and killed demonstrators who protested against the Anglo-American assault on Afghanistan. But it did not yield the tangible gain from the Americans, in the shape of a serious, impartial peace initiative at last, on which he was banking.

After a brief attempt, under Arab pressure, to rein in Sharon, George Bush II, the most pro-Israeli president ever, did little more than look on as Sharon re-conquered much of the West Bank, wreaked havoc on the infrastructure of the PA, and subjected Arafat himself to a humiliating siege in his headquarters in Ramallah, of which only his office

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was left standing amid mounds of rubble. In the summer of 2002, Bush pronounced Arafat unfit to rule - as "irrelevant", in other words, as Sharon said he was - and a prime target, along with Saddam Hussein, for those "regime changes" which Bush now envisaged across much of the Middle East.

In 2003, after overthrowing Saddam through full-scale war, he sought to oust Arafat by diplomatic means. He secured the appointment of a docile prime minister, Abu Mazin, who, he hoped, was ready to do what Arafat was not - go to war against the Islamic militants without any assurance that the Israelis would make any worthwhile concessions in the peace-making.

But Arafat, with his grip on the levers of power, joined Sharon, with his intransigence and continued "targeted killings", and drove the unpopular appointee to despair and resignation. With the breakdown of the ceasefire that had come with the latest "road map", and a resumption of the suicide bombings, the Israeli government announced its intention to "remove" Arafat, this "absolute obstacle to any attempt at reconciliation between Palestinians and Israelis".

"Removal" to a new exile, or removal to "the other world" - that was the question. But this time the great survivor survived only to be carried off by what for him was the most extraordinary, because ordinary, of deaths.

He is survived by his wife and a daughter, Zahwa, named after his mother.

Yasser Arafat (Muhammad Abdul Raouf Arafat al-Qudwa al-Husseini), politician, born August 4 1929; died November 11 2004

Arafat . . . in the headdress, or keffiyeh, that, as well as covering his bald pate, became his emblem Photograph: Osama Silwadi

**Load-Date:** November 12, 2004



**Reviled by America, feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a holiday.**

Eastern Daily Press

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**Byline:** RUSSELL

## **Body**

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Reviled by America, feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a holiday.

Included in George W Bush's second 'Axis of Evil' speech it would come as a surprise to many people in Britain to discover that Bashar Al Assad's notorious totalitarian state is actually one of the Middle East's most popular destinations.

Wealthy Arabs from the gulf regularly drive or fly up the peninsula to lounge on Mediterranean beaches, or visit ancient Roman and early Islamic sites.

And under the constant glare of Assad's eyes, which look out from statues or posters on every corner, Syrians live out a comfortable life - there is no starvation, not a trace of crime and nobody goes without education or state healthcare.

In fashionable areas of Damascus and Aleppo professionals in sharply cut western suits pass women with veiled faces on busy streets, moving between air conditioned offices, fast food restaurants and tea houses.

Ignoring horror stories about possible detention at passport control, together with my brothers I flew first to the Jordanian capital Amman, before hiring a taxi to head north.

Jordan is an arid country, made up of about ninety per cent desert, yet crossing the border I was surprised at how quickly the sandy scrub gave way to verdant green fields and row upon row of olive groves.

Driving through the countryside at the local's breakneck speed mosques interspersed with little churches (around ten percent of Syrians are Christians) scroll by.

Even taking breaks into account the speedy journey north from the border brought us to Damascus in a matter of hours.

Believed to be the world's oldest continuously inhabited settlement, the centre of Damascus, the old town, is now a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Reviled by America , feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a hol....

Emerging from the crowded Hamidiyeh souk, essentially a long covered arcade built in the nineteenth century, which leads into the Old Town, we passed between Roman columns to find ourselves looking straight at the vast Omayyad Mosque.

Built in the seventh century at a cost of eleven million gold dinars the Mosque took ten years to complete and Caliph al-Walid ibn Abdul Malek had to bring in craftsmen from across his Empire.

Unusually for Middle Eastern mosques today it is possible for non-Muslims to enter, and an office nearby provides robes for women to cover-up.

Inside the main gate the Mosque is divided into two. First the visitor enters a courtyard where the marble floor - polished by millions of pairs of socks passing over it - shines back blinding into the eyes.

The glare in the courtyard was so bright that when I entered the prayer hall it took several minutes before my eyes had adjusted enough to take in the immense scale.

The huge room is divided by a single row of columns, the floor is spread with woven rugs and the walls glint and glitter with the vast glass and porcelain mosaics which cover them.

In the far corners groups of boys were being taught from the Koran and one young man was receiving a lesson in singing the call to prayer.

Compared with the calm of the Mosque the bustling medieval souqs surrounding it are in a different world.

There is the usual array of wooden and glass tourist trinkets, but in some areas the stalls carry much more exotic fare.

For those on an extravagant budget the Gold Souq is found by following the alley which leads from the right hand side of the Mosque.

Here you can buy gold far purer than you'd find in Britain and at much cheaper prices too. Rings, earrings, chains and broaches are all sold by weight and a few minutes haggling can get you a significant reduction on the price.

If you're looking for something for that special someone but jewellery isn't on your shopping list, then having a unique perfume made up for them could be a good alternative.

In certain corners of the souq rows of perfume stalls can be found, where expert craftsmen wait with shelves laden with coloured urns and bottles containing different oils and essences, ready to mix up an individual scent.

It's also in the souq that the best restaurants are to be found. Although it's hard to give directions in a city built without any sort of planning, if you keep your eyes peeled you will soon see signs directing you into the little doorways which open out into the cool courtyards of merchants' houses converted into restaurants.

I found Syrian cuisine tasty but monotonous after a while. There is little variation on the format of each meal - an array of metze bound to include copious amounts of hommous and olives, and eaten with flat bread, followed by either chicken or lamb (or was it goat) cooked on skewers over hot coal and served with salad and more bread.

Despite being an Islamic country alcohol is not illegal, although it's pot luck whether the restaurant you've chosen will serve wine or not.

The best part of the meal, for those so inclined, is finishing with a satisfying smoke on the Shisha - a four foot water pipe packed with moist tobacco flavoured with apple, grape or melon.

Leaving Damascus we caught a bus to Aleppo, an ancient coastal city renowned for its collection of antiquities, stored in the National Museum.

Reviled by America , feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a hol....

Visitors may find the museum's opening times erratic (we had to come back twice) and the translated guides difficult to follow, but the immaculate preservation of the needle sharp Hittite, Assyrian and Aramean carvings is hard to fault.

The one inescapable landmark in Aleppo is the Citadel which commands the best views of the city from the top of a large mound.

The Citadel's hill is believed to have been inhabited since around 1700BC and local legend has it that Abraham, known as Ibrahim to Muslims, camped on the hill and milked his cow there.

Construction of the present castle - which dwarves any found in Britain - began around 1000AD and the site has since been occupied by just about every marauding army that has passed through the area.

Within the walls are the remains of a city within a city - including two Mosques, a throne room, training grounds and even baths.

It's also in the area around the Citadel that some of the city's strangest sites are to be found.

I amused myself by strolling through the egg and soap souqs where row after row of traders hawk stacks of identical eggs and soap.

Meanwhile my doctor-in-training brother went to search for a suitable Shisha and a supply of apple tobacco in the cool of the covered souq, a series of vaulted tunnels from which craftsmen ply their trade.

After spending the day on our feet and in the heat of the sun we were in dire need of a drink, and where could be better than the Baron Hotel - a legendary establishment whose guests have included Theodore Roosevelt, Charles Lindbergh, Lawrence of Arabia and perhaps most famously Agatha Christie who wrote Murder on the Orient Express while staying here.

Today the hotel is owned by an English-Armenian lady known as "Madame Sarah" and run by a rather eccentric staff.

It took around fifteen minutes for a barman appear and serve us, but he seemed more than amiable and was happy to recommend me the local spirit - a sort of ouzo which turned milky when mixed with water.

Other Syrian sites to recommend include the legendary castle Crack des Chevaliers, a vast crusader fortress nestled in the hills near the Lebanese border.

Once the base of the mysterious Knights Templar today the castle is a mecca for both medieval archaeologists and conspiracy theorists.

Less famous but even more impressive is Palmyra, an ancient city North East of Damascus.

Although the city predates the Empire's arrival, it includes some of the best preserved Roman architecture in the world.

Situated in an oasis on the edge of the desert, the sands to the East of Palmyra run pretty much uninterrupted from here to Baghdad.

The subject of Iraq and the political instability of the Middle East is something British visitors to Syria will be constantly reminded of.

Although it would be impolite to bring politics up in conversation, it is hard to avoid the images of Assad emblazoned across nearly every flat surface. And in areas where there is a significant Palestinian minority his image is joined by Yasser Arafat and assassinated Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

Reviled by America , feared by Israel and generally ignored by British tourists, the Republic of Syria isn't the first place most of us would think of for a hol....

Yet thankfully Syrians are able to distinguish between western visitors and their governments and the most hostile response I ever encountered was the man who shouted that I should send his regards to Jack Straw.

Far more likely to cause offence are matters of public decency.

Although there is no law governing how people should dress, bare legs or shoulders is a definite no for women and likely to provoke sniggers if worn by a man.

Generally Syrians expect more 'eccentric' behaviour from visiting Europeans, who they tend to look upon with wry amusement. And unmarried couples who want to share hotel rooms shouldn't expect any hassle - despite the practice being unthinkable for Syrians.

That said public displays of affection such as kissing are completely unacceptable, and it is best to be aware of local sensibilities, especially in more remote parts of the country.

Flights to Syria are somewhat beyond the reach of low-cost providers like Ryanair, but getting there is unlikely to break the bank.

British Airways are currently offering return flights to Damascus for £160.

Entering the country from Jordan or Turkey should not be a problem, although visa regulations at the Lebanese border are subject to change without warning.

The border with Israel is closed and the countries are still technically at war. It's worth mentioning that travellers with Israeli stamps in their passports may experience some hassle at passport control.

Finding a hotel for any price range is not a problem in Syria.

Le Meridien ([www.lemeridien.com](http://www.lemeridien.com)) and Cham Palace ([www.chamhotels.com](http://www.chamhotels.com)) are the two leading chains with branches offering standard chain hotel accommodation in most towns and cities.

More exotic options actually come at the lower end of the price scale. In Damascus two backpackers favourites are found in the Salihiye district, west of the Old Town - the Al Haramain (tel. 00963 231 9489) and the Al Rabie (tel. 00963 231 8374). Both are converted Ottoman trading houses offering single rooms or dormitory beds in cool rooms arranged around a central courtyard, for less than £5 a night.

If they are full there are dozens more cheap hotels around Martyrs Square.

In Aleppo a room in the faded glamour of the Baron Hotel (tel. 00963 212 210880) will cost around £30 a night.

Prices may increase in the summer with the annual influx of gulf tourists and come down a bit in the winter as the managers of empty hotels are prepared to strike bargains.

**Load-Date:** April 3, 2005

***Slick? No, this sick flick is just pulp fascism***

DAILY MAIL (London)

April 23, 2004

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**Section:** ED\_1ST; Pg. 52

**Length:** 1650 words

**Byline:** CHRISTOPHER TOOKEY

## **Body**

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Kill Bill Volume 2 (18) Verdict: Tarantino exposes his psyche, and it's not a pretty sight ....

The Good Old Naughty Days (R-18) Verdict: Hard porn from the early 1900s, and it's not a pretty sight either ....

THE second half of Quentin Tarantino's revenge drama is less gory and action-packed than the first - you'll have to work out for yourself whether that's a commendation or a criticism.

Volume 2 is certainly a lot less fun, and contains so many long dialogue scenes and pretentious monologues that it seems at times as if he's trying (for some inexplicable reason) to pay homage to The Matrix: Reloaded.

Thanks to Tarantino's visual flair, there are extraordinary moments. The catfight in a trailer between Uma Thurman and Daryl Hannah is superbly staged, and Quentin still knows how to frame a shot and use music to establish mood.

But the emptiness of Kill Bill is such that when Tarantino does a visually striking cut from wide open mountain spaces to a huge close-up of a character's eyes, the eyes tell us nothing about the character. It's just a vacuous exercise in directorial control.

Some sequences are grotesquely overextended, and one - a stopoff towards the end when our vengeful heroine encounters a Hispanic pimp - contributes nothing whatsoever.

The first Kill Bill could usefully have lost 20 minutes; the second is overlong by at least 45.

Whereas the first episode was a cheerfully trashy gorefest Charlie's Angels as directed by Genghis Khan - this is a more sombre effort, essentially a version of how Seventies kung fu movies from Hong Kong might have looked, had they been directed by an unholy triumvirate of spaghetti Western director Sergio Leone, Hitler-apologist Leni Riefenstahl and superman-theorist Friedrich Nietzsche.

The morality of both films is expressed by Bill (David Carradine), our heroine's enemy, teacher and an incorrigible windbag: normal notions of right and wrong are suspended when a hero has to survive.

This is a tenable philosophy under life-or-death circumstances, but a much less attractive one by which to live under normal conditions. It is, in fact, the selfishly corrupt code of many who operate under, say, African dictatorships or in the more sharkinfested regions of Hollywood.

Slick? No, this sick flick is just pulp fascism

The two films together could easily be entitled Triumph Of The Will had Riefenstahl not taken the title first. Tarantino is not only visibly excited by the exercise of power - both parts of Kill Bill are full of would-be iconic, posed images of brutality - he also gets aroused by notions of submission, especially by younger women to older men.

ALL THE usual idiots have hailed Thurman's heroine as a feminist icon, but look closer and you'll notice a woman who's frightened and abused in all sorts of photogenic ways, and achieves her revenge only because she makes herself subservient to men, whether they be Bill or her kung fu trainer.

The underlying sadomasochism of Kill Bill, posing as a kind of 'cool', is its second most sinister aspect. The worst is its fascism, reengineered for the 21st century to cash in on American neuroses.

The film argues, often with visceral power, that where someone has been foully betrayed and attacked (such as America was on 9/11), wholesale slaughter and destruction are justified without thought of proportionality or consequences for the innocent.

Indeed, the use of lethal technology (swords in Tarantino's films, superior air power in American foreign policy, or plastic explosives if you happen to belong to Hamas) is really, really cool. If people lose their limbs and lives as a result, that's funny. And they shouldn't have got in the way.

This is the philosophy, some people will argue, that underpins George Bush's foreign policy. I would prefer not to believe that, but it certainly underpins mass terrorism and suicide bombing, which is why the Kill Bill films are so uniquely repellent.

Tarantino does more than glamorise violence here; he makes a quasi-religion out of it. ONE reason why his heroine bonds at the end with her little girl (don't worry - I'm not spoiling any surprises here) is that she can recognise in her the killer that she is herself. The end of the film reeks of this kind of corrupt, egomaniacal sentimentality.

Kill Bill is more than an empty exercise in camp; it's sick, twisted and pernicious a hideous monument to one director's worship of power, violence and himself.

THE other cinematic talkingpoint of the week is The Good Old Naughty Days, a collection of ancient hard-porn short films from the 1920s and 1930s.

The men are, for the most part, elderly, knobbly chaps who wear curious wigs and facial hair to render themselves unrecognisable (or perhaps just immune from criticism).

One looks like the late Frank Muir and another like Alexei Sayle, both of whom I admire but neither of whom I have ever wished to watch having sex.

The acting is diabolical, the staging not much better and the effect remarkably unerotic.

I went in prepared to be shocked or disgusted, but erect male members and exposed female body parts hardly rank as out of the ordinary on screen these days.

The most astonishing aspect is how tedious and repetitive it is, even at 71 minutes.

It's almost worth sitting through for the last item, a scurrilous cartoon that is so inventively disgusting that it did make me laugh.

But generally, the clips have been lazily assembled, with an almost total absence of wit and precious little attempt at historical perspective.

The film's value lies in the fact that it proves hard porn existed long before the Swinging Sixties, but apart from that it's a terrible old bore.

Full of creases

Slick? No, this sick flick is just pulp fascism

Wondrous Oblivion (PG) Verdict: Destined for less than wondrous oblivion ....

HERE'S a cute little British movie that would like to be the next Billy Elliot or Bend It Like Beckham, but doesn't quite make the grade.

It's about an 11-year-old, cricket-loving Jewish boy (Sam Smith) growing up in South London in the early Sixties.

He finds a kindred spirit in the black Jamaican (Delroy Lindo) who moves in next door and who educates him in the mysteries of the game.

The film is way too long at 106 minutes, and there's an unpersuasive romantic subplot as the boy's repressed mother (Emily Woof) finds herself drawn towards her black neighbour. Though their scenes together are superbly played, writer-director Paul Morrison (who also made the stodgy interracial drama Solomon And Gaenor) might have done better to ditch them and concentrate on making his main coming-of-age story more subtle and surprising.

The film wears its message of racial tolerance too crudely on its sleeve.

The children involved don't have the right haircuts for the period, and could have done with cricket and acting lessons. And the story is just too simpleminded, as though aimed not quite at grownups.

Son of Seven's mayhem in Montreal

Taking Lives (15) Verdict: Serviceable thriller ....

Win A Date With Tad Hamilton! (PG) Verdict: Sweet but undemanding teen dating movie ....

BEFORE seeing Taking Lives, I knew nothing about it, and the first five minutes are very clever, inverting the audience's expectations as to which genre it is going to inhabit. If only the rest of the film were as fresh.

Angelina Jolie (left) plays an improbably luscious and immaculately made-up FBI profiler sent to help a couple of French-Canadian cops (Olivier Martinez, resentful but sexy, and Jean-Hugues Anglade, dishevelled and doomed). They have to solve a series of grisly murders in and around Montreal.

Ethan Hawke is the chief witness, having interrupted one of the murders in progress, and he's an artist, so able to draw a pretty good likeness of the culprit (a dead ringer for Kiefer Sutherland).

Ethan's such a nice guy and so obviously innocent that Ms Jolie finds herself falling for his bohemian charms.

Director D.J. Caruso is clearly a big fan of David Fincher's Se7en, and he copies it slavishly. This is the film for you if you like flashlights slanting through darkness, gallons of rain, ultra-gruesome corpses and nasty things dropping from the ceiling or coming at you from under the bed.

The plot doesn't make any sense - the role of the killer's mother (played by Gena Rowlands, no less) is particularly nonsensical - but the twists keep coming.

Attend Taking Lives with low expectations and it's a serviceable thriller.

WIN A DATE WITH TAD HAMILTON! won't win any prizes for originality either.

Kate Bosworth (the surfer babe from Blue Crush) plays a blonde, naive, checkout girl from the Piggly Wiggly grocery store in a small town in West Virginia.

She wins a date with Hollywood superstar Tad Hamilton (Josh Duhamel) who's meant to be a combination of Brad Pitt and Ben Affleck. No sooner have they dated than her wide-eyed innocence has won Tad's heart, and poor old Pete (Topher Grace) the nice guy who's been our heroine's secret admirer for years - feels left out in the cold.

Slick? No, this sick flick is just pulp fascism

Will Hollywood slickness prevail, or will good old-fashioned rural sincerity win the day?

This is a cute, inconsequential flick aimed at females of dating age, with a few witty lines (mainly from Pete, who has an improbably urban and sophisticated wit, a bit like Chandler's in Friends).

Bosworth is a little too cute for comfort, and looks less like a provincial checkout girl than a Baywatch babe; but if you go for that kind of white-bread smileyness, she's likeable.

Duhamel looks the part of Tad, but the role really needed a Brad Pitt to pull it off. Tad is so sweet and curiously innocent, even when he's giving his impression of Ben Affleck on a lads' night out, that he just doesn't convince as a Hollywood predator.

The role is essentially that of the bad guy in a Rock Hudson-Doris Day movie of the Fifties, and in the old days they would have made him enough of a swine to make us root against him. Here, I half wanted him to get the girl so she could save him from a life with Jennifer Lopez.

END

## Graphic

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SINISTER UNDERCURRENTS: UMA THURMAN HAS REVENGE ON HER MIND INSET: DARYL HANNAH AS ONE OF HER GROWING COLLECTION OF ADVERSARIES

**Load-Date:** April 24, 2004



## **JOURNALISTIC SINS OF COMMISSION**

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

April 4, 2004 Sunday

TWO STAR EDITION

Copyright 2004 P.G. Publishing Co.

**Section:** EDITORIAL,

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### **Body**

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A Jewish settler named Avi Shapiro vows to eliminate the "sons of Arab whores." He dons his yarmulke and, along with 12 vigilantes, riddles a Palestinian taxi with bullets. A Pakistani youth unfurls a photo of the Sears Tower and sneers, like a villain in a Chuck Norris movie, "This one is mine."

Those are scenes that Jack Kelley, formerly a star reporter for USA Today [and no connection to Post-Gazette National Security Writer and columnist Jack Kelly], claimed to bear witness to in the Mideast. A devout Christian, he declared, "God has called me to proclaim truth." On March 19, his paper revealed him to be a fraud. That boy with dibs on the Sears Tower? Turns out he was a figment of Kelley's imagination. So was Avi Shapiro. More than two months into an ongoing investigation, it's clear that Kelley -- who quit USA Today in January -- fabricated those characters and others in some of the world's least stable places. He even wrote scripts for his co-conspirators to use in order to help him fool USA Today fact-checkers; the texts were discovered on his company laptop computer as part of the investigation.

But what stands out in Kelley's phony oeuvre -- remarkable by any standard, with imagined Cuban refugees drowning by moonlight and multiple fake decapitations at a suicide-bombing in Jerusalem -- is the way he trafficked in particularly explosive stereotypes. And what makes him emerge as a more dangerously misguided figure than his tarnished peers -- Jayson Blair and Stephen Glass among them -- is how influential those tales became.

On Sept. 30, 2001, for example, Tim Russert ran the Sears Tower kid anecdote past Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld on "Meet the Press."

"I want to read that to you and our audience," Russert said, "give you a chance to think about it and talk about it ... How do we change their mindset?" (The secretary's reply: "There isn't a big 'they.' ")

The kid -- whose classmate completes the picture of evil in the story by telling Americans, "I will get your children, I will get their playgrounds" -- became a mascot of the dangerous new world post-9/11. The week he spoke to Rumsfeld, Russert also asked former Sens. Gary Hart and Warren Rudman to consider the report. Kelley's fiction inspired an Oct. 13, 2001, column by syndicated columnist Armstrong Williams, a conservative voice picked up in more than 75 newspapers. As readers passed his story around, the kid showed up in the letters section of Stars and Stripes, and in an Oct. 18 letter to the Syracuse, N.Y., Post-Standard. Shawn Harmon, a 35-year-old reservist, dared pacifists and "the whole UC Berkeley Crowd" to turn the other cheek, in the light of Jack Kelley's article -- proof, he said, that we have to "rid the world of this virus."

## JOURNALISTIC SINS OF COMMISSION

As for Kelley's murderous Avi Shapiro: The Sept. 4, 2001, piece, wrote Arab Coalition for Media Equality spokesman Al Kadri in a Sept. 10, 2001, letter to the Canadian Windsor Star, was one that "everyone should read." According to Kelley himself, almost everyone did.

"Last August," he recalled in a 2002 CNN "Reliable Sources" roundtable discussion of fairness in Middle East reporting, "I wrote one cover story on Jewish vigilantes in the West Bank and how they fired on a taxi carrying Palestinian women and children -- received 3,000 e-mails per day, for 10 straight days. After that, we had to switch my e-mail address. Got seven death threats and got a bouquet of white funeral flowers sent to our building." Washington Post media critic (and "Reliable Sources" host) Howard Kurtz mentioned the anecdote in his column. The Slate.com daily summary of newspapers referred to the story a "long disturbing look at Jewish extremists" by a reporter who was "on a roll."

Plenty of people did question the story, calling it absurd from the first sentence (they laughed at the idea that Orthodox Jews would "put on their religious skullcaps" for a vigilante outing, reasoning they would have them on all day).

But that didn't stop Avi Shapiro from becoming a favorite among Israel critics, and also extremists -- in particular, Nazi sympathizers. As a torrent of e-mails complained about USA Today's depiction of Jews, an infamous Holocaust denier leapt to his defense.

\*\*\* Urgent message from the Zundelsite! \*\*\* posted Ingrid Rimland on her revisionist mailing list -- repeating the "urgent" line three times for emphasis. "I URGE you not to let this one courageous journalist down," she wrote. "Refrain from any abuse -- just show that we are classy, well-informed people, and that we detest the one-sided reporting of most mainstream media. Express your gratitude for the courage of Jack Kelley!" She wasn't alone. For Avi Shapiro, far beyond his cameos on mainstream Web sites debating the Mideast situation, was becoming a poster boy not just for occupation critics but for anti-Jewish extremists and crackpots. He was a living embodiment of what they'd been saying all along. A French Holocaust-denial newsletter at VHO.org posted the story under the words "HUMANISME JUIF" (Jewish humanism).

But before writing of Avi Shapiro, Kelley's other articles were frequently passed around among pro-Israel activists. In July 2001, the Jewish Council for Public Affairs urged members to send congressional representatives his (so far, still unchallenged) portrait of a Hamas family, which begins: "The Hotaris are preparing for a party to celebrate the killing of 21 Israelis this month by their son, a suicide bomber. Neighbors hang pictures on their trees of Saeed Hotari holding seven sticks of dynamite. They spray-paint graffiti reading '21 and counting' on their stone walls. And they arrange flowers in the shapes of a heart and a bomb to display on their front doors."

In fact, Kelley's previous reporting caused some observers to hesitate to dismiss his Avi Shapiro report. "To Kelley's credit," wrote OurJerusalem.com editor Jason Maoz in February, "he was the first journalist to report on Palestinians using ambulances as a cover for terrorist activities -- something heatedly denied by Palestinian officials."

Which brings up another explosive Kelley story -- and the question of whether it will still stand after USA Today's investigation. In it ("Street Clashes Now Deliberate Warfare," Oct. 23, 2000) Kelley saw -- he claims -- a street battle in Ramallah where an Arab rescue vehicle, a Red Crescent ambulance, dropped off "two buckets of rocks and a crate of bottles to be used as molotov cocktails." That's no casual observation, because it weighs in on long-standing debate between Israelis and Palestinians. While Arabs say Israelis are hindering ambulances without evidence of past abuses, IDF leaders contend that, on a few occasions, they've been shot at by gunmen in ambulances, or found explosives aboard the vehicles.

Kelley's contribution to the debate was widely cited by American pro-Israel groups. HonestReporting.com called Kelley one of "a few brave reporters." Washington Post columnist Charles Krauthammer mentioned Kelley's ambulance sighting in a piece that week called "Realities of War," and Rep. Eliot Engel, D-N.Y., followed up the next month by writing a protest to the International Red Cross.

## JOURNALISTIC SINS OF COMMISSION

Whether that story turns out to be true or not, Kelley told a lot of people what they expected to hear. Don't we all expect those colorful foreigners of the Mideast to talk like Indiana Jones characters, calling their enemies "sons of whores," like Avi Shapiro, or uttering lines like "I will make my body a bomb that will blast the flesh of Zionists, the sons of pigs and monkeys," like the 11-year-old Ahmed in the (thus far undisputed) Kelley piece, "The Secret World of Suicide Bombers"? Who, feeling guilty about the deaths of civilians, wouldn't be soothed to read that Ahmed's small frame and boyish smile are "deceiving," because his vulnerability "mask[s] a determination to kill at any cost"? Or that school kids bombed in Afghanistan might not be so innocent after all, perhaps dreaming of blowing up a Chicago landmark?

Not long after 9/11, responding to a woman expressing qualms about hazards to "innocent bystanders" in Afghanistan, one Usenet poster replied by pasting the Sears Tower story into the newsgroup. The title of his post: "Know thine enemy." Someone called it blather.

"Blather?" the original poster replied. "Jack Kelley has balls of steel. Talk about courage! An American journalist going to visit a suicide bomber school and interviewing thousands of crazed fanatics screaming their hatred for the U.S.A. right to his face."

After struggling to cope with Stephen Glass' staggering spree of fabrication, then-New Republic editor Charles Lane said: "One of the parts of the answer that I've settled on is that so many of his stories revolve around stereotypes ... They fit into the pre-existing grooves that are already etched into everybody's heads, things we think or are predisposed to believe are true.

"So he's got stories about young conservatives who turn out to be total hypocrites about morality; he's got stories about department store Santa Clauses who turn out to be pedophiles; and he's got a big story about a pseudo-scientific exploration about why African-Americans are too lazy to drive taxicabs but immigrants will."

As it turned out, Jack Kelley's forgeries fit snugly into the pre-existing grooves of people all over the world looking for coverage of evil Jews, or cute Muslim boys who turn out to be devils.

Kelley is no longer on the Web site list of faculty of the World Journalism Institute, which trains Christians to be journalists. Its purpose: "The need to be faithful to the Christian example of accurately reporting (e.g., being reliable eyewitnesses) the work of God in today's world." And as reported in a Christian magazine in 2001, Kelley has said of his work: "I feel God's pleasure when I write and report. It isn't because of the glory, but because God has called me to proclaim truth, and to worship him and serve through other people."

The inflammatory truth he's proclaimed, of the world where Avi Shapiro and the Sears Tower kid live, may not be truth as we understand it. But Kelley found an eager multitude of believers ready to receive his truth and eager to award its messenger that rarest badge of honor: "Unbiased."

## Notes

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John Gorenfeld ([www.gorenfeld.net](http://www.gorenfeld.net)), a journalist in San Francisco, wrote this for Salon.com.

## Graphic

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DRAWING: Ted Crow/Post-Gazette

PHOTO: USA Today's forger -- Jack Kelley.

## JOURNALISTIC SINS OF COMMISSION

**Load-Date:** April 6, 2004

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## *How an Al Qaeda hotbed turned inhospitable*

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 01

**Length:** 1669 words

**Byline:** By Faye Bowers Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline:** RIYADH, SAUDI ARABIA

### **Body**

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First of four parts

When Al Qaeda attacked Saudi Arabia on May 12 - and again on Nov. 8 - it brought home a cold, hard truth for the rulers of Riyadh: the house of Al Saud was now its primary target - even more so than the United States.

That realization is triggering a profound stir in the land where Al Qaeda and other militant groups have long drawn ideological and financial succor. After Sept. 11, Saudi Arabia went through a period of denial (15 of the 19 hijackers were Saudi). But now there is perhaps no more determined partner for the US war on terror than this Middle Eastern kingdom. The royal family is rounding up suspected terrorists, cracking down on Al Qaeda's financial backers and radical clerics, and moving toward significant educational and gender reforms.

How it will turn out is not at all clear. "There are those who believe in controlled change, and those who say we should rip through the changes," says Khaled al-Maeena, editor of Arab News, in Saudi Arabia. "And there are those who say any change should come under the umbrella of Islam. All three are struggling to come to the forefront." Today, the Monitor begins a four-part series on the Saudi reformation.

Support for a tough crackdown on terror grew after two domestic attacks

The faces are everywhere - on display in restaurants, shop windows, and the opening pages of the main daily newspapers.

They are the 26 most-wanted young men in Saudi Arabia, sought in connection with the May 12 and Nov. 8 suicide bombings here that took the lives of 53 people, mainly Arabs. But nine Americans also perished in the attacks.

The bounty on these men is high: 1 million Saudi rials (\$ 267,000) each. Supply leads on a terror cell, and you receive \$ 1,867,000. Help foil a terrorist attack, and it's worth \$ 1,333,000.

The rewards, along with the public display of the suspects, are part of an unprecedented campaign by the Saudi royal family to enlist everyday Saudis in this battle against Al Qaeda.

After the 1996 Khobar Towers bombing, in which 19 US servicemen died, Saudi Arabia was an unwilling partner. It wasn't much more compliant after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks. But now, with the terror group's wrath striking the royal family's home turf, the small inner circle of princes has united and is going public, reaching out to its own

## How an Al Qaeda hotbed turned inhospitable

population and to the US. "This is a wholesale change for the Saudis, with the publication of these names and pictures," says a Western diplomat posted in Riyadh. "Saudi hearts and minds are what is important now."

Al Qaeda made a huge mistake by attacking Saudi Arabia, home to Islam's two holiest shrines, says Mohammed al-Hulwah, head of the foreign-relations committee of the king's Majlis Ash Shura (consultative council). "Now, the government has declared a holy war on these terrorists," he says, pumping his fists for emphasis in his typically Saudi living room. The walls, drapes, and furniture are covered in pastels with geometric designs to comply with a religious ban on portrayals of people or animals. "Some people before were sympathetic with them, but now they are really starting to think and question."

Up until this point, say Saudi and US government officials, ordinary Saudis - as well as some members of the royal family - were in denial. They could not accept that 15 of the 19 hijackers came from this country. But with the two bombings in Saudi Arabia, ordinary Saudis have not only come to accept they have a problem with extremists, but are actively helping their government root them out.

One Saudi man, for example, phoned the new government hotline recently to report that Othman al-Amri, No. 11 on the most-wanted list, had stopped at his home while driving through the area. About a week earlier, someone tipped off the authorities to the location of Ibrahim al-Rayes, who was later killed by security forces. From May through the end of 2003, some 300 other terror suspects have been detained or killed, according to officials.

The Saudis have also become much more cooperative with the US. Teams of Treasury, FBI, and CIA officers are now based here, working hand in hand with Saudi officials at the Mahabith, Saudi Arabia's counterpart to the FBI. "We have very good cooperation right now," says a Western law-enforcement officer based here.

These teams are beginning to establish certain patterns. For example, they've been able to trace many of the guns they've captured to both Yemen and Afghanistan. Moreover, with each arrest that is made, the teams gather additional information that leads them to others. "Every time you catch someone, they have something with them that allows [the suspect] to get to the next person [within the terror cell structure]," the law-enforcement official says.

The information developed by the teams has led the Saudis to install heat-sensitive cameras and barbed-wire fences at or near the most frequently used smuggling routes along its border with Yemen. That has already begun to pay off. On Dec. 27, Saudi officials announced they'd arrested a little more than 4,000 "infiltrators" trying to cross that border, and seized a large cache of ammunition.

The cooperation includes the pursuit of financial backing for terrorists, too. Since this past spring, the Saudis have instituted a number of measures to block funding: Collection boxes were removed from mosques, and tighter restrictions were placed on financial transfers and charitable donations.

But preventing personal donations to Arabs perceived to be in need, like Palestinians, will be much more difficult for the Saudi government to control; nearly everyone here bemoans the treatment of Palestinians by Israel.

"We have to support our brothers in Palestine," says Nasser al-Rasheed, a bespectacled conservative Muslim who has the traditional untrimmed white beard. "I would give money to a Palestinian I trust. But I would not give to Hamas [the Palestinian resistance movement placed on the US list of terror organizations]. But how do you know [the difference]?"

On the international front, however, the cooperation has paid off. Last month, the US and Saudi Arabia jointly designated two European organizations as financial backers of terrorists: Bosnia-based Vazir (formerly Al Haramain Islamic Foundation, shut down in Aug. 2003), and the Liechtenstein-based Hochburg AG (formerly BA Taqwa, closed in August 2002).

Still, no one thinks the crackdown will end anytime soon. Officials estimate that between 2,000 and 10,000 mujahideen returned here from fighting wars in Afghanistan. "A subculture exists here, those who fell into what the Saudis refer to as jihadist or takfiri terminology," says the Western diplomat. "It's a group of people - 60, 600, 6,000, 60,000. We don't know the exact number, but it's not infinite."

## How an Al Qaeda hotbed turned inhospitable

These jihadis have switched tactics as well, targeting intelligence officials. On Dec. 29, Lt. Col. Ibrahim al-Dhaleh parked his Lexus and stepped away just before it exploded. Earlier in the month, Maj. Gen. Abdelaziz al-Huweirini, the No. 3 in the intelligence service, was shot and wounded in Riyadh.

"We've got to recognize that we're fighting an ideology that springs out of a radical or xenophobic Islam," the Western diplomat says. "If we caught Osama bin Laden tomorrow, I am convinced Al Qaeda would be finished. But that won't end the war on terror. The ideology is entrenched in the Muslim world... We will probably be battling this for the next generation."

Tomorrow: A spiritual fight against religious extremists.

Behind the high walls of the foreigners' compounds, Americans hunker down

Inside the walls of their tightly secured compounds, foreigners in Saudi Arabia are essentially sequestered from Saudis. But despite toughened security measures, some residents say that Americans, in particular, are clearing out and leaving the country.

In the Al Yamama compound in Riyadh, which houses foreign workers who are helping develop this country, there are 370 connected, beige stucco townhouses - with two or three bedrooms. Near the center, there's a tiled open-air plaza with palm trees, surrounded by a grocery store, restaurant, flower shop, jewelry store, and preschool. A recreation room boasts raquetball, squash, and tennis courts as well as an Olympic-sized swimming pool. There's also a K-12 school.

"There are people here who hardly ever go off, or need to go off, the compound - especially now," says Jim Greenberg, an American businessman who's lived here for nearly 30 years. But, he adds, he and his wife, Lisa, have personally decided not to "change the way we live at all."

However, those who do go out generally travel in SUVs with tinted windows - mainly to prevent Saudis from seeing Western women inside who may not wear veils. "Inside that wall, I dress as I like," says Jan Quinn, an American expat who lives in a nearby compound.

She says life has drastically changed. For example, her four children who are attending school in the US are now afraid to visit. In fact, she says, this Christmas was the last they will spend together as a family in to Riyadh. Greenberg, though, still travels throughout the country and Riyadh - now home to 4.5 million where only 300,000 lived "in mud-brick homes" when he arrived some three decades ago.

Greenberg he also says that most of his colleagues have changed their habits - or left. There aren't exact numbers on US expatriates living in Saudi Arabia today, nor is there a historical record. The US Embassy here puts the number of Americans in Saudi Arabia today at about 30,000.

Greenberg, though, says he's seen the number diminish greatly over the years - especially after the May and November attacks. "This was probably an 80 percent American compound at one time," he says. "I suspect it's not more than about 20 to 25 percent now." One telling example, he says, is the school. When his four children left "a few years ago," the school was K-9 only and taught 2,200 kids. Today the school is K-12 and houses only 1,050 students.

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**Load-Date:** January 7, 2004

## Passages

USA TODAY

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### **Body**

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The Arts

Izora Armstead, reportedly 62, half of the singing duo the Weather Girls, known for their 1982 hit *It's Raining Men*. Heart failure, Sept. 16.

Richard Avedon, 81, photographer who took portraits of people such as Dwight Eisenhower and Marilyn Monroe, and glossies of models for fashion magazines. Brain hemorrhage, Oct. 1.

Jackson Beck, 92, voice-over artist who introduced the *Superman* radio show and was the voice of Bluto in nearly 300 *Popeye* cartoons. Natural causes, July 28.

Geoffrey Beene, 77, New York fashion designer whose clients included first ladies Pat Nixon and Nancy Reagan. Complications of pneumonia, Sept. 28.

Elmer Bernstein, 82, Academy Award-winning composer for *The Magnificent Seven*, *The Great Escape* and *The Ten Commandments*. Unknown causes, Aug. 18.

Jan Berry, 62, half of the 1960s surf-music group Jan & Dean. Seizure, March 26.

Laura Branigan, 47, Grammy nominee who sang the 1982 hit *Gloria*. Brain aneurysm, Aug. 26.

Mary-Ellis Bunim, 57, co-creator of MTV's *Real World* and other reality television shows. Breast cancer, Jan. 29.

Henri Cartier-Bresson, 95, legendary photojournalist and one of the founders of the Magnum photo agency. Unknown causes, Aug. 3.

Clement Dodd, 72, reggae producer who signed Bob Marley and the Wailers, and popularized Jamaican music worldwide. Heart attack, May 4.

Agnes "Sis" Cunningham, 95, co-founder of the influential folk journal *Broadside*. Natural causes, June 27.

Skeeter Davis, 72, Grand Ole Opry star who had a crossover hit with *The End of the World*. Breast cancer, Sept. 19.

Frances Dee, 94, actress who starred in the movie *An American Tragedy*. After a stroke, March 6.

Julius Dixon, 90, rock 'n' roll songwriter who wrote the '50s hit *Lollipop*. Unknown causes, Jan. 30.



## Passages

Brenda Fassie, 39, first black South African pop star to gain international fame. Complications from an asthma attack, May 9.

Spalding Gray, 62, actor and writer who bared his soul on New York stages with his monologues, some of which were turned into movies (1984's *Swimming to Cambodia*, 1996's *Gray's Anatomy*). Body found in New York's East River, March 7.

Antonio Gades, 67, artistic director of the National Ballet of Spain who popularized flamenco and is widely considered the greatest Spanish dancer of his era. Cancer, July 20.

Genevieve, 83, Parisian singer and comedian known for speaking her broken English to Jack Paar on *The Tonight Show* in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Complications from a stroke, March 14.

Jerry Goldsmith, 75, composer who wrote scores for nearly 200 films, including *Patton*, *Chinatown* and *The Omen*, which won him an Academy Award in 1977, as well as TV shows such as *Star Trek: The Next Generation*. Cancer, July 21.

Olivia Goldsmith, 54, former management consultant who wrote *The First Wives Club*. Heart attack during surgery, Jan. 15.

Leon Golub, 82, artist known for paintings that feature monumental human figures and depict war, torture and suffering. Complications after surgery, Aug. 8.

Bernard Grant, 83, soap opera star on *Guiding Light* and *One Life to Live* who also lent his voice to various foreign films dubbed into English. Lymphoma and pneumonia, June 30.

Uta Hagen, 84, acting teacher and stage actress who originated the role of Martha in Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* Natural causes, Jan. 14.

Jake Hess, 76, Southern gospel pioneer and onetime member of the Statesmen Quartet. Pneumonia after a heart attack, Jan. 4.

Bart Howard, 88, composer who wrote *Fly Me to the Moon*. Stroke complications, Feb. 21.

J.J. Jackson, 62, disc jockey and one of MTV's original video jockeys. Heart attack, March 17.

Illinois Jacquet, 81, jazz tenor saxophonist known for his solo in Lionel Hampton's 1942 song *Flying Home*. Heart attack, July 22.

Art James, 74, best known as the host of the TV show *Concentration*, NBC's longest-running game show, from 1958-73. Sudden illness, March 28.

Rick James, 56, funk music icon who made the hit *Super Freak*. Heart attack, Aug. 6.

Elvin Jones, 76, world-renowned jazz drummer who played with John Coltrane and others. Heart failure, May 18.

Russell Jones, 35, controversial rapper known as "Ol' Dirty Bastard" who performed with the group Wu-Tang Clan. After complaining of chest pains, Nov. 13.

Bob Keeshan, 76, portrayer of the title character on *Captain Kangaroo*, the longest-running children's show on network TV. After a long illness, Jan. 23.

Ed Kemmer, 84, actor who played Buzz Corry in the 1950s TV show *Space Patrol*. After suffering a stroke, Nov. 9.

Edward Killingsworth, 86, modernist architect of the Case Study Houses, a landmark Los Angeles-based project that promoted modern design and cost-effective building in the postwar housing boom. Natural causes, July 6.

## Passages

Alan King, 76, comedian who went from stand-up in the Catskills to Broadway and Hollywood, including frequent appearances on *The Tonight Show* and *The Ed Sullivan Show*. Lung cancer, May 9.

Pierre Koenig, 78, California architect whose glass-and-steel frame houses brought modern architecture to suburbia after World War II. Leukemia, April 4.

Harry Lampert, 88, illustrator who created the Golden Age comic book superhero The Flash. Cancer, Nov. 13.

Isidro "El Indio" Lopez, 75, saxophonist, singer and founder of the Isidro Lopez Orchestra widely considered to be the father of Tejano music. Complications from a stroke and brain aneurysm, Aug. 16.

Agnes Martin, 92, artist of the Abstract Expressionism movement who was admired for the meditative quality of her work. Pneumonia, Dec. 16.

Billy May, 87, trumpeter and bandleader who played with Glenn Miller, Frank Sinatra and others. Heart attack, Jan. 22.

Mercedes McCambridge, 87, actress who won an Oscar for her supporting role in her first movie, 1949's *All the King's Men*, and was the voice of the demon possessing Linda Blair in 1973's *The Exorcist*. Natural causes, March 2.

Terry Melcher, 62, producer and songwriter son of actress Doris Day who worked with The Byrds and the Beach Boys and helped shape the 1960s surf music sound. Cancer, Nov. 19.

Robert Merrill, 87, acclaimed baritone with New York's Metropolitan Opera who for years sang the national anthem on opening day for the New York Yankees. Cause not given, Oct. 23.

Russ Meyer, 82, who helped spawn the "skin flick" and who made the cult classic *Beyond the Valley of the Dolls*. Complications from pneumonia, Sept. 18.

Ann Miller, 81, long-legged Broadway and movie actress who starred in *Easter Parade* and *Kiss Me Kate*. Lung cancer, Jan. 22.

Jan Miner, 86, actress best known as Madge in Palmolive commercials. Cause not given, Feb. 15.

John Cullen Murphy, 85, illustrator best known for the Sunday comic strip *Prince Valiant*, which he drew for 34 years. Unknown causes, July 2.

Carl Mydans, 97, original photojournalist for *Life* magazine and a pioneer in magazine photojournalism. Heart failure, Aug. 16.

Joergen Nash, 84, Danish artist who claimed he cut the head off of Copenhagen's famed Little Mermaid statue in 1963. Unknown causes, May 17.

Helmut Newton, 83, famed photographer known for his erotic images. Car accident, Jan. 23.

Ron O'Neal, 66, star of the 1972 blaxploitation movie *Superfly*. Pancreatic cancer, Jan. 14.

Jack Paar, 85, former disc jockey who was host of the late-night *Tonight Show*. After a stroke, Jan. 27.

Bruce Palmer, 58, bass player for the folk-rock band Buffalo Springfield. Heart attack, Oct. 1.

Johnny Ramone, 55, guitarist and co-founder of the punk band The Ramones. Prostate cancer, Sept. 15.

Francesco Scavullo, 82, fashion photographer known for his portraits of celebrities and covers for *Cosmopolitan*. Heart failure, Jan. 6.

## Passages

Carrie Snodgrass, 57, actress who portrayed a frustrated homemaker in 1970's *Diary of a Mad Housewife*. Heart failure, April 1.

Zachary Solov, 81, former dancer and chief choreographer with the Metropolitan Opera. Heart failure, Nov. 6.

Soundarya, 32, Indian film star who sought to go beyond the typical roles of Bollywood actresses by looking for more meaningful parts. Plane crash, April 17.

Ray Stark, 88, Hollywood producer of *Funny Girl*, *The Goodbye Girl* and other films. After a long illness, Jan. 17.

June Taylor, 86, Emmy-winning choreographer who founded the June Taylor Dancers. Natural causes, May 17.

Renata Tebaldi, 82, Italian soprano considered to have one of the most beautiful voices of the 20th century and a star at both New York's Metropolitan and Italy's La Scala. Lengthy illness, Dec. 19.

Frank Thomas, 92, animator and one of Walt Disney's famed "Nine Old Men" responsible for the scene of two dogs sharing a strand of spaghetti on their first date in 1955's *Lady and the Tramp*. After a cerebral hemorrhage, Sept. 8.

Peter Ustinov, 82, actor and writer who won an Oscar for his role in *Spartacus*. Heart failure, March 28.

Claude "Fiddler" Williams, 96, jazz violinist who was part of the Kansas City jazz scene in the 1930s and a guitarist in the Count Basie Orchestra. Pneumonia, April 25.

Paul Winfield, 62, Oscar-nominated actor who starred in *Sounder*. Heart attack, March 7.

George Woodbridge, 73, *Mad* magazine caricature artist and illustrator. Emphysema, Jan. 20.

Syreeta Wright, 58, Motown recording artist and songwriter with her ex-husband, Stevie Wonder. Breast cancer, July 6.

### Law & Politics

Brock Adams, 77, former U.S. senator and Transportation secretary under President Carter. Parkinson's disease, Sept. 10.

Archibald Cox, 92, former special prosecutor who was fired over the Watergate investigation. Natural causes, May 29.

Carmine De Sapio, 95, who revived Tammany Hall after World War II and was its last boss, a position that gave him influence over New York City politics in the 1950s. Unknown causes, July 27.

Whitman Knapp, 95, federal judge who led the Knapp Commission which exposed police corruption in New York City in the early 1970s. Pneumonia, June 14.

Jacek Kuron, 70, Polish academic widely seen as the intellectual force behind Lech Walesa's Solidarity movement and later a labor minister. Cause not given, June 17.

Robert Linn, 95, recognized by *Guinness World Records* as the world's longest-serving mayor, taking office in Beaver, Pa., in 1946 and elected 14 more times in the next 58 years. Unknown causes, Aug. 21.

Marvin Mitchelson, 76, divorce lawyer to the stars who created the concept of "palimony" -- alimony for unmarried couples who separate. Cancer, Sept. 18.

Paul Nitze, 97, military expert who served under eight presidents and helped shape the U.S. Cold War strategy. Pneumonia, Oct. 19.

Robert Teeter, 65, Republican pollster and pioneer of the use of focus groups and daily tracking polls. Cancer, June 13.

## Passages

## Business

Jim Cantalupo, 60, McDonald's CEO. Heart attack, April 19.

Albert Casey, 84, former chairman and CEO of AMR Corp., parent company of American Airlines. Cause not given, July 10.

Billy Davis, 72, ad executive known for the 1970s ad jingle I'd Like to Buy the World a Coke. Cause not disclosed, Sept. 2.

Marvin Davis, 79, billionaire oilman who owned 20th Century Fox from 1981 until 1985. Natural causes, Sept. 25.

Jack Eckerd, 91, philanthropist who turned three failing drugstores in Tampa Bay into the beginning of the nationwide pharmacy chain that bears his name. Complications from pneumonia, May 19.

Hiram Fong, 97, businessman who became the first Asian-American in the U.S. Senate when he represented Hawaii as a Republican from 1959 until 1977. Cause of death not given, Aug. 18.

Herbert Haft, 84, pharmacist and entrepreneur who founded Dart Drugs and Shoppers Food Warehouse and offered discounted prices to customers on all goods, a practice upheld by the Supreme Court in 1960. Congestive heart disease, Sept. 1.

Al Lapin Jr., 76, co-founder with his brother of the International House of Pancakes chain in Los Angeles in 1958. Cancer, June 16.

Norris McWhirter, 78, founder in 1954 with his twin brother, Ross, of the Guinness World Records, created to settle trivia disputes in pubs. Heart attack, April 19.

J. Irwin Miller, 95, former CEO of the Fortune 500 engine manufacturer Cummins Engine. Congestive heart failure, Aug. 16.

William Mitchell, 92, food scientist and inventor of Pop Rocks candy who also owned patents for inventions that led to Cool Whip and Tang. Heart failure, July 26.

Claus Josef Riedel, 79, former president of his family's Austrian glassware company, Riedel Crystal, who revolutionized wine drinking by recognizing that the size and shape of a wine glass affect wine's taste. Heart attack, March 17.

Laurance Rockefeller, 94, grandson of pioneering venture capitalist John D. Rockefeller and a philanthropist and conservationist who helped establish or enlarge national parks across the country. Pulmonary fibrosis, July 11.

John Seybold, 88, computer-typesetting pioneer. Heart failure, March 14.

Lewis Urry, 77, inventor considered the "father of alkaline" batteries. Cause not given, Oct. 19.

Jay Van Andel, 80, co-founder of Amway and a politically conservative philanthropist. Parkinson's disease, Dec. 7.

Edward Zubler, 79, inventor of the halogen lamp. Heart failure during surgery, March 20.

## Literature &amp; Media

Eddie Adams, 71, photographer who took the Pulitzer Prize-winning picture of a Viet Cong fighter being shot in the head on a Saigon street during the Vietnam War. Lou Gehrig's disease, Sept. 19.

Nuha al-Radi, 63, Iraqi ceramist and painter best known for her 1998 book Baghdad Diaries. Complications of leukemia, Aug. 31.

## Passages

Daniel Boorstin, 89, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian who wrote *The Americans: The Democratic Experience*. Pneumonia, Feb. 28.

Larry Brown, 53, Oxford, Miss., fireman who began writing novels in his spare time and won acclaim for his raw portrayals of common people. Heart attack, Nov. 24.

James Chace, 72, historian and author, biographer of Dean Acheson. Heart attack, Oct. 8.

Iris Chang, 36, best-selling author of *The Rape of Nanking* and *The Chinese in America*. Self-inflicted gunshot, body found Nov. 9.

Alistair Cooke, 95, English-born journalist known for his weekly *Letter from America* BBC radio broadcasts for 58 years and for hosting public television's *Masterpiece Theater* for 22 years, beginning in 1971. No cause given, March 30.

Paula Danziger, 59, author of more than 30 children's books including *The Cat Ate My Gynsuit*. Heart attack, July 8.

Gloria Emerson, 75, author and New York Times foreign correspondent. Apparent suicide, Aug. 4.

Janet Frame, 79, reclusive author of the book *An Angel at My Table*. Leukemia, Jan. 29.

Syd Hoff, 91, New Yorker cartoonist and author of the children's book *Danny and the Dinosaur*. Pneumonia, May 12.

Sidney James, 97, a founding editor of *Sports Illustrated* and the magazine's first managing editor. Prostate cancer, March 11.

John Mack, 74, Harvard psychiatry professor who won a Pulitzer Prize for his biography of Lawrence of Arabia. Struck by a car, Sept. 27.

William Manchester, 82, political and military historian and author of *The Death of a President*. After two strokes, June 1.

Mary McGrory, 85, Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist. After a long illness, April 21.

Carl Mydans, 97, one of Life magazine's first staff photographers, he photographed Gen. Douglas MacArthur wading ashore on his return to the Philippines in 1945. Cause not given, Aug. 16.

Jerry Nachman, 57, award-winning TV and newspaper journalist. Gallbladder cancer, Jan. 19.

Pierre Salinger, 79. ABC News correspondent and press aide to President Kennedy. Heart failure, Oct. 16.

Hubert Selby Jr., 75, author of *Last Exit to Brooklyn* and *Requiem for a Dream*, both turned into movies. Lung disease, April 26.

Ralph Wiley, 52, *Sports Illustrated* writer and essayist on race in America. Heart failure, June 13.

## Science &amp; Medicine

Arnold Beckman, 104, scientist, philanthropist and inventor of the pH meter that measures acidity. Unknown causes, May 18.

Dorothy Brown, believed to be 90, Tennessee legislator and the first black **female** surgeon in the South, according to the National Library of Medicine. Heart failure, June 13.

David Webb Chaney, 88, chemist who headed a research team that created AstroTurf. Cerebral hemorrhage, July 4.

## Passages

Gordon Cooper, 77, youngest member of the "Mercury Seven" astronauts. Natural causes, Oct. 4.

Jacques Derrida, 74, French philosopher who originated the theory of deconstruction, arguing that the meaning of a collection of words is not fixed. Pancreatic cancer, Oct. 9.

Sir Godfrey Hounsfield, 84, British electrical engineer who shared a 1979 Nobel Prize for his work on invention of the CAT scan. Cause not given, Aug. 12.

Elizabeth Kubler-Ross, 78, psychiatrist and author of the book *On Death and Dying*. Natural causes, Aug. 24.

William Pickering, 93, former director of NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory who oversaw the first launch of a U.S. spacecraft into orbit. Pneumonia, March 15.

Emile Peynaud, 92, transformed winemaking into a modern industry that uses scientific methods. Parkinson's disease, July 18.

Fred Whipple, 97, astronomer who correctly theorized that comets are "dirty snowballs" whose tails are formed by particles breaking off. Cause not given, Aug 30.

## Sports

Fanny Blankers-Koen, 85, Dutch athlete who in 1948 became the first woman to win four Olympic gold medals in track and field and was named top ***female*** athlete of the 20th century by the International Association of Athletics Federations. Complications from Alzheimer's disease, Jan. 25.

Ray Boone, 81, patriarch of a three-generation family of Major League Baseball players. Complications after surgery, Oct. 17.

Larry Desmedt, 55, builder of custom motorcycles known to enthusiasts nationwide as "Indian Larry." Injuries suffered in a motorcycle crash, Aug. 30.

Dick Durrance, 89, winner of 17 national ski championships who helped turn Aspen, Colo., into a top ski resort. Natural causes, June 13.

Bruce Edwards, 49, Hall of Fame caddy for golfer Tom Watson. Lou Gehrig's disease, April 8.

Joe Gold, 82, founder of Gold's Gym and an early promoter of body building in America. Heart failure, July 11.

Elroy Hirsch, 80, Hall of Fame receiver and back for the Los Angeles Rams whose running style earned him the nickname "Crazy Legs." Natural causes, Jan. 28.

John Kelley, 97, Massachusetts native who ran the Boston Marathon a record 61 times. Cause not given, Oct. 6.

Karol Kennedy Kucher, 72, who with her brother Peter became the first American ice skating pair to win a world championship, in 1950. Pneumonia, June 25.

Brian Maxwell, 51, PowerBar inventor and a world-ranked marathoner. Heart attack, March 19.

Tug McGraw, 59, Phillies and Mets pitcher and father of singer Tim McGraw. Brain cancer, Jan. 5

Marco Pantani, 34, Italian cycling champion. Apparent drug overdose, Feb. 14.

Rodger Ward, 83, two-time winner of the Indianapolis 500 and one of auto racing's biggest stars in the late 1950s and 1960s. Unknown causes, July 5.

Eleanor Holm Whalen, 91, swimming gold medalist kicked off the 1936 U.S. Olympic team after she was caught drinking and shooting dice. Kidney failure, Jan. 30.

## Passages

## World

Abu Abbas, 56, founder of the Palestine Liberation Front and leader of the group's 1985 hijacking of the Italian cruise ship Achille Lauro. Captured by U.S. commandos in April 2003. Heart attack, March 8.

Gaetano Badalamenti, 80, one-time "boss of all bosses" of the Sicilian Mafia sentenced to 45 years in federal prison in 1987. No cause given; death announced by the Justice Department on April 30.

Princess Juliana, 94, queen of the Netherlands from 1948 until 1980. Pneumonia, March 20.

Princess Kikuko, 92, aunt of Japan's emperor and outspoken supporter of allowing women to assume the imperial throne. Blood poisoning, Dec. 18.

Thomas Klestil, 71, president of Austria who helped repair his country's international standing by speaking out against Austria's involvement with Nazi Germany during World War II. Multiple organ failure, July 6.

Akhmad Kadyrov, 52, Chechen president. Assassinated in bomb blast at World War II Victory Day celebration, May 9.

Jose Lopez Portillo, 83, former president of Mexico. Complications of pneumonia, Feb. 17.

Abdel Aziz Rantisi, 56, leader of Palestinian militant group Hamas. Israeli missile strike, April 17.

Theo van Gogh, 47, Dutch filmmaker who had been threatened over his film Submission about violence against women in Islamic societies. Stabbed and shot, Nov. 2.

Sheik Ahmed Yassin, 67, spiritual leader and founder of the Palestinian militant group Hamas. Israeli missile strike, March 22.

## Other

Paul "Red" Adair, 89, world famous oil well firefighter. Natural causes, Aug. 7.

Bill Bennett, 73, hang-gliding pioneer who made the world's highest and longest unassisted free flight. Hang-gliding accident, Oct. 7.

Lloyd Bucher, 76, commanding officer of the USS Pueblo spy ship when it was captured off North Korea's coast in 1968. After years of declining health, Jan. 28.

Richard Butler, 86, founder of the white supremacist group Aryan Nations. Was found dead at his home, Sept. 8.

Al Dvorin, 81, concert announcer for Elvis Presley whose signature line, "Elvis has left the building," became a pop culture catchphrase. Auto accident, Aug. 22.

Samuel Lee Gravely Jr., 82, first black admiral and first black commander of a U.S. Navy fleet. After a stroke, Oct. 22.

Joyce Jillson, 58, nationally syndicated astrologist who claimed to be astrology adviser to the Reagan White House. Kidney failure, Oct. 1.

E. Fay Jones, 83, architect and Frank Lloyd Wright student known for his design of Thorncrown Chapel in Eureka Springs, Ark. Heart and lung failure, Aug. 30.

Alberta Martin, 97, last known widow of a Civil War veteran. After a heart attack, May 31.

Thomas Moorer, 91, admiral and former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Undisclosed illness, Feb. 5.

## Passages

Frank Sanache, 86, last of eight Meskwaki Indian "code talkers" who used their native language as a code during World War II. Unknown causes, Aug. 21.

Alexandra Scott, 8, cancer patient whose lemonade stand raising money for cancer research turned into an international fundraiser. Pediatric cancer, Aug. 1.

Harold Shipman, 57, British doctor convicted of killing 15 people and suspected of killing more than 200. Suicide in prison, Jan. 13.

Jeff Smith, 65, minister best known as public television's Frugal Gourmet until a sex scandal ended his career. Heart disease, July 7.

Henry Viscardi, 91, champion of jobs for the disabled who was born with malformed legs and founded groups that formed the National Center for Disability Services. Unknown causes, April 13.

## Graphic

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Janet Leigh, 77, former wife of actor Tony Curtis, mother of actress Jamie Lee Curtis and star of more than 60 films. In the classic 1960 Alfred Hitchcock movie Psycho, her character was slain in a chilling shower scene. Blood vessel disease, Oct. 3. Ray Charles, 73, blind singer and pianist who was a pioneering figure in shaping the rhythm and blues sound. His soulful rendition of God Bless America and songs such as Georgia and Hit the Road Jack are well-known to audiences around the world. Liver disease, June 10. Rodney Dangerfield, 82, wide-eyed comic who constantly complained, "I don't get no respect." Complications following heart surgery, Oct. 5. Tony Randall, 84, actor with a long career in radio, film and stage but who is best known as Felix Unger on television's The Odd Couple. Pneumonia following heart surgery, May 17. Fay Wray, 96, actress who began in silent films then became a leading lady best known as the shrieking heroine taken to the top of the Empire State Building by a huge ape in the original King Kong movie, released in 1933. Natural causes, Aug. 8. Yasser Arafat, 75, Palestinian president who signed historic Middle East peace agreements with Israeli leaders yet failed to realize his dream of the establishment of a Palestinian state. After a lengthy illness, Nov. 11. Estee Lauder, 97, founder of eponymous cosmetics empire that grew from blending face creams in her family's kitchen to a nearly \$10 billion company. Heart attack, April 24. Mattie Stepanek, 13, author of poetry books who inspired people worldwide as the Muscular Dystrophy Association's National Goodwill Ambassador. Muscular dystrophy, June 22. Pat Tillman, 27, former Arizona Cardinal who, after 9/11, rejected a \$3.6 million football contract to become an Army Ranger with his brother, Kevin. Killed when he was mistakenly fired upon by fellow U.S. soldiers during an ambush in Afghanistan, April 22. Julia Child, 91, legendary chef who introduced generations of Americans to fine French cuisine through her groundbreaking cooking shows and cookbooks. Kidney failure, Aug. 13.

**Load-Date:** December 27, 2004



***It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided***

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## **Body**

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Re: In God - and the GOP - they trust, May 22.

David Klinghoffer has the country that I live in pretty much divided and even suggests that God may be a Republican. We are made up of liberals and conservatives. Those who go to church are Republicans and those who don't are Democrats.

I fought for my country. Not the Republicans or Democrats. It breaks my heart to see us so divided. The Congress has come to the place where it is Democrat or Republican. Where is us?

The very idea of this person suggesting that God may be a Republican is blasphemy. My God is a God of all people, black, white, yellow and red, Democrats and Republicans. He is also God of the people of the whole world. "For God so loved the world . . ." If I had a prayer, and I do, it is "Please, God, help us to "do unto others as we would have them do unto us.' "

United we stand. Divided we fall.

Cliff Bailey, Sun City Center

A liberal lashing

Re: In God - and the GOP - they trust.

As a profoundly liberal reader, I will try to balance my scourging by David Klinghoffer with these admittedly broad generalizations:

The debate between conservatives and liberals regarding licensing of firearms is not about gun control, it is about licensing firearms. "Gun control" is a propaganda term. Is automobile licensing "vehicle control?" Honest, responsible drivers or gun owners need not fear licensing.

Everyone, liberal or conservative, is responsible for supporting the needy to the maximum extent of their ability without themselves becoming needy. Liberals wish to outsource a larger portion of that responsibility to their government through taxes than do conservatives. There's logic on both sides.

It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided

Affirmative action bothers conservatives. They know that blacks are free to compete successfully if they wish. The need for affirmative action bothers many liberals. They observe that effective wishing cannot exist without hope, a product of affirmative action.

The Iraq "war" troubles liberals, who believe that only Congress, after thorough debate, and through formal declaration can take responsibility for committing our young to die - a conservative idea. Conservatives argue that constitutional restrictions impede the impetuous reactions expected of "the leader of the world," and that moral choices in the matter of invasion and occupation are conditioned by circumstances. (The very liberal idea for which Klinghoffer hypocritically bashed me.)

Conservatives dislike safety regulation laws - for example laws governing air and water purity - that liberals attempt to promulgate. That is understandable. Compliance tends to lower profits. People must assume responsibility for their own health. They have a perfect right not to breathe.

On education, conservatives accept parental judgment of their children's best interests, also parental nonjudgment for other children, also the parents' ignoring children's interests entirely. Conservatives tend to accept a lot of things that don't cost them anything.

Remember, all the folks who vote conservatively are not conservative. Most are disadvantageously sold conservative ideas.

Bud Tritschler, Clearwater

Jesus isn't the GOP type

Re: In God - and the GOP - they trust.

I must admit, I smugly thought that I was a good Christian. I knew that Jesus said that one of the greatest commandments was to "love thy neighbor as thyself" (Mark 12:31), and that we should feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick and those in prison (Matthew 25:35-45).

But now I must admit that I am truly ignorant, or that my Bible is lacking. I have searched and cannot find the passages where Jesus told his followers to fight the Romans and bring about a regime change, or to use force and coercion to make others follow his will. Please show me, so that I might be a true Christian, the passage where Jesus instructs us to treat prisoners as less than human, or that "the ends justify the means." I know that Jesus instructed his followers to pay their taxes (Matthew 22:21), but cannot find the exemption for big business. When I ask myself "What would Jesus do?" joining the GOP is not the answer I get.

Paul Starr, Treasure Island

A simplistic description

The article In God - and the GOP - they trust was simplistic. I would like to comment that Democrats typically have a more complex view of responsibility that includes a global view. I'm a Democrat, and it doesn't just boil down to the individual, which is more in the line of Republican thinking.

Democrats hold to complex views of community, a more evolved philosophy than that of simply individual responsibility. Democrats usually understand that larger forces, commercial and political, require an entity to intercede in behalf of less powerful groups. Therefore, government should protect communities from being polluted by multinational corporations that are not vested in a local community and whose profit does not benefit any U.S. community in a significant way.

It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided

It goes without saying that although conservatives don't want to be controlled, in general they want to control women's bodies and deny rights to gays. Republicans feel that individuals are "free" to be without health insurance. This kind of freedom I can do without. I would feel more free if I had the freedom to have health insurance, knowing that my government would intercede in some way on my behalf.

Conservatives and the religious may be joined at the hip because black-and-white thinking is less intellectually strenuous than the vagaries of the unknown - which tend to be very stressful. It is easier to think simplistically, rather than making an effort to evaluate. Easier to be "given" what to think by an ancient text, than to question. It may not be a coincidence that the more educated states tend to veer toward Democratic candidates, with the typically less educated states stodgily Republican and conservative.

My point is that saying that conservatives believe in individual responsibility and Democrats believe the individual is incapable of thinking for him/herself is a simplistic description.

Glenna Blomquist, St. Petersburg

Beware those who use God to divide

Re: In God - and the GOP - they trust, May 22.

David Klinghoffer opines that religious people are more likely to vote Republican because conservatives (and I guess religious people) believe in individual moral responsibility. He closes by suggesting that God himself is a Republican. At first I thought it was satire. I then realized that Klinghoffer was unfortunately not kidding.

While I'm sure that many religious people believe in individual moral responsibility (as do I), I believe that most religious people vote Republican because the Republican Party spends an enormous amount of time and money catering to religious people. Many of those catering methods are quite frankly misleading and irresponsible. The worst of those methods is the one utilized by Klinghoffer himself: suggesting that God himself is a Republican. Other than garnering your vote, what other intended result could there be for such a ridiculous suggestion? What if someone else suggests to you that God is a member of Hamas or al-Qaida? Now where are we? I guess it's the Republican God versus the Muslim God. Wish us all luck. We'll need it.

Beware of anyone suggesting that God is only on their side, not yours. My God doesn't pick sides.

Michael Markham, Clearwater

Selective views of WMDs

Re: U.S. troops find deadly nerve agent in Iraqi shell, May 18.

It wasn't surprising to see how the St. Petersburg Times glossed over the report of the sarin-laced shell in Iraq - that and the quote of former weapons inspector David Kay: "It doesn't strike me as a big deal."

Perhaps the Times editorial staff and Kay should have read and reported on the wire-service message that was reported on by the Wall Street Journal in the April 29 issue stating a terrorist attack in Jordan has been foiled - an attack that was directed at the U.S. Embassy, the Jordanian prime minister's office and the national intelligence headquarters.

Jordanian authorities say this attack consisting of high explosives and poison gas could have reached 80,000 persons. Jordan's King Abdullah called it a "major, major operation" that would have "decapitated" his government.

According to the Wall Street Journal report, the bomb, trucks and funds were said to have entered Jordan via Syria. It also stated that last fall Gen. James Clapper Jr., director of satellite intelligence for the Pentagon, said there had

It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided

been an unusual amount of traffic - including possible weapons of mass destruction - between Iraq and Syria in the leadup to the war.

Perhaps if Congress had acted sooner and the United Nations' resistance was not there, these trucks could have been intercepted or destroyed. More important is the fact that none of the major news media have covered this story. Tell me it isn't "selective" journalism!

John McAuley, Dunedin

Stuck in Iraq for the wrong reasons?

I'm concerned that our strategy in Iraq is colored by the fact that we didn't find weapons of mass destruction or links to al-Qaida. Our failure to validate the reasons for the invasion seems to have redoubled our efforts to "democratize" Iraq. Whether or not the Iraqis want democracy is another issue altogether.

But imagine for a moment that we invaded Iraq, captured Saddam Hussein, and found all the WMDs we'd said were there and more. And what if, after 14 months in Iraq, we found ourselves in the same position we are in today, with American soldiers dying every day and a growing sentiment among the people of Iraq that the Americans must leave?

Would we insist on staying in Iraq and forcing Iraqis to accept a government of our choosing, or would we declare victory for our stated mission and set forth a schedule for an imminent withdrawal, while noting that it was up to the Iraqis, not us, to choose their form of government?

If the reason we will be in Iraq for the foreseeable future (and perhaps beyond) is that we were wrong about the reasons we started the war in the first place, then we need to reconsider what we're doing there. Needlessly sacrificing the lives of young Americans is too dear a price to pay for poor intelligence. In fact, it's not intelligent at all.

Meyer Baron, Gulfport

Is oil a problem or not?

Re: Gas prices and the war in Iraq.

Let me see, Democrats claim we are at war in Iraq for the oil. Now they are complaining that the president should do something about the price of oil.

Well, which is it? Or is it just bigoted hatred of President Bush? And, yes, I did say bigoted.

Allen Peck, Largo

Finally pointing out the obvious

House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi last week called George Bush incompetent. Why is she the first national leader to have the courage to voice this? Any president who will initiate an unprovoked war without confirming his intelligence sources is incompetent! Also, as Rep. Pelosi sadly said, he is responsible for the deaths of hundreds of our soldiers. What a sorry state of affairs.

Who is responsible? Why is this so difficult for our nation to recognize and why have our national leaders been so slow to point out the obvious?

It's heartbreaking to see our nation grow so divided

Robert C. Kendall, Brandon

## Graphic

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CARTOON, DON ADDIS; Two elections officials are looking at an electronic voting machine, and one says, "That's touch-screen, not touch-scream."

**Load-Date:** May 25, 2004

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End of Document

***Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page***

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

April 21, 2004 Wednesday 0 South Pinellas Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; Pg. 15A; LETTER

**Length:** 1794 words

**Series:** LETTERS

## **Body**

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What was the rationale for putting the April 19 article Sexual curiosity is college columnist's muse on the front page, at the top no less? Was this a pathetic attempt to sell newspapers, i.e "sex sells"? How in your wildest imaginings would this article be considered front-page news? Personally I found the subject of sexually explicit columns in college newspapers disturbing.

I would concede that the information might be considered newsworthy, but please, not on the front page. Surely with what is going on in the world today, you can find better front-page news!

Jennie Jordan, St. Petersburg

Spotlight more worthy students

Re: Sexual curiosity is college columnist's muse.

I am appalled by this story. How is it possible that a college student writing graphically about sex acts merits a headline story complete with photo on the front page? Why is this individual held up as some sort of newsworthy role model? Huge portions of this article were crass, vulgar, offensive and inappropriate.

There are numerous outstanding students with amazing accomplishments you could spotlight. Many could serve as fine role models and deserve to have their academic, artistic, musical and athletic achievements celebrated. Surely you could have found someone more deserving than a student who has dubbed herself "sex girl."

Words like decency and appropriateness must seem outdated and old fashioned to your editorial staff. But many do not wish to be assaulted in their homes with this corrosive influence. Furthermore, your paper is used in many classrooms in Pinellas County. No elementary school teacher should have to explain an article that borders on the pornographic, as this one does, to young children. The papers left stacked by the front office will need to be covered if future front-page articles are going to incorporate such explicit, graphic sexual material.

The bar is set far too low at the St. Petersburg Times. Raise it higher or lose those readers who still hold values dear.

Katherine Kissling, Safety Harbor

Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page

Paper needs higher standards

Re: Sexual curiosity is college columnist's muse.

Once again the lead article is about sex in what I can only imagine is a marketing effort to sell papers.

It certainly is not news that college newspapers carry columns about sex. Possibly it is newsworthy that a 20-year-old woman would discuss her graphic sex columns with her 17-year-old brother and grandfather, but that's a Dr. Phil show!

Raise your standards. If you must print such offensive material, move it inside.

Carol Turk, Palm Harbor

What were the editors thinking?

I have canceled my subscription to the St. Petersburg Times. I refuse to support a newspaper that leads its front page with a story on the "kinky" escapades of a young college student, including her musings on anal sex. As a Pinellas County high school teacher, I was particularly shocked that this article ran on the same day that the Floridian carries Xpress, a section devoted primarily to elementary and middle school students. Do you realize how many papers were on school campuses Monday due to the Newspapers in Education program? What were your editors thinking (or not thinking - as their poor judgment indicates)?

I was further angered by what I feel is manipulation on the Times' part. What are you trying to do? Float this type of article to further fuel the public debate that began with the exposure of Janet Jackson's breast during the prime of prime-time television? Enough.

Or was your purpose more crass in that you sunk to titillation in the hopes of increasing revenues? I sincerely cannot - and the lens with which I view the world is pretty liberal - comprehend why you would publish this article, and on the front page, no less. Maybe you need to change your masthead to "St. Petersburg Times: A Playboy Supplement." And I used to defend the Times when family and friends would refer to it as that "liberal rag."

Donna Hanak, St. Petersburg

Where is the news significance?

Re: Sexual curiosity is college columnist's muse.

I accept your judgment as to the newsworthiness/public interest of Stephanie Oliveira's sex column in the USF Oracle - but the top of the front page?

On Page 2 are items headlined Arabs promise to avenge death of Hamas chief and Arabs protest killing, denounce U.S. and Israel. Our foreign policy is killing us.

You must categorize news significance with a dart board.

Richard J. Lewis, Madeira Beach

Sex and rape are different things

I am writing in reaction to the April 19 article on USF sex columnist Stephanie Oliveira. I am the "sophomore English major" who wrote in response to Ms. Oliveira's Oracle article on rape.

## Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page

I was both amused and angered by Ms. Oliveira's response to my letter.

"Say I'm a tramp, but don't say I don't care about rape victims" Oliveira is quoted as saying.

I would not call Ms. Oliveira a tramp, first because I don't believe that she is one, and second, because I do not agree with employing such degrading language toward fellow women. If Oliveira truly "cared" about rape victims, let alone women in general, she would acknowledge her position as a (self-styled) "sex expert" and banish such hurtful, judgmental language from her ever-expansive vocabulary.

I never stated in my letter that Oliveira does not care about rape victims, but I am stating it now. The purpose of my letter was not to attack Oliveira on anything other than the fact that rape is an inappropriate subject for a sex column. If Ms. Oliveira would put down her copy of The Guide to Getting It On for a moment in order to scan through Alice Sebold's Lucky or perhaps even Joyce Carol Oates' We Were the Mulvaney's, she would most likely see my point: Sex and rape are two very different things, and to confuse the former with the latter is not only insulting, its degrading, painful and dehumanizing. Not unlike rape itself.

Ms. Oliveira personalized my opinion as an attack against her column as a whole, which I find to be rather selfish. Oliveira can sit and type sexual innuendos and sexual taboos until she is blue in the face. More power to her. But when she crosses that line of tackling sexual abuse in the same vein as she does discussing porn shops and Cosmo articles, then her entire demographic shifts, and survivors of sexual abuse are included in a area under discussion that they most certainly have an aversion to: sex.

Lastly, I would like to state that survivors do need respect and support, even from people like Oliveira. What they do not need is a sex columnist attempting to pull victims back from their pain using the same platform occupied by "kinky" sexual positions and forays into local porn shops. No one can pull anyone back from anywhere. You either save yourself, or you remain unsaved.

Ashley Konrad, Palm Harbor

Think of the young people

Re: Sexual curiosity is college columnist's muse.

I think this article is absolutely disgusting and I wonder why the Times would put such trash on the front page or anywhere else in the paper. Is this the type of thing we want to promote in our society? Promoting this activity is what is causing much of our problems with our youth today. Is this subject appropriate for your young son and daughter? Please consider what your articles are doing to our young people.

Shirley Gillespie, Hudson

Disappointing decision

I'm very disappointed in your cover story in Monday's newspaper. Our country is in a war. Monday was is the 9th anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing, and your cover story is about a girl writing a sex column for the USF newspaper. Is this what you consider news?

I am a mother of two young daughters who thankfully can't read yet. I don't think many parents want their children to read about anal sex on the first page of your paper.

I'm really disgusted by what passes for news and feel you are just trying to sell more papers by putting this kind of article on the front page. I truly hope you think next time before putting this kind of garbage in the paper. We have much more serious news going on in the world today.



Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page

Julie Mendez, Lithia

Reaching far for negative news

Having just moved back to Pinellas after 10 years suffering in Lakeland with their liberal "rag" the Ledger, I am equally miffed at the Times. A good example is the April 16 front page about a Providence, R.I., family who just lost a Marine in the Iraq war (A Marine comes home). I am the first one to mourn over the loss of a fighting man, but Rhode Island? Do we have to go there to find something negative about "George's" war? And then make it front-page news? Slow news day, guys?

Arriving over the Internet daily are pictures of how well we are doing over there. Pictures of soldiers helping children, children receiving gifts, schools being built, drinking water in homes that never had water before. And on and on. But, no. Let's talk about someone who was killed who doesn't live in Florida,

let alone the Tampa Bay area! Come on, guys - front-page news? I'd rather read about the bullet train.

Jim Hildebrand, Safety Harbor

Compliments are in order

Re: A Marine comes home, April 16.

Regarding your newspaper, it is only fair that I be as quick to commend as to criticize. Accordingly, I want to compliment the staff, including the editors, for the above referenced front-page story. The heartbreakingly poignant closeup photo of the three young women standing vigil as the casket of their 21-year-old friend arrives from Iraq has a political eloquence that words alone could never convey.

Therefore, enough said.

Phillips M. Evans, Largo

Capturing a tragic reality

The black and white photo of the three young women on the front page of the April 16 Times by Bob Croslin is excellent. It brings home the tragic reality of war. It should be nominated for a photojournalism award.

Jeremy Ray, Tampa

Offer some help for hungry children

Re: Backpacks help hungry children, April 15.

It seems incomprehensible to be able to spend more than \$87-billion in Iraq when children in the United States are hungry. The backpack program deserves help from the Bush administration as much as the war in Iraq. I am sure that there would be no opposition in Congress should the administration desire to help fund this worthy cause. There is enough "pork" around Washington to spare some for the children

Bennett Hoffman, Clearwater

Share your opinions

Sex columnist didn't deserve to be on front page

Letters for publication should be addressed to Letters to the Editor, P.O. Box 1121, St. Petersburg, FL 33731. They can be sent by fax to

(727) 893-8675 or through our Web site at:

<http://www.sptimes.com/letters/>

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; an army man address soldiers about the likelihood of them going home

**Load-Date:** April 21, 2004

## *God's a bestseller - but there's a fundamental flaw*

The Times (London)

March 29, 2004, Monday

Copyright 2004 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Features; Times2; 4

**Length:** 1819 words

**Byline:** Richard Morrison

### **Body**

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ITS PROMISE TO CHANGE YOUR LIFE AND PREPARE YOU FOR ETERNITY HAS KEPT THE PURPOSE DRIVEN LIFE BY THE EVANGELIST RICK WARREN AT THE TOP OF THE U.S. BESTSELLER LISTS FOR 60 WEEKS. BUT RICHARD MORRISON ARGUES THAT ITS INSISTENCE ON ETERNAL RATHER THAN TEMPORAL VALUES MAY HAVE A MORE SINISTER RESULT

WE KNOW, of course, that God moves in a mysterious way. But The New York Times bestseller list moves pretty mysteriously, too. At, or near, the top of it for the past 60 weeks has been a book that has no sex, no violence, no thrills, no romance, no schoolboy wizards, no moodily unmarried thirtysomething women, nor any of the other literary ingredients usually deemed essential by an ambitious author who wants to hear the merry music of cash tills jingling.

No, the book snapped up by 15 million Americans over the past 18 months is, quite simply, a step-by-step plan for becoming a Christian. It tells you how to change your life in 40 days, and pass the entrance exam for Heaven. "Today the average life span is 25,500 days," it declares. "Don't you think it would be a wise use of time to set aside 40 of those days to figure out what God wants you to do with the rest of them?"

The Purpose Driven Life (irresistibly subtitled What On Earth Am I Here For?) is the work of Rick Warren, a Californian evangelist. Clearly, he is a man of rare missionary powers. He founded his own church -in Saddleback Valley, south of Los Angeles -in 1980 with 200 followers. It now has a weekly congregation of 18,000.

But Warren's influence extends far wider than that. He publishes thousands of his sermons on his website ([www.pastors.com](http://www.pastors.com)) so that other ministers, presumably those of a more slothful disposition, can download them at \$ 5 (£2.75) a go. About 8,000 preachers avail themselves of this useful crib each week, and 110,000 subscribe to his weekly "Ministry Toolbox" email.

Assume that each of those church leaders has a flock of several hundred trusting souls, and it becomes much easier to explain the vast market tapped by Warren. And the author has certainly not allowed Christian humility to stop him from utilising this network of evangelical churches stretching across the bible belt. "I created a new distribution channel," he says proudly. "I went direct to these pastors who have loved and trusted me for years." That allowed him to sell four million copies of The Purpose Driven Life direct to churches through his website. A nice little earner, at \$ 20 a book.

## God's a bestseller - but there's a fundamental flaw

Then there are the spin-offs, which range from handy "scripture cards" to a leather-bound notebook in which new converts (Warren calls them "baby believers") can jot down their evolving theological thoughts. Though the notebook is mostly composed of blank pages, two million copies have been sold.

All told, the Purpose Driven phenomenon must have netted more than £200 million for Warren, his church and his publishers (Zondervan, a division of HarperCollins). Which raises some fascinating questions. Why do people buy it? What does Warren offer that is so persuasive, when there are thousands of evangelising Christian textbooks around? And, taken together with the box office triumph of Mel Gibson's biblical gore-fest *The Passion of the Christ* (a success all the more surprising in view of the trashing the film received in many "sophisticated" media circles), do the astonishing sales figures for *The Purpose Driven Life* confirm the suspicion that "the sea of faith", far from vanishing in the "melancholy, long, withdrawing roar" detected by Matthew Arnold more than a century ago, is in full flood again?

That certainly seems to be the case. And what makes Warren's success even more remarkable is that he makes no compromises to scientific thought, moral relativism or modern, multicultural sensitivities. All of that wishy-washy, post-Enlightenment sort of thinking he regards as "flawed" by "The Fall". What he offers is Christian fundamentalism at its most resolutely rigid. Perhaps that's part of its appeal. Everything is Bible-based (it's "our milk, bread, solid food and sweet dessert", he says), so naturally a diligent believer should be able to recite large tracts of it by heart. "If you don't have any Bible verses memorised, you've got no bullets in your gun!" he exclaims, a little chillingly.

And everything in the Bible is to be regarded as the literal truth. That includes the Book of Genesis, no matter how much of a fairytale it may seem to those with a smattering of geology or astronomy. At one point, for instance, Warren makes the curious claim that Noah "had never seen rain, because prior to the Flood, God irrigated the earth from the ground up".

The literal belief espoused by Warren also includes Revelation's graphic depiction of the "end of things". Warren, who spends much of the book telling us what God thinks and feels, disappointingly stops short of describing eternity. It would, he writes, be like "trying to describe the internet to an ant" -though I was reassured to learn that "in eternity you will receive a new, improved, upgraded body". He does, however, appear to be privy to some pretty sensational intelligence about the Day of Judgment. It will be terrifyingly like a conversation with one's editor, by the sound of it. "To all excuses," Warren writes, "God will respond, 'Sorry, wrong answer. I created, saved, and called you, and commanded you to live a life of service. What part did you not understand?'"

It is easy to mock such stuff, or poke fun at Warren's penchant for rhetorical flannel. "The heart of the matter," he tells us at one point, "is a matter of the heart." I'm sure they lap up such profound mots in Saddleback Valley.

But it would be foolish not to acknowledge that Warren is a very canny evangelist.

He divides his book into 40 short chapters; the reader is instructed to read and inwardly digest one each day. As Warren points out, the Bible is full of 40 day trials and transformations: Jesus, for instance, "was empowered" by his 40 days in the wilderness; and his disciples were in turn "empowered" during the 40 days between his Resurrection and Ascension into Heaven.

But to the general reader, the book's format seems based not so much on theology as on something much more reassuringly familiar: the innumerable "self-help" manuals clogging up every bookshop in the land. And although Warren may vehemently deny that he is in the self-improvement psychobabble business ("contrary to what many popular books, movies and seminars tell you, you won't discover your life's meaning by looking within yourself"), he cunningly adopts many of that genre's strategies.

First the reader is encouraged to sign a "covenant", pledging to "commit the next 40 days to discovering God's purpose for my life". The following seven chapters are about throwing off bad old ways and material values. Each ends with a "point to ponder", a "verse to remember" and a "question to consider".

### God's a bestseller - but there's a fundamental flaw

Plough through to Day 7 and you are considered sufficiently purged to proceed to the main business. "Congratulations! Welcome to the family of God!" Warren exclaims, before seizing the chance for a small advertisement. "You're going to need support. If you email me (see appendix 2), I will send you a little booklet I wrote called *Your First Steps for Spiritual Growth*."

The following 33 chapters take you through "God's purposes" for your life. Which are? Well, here's the odd thing. Other than giving vague tips about avoiding places where we might be led into temptation (like "sports bars"), there is surprisingly little practical advice about how one should conduct one's everyday life, or how society might be reformed to take better account of Christian principles. Perhaps that is because Warren takes the staunchly fatalistic line that "God never does anything accidentally, and he never makes mistakes".

So was the Holocaust part of God's purpose? Warren, who thinks that Christian testimony should "bypass intellectual defences", doesn't even begin to tangle with such knotty theological dilemmas.

What he does give us is a lot of heavy verbal bullying about supporting one's local church. "The first symptom of spiritual decline," he thunders, "is usually inconsistent attendance at worship services." But the faithful are expected to be a good deal more supportive than that. Money also features prominently in Warren's brand of Christianity. "Wealth is certainly not a sin," he says, encouragingly, "but failing to use it for God's glory is." In his church, he tells us, he has appointed a group of "CEOs and business owners" to be "Kingdom Builders". "They still try to make as much money as they can, but they use their wealth to fund God's church."

The faithful also have a duty to convert others -or to "save unbelievers for Jesus", as Warren would put it. "Imagine the joy of greeting people in Heaven whom you helped to get there," he trills. This missionary work, it seems, must be aimed even at people who resolutely don't wish to have anything to do with Warren's happy army of converts. "As long as there is one person in your community who isn't in the family of God, your church must keep reaching out."

So is that what the great, mind-blowing plan of *The Purpose Driven Life* boils down to? Going regularly to church, turning over a lot of your income to the local pastor, and hauling along all your neighbours as well? If so, one would have to regard it as a cynical but fairly harmless Christian marketing campaign, masquerading as a much grander exercise in existential self-questioning.

But I don't think Warren is quite as simplistic as that. What he preaches along with the vast majority of Bible-Belt evangelists -is a return to a truly medieval faith: one that postulates a system of wondrous rewards and horrific punishments administered by a judgmental God in the afterlife.

That may or may not be the case. I have no way of knowing, and neither does Warren. What is indisputable, however, is that if you drill such terror inducing beliefs into your faithful supporters, and urge them, as Warren does, to practise "instant obedience" to "eternal rather than temporal values" (which the trusted pastor is then free to define), you make them highly susceptible to irrational suggestions. And such planted ideas can range from the innocent and the innocuous to the downright evil, as the murderous or suicidal actions of numerous cults have tragically demonstrated over the years. It is, after all, the promise of life eternal in paradise that motivates the young suicide bombers brainwashed by al-Qaeda and *Hamas*.

I am sure that Warren's church offers nothing more sinister than happy-clappy songs and earnest Bible-study groups. But that's not the point. The worrying question is: if 15 million Americans are gullible enough to lap up the Mickey Mouse metaphysics of *The Purpose Driven Life*, what else would they buy, and who else would they believe?

**Load-Date:** March 29, 2004

## *Global Warning*

The New York Times  
February 6, 2005 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 7; Column 2; Book Review Desk; Pg. 28; CHRONICLE / POLITICAL ISLAM

**Length:** 2018 words

**Byline:** By Noah Feldman

Noah Feldman, a professor at the New York University School of Law and fellow of the New America Foundation, is the author of "What We Owe Iraq: War and the Ethics of Nation Building."

## **Body**

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### GLOBALIZED ISLAM

The Search for a New Ummah.

By Olivier Roy.

Columbia University, \$29.50.

### THE WAR FOR MUSLIM MINDS

Islam and the West.

By Gilles Kepel.

Harvard University, \$23.95.

### UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Radical Islam and the American Left.

By David Horowitz.

Regnery, \$27.95.

### AT THE HEART OF TERROR

Islam, Jihadists, and

America's War on Terrorism.

By Monte Palmer and Princess Palmer.

Rowman & Littlefield, \$24.95.

### PAKISTAN'S DRIFT

INTO EXTREMISM

Allah, the Army, and

America's War on Terror.

By Hassan Abbas.

M. E. Sharpe, cloth, \$69.95; paper, \$25.95.

## Global Warning

The globalization of Islam is nothing new. The Prophet Muhammad himself confronted Jews, Christians and pagans in his Arabian milieu -- and within a couple of generations, Islam, spread by conquest and conversion alike, came into fruitful contact with the legacies of Persian, Greek and Roman civilizations.

Nevertheless, since 9/11, the pace of the engagement between global Islam and other, mostly Western, forces and ideas has quickened, and the stakes have grown. The latest round of books on Islam and the West attempts to make sense of this most recent and intense episode of global interaction and conflict. Mostly, these books reveal a powerful undercurrent of concern -- ripening into panic -- about the unintended consequences of civilizational encounters played out in an environment of violence. They offer diagnoses, but few prescriptions.

In an influential pre-9/11 book, "The Failure of Political Islam," Olivier Roy, a French student of contemporary Islam, argued that utopian Islamic revolutions in Muslim countries failed during the 1980's and 90's. Now, in "Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah," he pushes the point farther, suggesting that the important events in the world of Islam are taking place not in the regions we ordinarily think of as Islamic but in Europe. As Exhibit A, Roy points to today's global terrorists, who, he says, are overwhelmingly likely to have studied and lived in Europe (or occasionally the United States) and to have embraced radical Islamic ideas there, not in the Muslim countries where they were born.

Indeed, he traces contemporary Islamic terrorism itself to the European terror of the Baader-Meinhof gang and other leftist movements of the 1960's and 70's. Global Islamic terror, for Roy, is not only born of the interaction between Islam and the West, but also reflects the aspiration of displaced Muslims living in Europe to create a transnational Islamic identity, forged in revolution.

Roy is right to focus on the ways that both the techniques and ideologies of terror have crossed borders and grafted themselves onto an Islam that, in the past, was largely unfamiliar with them. (He points out, for instance, that suicide bombing was popularized not by Muslims, but by the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, and adopted by Al Qaeda only after it had been borrowed, to devastating effect, by Palestinian radicals as part of their intifada.) It is also true that the small number of Muslim terrorists who have committed acts of terror in Europe or the United States includes several who were radicalized in Europe. (As Roy notes, however, this was not true of the 15 Saudis who were the muscle, not the pilots, on 9/11.)

Roy's Eurocentric focus and his impulse to link Islamic terror to Marxist-inspired radicalism obscure the extent to which satellite television and the Internet have spread Western ideas into the Islamic world. Utopian violence may arguably be on the decline in most majority Muslim countries (although Saudi Arabia is a notable exception, and the Iraqi insurgency includes its share of jihadis); but ideas from free speech to text messaging to brand-name consumerism are affecting the daily lives of larger and larger numbers of non-Western people, who remain fully comfortable with their own national as well as religious identities. Surely the future of global Islam is to be found where most Muslims live, and where today's ideologies of both radical and moderate Islamism are developed, even if they are adopted by emigres abroad.

If the United States seems missing from Roy's story at times, Gilles Kepel puts America's reaction to 9/11 front and center in "The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West." Kepel's central thesis can be summed up simply: the United States is losing the war, and badly. Instead of encouraging resolution of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the Bush administration has played directly into Al Qaeda's hands by invading Iraq. It failed to recognize that the war would further inflame the Muslim world, convincing more Muslims than ever before that the United States was their enemy. Now, Kepel says, Europe will inherit the whirlwind, in the form of growing Islamic extremism and terrorist acts like the Madrid bombings.

Kepel and Roy are frequently mentioned in the same breath -- because of their French nationality and their tendency to publish books at the same time -- but their approaches are starkly different. Kepel, one senses, is addressing an American audience, in order to show us the error of our ways through an outsider's critical evaluation. One chapter is devoted to an analysis of the neoconservatives, and another of comparable length to what he considers "the calamity of nation-building in Iraq."

## Global Warning

But Kepel is best when on familiar ground, as when he analyzes the growing skill of European Muslim leaders like the controversial Tariq Ramadan, who defend religious freedom while demanding special recognition for their religious community as a distinct group within Europe. Kepel barely suppresses his frustration with this two-sided political strategy, or with the French government's willingness to play along by recognizing quasi-official clerical spokesmen for Muslims in France.

Forbidding Muslim girls to wear headscarves in French schools while simultaneously trying to control French Muslims through officially recognized Islamic organizations gets matters exactly backward, as most Americans will easily see. Our constitutional combination of freedom to practice one's religion, coupled with the strong separation of church and state, has worked far better in accommodating religious diversity than anything Europe has yet dreamed up. The United States may be alienating Muslims worldwide with its foreign policy; but at home a new generation of Muslim-Americans is demonstrating the ability to criticize American policy while maintaining steadfast loyalty to the democratic values they share with other American citizens from different backgrounds.

It would be nice if the extremes of the American right and left showed some of the same measured ability to argue against mistaken American policies without impugning the integrity of the other side; but perhaps this is asking too much of ideologues caught up in the past. David Horowitz is one such relic of traditional left-right struggles (and like many of the toughest grapplers, he has been on both sides). In "Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left," this leftist-turned-conservative provocateur aims to discredit his old allies by arguing that the left is in bed with Osama bin Laden because of their shared anti-Americanism. He writes that "self-described progressives" have formed "inexplicable alliances . . . with Arab fascists and Islamic fanatics in their war against America and the West."

Horowitz's book would be little more than a tiresome exercise in quote-gathering and guilt by association were it not for the fact, noted by Roy, that the Islamic extremists have indeed drunk from the well of old-fashioned Marxist anti-Americanism. Militant Islamists do in fact share some common themes and language with homegrown radicals, especially in their condemnations of American imperialism. What is interesting about this is not that it demonstrates some alliance between the old (once the new) left and Islamic terror, but that it shows how ideas lose their provenance as they travel across time. The worldwide critics of American empire today are no more likely to think of themselves as Marxists than the antiwar critics of the 1960's thought of themselves as belonging to the American anti-imperialist movements of 1900 or 1790.

A more sensible and productive set of proposals for understanding Muslim extremism comes to us from two Americans who have considerable experience in the Middle East. An academic and a World Bank consultant respectively, Monte Palmer and Princess Palmer are particularly good at describing the Lebanese and Palestinian jihad movements. In "At the Heart of Terror: Islam, Jihadists, and America's War on Terrorism," they analyze jihadi strategies with a nuanced common sense all too hard to come by in the sometimes sensationalist literature on the topic. They provide, for example, a detailed chapter on Israeli counterterrorism efforts that identifies both its successes (large numbers of suicide bombings thwarted) and its shortcomings (no significant reduction in Palestinians prepared to undertake terrorist acts).

These authors pose an increasingly tough question for United States policy: Will we, can we "accept rule by Islamic parties dedicated to the establishment of an Islamic state"? In Lebanon, for example, Hezbollah has made itself into a political party without abandoning its violent stance toward Israel or its willingness to use terror; in Palestine, **Hamas** may well follow a similar course. The Palmers call such groups "radical-moderates." Unlike the Shiite Islamic democrats poised to take power in Iraq, or Turkey's thoroughly Islamic-democratic Justice and Development Party, Hezbollah has been prepared to pursue simultaneous strategies of violence and political participation.

The Palmers opt for engagement with Hezbollah -- not because they trust them, but on the realist grounds that "efforts to eliminate them will only increase terrorism and push the United States into a war with Islam." In fact, it may be possible to negotiate with the radical-moderates on the condition that they abandon any active involvement in terror. This approach would require us to distinguish true Islamic democrats, who reject violence as a mechanism of political change, from fellow travelers like Moktada al-Sadr, who haunt the edges of participatory politics. But, as



## Global Warning

the Palmers note, Muslim support for jihad against enemies perceived as oppressing Muslims is ubiquitous, even among moderate-moderates.

Even more specific is an engaging, quirky book on terrorism's largest growth market: Pakistan. Hassan Abbas, the author of "Pakistan's Drift Into Extremism: Allah, the Army, and America's War on Terror," served in the Pakistani police in the still-wild North-West Frontier Province, and did stints in the governments of both Benazir Bhutto and Pervez Musharraf. He therefore has an insider's angle on the story of the gradual infiltration of Islamic ideology into the government over the last several decades.

What's most significant about this book, however, is its insight into the Pakistan military's perspective on the country's politics and history. Each time we are introduced to a new character from the military, we hear the opinion of the officer class. And every officer has a precisely calibrated reputation: this one a drunkard, this one an honorable man, this one a brave soldier with a weakness for women. Increasingly, after the ruling general, Zia ul-Haq, died in an airplane crash in 1988, the newly promoted senior officers had reputations as Islamist sympathizers or activists. These reputations matter crucially for questions ranging from promotion to coup d'etat. For Abbas, the Pakistani Army is political Pakistan itself.

The picture that emerges from the details of Pakistan's military politics is one of the transformation of a traditional, British-trained and British-inflected professional army into a more complex institution that both permeates politics and, in turn, falls under the influence of political movements like Islamism. This, too, is an instance of globalization - the kind that comes after the empire has folded itself up and gone home.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Drawing (Drawing by Viktor Koen)

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*It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically*

DAILY MAIL (London)

October 7, 2005

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**Section:** ED\_1ST; Pg. 66

**Length:** 2074 words

## **Body**

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I WAS sorry to read of the young woman who died from deep vein thrombosis as a result of a plaster cast (Mail).

Three years ago, on holiday on the South of France, I broke a bone in my foot, which necessitated a cast.

I was taken to the wonderful St Tropez clinic and treated within minutes of arrival. Within 20 minutes, I was X-rayed; within 30 minutes taken to the Oasis Hospital in St Tropez, where a gorgeous doctor fitted the cast.

Each day for 16 days I had a bloodthinning injection at a local centre. At exactly 6pm each evening, I was injected in my thigh at a cost of e1.85.

Being tall, slim and fit, I was surprised to have to have this treatment, but was told it was standard practice in France when a body part was in a cast.

When I saw my own doctor back in England, he told me France was the best place to have medical attention. He said these injections cost the NHS Pounds 9 a shot and I wouldn't have qualified here unless I was an overweight couch potato.

LUCIA CHILCOTT, Esher, Surrey.

Take DVT seriously

MY HUSBAND suffered the same sad fate as Leanne Harries (Mail). He twisted his ankle and had a plaster cast fitted but, despite being a nonsmoking, non-drinking 41-year-old, he collapsed and died two weeks later of deep vein thrombosis.

Fourteen years ago, the coroner at my husband's inquest said it was 'very rare' but that the plaster which immobilised the leg might have had something to do with the thrombosis.

In the U.S., hospital patients in plaster casts for an ankle injury are given at least 600mg of aspirin twice a day.

I'm angry that in 14 years our British hospitals still aren't taking account of what's happening elsewhere.

If only they had said to my husband - or to Leanne when she twisted her ankle and to many more people in this country - to take an aspirin regularly, we might still have our loved ones with us.

Mrs JANICE MARTIN, Brampton, Cumbria.

It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically

A healthier NHS

THE resignations from the NHS of doctors Mike Lavelle and my former colleague David Grace made me relive the latter years of my service.

Like them, I began work in the NHS when it functioned efficiently. Since the introduction of managers and executive officers, we have experienced malfunctions and a lack of beds and equipment.

We had to meet unnecessary targets which prioritised money over patients.

And the appointment of managers and 'facilitators' has spiralled out of control.

The only way of sorting out the mess is a return to letting senior nurses and medical consultants run the hospitals.

These are the people who know what patients and hospitals need.

S. G. TAK, retired orthopaedic surgeon, Edgware, Middlesex.

Bring our boys home

I SUPPORTED the Iraq war. I was appalled at Saddam's crimes against his people and wanted to free Iraqis.

Now, however, the time has come to leave them to sort out their country. On September 25, I went into Oldchurch Hospital in Romford for major surgery.

Over the next two days, I was visited by doctors, physios, the surgeon, a chest specialist and the anaesthetist, all spending a long time preparing me.

On the day of the operation, the whole theatre team was standing by when the operation was cancelled because of a shortage of beds.

This sort of thing is happening up and down the country. The time has come to put our own house in order. The NHS needs more money, beds, nurses, doctors and scanners. So let's stop spending money on a useless war and bring all our young men home.

Ms L. A. GRAY, Romford, Essex.

Brushed off

THOUGH it has been discovered that one of Jack Vettriano's paintings was inspired by a reference book, his work isn't easy to counterfeit (Mail).

It is rarely a work's technical quality that affords it a high price at auction - it is that it was made by an artistic celebrity.

If I were to recreate one of Mark Rothko's straightforward block works, I would be lucky to make a profit on the paints and canvas used in its making.

There is something about authenticity that can never be matched by a reconstruction.

GARY ROBERTS, Woodley, Berks.

Beatles plug

LETTERS ASKING 'Has Macca finally sold his soul?' (Mail) implies that Sir Paul McCartney, and The Beatles, always resisted corporate sponsorship.

It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically

In the early Sixties, The Beatles had an advertising contract with Lybro, then a leading jeans and overalls maker. My father was Lybro's Northern Ireland representative and I still have the small advertising poster bearing the imprinted signatures of the four Beatles to prove it.

Rev DENIS THORNTON, Bangor, Co. Down.

Blackpool's blue line

THIS week, I've lived in the safest place in the world. As I left my house in the mornings for the 12-mile drive to work, there were two police motorcyclists patrolling the street.

Every side road was closed off; every third person along the route was a policeman. Why?

The Tory Party conference had come to Blackpool.

I long for next week, and the other 50 weeks of the year, when just two patrol cars police the whole Blackpool area and it takes 24 hours for them to respond to a 999 call.

GARY SMITH, Blackpool.

Alcohol and rape

AMANDA Platell missed the most significant implication of the Portman Group's research into young people's alcohol consumption (Mail).

The question isn't 'why are young women risking rape and sexual assault?'

but 'why are men raping and assaulting vulnerable young women?' The horrific rate of sexual assault found by the report is not matched by a rise in rape convictions. Fewer than six of every 100 men charged with rape are convicted.

No victim of this abhorrent crime 'deserves' to be raped, much less condemned as a 'betrayal of feminists and femininity'.

LIZ HUTCHINSON, London NW1.

Women's pensions

MANY women want to spend more time with their children at home (Mail) but don't realise that they may face poverty in retirement if they do so.

One in five women live in poverty in later life. Just 16 per cent of newly retired women have a full basic state pension, based on their National Insurance contributions, compared with 78 per cent of men.

The state pension system - designed more than 50 years ago - isn't programmed to reward women for caring and bringing up children. We need a system which reflects the needs of women today.

MICHELLE MITCHELL, Age Concern, London SW16.

Seeing red

THE other day, I found myself at the head of a traffic queue at a red traffic light when a police car pulled up behind me with 'blues and twos' on.

I could have driven through the red light but, recalling how another driver had been prosecuted for such an offence, I waited. I'm not sure what the police crew thought but a chap travelling in the opposite direction abused me for not moving.

It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically

Technically, I did the right thing but I felt terrible doing it.

KEN STANTON, Rayleigh, Essex.

Wrong-footed

I'M NOT surprised Chelsea aren't getting the respect Jose Mourinho had hoped for (Mail).

No decent coach could fail with the amount of money Mourinho has to spend - but that sort of success doesn't earn respect.

It should instead go to Wigan, Charlton and West Ham who, despite such small budgets, have good managers, a team spirit and loyal supporters, and are managing to hold their own so far this season.

SALLY THOMSON, Upminster, Essex.

Faked evidence THE Rachel Corrie situation - with a play and cantata about her - borders on the absurd.

The International Solidarity Movement to which she belonged calls itself a 'peace activist group' but its literature supports the 'armed struggle' of Hamas not the peace overtures of the Palestine Authority.

The circumstances of her death have been faked.

In the official ISM report, anyone can see that the bulldozers shown before and after the supposed event are different.

People are mourning her death while ignoring the deliberate killing by terrorists of more than 1,000 Israelis - including seven other Rachels.

JACK COHEN, Netanya, Israel.

#### LETTER OF THE WEEK

THIS week's winner of our Letter Of The Week award is David Parcell, of Wisborough Green, Sussex, for his perceptive comment that 'official versions' of what happened to the elderly man at the Labour conference were being put out even while the man was being manhandled from the hall. He wins a brilliant new Amstrad E3, the UK's first affordable videophone, combining video calling, email, internet access and picture-sending in a compact home phone. The Amstrad E3 includes a colour screen and built-in camera so users can make video calls and send and receive picture messages. The E3 is available now at Pounds 49, or less than Pounds 99 a pair, from Argos, Dixons, Currys and The Link. Because one videophone demands another, we're presenting our winner with a further E3 to give away. The Readers' Letters editor will announce the Letter Of The Week every Friday from all those published on these pages during the previous week. Write to Daily Mail Readers' Letters, 2 Derry Street, London W8 5TT, fax on 020 7937 7493 or email [letters@daily.co.uk](mailto:letters@daily.co.uk), including full postal address and telephone number.

Should Gloria Hunniford publicise her child's death?

YES

WITH the utmost respect to those who criticised Gloria Hunniford in writing about her daughter Caron Keating's death from cancer (Letters), having lost my son Shaun in January I find it enormously comforting to talk about him to anyone who'll listen.

Unless you've actually had a child die, you can't possibly begin to understand the reactions of the bereaved parents.

So, Gloria, talk all you like about Caron. I, for one, will keep listening.

It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically

AMANDA WATERHOUSE, Preston, Lancs.

I'M sad for those who dislike Gloria's book about Caron.

Many people have no idea of what it's like to lose a child.

It's only just over a year since Caron died and Gloria needs to write and talk about her loss. I found her story moving and interesting and I'm sure many other people felt the same. I lost my only daughter to breast cancer seven years ago, so I know exactly how she feels. My daughter left two little boys. She was 30 years old. Gloria's story will help and inspire many people.

HELEN OATES, Westerham, Kent.

NO

I DON'T appreciate Gloria Hunniford's continuous publicity-seeking over her daughter's death.

When Caron Keating's death was announced, it was the saddest thing I'd heard in a very long time. I had the deepest sympathy for Gloria, losing her only daughter.

But now she seems to be almost making a career out of it. I believe only part of the proceeds of her book about Caron's death are being donated to charity, and I feel that the idea of making money out of the death of a daughter who so clearly didn't want any publicity about her illness is really quite distasteful.

Mrs MARJORIE ROSS, Bournemouth.

AT LAST, someone has echoed my thoughts and criticised Gloria Hunniford's 'banging on' about her poor daughter's illness and demise. We've heard her recently on TV, in a book and in the Press. It's just too much. May her daughter's soul rest in peace - I'm sure she would wish it so.

GERALDA DENNISON, address supplied.

CAPTION CONTEST

WHAT is tennis player Andy Murray saying to Switzerland's Roger Federer following the young Scot's defeat to the world number one in the Thailand Open final?

Our weekly picture feature offers you the chance to write an amusing caption in the speech bubble in the picture. Staple, glue or tape it to a postcard and send it to: Caption Contest (283), Daily Mail, 2 Derry Street, London W8 5TT, to arrive by Thursday, October 13. The writer of the caption adjudged the best will win a Pounds 20 book token.

THIS WEEK'S winner of the Pounds 20 book token is Phil Eyre of Cheadle, Cheshire, who has George Best saying to Rodney Marsh as they reminisce about their days at Fulham and discuss the modern game:

Straight to the POINT

IF the Americans want more Britons to visit the U.S. (Mail), their embassy should stop charging Pounds 1.50 a minute for visa inquiries and speed up their immigration processes at airports.

GYLES BRANDRETH'S forthcoming book about The Prince of Wales and The Duchess of Cornwall should not be referred to as 'semi-official' (Mail).

Neither the Duchess nor anyone in her JOHN C. KENT, London SW6.

and the Prince of Wales's household provided any assistance with the book.

PADDY HARVERSON, Clarence House, London SW1.

It's lack of care that's costing lives so tragically

THE loss of Ronnie Barker makes Britain feel even less like the safe and cosy place it used to be.

KEVIN PEAT, Teignmouth, Devon.

YES, Ken Clarke has lots of experience - of losing.

TONY FARROW, Northampton.

## Graphic

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LUCIA CHALCOTT: ADMIRES THE FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARDS DVT

**Load-Date:** October 7, 2005

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## WORLD REPORT

Windsor Star (Ontario)

April 5, 2004 Monday Final Edition

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

**Length:** 1833 words

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### **Body**

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UK minister confirms 'no limits' migrant policy

London

Tony Blair was fighting Sunday to prevent the political row over immigration spiralling out of control after ministers confirmed that the government was operating a "no limit" policy on the number of immigrants entering Britain to work.

Patricia Hewitt, the trade and industry Secretary, said Britain's labour shortages meant more immigrant workers were needed. She rejected the idea of imposing any limit or quota as "old-fashioned central planning".

The Conservatives accused the government of setting the hurdles for entering Britain low so that potential immigrants no longer had to pose as asylum seekers. Downing Street announced that Blair would be launching a "cross-government assault" to tackle abuse of the system with an immigration "summit" at No. 10 Tuesday.

Compiled from Star News Services

Queen aims to rekindle Entente Cordiale today

London

Queen Elizabeth travels by Eurostar to Paris today for a state visit designed to rekindle the century-old Entente Cordiale with France after the long disagreement over the war in Iraq.

Launching a year of commemorations of the entente's centenary, the Queen will be welcomed by President Jacques Chirac on the Champs Elysees, which has been dressed up with Union flags and the tricolour.

The British and French governments have made a show of overcoming their differences over Iraq to co-operate on other pressing issues such as the European Union constitution, the creation of a European defence force and attempts to curb Iran's nuclear programme.

Police find explosives and arms cache near border

Bayonne, France



## WORLD REPORT

Police swooped on a clandestine workshop used by the Basque separatist group ETA to make bombs and rocket launchers, arresting an alleged member of the group and seizing weapons and arms, police officials said.

Police identified the suspected ETA member as Zeberio Aierbe, 38. He was armed and carrying false papers, police said. They identified him with his fingerprints.

The workshop was located in an outbuilding of a house in Saint-Michel, a Pyrenean village close to France's southwest border with Spain and the town of Saint-Jean-Pied-de-Port. Police raided the house Sunday morning after surveillance confirmed that Aierbe was there.

Also arrested was a sheep farmer who owns the house. Bomb disposal experts examined the workshop. Police said rocket launchers used in ETA attacks in Spain and bombs were made there.

DaimlerChrysler will alter its executive pay system

Frankfurt, Germany

DaimlerChrysler AG plans to change the way it pays its top executives starting next year, but details aren't yet available, a spokesman said Sunday.

"We have already said we want to change the way we remunerate our top executives from March 2005 onward, but there is no concrete plan available as of yet," DaimlerChrysler spokesman Thomas Froehlich said.

Froehlich said it is "likely" that chief executive Juergen Schrempp will address the issue at the company's annual shareholder meeting in Berlin Wednesday.

High-speed train strikes metal, but does not derail

Dortmund, Germany

A high-speed train carrying 200 passengers hit six metal slabs attached to tracks near this western German city, but it did not derail after the driver applied the brakes, authorities said Sunday.

None of the InterCityExpress train's passengers were injured in the incident, which happened early Saturday. The 17-kg metal slabs had been screwed on to tracks between the towns of Kamen and Nordboegge on a line linking Cologne and Berlin.

Slovenes choose not to restore minority rights

Ljubljana, Slovenia

Slovenes voted overwhelmingly Sunday against restoring legal resident rights to thousands of members of ethnic minority groups who were deleted from the country's population register after Slovenia declared its independence 12 years ago.

The non-binding referendum has ignited nationalist sentiment in this small Alpine country, wedged between the Alps and the Balkans, of two million people. The official returns showed that 95 per cent of voters opposed reinstating permanent residency and other rights to the more than 18,000 people --mostly Bosnians, Croats and Serbs -- who were erased from state records under an administrative decision made after Slovenia declared independence from the old Yugoslav federation in 1991.

Former PM, one-time ally to face off in Slovak vote

Bratislava, Slovakia

A former authoritarian prime minister and his one-time ally will face one another in a runoff election that decides who will be the Slovak leader as it joins the European Union, according to election results Sunday.

## WORLD REPORT

Vladimir Meciar's first place finish in Saturday's presidential ballot comes only weeks before Slovakia joins the EU. The smooth-talking nationalist and his opponent and former right-hand man, Ivan Gasparovic, finished one and two to eliminate the favourite, Foreign Minister Eduard Kukan. Turnout was only 47.94 per cent.

Since no candidate won 50 per cent or more of the votes, Slovak election law calls for the top two candidates to vie in an April 17 runoff.

Sharon says promise not to harm Arafat invalid

Jerusalem

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said his pledge to the United States not to harm Yasser Arafat no longer holds, declaring that the Palestinian president and the head of Lebanon's Hezbollah are potential targets for assassination.

In an interview set for broadcast today by Israeli army radio, Sharon also said for the first time that under his plan to leave the Gaza Strip, evacuated Jewish settlements would not be destroyed.

Sharon said that three years ago he promised President George W. Bush that Israel would not harm Arafat, but since then circumstances had changed.

"Arafat was (then) given red carpet treatment everywhere in the world. Today it is clear to the United States and to everyone just who Arafat is," Sharon said.

Israel and the United States are boycotting Arafat, charging that he is responsible for Palestinian violence.

March 22, Israel assassinated Sheik Ahmed Yassin, founder and leader of the violent Islamic **Hamas** movement and officials said Israeli forces would mete out similar treatment to others.

Summit must be held, but not before May: Mubarak

Cairo, Egypt

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, trying to revive last month's postponed Arab summit, said Sunday the leaders should meet in May and that he doesn't care where they gather.

Tunisia, the host of this year's March 29-30 meeting of the Cairo-based Arab League, called off the gathering 48 hours before it was to begin, citing disagreements among members on key agenda items such as a U.S. reform plan for the region and a two-year-old Arab peace initiative for Israel.

Mubarak met Syrian President Bashar Assad and Sudanese President Omar el-Bashir in Cairo Sunday for consultations on rescheduling the Arab summit.

Rwanda's survivors gather to remember genocide

Kigali, Rwanda

Survivors of the 1994 genocide in Rwanda gathered in Kigali Sunday with foreigners who witnessed the slaughter, researchers and academics to discuss the consequences of the tragedy and how to prevent it being repeated elsewhere.

The three-day conference marks the start of official commemorations of 10th anniversary of the beginning of the genocide on April 7, 1994 and is also intended to raise global awareness about the killing.

More than 500,000 Tutsis and political moderates from the Hutu majority were killed in the 100-day slaughter, which was orchestrated by the extremist-Hutu government then in power in the central African country.

## WORLD REPORT

"It is 10 years after the genocide and the world's awareness to what happened here is extremely limited," said Joseph Nsengimana, an adviser to President Paul Kagame.

Activists mourn victims of crackdown by China

Hong Kong

Hong Kong activists marked the traditional Chinese tomb-sweeping festival Sunday with a tribute to victims of the bloody crackdown on protesters in Beijing's Tiananmen Square nearly 15 years ago.

As tens of thousands flocked to local cemeteries to leave offerings for deceased loved ones, some local legislators laid white wreaths -- the traditional Chinese colour of mourning -- and bowed at a makeshift monument engraved with the inscription "Democracy's heroes are immortal."

Sri Lankan president wants talks with Tigers

Colombo, Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka's president, whose political alliance won the most seats in parliamentary elections, plans to make a resumption of peace talks with Tamil Tiger rebels her "top priority," her chief aide said Sunday.

President Chandrika Kumaratunga's United Peoples Freedom Alliance took 105 seats in the 225-member Parliament in Friday's vote -- just eight short of an absolute majority -- and was in discussions with minor parties to join it to form a government.

Rabid vampire bats kill 13 in the Brazilian Amazon

Rio De Janeiro, Brazil

Rabies spread by vampire bats has claimed 13 lives on an Amazon river island, Brazilian news media reported Saturday.

The deaths occurred over the last 21 days on Portel Island, O Liberal newspaper reported. The island is about 2,400 km northeast of Rio de Janeiro.

In all, 19 people have been infected with rabies. Of those infected, 13 have died and six remain in hospital, two in very critical condition, the newspaper reported.

Since March 9, some 300 people have reported being bitten by the bats but most of them were vaccinated against rabies, O Liberal reported.

Health officials are working to immunize people and cattle to contain the disease's spread.

Quebec lynx released into wilderness of Colorado

Denver

Biologists released six Canadian lynx into the Colorado wilderness on a snowy day Saturday with high hopes they would soon make themselves at home.

Last winter, six **females** from groups released earlier had kittens, a major success for a five-year-old program that started off with four of five transplanted lynx dying.

Todd Malmsbury, spokesman for the state wildlife commission, said three males and three **females** captured in Quebec last winter were released Saturday, all wearing radio and satellite collars. The collars allow biologists to keep track of their movements and determine whether they are mating.

Three die, one wounded on Detroit's west side

## WORLD REPORT

## Detroit

A shooting on the city's west side early Sunday left three people dead and a fourth wounded, police said.

The victims had just left a party about 12:30 a.m. when they were followed by another vehicle, Officer Glen Woods said. Someone in the other vehicle opened fire, Woods said and then drove off.

Woods said a 22-year-old man, a 22-year old woman and a 21-year-old woman died. The survivor, a 21-year-old woman, was taken to a local hospital where she was listed in temporary serious condition. The shootings occurred on the eve of a planned citywide day of prayer against violence.

Police told television station WXYZ that the shooting stemmed from a dispute earlier at another location.

## Graphic

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Democracy sought in Nepal: Riot police charge supporters of Nepal's six largest political parties Sunday during a demonstration against King Gyanendra in Katmandu. Police fired tear gas and swung batons to disperse about 30,000 protesters demanding that the king allow a democratic government. AP photo: Binod Joshi

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## *Review of the year*

Financial Times (London, England)

December 27, 2004 Monday

London Edition 1

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**Byline:** By ROSIE BLAU

### **Body**

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It was a year of horror and shame.

Abhorrent photographs of US soldiers smiling over naked or hooded Iraqi prisoners prompted retaliation by masked gunmen who beheaded an American contractor and filmed his murder. In Darfur militias looted villages, leaving hundreds of thousands dead and more than a million homeless. In Madrid bombs exploded at Atocha station and the people of Spain turned in anger on a prime minister who tried to blame Eta. Hamid Karzai was elected president of Afghanistan and George W. Bush won another term in the White House. The price of oil topped Dollars 55 a barrel, 10 countries joined the European Union and thousands of gay couples married in the US D only to have their unions annulled. Yassir Arafat, leader of the Palestinian people, died. By Rosie Blau

A WORLD OF CRUELTY.. BUT HUMAN ENDEAVOUR WAS UNDIMINISHED.. Iraq: Bombs, beheading and abuse It was another bloody year for Iraq. As the death toll for Iraqis climbed into the thousands, the number of Americans killed since the invasion passed 1,000. In April, the bodies of four American contractors were mutilated after their vehicles were attacked in Falluja, a rebel stronghold. Two were dragged through the streets while two incinerated corpses were hung from a bridge. But it was the image of a hooded Iraqi prisoner, electrical wires attached to his hands, that became the enduring symbol of the year. A series of photographs revealed the mistreatment of Iraqi detainees by American forces at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad.

Private Lynndie England, 21, whose smiling face posing with naked Iraqi inmates became familiar around the world, said she had been instructed to pose for the photos taken for fun. Two reports on the scandal criticised senior commanders and top administration officials for oversight but found no evidence that they had ordered the mistreatment. So far, seven military police and an intelligence officer have been charged in connection with the torture. Claiming to be acting in retaliation, a group of masked men beheaded Nick Berg, an American contractor working in Iraq, and broadcast his murder on the internet. Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, a Jordanian with links to al-Qaeda, claimed responsibility for this and many of the subsequent hostage deaths in Iraq, which included a dozen Nepali cooks and cleaners slaughtered to scare off foreign workers. The American-led administration formally handed over the reins of government to an Iraqi interim government led by Iyad Allawi, a Shia, as prime minister and Ghazi Yawar as president. The handover took place in a low-key, unheralded ceremony two days before scheduled a sign of the continuing fears about violence. Rebel Shia cleric Moqtada al-Sadr and his Mahdi Army sought refuge in the Imam Ali mosque in Najaf, one of Shia Islam's holiest sites. A truce was negotiated three weeks later and after the intervention of the Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, Iraq's most senior religious figure. Saddam Hussein was transferred to the legal custody of the people of Iraq. Arriving in court handcuffed and in

## Review of the year

chains to face charges of crimes against humanity, he refused to sign legal documents and mocked the proceedings as theatre.

Elections are due to be held in Iraq next month. Death and destruction More than 700,000 black Sudanese are estimated to have died and 1.5m been displaced in ethnic cleansing in Darfur, western Sudan, carried out by Arab Janjaweed militia. The African Union sent 300 observers, the US labelled the killings genocide and human rights groups pronounced the world's response shameful. On March 11, a series of explosions ripped through four trains at Madrid's Atocha station, killing at least 170 people. Rage at Jos. Maria Aznar's government for sending troops to Iraq and blaming the bombs on Eta, the Basque separatist group, rather than al-Qaeda culminated in a surprise victory for the Socialist party at the general election only days later. Akhmad Kadyrov, Chechen president, was assassinated in a bomb blast; nine people died in a suicide attack at a Moscow metro station and two Russian aircraft crashed within minutes of each other, killing all on board. Chechens admitted responsibility. But it was on a cold morning in September that the eyes of the world focused on a school in Beslan, North Ossetia, where a gang of pro-Chechen militants took more than 1,000 people hostage. At least 330 people died, many of them children, when troops stormed the school. In Israel, Ariel Sharon pledged unilaterally to remove all Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip.

Israeli forces assassinated Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the wheelchair-bound **Hamas** leader, as he came out of a mosque at dawn. His replacement, Abdel Aziz Rantisi, was killed a month later. Thirty-four people, including at least 12 Israelis, died after suicide bombs exploded at a resort in Egypt. And Yassir Arafat, founder of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and head of the Palestinian Authority, died aged 75. He was buried in Ramallah, amid a sea of mourners. Zimbabwe's government charged 70 suspected mercenaries with plotting a coup in oil-rich Equatorial Guinea. Police in South Africa questioned Mark Thatcher, son of the former British prime minister, about his involvement in financing the plot. Militants linked to al-Qaeda took hostages at the offices of a Saudi Arabian oil company, killing 22 people. In June, three gun attacks in Riyadh within a week left two Americans and a BBC cameraman dead. In the same week, a US engineer was abducted and his beheading filmed. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Haiti's president, was ousted and fled. In southern Thailand, hundreds of people were killed, including 78 Muslim protesters who suffocated while in army custody. The first military tribunal hearings began for terrorist suspects held by the US at Guantanamo Bay. Central and North America were pounded by four hurricanes which killed more than 1,500 people. In the Netherlands, Theo van Gogh, who had recently released a film deemed to be offensive to Muslims, was murdered, unleashing a series of anti-Muslim attacks. Friendships forged The European Union welcomed 10 new member states, including a divided Cyprus, and agreed to admit Turkey further down the line. EU leaders signed the first European constitution. Greece, the surprise victor of the Euro 2004 football tournament, hosted the Olympic Games. The event was declared a success, despite costing more than €6bn and a scandal on the eve of the games when Greek national heroes Kostas Kenteris and Katerina Thanou failed to turn up for a drugs test. North and South Korea agreed to open transport links through the military zone that divides them, and a British law and accounting firm set up an office in Pyongyang, the first such joint venture.

Pakistan was received back into the Commonwealth, five years after it was expelled, but General Pervez Musharraf reneged on his pledge to cede control of the armed forces and take off his military uniform. Thousands of gay couples married in the US but only to have their unions annulled. France sent 9,000 troops to Normandy in preparation for the 60th anniversary of D-Day; no-fly and maritime exclusion zones were declared and surface-to-air missiles deployed along the coast. French schools introduced a ban on wearing Muslim headscarves and other signs of religious affiliation despite initial resistance, so far most pupils have complied.

Russia accepted the Kyoto protocol on climate change, Chile got its first divorce law, India's cricket team went on its first tour of Pakistan since 1989, construction began on the Freedom Tower at the site of the former World Trade Center in New York and South Africa celebrated 10 years since the end of apartheid.

The US and European Union lifted sanctions against Libya and the World Trade Organisation invited the former rogue state to talks on entry. Anwar Ibrahim, former deputy prime minister of Malaysia, was released from prison six years after his conviction for sodomy, and Wangari Maathai, a Kenyan environmentalist and human rights campaigner, became the first African woman to win the Nobel peace prize.

## Review of the year

A year of elections After the most divided and expensive presidential campaign in US history, George W. Bush was re-elected with more votes than any previous president. Republicans also increased their majority in both chambers of Congress. In his re-election speech, Bush pledged to reach out to allies and sceptics at home and abroad. The Congress party was the surprise victor of India's general election. Sonia Gandhi, wife of former prime minister Rajiv Gandhi, refused to be prime minister, instead nominating Manmohan Singh, a former finance minister. In Afghanistan, Hamid Karzai became the country's first directly elected president, defeating 17 other opponents. In Ukraine the presidential election was declared invalid after supporters of opposition candidate Viktor Yushchenko complained of election fraud and kept vigil in Kiev's public squares for 17 long, cold days. An unprecedented number of foreign monitors about 12,000 observed the December 26 re-run. Elections to the European parliament were overshadowed by low turnout and success for Eurosceptic parties. New Commission president Jos. Manuel Barroso had to reshuffle his team even before taking office when Rocco Buttiglione, the Italian nominee, revealed his views on homosexuality and the role of women.

Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono trounced Megawati Sukarnoputri in Indonesia's presidential election, Vladimir Putin was comfortably re-elected and Venezuela's president Hugo Chavez defied his critics in a recall referendum. John Howard defended his support of the Iraq war and won another term in Australia. Nicolas Sarkozy, French finance minister, won a landslide election as head of the UMP party and left his cabinet post. Conservatives gained control of parliament in Iran after thousands of reformist candidates were disqualified. In Britain, where an election is expected possibly as early as February, Tony Blair suffered a blow when David Blunkett, the home secretary, resigned after a visa application for his former lover's nanny was found to have been speeded through.

The power game Pakistan had them, Libya, Iran and North Korea wanted them, so Pakistan gave them the knowledge or that's one version of the nuclear story, anyway. In a television address in February, Abdul Qadeer Khan, father of Pakistan's nuclear bomb and a national hero, confessed to passing nuclear secrets and equipment to other countries. Iran agreed to suspend most of its uranium enrichment as part of a deal with the European Union. Separately, South Korea revealed that scientists had enriched a small quantity of weapons-grade uranium four years ago an admission that came as six-party talks continued over North Korea's nuclear programme.

Meanwhile in Iraq, where a US-led coalition went to war last year claiming that Saddam Hussein was hiding weapons of mass destruction, no such items were found and the Iraq Survey Group's final 1,000-page report said there had never been any. Independent inquiries in the UK, US and Australia absolved the respective governments of misrepresenting the intelligence on the subject. And finally.. Millions of chickens were culled as Avian flu swept across Asia and Canada, amid concerns that the virus could spread between humans.

The Irish stopped smoking in pubs and restaurants and even McDonald's put corporate responsibility on the menu by eliminating supersized portions of fries and soft drinks in the US and introducing healthier fare across Europe. The war in Iraq prompted profit and creativity in one arena the Arts as Michael Moore's film Fahrenheit 9/11, an anti-Bush polemic, earned almost Dollars 25m in its first weekend, while political plays such as Stuff Happens and Embedded were box office hits in the UK.

Oil giant Shell agreed to pay more than Pounds 80m to regulators for misreporting its reserves. Apple released the iPod mini and Richard Branson announced that from 2007 Virgin Galactic would offer tourists the chance to go to the edge of space, 80 miles above earth's surface, for Dollars 190,000 a pop. The UN began a probe into the discontinued oil-for-food programme amid allegations of bribery and corruption in the Saddam Hussein era.

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## **Historic pullout begins: 9,000 settlers being forced out of Gaza, West Bank**

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### **Body**

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NETZER HAZANI, Gaza -- As the sun slipped below the horizon, thousands of men overflowed the synagogue here, where they had just concluded their last Sabbath in Gaza.

It was the start of the fast of Tisha B'Av, when Jews mourn a series of catastrophes that happened on that day over more than two millennia, from the ancient destruction of the first and second temples in Jerusalem to their expulsion from Spain in 1492.

But many of the deeply religious worshipers said the events of this week -- Israel's withdrawal from Gaza -- will rank among the worst disasters to befall the Jewish people. "Even though we mourn the destruction of the temples 2,000 years ago, that was by the goyim," said Rafi Peretz, 51, using the Hebrew word for non-Jews. "Today, the destruction is by Jews and our government. Of course, it makes it harder."

The parliamentary decree that ordered 9,000 settlers to leave all 21 Gaza settlements and four in the northern West Bank starting today is a major shift from a policy that for nearly 40 years encouraged Jews to move to areas once under Arab control. The settlers, who have tried every legal means to reverse the decision, pray for divine intervention.

"With God's help, there will be redemption," said Inbal Shitrit, 26. She came from a West Bank settlement that is unaffected by the pullout to be with her parents, who live here. "Maybe the Messiah will come."

Israeli military forces started early today to tell Shitrit, her family and thousands of others that they must leave by midnight Tuesday. The troops' mission: to implement Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's unilateral "disengagement plan" to reduce political tensions with the Palestinians and the violence that has killed more than 1,000 Israelis since September 2000.

It's a plan supported by most Israelis. A Tel Aviv University poll released Wednesday found that 57% of Jewish Israelis support the withdrawal, while 36% are opposed. When Israeli Arabs -- about 23% of the population -- are included, support rises to 60% and 34% opposed.

Israelis have decided that "9,000 people cannot set the political agenda," said Reuven Hazan, a Hebrew University political scientist who calls himself a political centrist. "They cannot have thousands of soldiers jeopardizing their (own) lives in order to protect them."



## Historic pullout begins: 9,000 settlers being forced out of Gaza, West Bank

Many settlers also acknowledge that it's time to leave. On Saturday, Meir Cohen videotaped for the last time the streets of Rafiah Yam, the southernmost Gaza settlement that he helped found in 1984. A former army officer who fought in three wars, he accepts the government's order to leave.

"I see the big picture," said Cohen, 53. "There comes a time in life when you have to make a sacrifice for your country."

### Protests and a resignation

Others disagree. Israeli Finance Minister Benjamin Netanyahu resigned from his Cabinet position to protest the pullout, which he said "ignores reality and proceeds blindly, creating a base for Islamic terror" -- a reference to the Palestinian groups including Hamas and Islamic Jihad that have waged a violent campaign against Israel.

Whatever the outcome, the withdrawal will go down as one of the most traumatic chapters in Israel's 57-year history. It ends part of a 38-year occupation that began when Israel captured East Jerusalem, Gaza, the West Bank and the Sinai Peninsula from Arab armies in the 1967 Six-Day War.

"We are witnessing the struggle for Israel's soul," said Aharon Klieman, a Tel Aviv University political scientist. "This is a wrenching experience."

The move has sparked massive protests from Jerusalem's Western Wall to Tel Aviv's Rabin Square, where in 1995 Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin was assassinated by a right-wing extremist angry over what many say was an earlier concession to the Palestinians. The police and the Israeli army have been riven by militant rabbis' calls to disobey orders to remove fellow Jews from land religious Zionists believe was given to them by God.

Police Commissioner Moshe Karadi acknowledged the upheaval in a letter to his officers. He said while the withdrawal "strikes an open nerve and questions our very ideals, faith and way of life," the operation "is the ultimate test of a law-abiding, democratic Israeli society."

To Sasha Shniakin, 24, the formula is simple: "We'll be here, the Palestinians will be there," said the resident of Maaleh Adumim, a West Bank settlement bloc that won't be affected by the plan. "That will reduce the friction."

That remains to be seen. The Israeli military said Sunday that five soldiers were injured by "friendly tank fire" after Palestinian gunmen began shooting near the central Gaza settlement of Kfar Darom.

The withdrawal began officially at midnight Sunday when the Israeli army sealed off the entrances to the Gaza towns. In Kfar Darom, home to about 85 families, about 55 residents came out about 2 a.m. to march. They walked toward a bridge, danced, sang, laid down nails and spikes on the road and went back into town under the gaze of Israeli soldiers. Several tanks, jeeps and armored personnel carriers stood by.

Roadblocks were set up across southern Israel and bus service to the settlements in Gaza was cut off. "We are on our highest alert," Karadi said.

Palestinian security forces also deployed near the settlements to prevent looting and to stop Palestinian militants from attacking the departing Israelis and the troops escorting them out during the withdrawal, which is expected to take several weeks to complete.

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and other Palestinian officials have expressed concern that the unilateral pullout is a ruse to tighten Israel's grip on the larger West Bank. But many of Gaza's nearly 1.4 million Palestinians eagerly awaited the settlers' departure. "This is the end of the occupation and the first step to realizing an independent Palestinian state," said Ahmed Laham, 32, a Khan Younis construction worker.

### Resistance from 'guests'

## Historic pullout begins: 9,000 settlers being forced out of Gaza, West Bank

Despite the looming deadline for withdrawal, residents were still inside most of the settlements. Army Chief of Staff Lt. Gen. Dan Halutz said Sunday that about 5,000 people, some armed, had illegally sneaked inside the settlements.

A Jewish extremist group calling itself the National Home Movement claims there are "10,000 guests" inside Gaza. It called on them to "create havoc any way you can." Most were Zionists who believe Gaza is part of the land God promised to Israel in the Torah.

Dozens of mostly secular settlers already have moved to temporary housing inside Israel. The three northernmost Gaza settlements were nearly empty Sunday.

After a tearful farewell ceremony Friday, most of the 22 families in Pe'at Sadeh in the main settlement bloc of Gush Katif moved out. On Saturday, a few plainclothes Israeli soldiers patrolled the streets. Israeli Defense Forces will guard the settlements until they are turned over to the Palestinians in December.

Israeli police began to fan out to every settlement this morning. They said they were knocking on doors and ordering everyone to leave by the end of the day Tuesday or face forcible removal.

In five settlements the police agreed to deliver eviction notices to the heads of those towns and not go door-to-door, according to army spokesman Capt. Jacob Dallal. But the eviction of Israelis who were not residents could take place immediately, said Army Lt. Eli Ovits.

Once the last settler is gone, movers will pack any remaining property before Israeli contractors and Israeli Arab workers partially demolish about 2,000 residential buildings. Israel will pay \$25 million to the World Bank, which will hire Palestinian and Egyptian companies to finish the job.

Schools, community centers and other public buildings are supposed to be left intact for the Palestinians, although individual settlers could damage them. Gaza's 38 synagogues will be blown up after their sacred objects are removed.

On Sunday, about 1,000 people gathered at Gaza's small Jewish cemetery for an emotional memorial service as relatives clung to stones atop some of the 48 graves that will be relocated.

If the world has accepted the inevitability of the handover, some militant opponents remain in denial: Residents in Netzarim planted 10 acres of cherry tomatoes Aug. 8. More ominous, on Aug. 4, a renegade Jewish soldier upset by the withdrawal killed four Israeli Arabs on a bus in northern Israel before he was beaten to death by a mob.

Avraham Shapira and other right-wing rabbis have issued religious rulings ordering security forces to disobey orders to "expel" other Jews. So far, more than 100 soldiers involved in the pullout have refused to take part.

The Yesha Council of Jewish Settlements is urging non-violent civil disobedience across Israel, including a call for 3,000 drivers to form a 5-mile convoy to block the entrance to Ben-Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv today. It also urged demonstrators to "join their brothers in besieged Gush Katif," which at midnight became a closed military zone off-limits to all Israelis.

Baruch Ben-Shahar, 28, sneaked into the devoutly religious settlement of Kfar Darom from the West Bank hilltop settlement of Givat Ronen. He said his allegiance is to the land and people of Israel, not to the state. Ben-Shahar brought wire-cutters so he can cross between fenced-in settlements after the army seals them. He said some have personal weapons, although he said they will likely not use them.

Tugging pensively on his red beard, Ben-Shahar said if there is violence, it will not be "for violence's sake itself, but to brand the trauma of this expulsion on the minds of all Jews."

'Humiliating' treatment

## Historic pullout begins: 9,000 settlers being forced out of Gaza, West Bank

Cohen, one of the founders of the Rafiah Yam settlement, was forced to shut his designer fashion clothing factory and lay off 70 Palestinian workers. He appreciated the militants "identifying with our struggle, but they are damaging and tarnishing the reputation of the people who live here, who are moderates."

Avi Sherr said it is the Israeli government that has acted badly. "It's gotten to be like Nazi Germany," he said, especially since Gaza was closed to non-residents more than a month ago. Since then, settlers have had to wait at checkpoints and show identity cards. It's a taste of the kind of treatment Palestinians have chafed under for years.

"It's humiliating," said Sherr, 57, a Philadelphia native who moved to the Netzer Hazani settlement in 1979. "When they do it to the Palestinians, it's necessary. But they're acting like I'm a terrorist."

Last spring, as he contemplated leaving, Sherr was so angry that he vowed to make his home unfit to live in by ripping out the electric wires and pouring cement down the drain, though in the end he did not. The man who flies an upside-down American flag to signify he is a U.S. citizen in distress once said, "I don't want to see my house on TV with a Palestinian flag flying on it."

Saturday, with all his furniture moved to his daughter's home up the coast near Ashkelon, he sat on the concrete patio outside the house where he celebrated his son's ritual circumcision, two bar mitzvahs and three weddings and reconsidered. "It's a seventh member of my family," he said of the modest stucco house. "If I destroy it, it's like destroying a member of my family."

So, the night before, he literally left his mark on the walls. In the living room Sherr wrote the names of his wife, four children, six dogs and two pet birds. In the kitchen, he scribbled, "Gush Katif forever: 1979-2005." In the hallway, "26 years we lived here." And, in a humorous nod to his favorite football team, "Go Eagles!"

Farther south, in Rafiah Yam, the main emotion was nostalgia. Seventeen of the 26 families plan to move together as a community to temporary housing near Ashkelon. In the settlement's clubhouse, five women spent their last Sabbath here reminiscing together while their young children assembled moving boxes outside.

The women had taped up on a wall photos documenting their lives in a community that in a few days no longer will exist. The championship soccer team. The Purim parties. The school field trips. The day Sharon -- the man who orchestrated this dramatic change in their lives -- came to inaugurate "permanent" houses here to replace the trailers that once overlooked the Egyptian border.

"We started in caravans (trailers) without water, without nothing," said Cohen's wife, Nitza, 48, who posed in one of the pictures with Sharon. "I feel we created our life dream here, and now we're taking it apart with our own hands."

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Contributing: Michele Chabin in Jerusalem, Matthew Gutman in Kfar Darom, Martin Patience in Khan Younis and Michal Schonbrun in Neve Dekalim

## Graphic

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PHOTO, Color, Ronen Zvulun, Reuters; GRAPHIC, Color. Robert W. Ahrens, USA TODAY (MAP); PHOTO, Color, David Furst, AFP/Getty Images; PHOTO, Color, Benedicte Kurzen for USA TODAY

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## ***Debate Finished, Candidates Race Back to Campaign***

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**Dateline:** DAVIE, Fla., Oct. 9

### **Body**

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President Bush and Senator John Kerry stumped Saturday through four critical states, using increasingly acerbic language as they tried to capitalize on what they saw as the other's weak spots in a second debate that did not appear to give either man a clear edge.

First in Iowa, then at a sprawling rally in Chanhassen, Minn., Mr. Bush repeated his refrain from Friday night's matchup, saying that Mr. Kerry "can run but cannot hide" from his legislative record. The crowd began to shout the phrase back at the president, who declared "I could barely contain myself" when Mr. Kerry said he had never changed positions on Iraq.

"He must think we're on a different planet," Mr. Bush said, to huge cheers.

At an afternoon rally in the Cleveland suburb of Elyria, Ohio, before flying to Florida, Mr. Kerry asserted that Mr. Bush's stubborn unwillingness to acknowledge errors of judgment prevented him from fixing them, starting in Iraq.

"Do we want leadership, as it is called, that can't face reality and admit mistakes, or do we want leadership that sees the truth and tells the truth to the American people?" Mr. Kerry asked a crowd of more than 10,000. He was referring to Mr. Bush's vague response at the debate that he had "made some mistakes in appointing people" to a woman who had asked him to specify three mistakes of his administration.

"If George Bush can't see the problems," Mr. Kerry said, "and he's not willing to admit the problems, and he can't talk to America about the problems, you can't lead America to solve the problems."

The battleground back-and-forth reflected the tension in two campaigns that, about three weeks before Election Day, can both sniff victory. With several national polls showing a dead-heat race before the second debate, Republicans expressed confidence that Mr. Bush's improved showing on Friday would stem the slippage from his angrier performance in the first meeting.

But Democrats, buoyed by a week of developments that undercut Mr. Bush's claims of vigorous job growth and his main justification for invading Iraq, said they would not lose the momentum heading into the final debate, in Tempe, Ariz., on Wednesday.

## Debate Finished, Candidates Race Back to Campaign

An Associated Press survey published Friday, just before the debate, showed Mr. Kerry leading Mr. Bush 50 percent to 46 percent, reversing Mr. Bush's 52 percent to 45 percent lead from two weeks before. The margin of error was three percentage points. Time magazine has the two deadlocked at 45 percent, with Mr. Bush having lost a six-point lead, and Mr. Kerry with a strong advantage among women.

"A week ago we were dead," one top Democrat said in a hotel bar in St. Louis before the debate. "What a business we're in."

But Mr. Bush may have stopped the slippage in the polls, or so his small army of aides and spinners argued as they followed him across the states that will most likely decide the election. An instant ABC poll of viewers of the Friday debate found that 44 percent said Mr. Kerry had won and 41 percent gave the advantage to Mr. Bush, with 13 percent saying it was a tie. The margin of error was 3 percentage points. In the first debate, viewers surveyed by ABC favored Mr. Kerry by a nine-point margin, 45 percent to 36 percent.

Starting with a breakfast in St. Louis this morning, then moving on to Iowa and Minnesota -- both states he lost by narrow margins four years ago -- Mr. Bush built on the critique of Mr. Kerry's Senate years that he began in the debate.

"Much as he tried to obscure it, on issue after issue, my opponent showed why he's earned the ranking, the most liberal member of the United States Senate," Mr. Bush said at the breakfast for Matt Blunt, the Republican candidate for governor of Missouri. "Senator Kerry was asked to look into the camera and promise he would not raise taxes for anyone who earns less than \$200,000 a year. The problem is, to keep that promise, he would have to break almost all of his other ones."

In Minnesota on Saturday, he tried a self-deprecating reference to the first debate, saying, "After listening to his litany of complaints and his dour pessimism, it was all I could do not to make a bad face."

Here on the outskirts of Fort Lauderdale on Saturday night, Mr. Kerry made an appeal to the heavily Jewish population, tacking onto his typical presentation a story about his visit to an Israeli air base and his aerial tour, saying the upside-down view during a loop in a small jet had given him a better understanding of the tiny country's vulnerabilities.

"Our job, Mr. President, is to hold those Arab countries accountable that still support terrorists -- Hamas, Hezbollah, Al Aksa Brigades," he shouted. "And I will not give one inch in our efforts to do that."

The candidates planned slower Sundays, with Mr. Bush relaxing at his Texas ranch and Mr. Kerry attending church in Miami before flying to New Mexico to prepare for the last debate. Mr. Bush next heads to Colorado.

Both sides said they were determined to detour from their weeks-long tussle over the Iraq war into more discussion of domestic issues. But Mr. Bush, at least, could not stop himself from returning to the question of Iraq again and again, insisting anew that the report issued last week by Charles A. Duelfer, the top C.I.A. weapons inspector in Iraq, proved that Saddam Hussein was a "gathering threat."

Many Democrats and independent experts say that interpretation of the report is close to misleading: The report said that Mr. Hussein dismantled his stockpiles of biological and chemical weapons, and all but gave up on his nuclear program. His powers weakened after 1991, it concluded, although the report speculated he was holding out hope of reviving his weapons programs once United Nations sanctions were lifted.

On the stump today, Mr. Bush said that the report proved Mr. Hussein was trying to "game the system" to destroy United Nations sanctions, and that once those sanctions were riddled with holes, he intended to re-start his weapons programs. That justified the war, he said.

Mr. Kerry's aides argued that the report showed there was plenty of time for diplomacy, and that a pre-emptive strike, defined in international law as a strike against a power about to lash out at another state, was not justified in March 2003.

## Debate Finished, Candidates Race Back to Campaign

With the next debate devoted to domestic issues, just four days hence, both sides said Iraq would finally yield center stage.

"The president also has to deal with a lot of domestic issues every day in office, Congress and bureaucracies and regulations," noted Andrew Card, the president's chief of staff. "So he is able to walk and chew gum at the same time and do it well."

Speaking on a perfect autumn afternoon in Ohio from a stage festooned with hay bales and fresh apples and pumpkins, Mr. Kerry joked that he, too, thought Mr. Bush had made some mistakes in appointing people. He said the country needed "not a single-minded leader, but a clear-headed leader, not a headstrong leader, but a well-reasoned leader."

"You've seen the four years and you can measure them," he said of Mr. Bush's tenure. "You've seen the lost jobs, the lost health care, the lost opportunity, the lost respect in the world. You've seen lives that have been lost because of decisions that have been made that weren't the right ones."

For his part, Karl Rove, the president's chief strategist, was using Iraq for his own purposes to combine the charge that Mr. Kerry flip-flops with new attacks on his record. He showed up in a press tent in Waterloo, Iowa, to mark the second anniversary of Mr. Kerry's appearance on the floor of the Senate, where the Senator warned of what would happen if Mr. Hussein obtained weapons of mass destruction.

"I want to lay to rest any thought that Karen Hughes and Mike Gerson had anything to do with writing that speech," Mr. Rove said with a smile, referring to Mr. Bush's longtime adviser and his chief speechwriter. "The senator's a smart man, and I'm sure he wrote his own stuff."

Ms. Hughes, working the other side of the tent, said that Mr. Bush's task in the next few days was to tie Mr. Kerry's contradictions "to the realization that he really is a liberal who is out of touch with mainstream America," and pointed to his response Friday night to a query about why stem-cell research could not be conducted without further destruction of embryos.

"He seemed genuinely surprised that someone could have questioned the morality of stem cell research, one of the great moral issues of our time," Ms. Hughes told reporters after the president's rally in Waterloo. "He was uncomfortable, he didn't know how to answer."

Indeed, though the Democrats' advertising has already been dominated by domestic themes for the past week, Mr. Kerry nonetheless devoted nearly half his speech at the rally in Ohio to Iraq. Michael D. McCurry, a top strategist, said the core argument about credibility was the same, and that American voters are "ambidextrous -- they can actually keep two thoughts in their head at once."

Mary Beth Cahill, Mr. Kerry's campaign manager, said the Democrats would go after ***female*** voters by having Mr. Kerry talk about issues like stem-cell research, and with surrogate tours of swing states by military mothers and Sept. 11 widows. She said Mr. Kerry would hold town-hall meetings and large-scale rallies, and would probably also give some single-issue speeches, including one on energy policy.

One remaining question is how negative the campaigning will be, particularly for Mr. Kerry, who is still struggling to win the living-room test of likability.

"They're losing and they're going to get tougher," Steve Elmendorf, the Democrat's deputy campaign manager, predicted of the Bush campaign. "What they know how to do is distort John Kerry's record, and they're going to do more of it, and we're going to have to hit back hard."

As the past few roller-coaster weeks of the campaign have shown, the two campaigns' plans may be upended by news developments here and abroad; Mr. Kerry was handed powerful ammunition for his arguments last week with the Duelfer report on Iraq's weapons and a report showing weak job growth.

## Debate Finished, Candidates Race Back to Campaign

"Those are gifts, but remember that underneath them are the wrong policy choices that we're talking about, they come about and land in our lap because of the policy and choices that the president made that were wrong," Mr. McCurry said. "We've got very strong arguments to make that don't rely solely on bad news dropping from the heavens every day."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: President Bush and his wife, Laura, at a rally in Waterloo, Iowa, one of several campaign stops the president made yesterday in the Midwest. He began the day in St. Louis, where Friday's debate was held. (Photo by Doug Mills/The New York Times)

Senator John Kerry addressing supporters in Lorain, Ohio. He campaigned in Ohio and Florida yesterday. (Photo by Stephen Crowley/The New York Times)

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***After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel's plight***

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

June 1, 2004 Tuesday 0 South Pinellas Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; Pg. 13A; LETTER

**Length:** 1995 words

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## **Body**

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Re: Our support of Israel hurts us in Iraq, by Nicholas Kristof, May 27.

Nicholas Kristof's criticism of American support for Israel - not President Bush's alone, since every poll shows that he is expressing the views of the American public - ignores two facts.

Point One: Twice in four years Israel has acceded to pressures from an American president to come to the peace table with major concessions - only to find itself sitting alone. When Prime Minister Ehud Barak offered to Yasser Arafat the most generous package ever contemplated by an Israeli government, there was no pressure from the Arab world on Arafat to accept. When his response was to launch a war of terror on Israel, the Arab governments did not do anything, publicly or privately, to deter him. And two years later, when Prime Minister Ariel Sharon acceded to the "road map," even though it would require painful concessions from Israel, the Arab governments did nothing to encourage Arafat to comply with the very first requirement of that peace plan: dismantling all terrorist organizations and establishing security systems that would deter terrorism. In fact, when the Palestinian political process actually produced a leader who seemed willing to take those steps, the Arab governments stood by and watched Arafat remove him without a word or gesture of concern.

In short, those in the Arab world cannot complain of one-sided support by America for Israel when they have done nothing to promote peace on their side.

Point Two: After 9/11, the world looks different. President Bush, and all Americans, began to understand what it is like to live with the knowledge that you face an implacable foe who is committed to your destruction, and who will violate every norm of civilized behavior to attain that goal. And President Bush, and all Americans, have a better understanding of why Israel cannot again delude itself into thinking that rhetorical flourishes and handshakes (the "Geneva Plan") can substitute for a true commitment to accept Israel's right to exist, a determination to stop attempts to destroy Israel through terrorism, and a willingness to sit down and work toward a true peace, and not a facade designed to disguise the continuation of the 56-year effort to drive Israel into the sea.

Barry Augenbraun, St. Petersburg

Mideast policy imbalance makes sense

Re: Our support of Israel hurts us in Iraq, May 27.



## After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel 's plight

I can only agree with Nicholas Kristof's opinion piece on one item: U.S. Middle East policy is unbalanced, and justifiably so. Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East, and it is surrounded by neighbors bent on its destruction. The leadership of the Palestinian Authority, Hamas, al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, Islamic Jihad and other Arab terrorist groups have sworn to destroy Israel. They educate their children to hate Jews and encourage them to kill Jewish women and children. The Arabs resort to terrorism while the Israelis resort to force to defend themselves from terror. In light of our own country's war on terror, this "imbalance" is in our best national interests

It is hard to take the rest of Kristof's article seriously. He hurls his opinions without facts. He provides no evidence for his premises that our support for Israel "severely undermines our efforts in Iraq." His assertion that a "lofty aim of the Iraq war was to achieve a Middle East peace" is totally absurd. As I recall, the primary aim (whether justified or not) of the Iraq war was to protect the United States and other countries from WMDs. The secondary and unspoken aim of the war (whether justified or not) was to remove Saddam Hussein and replace him with a democratic government. Never was it an aim of the Iraq war to achieve Middle East peace.

Hopefully, one day Kristof will come to grips with the fact that our enemies are engaged in a world war against the entire non-Muslim world. We must understand the depths of their hatred. We, Israelis, Americans, Jews and Christians worldwide, constitute the front line in the war, wherever we are. It is our free democratic way of life, our very existence that provokes our enemy. But first, Kristof must abandon his "knee-jerk" reaction that, when in doubt, blame Israel for everything.

Bruce A. Epstein, Pinellas Park

A naive point of view

Re: Our support of Israel hurts us in Iraq.

Nicholas Kristof has swallowed Palestinian/Arab propaganda regarding Israel hook, line and sinker. To honestly write that "everywhere I've been in Iraq ordinary people have asked me why Americans provide the weapons Sharon uses to kill Palestinians" shows Kristof's extraordinary naivete. "Ordinary people" in Iraq have not had a free and open press in decades. Their understanding of the Palestinian/Israel problem is totally one-sided. Why isn't Kristof asking about the U.S. weapons George H.W. Bush and Ronald Reagan provided that killed Kuwaitis, Iraqis and now (probably) American soldiers?

To state so uncritically that "Sharon has done more to undermine Israel's long-term security than Yasser Arafat ever did," shows how Kristof has been manipulated by Yasser Arafat and slick Arab public relations. Ariel Sharon is a duly elected prime minister of the Israeli people. He can be voted out at any time. Yasser Arafat walked away from the most generous offer the Palestinians ever had.

It is not the policies of Sharon that have caused Palestinians to become or embrace Islamic extremists, but Arafat's corruption, stealing the money sent by Arab nations, the European Union and the United States. It is the Palestinian Authority's fault the Palestinian people have no infrastructure, no future, no hope, no state. Arafat is the leader of cronyism, bribery, murder and duplicity.

What is costing U.S. credibility is our prison abuses, a false premise for starting the war, dead Iraqi civilians, and our own unilateral actions, not our support for Israel.

Susan Segal, Palm Harbor

Seduced by Arab propagandists

Re: Gaza at a crossroads, editorial, May 28.

### After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel 's plight

This editorial blames both President Bush and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon for the current stalemate. An examination of the facts is needed.

It is a fact that every administration since the birth of Israel has seen fit to support democratic Israel. To ask President Bush to support Palestinian terrorists is absurd. To reward the supporters of Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein who danced joyfully in the streets at the occurrence of 9/11 is ludicrous.

Apparently the Times has been seduced by Arab propagandists, including the local of followers of the jailed Sami Al-Arian, into denouncing Ariel Sharon as "heavy-handed." Sharon's sin is defending his people against the same kind of terrorism which we face.

Sharon has taken the most courageous step of announcing a unilateral withdrawal from Gaza and leaving it to the Palestinians. Yet Palestinian terrorists, supported by Arafat, refuse to allow it to happen.

Finally, why is it necessary for our United States "to rehabilitate its own image" to satisfy the Arab tyrants who have supported terrorism?

Norman N. Gross Ph. D., Palm Harbor

An outrageous cartoon

Re: Michael Ramirez's "Sticks and Stones" cartoon, May 22.

Exactly what is Michael Ramirez thinking? He depicts an innocent(?) pebble being thrown and an out-of-control Israeli answering it by "kabooming" him into the next world.

A suicidally trained Palestinian can himself, or in a vehicle with a bomb, aim at a building, a crowd of Israelis, or board a bus and blow himself and 30 or so innocent people to kingdom come. There will be an article about it on Page 5 or 6 but no "cartoon" to indicate the insanity of it.

No such respect is shown to Israelis in his hateful, tasteless, outrageous and, as far as I'm concerned, anti-Semitic "cartoon."

Knowing as we do the Palestinian radicals' suicide/murder agenda, how is the man in the tank to know that the "poor little Palestinian" is simply throwing a pebble or something far more dangerous?

Wake up and smell the blood, Mr. Ramirez. War is disgusting for all concerned and tragically sad for many. It is many things but, definitely not funny.

Stan Rubin, New Port Richey

We are engaged in a religious war

Just because the learned modern moral relativists don't want to recognize the war with terrorists as a religious war, we should. The overly educated elites believe that we can reason with Muslim terrorists, to, shall we say, jawbone them out of their beliefs. I am willing to fully acknowledge the Muslims' rant: It is a war to the death with persons having antithetical beliefs to our Christian and constitutional writings.

Any leader who will not treat this as a battle to the death (ours or theirs) is not worthy of support. You know who you are. You want to reason with nonreasoning religious zealots. Let's give them their desire, death. Death to them in Iraq rather than more of our blood in the streets in the United States. What kind of choice is that? It is that stark a choice.

After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel 's plight

James Anderson, Palm Harbor

Undermining support for war effort

Journalistic terrorists? There is no better description of the St. Petersburg Times, whose editors, staff writers and cartoonist demean the efforts of our soldiers in Iraq. Thousands of acts of kindness, goodwill and charity by our servicemen have been well-documented and supported by photos. Yet the Times gives front-page coverage to the prison scandal and follows with a gruesome article about Marines who take care of dead bodies (Mortuary duty fills Marines with pride, dread, May 23). This is a deliberate propaganda effort aimed at changing the attitude of the American public and providing comfort to those who oppose our efforts in Iraq.

Constructing playing fields and providing uniforms for Iraqi soccer teams; building open-air malls for Iraqi shopkeepers; painting and fixing classrooms for Iraqi teachers and schoolchildren; restoring public utilities; helping Iraqi families with carpentry, plumbing or electrical problems; setting up district councils - these acts of compassion and kindness are never reported.

There are many Iraqis who do not want our troops to leave. They are afraid that another tyrannical government will come to power. Their views are never heard. The Times does a great job of undermining public support. I am ashamed to call it my hometown newspaper.

Jack Vanderbleek, colonel, U.S. Army

(retired), St. Petersburg

Support for administration is outrageous

I cannot cease to be amazed at the "outrage" voiced by pro-Bush readers who take not only the press to task for reporting facts, rather than the fiction perpetrated by the Bush administration, but also the television networks that chose not to interrupt their regular programs in order to carry the president's "important" speech.

I am more outraged at the writers' blind acceptance of the myriad lies, inefficiencies and misrepresentations of the Bush administration, its ill-judged attack on a sovereign nation (uninvolved with 9/11), the horrible record on the environment, economy, education, across-the-board arrogance, the dangerous plunge of world opinion for our country, and other actions/inactions that are detrimental to all of us.

Frankly, I do think that the networks' normal programming was more relevant than the president's address, which I diligently watched on CNN in the soon-destroyed hope that something newsworthy or at least "new" would come from the mouth of our leader. (By the way, I had been a registered Republican for more than 30 years - until last month!)

Keith P. Yeisley, Clearwater

Share your opinions

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(727) 893-8675 or through our Web site at:

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After 9/11, U.S. has a better idea of Israel 's plight

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.

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## *Too soon to talk of Arabian spring*

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

March 17, 2005 Thursday

First Edition

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**Byline:** Paul McGeough

### **Body**

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Events in the Middle East are more a fluke of timing than a result of US foreign policy, reports Paul McGeough.

A DIPLOMAT looking at the Middle East today might observe that democracy's glass is partly full or, perhaps, partly empty. The level does seem to have moved. The debate is: by how much and who is responsible ? Regardless, talk of an Arabian spring is premature.

More than seven weeks after 8 million Iraqis courageously stared down the bombers and gunmen to vote in their first free elections in half a century, they still didn't have a proper government as their new National Assembly was scheduled to convene in Baghdad yesterday.

In the Lebanese capital the latest in a series of powerful tit-for-tat street demonstrations on Monday drew an estimated "million" protesters against Syrian occupation of their country and their lives.

It was a response to the "hundreds of thousands" of pro-Damascus demonstrators who took to the same streets last week to counter the "tens of thousands" who earlier had forced the resignation of the Syrian-dominated Lebanese cabinet and pushed the rattled Syrians to talk of withdrawing troops and spies from Lebanon.

Baghdad and Beirut, then, are two sides of the same coin.

The Baghdad impasse is a troubling reminder that elections don't necessarily guarantee democracy in communities in which religion and tribes have dominated for centuries. But at the same time, the Beirut marches are proof, just as potent as the Iraq and Afghanistan election turnouts, of a desire for change in the masses.

Writing in the Jerusalem Post, the Arab scholar Amir Taheri focused on this hunger: "... we are witnessing a new kind of citizens' movement, an Arab version of people power ... concerned ... with the real deficiencies of contemporary Arab societies. In almost every case the key demand is for a greater say for the people in deciding the affairs of the nation."

The difficulty now is sensing what any change today might deliver in the future. Some have likened what is happening in the Middle East to the sudden collapse of the Arab equivalent of the Berlin Wall. But as Thomas Friedman put it in The New York Times: "[It'll] fall one bloody brick at a time and, unfortunately, Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa and Solidarity are not waiting to jump into our arms on the other side."

## Too soon to talk of Arabian spring

Friedman dealt with the absence of agents of change, but looking into the future, Taheri addressed the more daunting presence of obstacles to change: "It is not at all certain that the ruling elites will have the intelligence to manage the difficult transition from autocracy to pluralism.

"Nor is it certain that the budding democratic movement would produce a leadership capable of mixing resolve with moderation. The deep-rooted Arab tradition of political extremism may prove harder to dissipate than one imagines."

President George Bush advisedly goes no further than claiming "a thaw has begun". But others are making triumphant claims of "victory", "vindication" and even "validation" on his behalf ... from his invasion of Iraq to his "freedom's march" rhetoric.

But this series of events in the Middle East, which is being packaged as an Arabian spring, is more a fluke of timing than what some would have us believe is Washington's excellent management of events. The Lebanese crowds took to the streets because of a murder that no one suggests was orchestrated by the US; and Palestinians had the opportunity to vote in January because of the death of Yasser Arafat.

Iraqis were able to go to the polls after their country was invaded on false pretences and on the insistence of the aged and bearded Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani who refused to see elections delayed. If it had been left to Washington, Iraqis now would have appointed (i.e. unelected) delegates writing up a new national constitution under US guidance and they would not have been to the polls yet.

Developments being hailed as democratic breakthroughs in Saudi Arabia and Egypt are more likely to be sops to Western demands for reform by two countries that are staunch US allies in what remains one of the most autocratic corners of the world.

The Saudi dictatorship claimed a brave new world in February when it allowed men only to vote for about half the membership of new municipal councils - the other half would be appointed by the regime. Despite the vast resources and authority in the hands of this immensely rich regime, Saudi officials insisted it just wasn't possible for women to vote as they had done in communities traumatised by decades of war and/or poverty in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak presented himself as a model of reform when he announced that instead of the rubber-stamp referendum that has endorsed him as the sole candidate for the presidency for more than 20 years, he would allow others to stand against him in a proper election in September - even as one of his likely opponents languished in prison (he was freed this week) amid speculation that Mubarak had other means at his disposal to block or weaken challengers.

And in a classic dog-eat-dog play, Riyadh and Cairo then tried to direct attention away from their own unsavoury pits by chorusing Washington's demand that Syria get out of Lebanon.

It might sound churlish, but ruthless head-choppers operate on both sides of the Arab fence - the Iraqi insurgents release videos; but walk into Riyadh's Chop Chop Square on the right day and you'll see hooded agents of a medieval regime doing it to wrongdoers before the public.

Elections alone, or the pale imitations offered by the Saudis or the Egyptians, are not enough. Arabs will not have the fruits of democracy unless they win the other freedoms that we take for granted - human rights, education, press, commerce and the rest.

It is instructive that while they are the Arab nations closest to the US, both the Saudis and the Egyptians languish on the bottom half of a regional Freedom Index published this week by the Economist Intelligence Unit.

The trouble in the region is, on the one hand nothing is as it seems; and on the other it all is exactly as it seems.

Bahrain is held up as an Arab democratic trend-setter, but despite allowing women to vote in parliamentary elections three years ago, three bloggers were jailed last month for insulting Bahrain's Sunni royal family and the 70

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per cent Shiite majority complains that an upper house whose entire membership is by royal appointment leaves it without a voice.

But be careful of what you wish for, too. Violence in Iraq is back to pre-election levels. Also, US officials are reportedly anxious that a post-poll momentum in Iraq is eroding.

The religious Shiites did best in the Iraqi election just as they did in the phoney polls in neighbouring Saudi Arabia; and, if they get the chance, they have the numbers and the backing to do well in Lebanon and Syria.

On US National Public Radio last week, Professor Fouad Ajami, of Johns Hopkins University, defended Bush by referring listeners to a November 2003 speech: "The President himself, in a startling mea culpa, said that for 60 years we had preferred stability, but we tried to buy stability at the expense of freedom, and it did not work."

Fast-forward 16 months and it's no surprise that Washington is waving a fist at Tehran and Damascus. But the autocratic Saudis, who keep order in the global oil market, still get reverential treatment; and the Egyptians, who broke ranks and signed a peace treaty with Israel, still collect \$US2 billion (\$2.53 billion) a year in US aid and play host to terrorism suspects whisked to their dubious care by the CIA.

Chris Toensing, the editor of Middle East Report, couldn't help noticing how Bush addressed the different people of the Middle East in his State of the Union address in February.

In Beirut's Daily Star he wrote: "Bush predicted that 'the victory of freedom in Iraq' would 'inspire democratic reformers from Damascus to Tehran' - the capitals of Syria and Iran. In those states that are 'against us', he expects that democratic change will come from the long-suffering populations.

"Saudi Arabia, on the other hand, 'can demonstrate its leadership in the region by expanding the role of its people in determining their future. And the great and proud nation of Egypt, which showed the way towards peace in the Middle East, can now show the way towards democracy in the Middle East'."

"In these allied, undemocratic states, Bush trusts the regimes to lead their benighted subjects on the road to redemption, just as previous presidents have always done, and always in vain."

The Bush rhetoric undoubtedly is a comfort to some in the streets of Beirut.

But the President didn't send an army to Baghdad for the sake of ordinary Iraqis' freedom, and the real test of his mettle will come if someone snaps in Riyadh or Cairo and mounts a savage crackdown on those who dare to go too far in their quest for freedom.

All Bush's talk of freedom and the veneer of human-rights pleading that now cloaks the failed case for war against Saddam Hussein put a heavy new responsibility on Washington. In 1991 George Bush snr did nothing as Saddam killed thousands who heeded American urging to revolt against Baghdad. And the Arab democracy advocates who emerged in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union were squashed by the regimes they sought to change as the world looked elsewhere in the 1990s. Neither can be allowed to happen again.

Now, thanks to September 11 and the much-maligned Al-Jazeera and the other new Arab TV channels, the region is transfixed by the fact that there was an election in Iraq. Others want some of what the Iraqis are having, but only time will tell if it is a step towards their future or their past.

Iraq without Saddam has yet to show that it might avoid ethnic and religious strife and descent into full-blown civil war.

Will Lebanon without the Syrians be any different to the terrible years of Lebanon without the French? Can life after Arafat really translate to life after Israeli occupation for the Palestinians?

Too often today's news cycles demand a 10-day assessment of the historical implication of events. But in the Middle East there is good reason, especially when the US is involved, to opt for a 10-year assessment.

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This is because apart from West Germany and Japan, only two of the 16 US-led efforts in nation-rebuilding in the last century - tiny Panama and Grenada without a barrel of oil between them - continued to function as democracies 10 years later.

## Lebanon

The murder of the former prime minister Rafik Hariri last month sparked displays of people power as street demonstrations demanded an end to Syrian occupation and forced the government to resign. Syria says it will withdraw but the timetable is unclear. Elections are scheduled for May.

## Iraq

The National Assembly elected in January met for the first time yesterday without any agreement on the shape or policies of what will be a Shiite dominated government. The US has 150,000 troops in Iraq. It could take a decade to deal with the insurgency.

## Palestinian territories

The election in January of President Mahmoud Abbas, to replace the late Yasser Arafat, has cleared the way for renewed talks with Israel. Abbas is seen as a democrat and reformist but as he attempts to negotiate a peace deal Palestinians

have registered strong support for the hardline Islamists of Hamas in municipal elections.

## Iran

Israel has failed to categorically deny reports that its leadership has authorised plans for air strikes on Iran's nuclear facilities. That prospect ups the ante in a

protracted European search for a diplomatic solution to concerns about Iranian nuclear weapons as an impatient US looks on.

## Syria

Following the demise of Saddam Hussein, Bashar Assad's is the last remaining Baathist regime. His intelligence agencies are accused of the Hariri murder. He faces further international isolation if he does not withdraw 14,000 troops from Lebanon and accusations of weakness at home if he complies.

## Egypt

President Hosni Mubarak's claim that he is prepared to face an opponent in the next

presidential election is also seen as a sop to the West. There are fears he will resort to other tactics, such as the registration of parties, to maintain his 26-year rule and

\$US2 billion-a-year aid cheque.

## Saudi Arabia

Last month's municipal elections were probably a sop to Western demands for democratic reform. Only men were allowed to vote. Official claims that there are insufficient trained staff or facilities for women to vote sound like cruel joke in

face of universal participation in polls in war-ravaged Iraq, unstable Afghanistan and

in the Palestinian territories.



Too soon to talk of Arabian spring

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## [Hellbent?](#)

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**Byline:** David Self

### **Body**

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Ideas and beliefs can become a focus for fanatics who are often prepared to die - and kill -for their cause. David Self examines the meaning of fundamentalism

Sky Television subscribers can, if they wish, tune to a channel called TBN.

The Trinity Broadcasting Network originated in the US but its recently launched European offshoot targets English speakers across the continent and in the Middle East. Colonialist in tone, it parades Christian Arabs talking about their conversion from Islam. Prayers (in English and Arabic) for further conversions are greeted by applause from an off-screen congregation. Some of its programmes encourage viewers to phone in. Its president, Paul Crouch, has a succinct way with anyone who challenges his Bible-based teaching. "God's goin' to shoot you if I don't! Don't even call me if you want to argue! Get out of my life! I don't want to talk to you! I don't want to see your ugly face!"

Since the 1960s, Christian television networks across the US (and now in Britain) have provided a platform for preachers expounding what they see as the fundamentals of their faith -which may or may not include Christian charity. Indeed, such preachers can be quite strong on hate. This is the message of Randall Terry, founder of the American anti-abortion movement:

"I want you to just let a wave of intolerance wash over you. I want you to let a wave of hatred wash over you. Yes, hate is good! Our goal is a Christian nation. We have a biblical duty, we are called by God, to conquer this country." Yet another speaker announced that, in order to win over the nation, "The sword as well as the pen must be used".

On September 11, 2001, Muslim fundamentalists took that dictum to its extreme. It is now difficult to open a newspaper without encountering the words "fundamentalism" or "fundamentalist". Frequently these words are used carelessly or casually -so much so that in this country, one paper, the Church Times has placed a moratorium on its use, usually preferring a term such as "extremist". In fact, dictionary definitions are precise: "Belief in the literal truth of the Bible; adherence to strictly orthodox religions or other, eg political, doctrines" (Chambers Dictionary); and "Form of Protestant Christianity which upholds belief in the strict and literal interpretation of the Bible" (New Oxford Dictionary). However, the latter definition is extended: "Strict maintenance of ancient or fundamental doctrines of any religion, notably Islam."

Dictionary definitions are, very properly, non-judgmental. In real life, it is much harder to be impartial. Those who hold fundamentalist beliefs have strong convictions, unshakeable faith and (often) great courage. They maintain what they see as historical truths and refuse to be swayed by the changing fashions of a decadent, secular world. They also have a confidence, stemming from their convictions. Liberals believe that fundamentalists promote

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ignorance and intolerance and that they insist on a doctrinal conformity resulting in a lack of love and compassion. At its worst, liberals argue, fundamentalism leads to an intellectual and physical terrorism that will plunge us into a new Dark Age. They cite news stories as disparate as the debate in American and British churches over gay clergy and attacks on abortion clinics, along with such atrocities as the Bali and Madrid bombings. Liberals can also point to a side effect: the adoption of religious language ("evil", "crusade") by political leaders. Indeed, the liberals do appear to have reason, justice and evidence on their side. But they also face a dilemma. Should they extend their tolerance to fundamentalists -or must liberals adopt an almost fundamentalist stance and join a political "war on terrorism"?

Fundamentalism is not a new concept. The term was coined in 1920 by Curtis Lee Laws, an American journalist. He used it to describe an "antimodern" Protestant movement which preached the literal truth of the Bible and the sinfulness of humankind; a movement which described these (and other tenets) as the "fundamentals" of faith. While modern Christian fundamentalism may have its roots in such American movements, its origins date back to the mid-18th century.

At that time, what were then known as the American colonies experienced a religious revival, during which numbers of highly effective if melodramatic preachers successfully frightened many people into becoming devout Christians by delivering powerful sermons describing the horrors of hell fire. This movement later became known as the First Great Awakening. A Second Great Awakening took place in the early years of the following century. This time, preachers offered salvation to those who "made a new start" or were prepared to be "born again". The next comparable (American) religious fashion was the "millenarian movement", its followers emphasising the literal truth of every word of the Bible and predicting the imminent Second Coming of Jesus. In 1902, millenarians were joined by other literalists to form the American Bible League, the movement that was to be described by Curtis Lee Laws as "fundamentalist".

It was a science teacher, John T Scopes, who next made the movement newsworthy. During the 1920s, fundamentalists had been campaigning against the teaching in schools of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution and the principle of natural selection (since they believed such theories contradicted biblical stories in Genesis). Their campaign led to laws being passed in 11 states, making it illegal to teach "Darwinism" in state schools. Scopes, who taught at a school in Dayton in Tennessee, broke the law. He was prosecuted, found guilty and fined \$ 100 -and his trial caused nationwide ridicule of fundamentalism. Even so, the law in Tennessee was not revoked until 1967.

Just as Darwinism was perceived as a threat to traditional faith, so too was communism. The 1950s saw the emergence of a new generation of evangelical and fundamentalist preachers, the most well-known being Billy Graham. Thirty years on, his successors were the televangelists such as Oral Roberts, Jim Bakker (whose followers were only a little shaken by revelations of his adultery and financial fraud) and Jerry Falwell, leader of a coalition opposed to social change, which became known as the Moral Majority.

Falwell's response to the attack on the World Trade Centre in New York is not unrepresentative of his views: "The abortionists have got to bear some burden for this because God will not be mocked. And when we destroy 40 million little innocent babies, we make God mad. I really believe that the pagans, and the abortionists and the feminists and the gays and the lesbians! all of them who have tried to secularise America, I point the finger in their face and say -you helped this happen."

A bleak irony lies in the fact that the tragedy was caused by fundamentalists even more fervent than Jerry Falwell. As with Christian fundamentalism, it is necessary to look back in history to discover the roots of today's Muslim fundamentalists (or Islamists). For 800 years, a tenet of Islam was the pursuit of knowledge, or ilm. Muslims led the world in science, medicine and mathematics. They built universities and hospitals, and developed algebra, trigonometry, spherical geometry and optics. They invented the test-tube and manufactured paper and irrigation tools.

But, from the period of the Crusades onwards, Muslim countries were colonised by western empires. The downfall of the Ottoman Empire left the Muslim world with no overall leader. In tandem with this process, ilm, which can be translated as both acquired and revealed knowledge, came to be more narrowly interpreted as the latter. The

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interpretation of the holy book, the Qur'an, became the preserve of religious leaders rather than questioning students. The result was a narrowing of the faith, a kind of introversion. It became acceptable, even the norm, to read the Qur'an in literal terms and to enforce its legal rulings (the shari'ah) harshly in some Muslim countries and regions such as Nigeria, the Sudan and the newly independent republic of Chechnya -sometimes resulting in severe penalties for adultery, theft and immodesty.

In such an atmosphere, continuing anger over western imperialism (and the exploitation of Middle Eastern oil) has bred deep anger. The response has been the rise of a modern fundamentalism: a desire to strengthen Islam by insisting on the "purest" form of the religion. In practice, Islamist fundamentalism varies from country to country. In Iran, women may drive cars and (with their husband's permission) go out to work. Under the fundamentalist Taliban regime in Afghanistan, women did not even have the right to basic education. The aims of Islamists also vary. For example, the aim of the Palestine resistance movement, Hamas, is simply to create an Islamic republic of Palestine. Al-Qaeda, under Osama bin Laden, has expressed a desire for one worldwide Islamic empire under central control.

Their different ambitions may be political but the movements are underpinned by support from religious fundamentalists.

Here we must return to the classic liberal dilemma. Where should liberals draw the line? Imagine a suburban vicar, standing in his or her Sunday pulpit, surveying a traditional middle-class congregation. In an attempt to arouse their faith and commitment, the preacher poses a favourite rhetorical question. "Suppose you lived in a country where it was illegal to be Christian. Would there be enough evidence to convict you?" The intentions are understandable - commitment, to the believer, is laudable.

But what if commitment becomes so complete, believers are prepared to lay down their lives for their faith -as suicide bombers?

It has been said there are elements common to all types of fundamentalism that are unacceptable to the majority. Fundamentalism is usually patriarchal and often misogynist. It has an unhealthy preoccupation with (and fear of) sexuality. It can be hypocritical. For example, Christian fundamentalists once quoted the Bible to preserve slavery - a point they rarely make today. Similarly, many have adjusted their convictions to accept the remarriage of divorced people (despite its condemnation by Christ), possibly because too many fundamentalists are themselves in this situation. With minorities (such as gays and lesbians), it is different - few of them are likely to be fundamentalists.

Fundamentalist teachings (such as those of some televangelists) sometimes take the form of verbal assault. They can also all too easily breed physical violence. Nor does fundamentalism tolerate diversity. Such tolerance is vital to peace and security, whether it is on a city centre street, within a nation state or on the wider world stage. Perhaps even more importantly (and unlike the founders of Christianity and Islam), it blocks progress and the search for new truths and ideas.

In Europe, it is tempting to be complacent. This continent, after all, has seen less overt fundamentalism than America's Bible Belt or Iran. But that is not to say that it is absent from British streets -and schools.

Earlier this year, a documentary on the BBC's black music digital station 1Xtra took us into some of the East London and Birmingham meeting places of young Muslims and revealed how many are taking increasing pride in a traditionalist heritage and embracing a strict morality. To be cool and trendy, a young Muslim male now needs to sport a hat, a beard and a shirt that covers his knees. The strictest among them reject television, western music and a society they see as morally lax. However, one 16-year-old boy in Whitechapel was also completely willing to give up his life for God: "My duty as a Muslim is to fight."

More than one commentator has suggested that, since it is impossible to convert fundamentalists (their creed tells them they are without error), the only way to counteract fundamentalism is through the development of critical thinking skills within secular schools. One such American commentator, Scott Bidstrup, suggests that the US has proved a fertile breeding ground for fundamentalism because, in his words, "the public education system has collapsed" -and because there is inadequate, objective teaching about the world faiths.

## Hellbent?

For Bidstrup, the answer is to teach critical thinking skills and logic; to help pupils to gather evidence and to make deductions from that evidence, rather than accepting given conclusions and then seeking biblical or Qur'anic evidence. This is particularly difficult to achieve in Muslim countries, especially those where shari'ah law holds sway, but the increasing numbers of Muslim modernists need support in their attempts to broaden ilm.

As well as such educational programmes, we might pursue what the British Chief Rabbi, Dr Jonathan Sacks, has termed "counter-fundamentalism". This ideal he defines as belief (rooted in the sacred texts) in the sanctity of human life and in human dignity -qualified by "the imperative of peace" and justice tempered by compassion.

Win or lose?

Fundamentalists win:

- \* By defining a precise and literal way that holy scriptures may be interpreted
- \* By directing their attacks at a particular group or activity
- \* By claiming they have long been excluded from leadership positions
- \* By insisting on their loyalty to historic truth
- \* By developing communication and even media skills
- \* By embracing any right-wing political drift and also the disaffected
- \* By being prepared to use violence to further their ends.

Liberals lose:

- \* Because of their lack of unity and sense of purpose
- \* Because they do not formulate a simple manifesto
- \* Because of a reluctance to enforce their views on others
- \* Because of their intrinsic moderation
- \* Because they waste time attempting to convert their opponents
- \* Because of a dislike of "getting involved"
- \* Because of a reluctance to use violence to further their ends.

**Load-Date:** November 20, 2004

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

April 20, 2004 Tuesday

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERSCARTOON; Pg. 18

**Length:** 2043 words

### **Body**

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Bowing to Bin Laden a dangerous precedent

It has actually happened. Spain has bowed to Bin Laden and his murderous cohorts and will be bringing their 1300 troops home within a fortnight.

What a dangerous message it sends. What an insult to the 191 people who were killed in Madrid, not to mention the people who died in Bali, Turkey and New York.

Bin Laden is sitting in his cave now formulating the next weak country to attack that will give in to his demands. Let us hope Mark Latham's comments do not give him ideas about Australia.

MATP

This is a dark day for the righteous and Spain should be ashamed of itself. I wonder what line of thought they will take when another terrorist attack occurs in Spain. A truce with terrorists? It is not possible.

Benjamin Burns, Mardi

I find it amazing that some countries are condemning Israel for killing the leaders of Hamas, a known terrorist organisation which is continually using suicide bombers to promote its cause.

Instead of criticising a country trying to defend itself, the world should be condemning the use of suicide bombers, no matter what the reason for their cause.

If there were no suicide bombers, Israel would not need to retaliate. Any country has the right to defend itself. If this was happening in any other nation I am sure the leaders of that country would retaliate exactly the same way.

D. McGrath, Fairfield

How to cut award shows in half

Could someone explain why actresses insist on calling themselves actors, but award nights -- such as the Logies, Oscars or Emmys -- have a separate category for best actress? Should there not be just one category for both male and female actors and thus reduce the length of award nights by half?

Brent Hudson, Wahroonga

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Is it just me, or does anyone else think we should re-name the Logies, "The Channel 9 Show"? It would have been nice to see stars from other networks interviewed on the red carpet, and not just every man and his dog from Nine.

Rebecca Murphy, City

Who cares who wins the Logies? It is only a promotion for a magazine. When the world is embroiled in a conflict that could change the fabric of our way of life, we have a bunch of no talent (so-called) actors and (not funny) comedians strutting around like prima donnas. We seem to have our priorities mixed up.

Henry Wechmann, Georges Hall

Hoon cameras

I see the usual argument for and against speed cameras is once again on the agenda. I would like to see some of these cameras placed not on the busy roads, but strategically aimed at the late night hooners that use suburban main streets as drag strips.

The police know exactly which streets I mean from the continued complaints they receive about this dangerous behaviour. After 10pm on any given Friday and Saturday in my area it is as if you are living in the middle of a race track.

D. Thompson, Concord

Knights' penalty

Just how many errors have to go unnoticed by on-field referees before common sense prevails in the NRL? Again we witnessed a thrilling match between the Roosters and Knights wind down in bitter circumstances due to a penalty that was not awarded to the Knights.

Steve Witt was unquestionably tackled without possession of the football, which would have created the ultimate finale for a then two-point game with only minutes left on the clock.

From the replay, there appeared to be no doubt that a penalty should have been forthcoming. From that point on, the remaining minutes belonged to the Roosters, who went on to register a 10-point victory under debatable circumstances.

When will the technology available finally be used to get the calls right? League teams, and fans alike, suffer bad calls week after week. It is up to the NRL to turn things around to make the focus of the game on the quality of play, not the quality of judgment.

Andrew Durnford, Lithgow

Fine mess we're in

The State Rail Authority has every right to fine people getting off an express train at certain stations. These are country trains for people travelling long distances to and from city work or appointments.

However there is a much bigger problem from May. All the trains on the Southern Highlands line will be terminating at Campbelltown and everyone will have no choice but to get on those already overcrowded and late suburban trains.

Pamela Colless,

Bargo

Your editorial (Daily Telegraph, April 16) states the SRA deemed it an offence punishable by a \$100 to get off an express train at certain stations. Perhaps your investigative skills are behind the times as this has been an offence

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

under the Railway Act from 1912. It was brought in to stop delays to express trains as passengers alighting do not take as much time as boarders.

Tony Snow,

Port Macquarie

Tree plan

Could Premier Bob Carr please comment on a whisper that is gaining momentum. Is the chopping down of 11 Port Jackson and Moreton Bay fig trees in the Domain part of a plan to widen Hospital Rd and construct another building to suit the needs of politicians? Mr Carr's comments would be very welcome.

Suellen Moore,

Allawah

Wrong day

If the State Government believes that Anzac Day is so sacrosanct that shops should not be trading during the march, why has it made the public holiday the day after rather than April 25?

John Ready,

Cronulla

What's news

1.The Governor Marie Bashir has been awarded an unexpected pay rise by the State Government. What is the amount of the increase?

2. A Sydney man has been awarded joint guardianship of a son he fathered through donated sperm. What is the institution that made the decision?

3. What is the name of the prominent member of the Iraqi governing council who has asked for Australian troops to stay on?

4. Three United Nations police officers died in a gun fight that followed an argument over the situation in Iraq. Where did it occur?

5. Rove McManus won the Gold Logie for the most popular television personality. Who won the Logie for the most popular actor?

6. If there was a merger, with what council would Leichhardt residents like to amalgamate?

ANSWERS

1: \$13,000 (\$12,917) per year. 2: The Family Court of New Zealand. 3: Ahmed Chalabi. 4: In Kosovo. 5: Aaron Jeffery, of McLeod's Daughters.6: City of Sydney.

Creating the Aussie dream

Geoff Brown, convenor of the ADI Resident Action Group wants the site to remain as it has been for the past 50 years (The Debate, April 19).

It is a shame Mr Brown does not think the same of the land his house is built upon, which was untouched for centuries. I have lived in the St Marys area for the past 30 years and would be only too happy to see this land



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

redeveloped so that future generations, including my children, can stay close to where employment opportunities are and, more importantly, where their families are already established.

The site has had a three-metre fence around it ever since I was a child and I, along with everyone I know in the area, have never been able to access the site.

I hope Lend Lease develops the site to its full potential and creates a suburb that can encapsulate what the western suburbs are all about -- "the great Australian dream" at an affordable price.

Graham Shute, Penrith

Wetlands and lagoons, a plethora of fauna and flora (some of it on the endangered list), this is the ADI site at St Marys, a treasure trove of nature as well as a national treasure for us all.

We must save the ADI site for future generations -- what will they say if they are obliged to live in an overdeveloped and polluted environment which Sydney is rapidly becoming?

Jean Lopez, Blacktown

### Heritage defiled

I am a resident of a heritage-listed Federation suburb in the inner-west of Sydney -- Haberfield to be exact. To paint a fence, to change a window or even to landscape your front garden means you are subjected to tight requirements imposed by council.

Yet all these efforts to maintain the heritage of this suburb, to beautify the area with restored nostalgic Federation-style dwellings and keep the aesthetic aspect of the area intact have been compromised by graffiti. Walls, bus shelters and shopfronts have been tagged by delinquents roaming the streets and Ashfield Council has done nothing to clean up the mess.

I have written to the council but have had no reply -- and it is not a priority for the police.

If the council is so intent on protecting the character of the area, why does it not do something immediately about these eyesores?

Angelo Ciaschetti, Haberfield

### Train door scare

Two years ago I was travelling on a CityRail train with my three month-old daughter in a pram. I was getting off at Kirrawee and I had the same nightmare situation as Sharon and Matthew McLean (Daily Telegraph, April 19). The train doors closed and trapped the pram. My partner had already gotten off the train and it had started to pull away.

My partner alerted the guard who stopped the train but then, very rudely, did not apologise. It also was in front of a tunnel and guard rail.

We complained to CityRail and were told that the CCTV showed the doors were closed too quickly by the guard, who had given us probably about five seconds to get off the train with the pram.

We were sent a cheque for \$100 which was fair enough, but an apology from the guard would have been better. Obviously she did not realise she had put my child's life at risk.

I hope your report makes guards pay more attention.

D. Young, Kirrawee

### Public not heard

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

At the invitation of one of the speakers, I went to Parramatta last Thursday to attend the public hearing conducted by the Senate on a future republic.

The tiny crowd consisted of four senators, Hansard reporters and an audience of 25, which included the speakers and media representatives.

From the floor, no comment or question was tolerated by the chairman, Senator Nick Bolkus, so many a howler went unchallenged.

Similar meetings for other states are proposed for working days, so the public does not seem to be wanted.

Oh, the submissions at the Parramatta meeting? Look forward to a "spaghetti and meatballs" political system.

K. McManus, Ashfield

To the point

Has Transport Minister Michael Costa taken into consideration the disabled when he makes the decision to fine taxi drivers who assist people through a private "network". I would like to put him in a wheelchair, making him completely dependent on taxis and see what he has to say then. There are not enough disabled taxis as it is without doing this.

Joan Sainsbury, Villawood

And I thought the liberation of East Timor was for humanitarian reasons, not oil. Silly me.

Dr Colin Hughes, Greenmount WA

Your comparison of Woolworths' price for pharmaceuticals with discount chemists (Daily Telegraph, April, 19) is misleading. The comparison should be made between Woolworths' prices and those charged by chemists that are not members of Pharmacy Direct, which is, after all, a discount pharmacy and not a retail business like the others.

Mrs K. Sugar, Baulkham Hills

It is disheartening to read disinformation purporting to be news, "Israel to keep seized land" (Daily Telegraph, April 16) should more accurately read "Israel to keep land captured from Jordan in a war of defence". The Gaza Strip was captured from Egypt in the same defensive war. Egypt was offered, but declined to take back, this land as part of a peace treaty. Jordan declined to take back most of the West Bank in similar circumstances.

Aaron Govendir, Dover Heights

Zero should be pronounced zero. not as "O". Zero is a digit, O is a letter. I have zero tolerance for this common mistake.

Sam Saidden, Parramatta

Kind words

Thank you to the trainers at the Job Find Centre, Parramatta, who have provided me with ongoing support to stay motivated after having completed a three-week extensive and intensive training program. It covered a broad spectrum of topics and from it I learned to believe in myself and to have the confidence to re-enter the workforce.

R. Halbreich, Westmead

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Letters should be no more than 250 words, clearly typed or neatly hand written. Name and address and phone number must be supplied for verification.

Letters may be edited.

**Load-Date:** April 19, 2004

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End of Document

## *Pity the prison officers with a professional task*

Yorkshire Post

March 29, 2004

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**Length:** 2240 words

### **Body**

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From: HH Greaves, Chester Avenue, Minstergate, Beverley.

Is it not astonishing that prison officers are being urged to show more respect to their charges, according to a report by Anne Owers, the chief inspector of prisons? (Yorkshire Post, March 25). As laudable as might be the intention of the report, I suggest that Anne Owers herself might benefit from serving as a prison officer, at the "coal-face" so to speak.

I believe that it is true that all serving police officers, including chief constables, are required to have served "on the beat"; and that applies even to the "fast-track" for speedy promotion of officers. Of course, there can be nothing wrong with the showing of respect to others, but that applies equally to the prisoners themselves. And it needs to be kept in mind that respect has to be earned.

Yorkshire Post

I suggest that the days when police and prisons' officers were recruited for their brawn rather than their brains, are long gone.

In a similar way, there was a time when some schoolteachers were attracted to the job for its unlimited and mostly uncontrolled opportunities to beat children, within the sanction of the law at that time.

Indeed, it is on record that many teachers accused of beating children excessively, were cleared of a charge of assault on the spurious grounds that the said beating was not given in passion. George Bernard Shaw once said: "Never beat a child except in anger".

Given that society no longer allows children to be legally beaten, does not mean that its legacy does not linger on. Beatings for some people is as addictive as smoking, and just as

hard to stop; and those afflicted tend to gravitate to jobs where power over other folk can be expressed.

Given that nowadays, prison officers are faced daily with potentially dangerous and violent people, they need to be highly trained in the arts of careful observation of human behaviour, so to avert precipitant acts of extreme violence, not only to protect themselves, but also the prisoners in their charge.

To my mind that makes these officers to be professionals in their own right, and worthy of being better paid as well as being valued by society. I should think the last need they have in doing their difficult jobs, is to be told by a few Miss Molly Coddles how to do the job itself.

### Pity the prison officers with a professional task

It ought to be remembered that by far the greater number of prisoners are those who suffered from bad upbringings from broken homes and from being brought up in institutional care.

More to be pitied than blamed, and regrettably, society has not yet found a responsive way to help these unfortunate people, to help themselves.

From: Frank Littlewood, Wylam, Northumberland.

How much respect did the men pictured in your newspaper show for the people, especially the women, they brutally murdered or abused?

I ask this question in response to the observations made by the chief inspector of prisons regarding the way they are treated in Wakefield Jail.

The truth is that many of these creatures have committed crimes that are totally unacceptable and put them way past worthiness of any mark of respect. The enormous cost of keeping them in prison is equally unacceptable: they should have been put down as soon as they were convicted. What purpose is served by keeping them locked up until they die? Surely it is kinder and less barbarous to do away with them, which clearly is what they deserve and which after all, let's face it, merely advances the date of their inevitable departure from this earth. And, of course, it ensures that should any of them by chance escape nobody else will become victims of their wickedness.

From: David Shepherd, Laburnum Grove, Gomersal, Cleckheaton.

So conditions inside Wakefield prison have been criticised by prison inspectors. Oh dear. Must be terrible for the poor criminal fraternity. My heart bleeds. Whatever the conditions inside Wakefield prison, or any other prison come to that, the way to avoid them is simply to abide by the laws of the land.

Why don't we punish the wrong-doers?

From: Mrs Jean Evans, Norton, Malton.

Why are we being subjected to a deliberate attempt to protect those who commit unsocial acts against law-abiding citizens?

In one news bulletin last week (March 25) we heard of teachers increasingly needing treatment for stress caused by violence from pupils and their parents, false accusations, and disruptive behaviour. No sanctions now exist to combat such things. The last resort is exclusion and then special arrangements have to be made to teach these people elsewhere.

Police are constantly being accused of "picking on" various racial groups and being brutal to them. There is no redress against these accusations unless it can be proved that they are misplaced. This takes valuable police time and frequently ends in the accusations being proved to be false.

No wonder violence country-wide is increasing if the rules do so little to punish wrong-doing in all areas.

Don't mourn this monster

From: Terry Palmer, South Lea Avenue, Hoyland, Barnsley.

What imbeciles are we being led by here in the UK ? Certainly not by "Lionhearts". Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the proven Muslim terrorist and Hamas organiser who sends suicide bombers to kill innocent people in Israel, is assassinated on the orders of Israeli Prime Minister Sharon and who is then immediately castigated by our Home Secretary Jack Straw, calling the killing "unlawful". Does that mean the killing of innocent men, women and children by these Muslim monsters is legal?

No doubt Yassin along with another Muslim monster, Osama bin Laden, when either caught or killed, will also be joining the ranks of Ben Gurion, Makarios, Mandela, McGuinness and Mugabe, all past terrorists all with

Pity the prison officers with a professional task

one intention, that of trying and actually killing innocent men, women and children but all now forgiven and lauded sickeningly by governments worldwide.

Remember Lockerbie, the Twin Towers and Madrid? Every death by the hand of a Muslim, every death an innocent one perpetrated by a so-called follower of Islam without any regret whatsoever.

Jack Straw then has the audacity to call the death of one of these monsters "unlawful"?

He must be joking, he certainly does not speak on behalf of the majority of Britain that's for sure.

Labour should support PR

From: Quentin Deakin, Newark Road, Crossflatts, Bingley.

Labour's defence of its oddly named mass "experiment" in postal voting has tried to shift the ground from the principles of balloting to the obstruction of the upper house. If it is true that the Lords are unelected, it is also the case that the withdrawal of secret balloting was not part of Labour's 2001 manifesto. Nobody voted for it.

Secret balloting was introduced in 1872 after 40 years of campaigning: a democracy that takes itself seriously should be saying to young people that voting is an assertive action, not a casual matter of form-filling.

If Labour was serious about democratic reform and reinvigorating the public it would be introducing PR for all elections and Mr Blair would be supporting proposals for a fully elected second chamber.

Time to teach obedience

From: H Marjorie Gill, Clarence Drive, Menston, Ilkley.

It is time that we the taxpayers fought back against the compensation culture which is spoiling life for so many of us by restricting activities.

Far from people suing councils and schools for accidents happening when against all the reasonable precautions taken by authorities, naughty children and careless adults experience accidents, surely it is time that courts meted out punishment by sending the children to attend obedience classes and parents given community work clearing up eyesores, etc.

Perhaps schools could do more by having obedience classes before expeditions and awarding points for good behaviour and refusing to take children who misbehave as this would prove to be for the benefit of all the others and be a salutary warning to the next generation.

It is a sad state of affairs that children should not experience the joys of adventure holidays because of the careless behaviour of a minority.

Courts should be instructed that only the most demonstrably careless management should give rise to compensation.

Why should the lives of teachers and scout leaders, etc

be blighted by the threats of court trials when they have devoted their lives to helping others?

Blair's handshake with a man of terror

From: Andrea Hill, Oxfam Campaigns, Yorkshire, Park Square East, Leeds.

In seeking to reward Colonel Gaddafi for turning away from terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, Tony Blair must not allow British weapons to become part of the terror and destruction that Gaddafi continues to spread across his own continent.

## Pity the prison officers with a professional task

Libya is one of Africa's most prolific and unscrupulous arms dealers, which has sold weapons that have fuelled some of the continent's worst conflicts. Despite this record Blair is reportedly pushing for a lifting of the EU arms embargo so that British companies can once again sell weapons direct to Libya. Unlike with terrorism or WMD, Colonel Gaddafi has shown no signs of cleaning up his act on arms exports. As recently as 2003 Gaddafi sold a plane full of weapons to indicted war criminal Charles Taylor of Liberia, in breach of the UN arms embargo. The fact that the terror wreaked by Gaddafi's conventional weapons does not reach our shores, does not justify turning a blind eye to the reality of the suffering it creates. Tony Blair must not allow Britain to become party to this terror by allowing British weapons sales to such a régime.

Let's withdraw from Iraq and concentrate on peace

From: David W Wright, Little Lane, Easingwold, North Yorkshire.

One year on from the start of the Iraq war and there are still no weapons of mass destruction, but the terrorism and conflict continues worldwide.

Bush and Blair struggle to find new ways of combating terrorism but they appear to have overlooked some very fundamental reasons for the hatred and fervour of the Islamist extremists who are determined to expel the Western coalition from their territories.

While the Israeli/Palestinian conflict remains unsolved and the Western powers occupy Iraq and Afghanistan, Islam has a constant excuse and justification for viewing the West as invaders and to reinforce the incompatibility of Islam and Christianity.

The only solutions to this serious situation is firstly to withdraw

our forces from Iraq and Afghanistan and handover to the UN - and also for Islamic countries to help in the supervision and rebuilding of democracy (the Islamic alliance, however, has

been notably missing during

the whole of this conflict); the Israelis should leave the West Bank and finally Europe should revert back to sealing their borders and stopping all illegal immigrants/ bogus visitors by returning them to their host countries immediately.

A final acceptance by Bush

and Blair that they have made a huge mistake over WMD would

help towards restoring their shattered credibility, and they can still pursue Al-Qaida and the terrorists legitimately for the

September 11 and Madrid atrocities. In the meantime, perhaps

the leaders of the Islamic

and Christian religions might

practise what they preach -- love and understanding between all peoples.

Points

Surgeon in

the soup

From: Barbara Raine, Marlborough Road,

Pity the prison officers with a professional task

Shipley.

Reading the item in your paper headed "Surgeon suspended over croutons", I was reminded of a former colleague who was wont to use the expression "I don't believe it".

I felt like shouting those exact words on learning that a leading brain surgeon had been suspended in a row over a soup meal!

Imagine the cost of paying his full salary during the time of the investigation - money which could otherwise be spent on treatment. Add to this the loss to patients

who will fail to receive necessary - possibly life-saving - treatment. We are all losers in these situations.

Sports

rackets

From: Pauline Brown,

Pasture Close, Leconfield, Beverley.

I agree wholeheartedly with recent correspondents regarding background music in TV programmes but wonder if anyone else finds just as annoying the positioning of outside broadcast reporters in close proximity to noisy traffic, stations, crowds attending sporting events etc, making it necessary for them to deliver their report at the top of their voice to overcome the

adjacent racket.

Some of the content of their commentary is inevitably drowned

out and is therefore pointless. With the amount of sophisticated equipment now available is it not

possible for them to move to a

quieter spot to speak while

continuing to show the accompanying film?

Rail blow

for pensioners

From: GN Lewis,

Newport, Brough, East Yorkshire.

I read recently that Bradford had been described as the meanest council for wanting to charge a charity market £2,000.

I think the East Riding of Yorkshire will now qualify for this title. As from next month they are to withdraw concessionary rail travel for pensioners. Travel passes will still be available for use on buses, but for rail travel pensioners are advised to buy a rail card costing £18.

This will only entitle them to a third off the cost of a ticket instead of a half reduction they are entitled to at present.

United

we stand



Pity the prison officers with a professional task

From: John Murray, Moorside Road, Honley, Holmfirth.

Now that we are proposing to unite with the rest of the EU in a fight against terrorism, does the UK Independence Party still think we would be better off standing alone, because, as we're British, the terrorists wouldn't dare to attack us?

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2004

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## *The Politics of Israel Studies*

The Chronicle of Higher Education

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### **Body**

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In recent years, few countries have caused as much controversy on college campuses as Israel. Since the second Palestinian uprising began, in 2000, petitions calling on universities to divest their holdings from the Jewish state and to boycott its scholars have circulated throughout the academy.

In 2002 Concordia University, in Montreal, banned all activities related to the Middle East after violent demonstrations led to the cancellation of a speech by Benjamin Netanyahu, a former prime minister of Israel. In 2004 security at commencement exercises at the University of California at Irvine was tightened in a dispute over the meaning of green stoles worn atop graduation robes by some Muslim students, who called the garments an expression of faith; Jewish students called them a sign of solidarity with Hamas, a Palestinian militant group.

The issue exploded at Columbia University last fall, after a student documentary accused professors in the Middle East studies department of intimidating pro-Israel students. Although the university found no evidence that faculty members had made anti-Semitic statements, the allegations sparked headlines in New York newspapers and prompted a member of Congress to call on the university to fire an assistant professor.

The concern that professors of Middle East studies, and not just those at Columbia, are teaching about Israel only in terms of the bitter Israeli-Palestinian conflict has prompted American Jewish philanthropists to dig deep into their wallets. In recent years they have sought to counter what they see as a pro-Palestinian propagandist view of Israel by endowing chairs, centers, and programs in Israel studies. Unlike Jewish studies, which focuses mainly on religious aspects of Jewish life, Israel studies teaches students about the country's economy, society, history, and culture, without focusing solely on the conflict.

"Imagine if in America there were only people who studied Russia in terms of the cold war, or France and Germany only in terms of their conflict with each other," says S. Ilan Troen, a professor at Brandeis University who holds the Stoll Family Chair in Israel studies. That "would be a gross distortion of what those societies are really about."

But it is the perception of the Arab-Israeli conflict on college campuses that led to the creation of Mr. Troen's chair at Brandeis, one of about a dozen universities in the United States where Israel studies is part of a center's or a faculty member's official title. Since 1997 such chairs and centers have been created at institutions including Emory University, American University, and the University of Denver. Although these professors readily acknowledge that politics has made their positions possible, they contend that they engage in objective scholarship, not pro-Israel advocacy.

## The Politics of Israel Studies

While allegations have been raised that anti-Israel bias pervades Middle East studies, the emergence of Israel studies raises serious questions about whether pro-Israel donors and scholars can resist waging a tit-for-tat battle with pro-Palestinian scholars. What's more, say some professors in Middle East studies, Israel already gets more than its share of scholarly attention.

### A Heated Discussion

Last month about 150 members of the Association for Israel Studies met here in Tucson for their annual conference. Although it was created in 1985 by scholars fed up with bias against Israel in the Middle East Studies Association, the group has no political litmus test for membership.

Few members have "Israel studies" in their formal titles, since such centers and chairs are relatively new. But professors in the association have been teaching aspects of Israel for years, and during a conference session titled "Teaching About Israel in the U.S.," they reveal how strongly they disagree about how to do it.

Standing before an audience of his colleagues in a hotel conference room, Ian S. Lustick says he has confirmed the perception that courses on Israel often focus on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Of the 34 syllabi he found on the Internet, Mr. Lustick, a professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania, found that 23 of them focused on the conflict.

In his talk, he explains how previous scholarship on Israel dealt with the success or failure of Zionism. In current scholarship, he argues, "Israel is now seen more as a function of the conflict than as the result of the Zionist blueprint." During his talk he refrains from commenting on whether that shift is good or bad. Later, during a question-and-answer session, he says that if there were "250 million Native Americans surrounding this country, with many of them in this country, I guarantee you 80 percent of the courses taught in this country would be about the conflict." Consequently, he says, focusing on the conflict in courses about Israel is the right thing to do.

Kenneth W. Stein takes strong exception. A fellow panelist at the meeting, he begins a tirade against what he agrees is the prevailing pedagogical approach to Israel in this country. "The teaching of Israel's history has been hijacked," says Mr. Stein, a professor of contemporary Middle Eastern history, political science, and Israeli studies at Emory University. "We've been captivated by this conflict. It's what pushes our teaching."

When was the last time someone read a biography of David Ben-Gurion, Israel's first prime minister, in a course about Israel? Mr. Stein asks, his voice rising. "What vocabulary do we use in instructing our students? 'Colonial,' 'racist,' 'apartheid,' 'Nazi-like.'" Mr. Stein says he never heard such words as a graduate student in Middle Eastern studies at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor in the late 1960s. Today, he contends, they come up in the classroom repeatedly.

Mr. Stein says he is arguing for balance. "We'd do a better job if we teach students how to think, not what to think," he says.

After he takes his seat, hands shoot up from the audience. The room is tense. One man says he would have liked to see the whole conference devoted to this subject. Another defends his university's decision to offer courses on the conflict; the topic is popular with students, he says. Another asks if Mr. Stein is telling them to teach the history of Zionism rather than current affairs, and then accuses him of being an ideologue.

"My argument is not that we not teach politics -- controversial aspects of Arab-Israeli relations," says Mr. Stein, on the defensive for much of the panel. Teaching the history of the country from 1860 to 1948 is just as important as teaching it from 1945 to the present, he says. "We need to ... put Israel not in a separate place in teaching, but into the context of Jewish history. It's part of the Jewish experience."

Then someone in the audience interrupts him, shouting, "It's also part of the Middle East!"

### Putting Up the Money

## The Politics of Israel Studies

American Jewish donors who are endowing the new chairs in Israel studies probably would not have been pleased with the focus of the discussion. The strong support for teaching Israel in terms of the conflict is exactly what they're fighting against.

"There is bias in numerous Middle East-studies departments, no two ways about it," says Richard S. Ziman, a trustee of the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Foundation. Last month the foundation pledged \$1-million to endow a chair in the new Israel-studies program at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Israel, says Mr. Ziman, is not adequately taught at most American or Western European universities. "Most of the things that are taught are current political affairs," he says. "It doesn't go deeper than that."

At New York University, the Marilyn and Henry Taub Foundation gave \$4-million three years ago to endow a chair and a center for Israel studies. Ronald W. Zweig, a former chairman of the Jewish-history department at Tel Aviv University, just finished his first academic year in the chair. He taught undergraduate courses on the history of Zionism and Israel and on Israel and American Jewry, as well as two graduate courses on the struggle for Israel's statehood. This fall he will also supervise two doctoral fellows in Israel studies.

An Israeli citizen, Mr. Zweig says that his own politics have nothing to do with his courses, and that he does not function as a classroom spokesman for the Israeli government. "I don't consider presenting the Israeli perspective as part of my job," he says.

Still, donors who are endowing these chairs have a strong interest in Israel. Mr. Taub is a past chairman of the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology, and Fred S. Lafer, the Taub foundation's president, is a former member of the executive committee of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Both men have degrees from NYU, and Mr. Taub sits on the university's Board of Trustees, so it was natural for the foundation to make the donation, Mr. Lafer says. Both men are also Jewish. "Israel is a player in the world," says Mr. Lafer. "We think it has a history worth learning about."

That history, Jewish philanthropists contend, will not serve as just a counterweight to how Israel is taught in Middle East-studies programs. "We are not saying there should be people, quote, 'on the other side' who go beyond the bounds of academic standards and are merely partisans in the classroom," says Michael C. Kotzin, executive vice president of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago. It will contribute \$300,000 to a new postdoctoral-fellowship program on modern Israel at Northwestern University, which will bring visiting Israeli scholars to campus, possibly as early as next fall.

Donors view Israel studies as an academic discipline, says Mr. Kotzin. "Yes, we do have political concerns about the subject matter," he says. But "we're not using the word 'balance.' It would be an alternative to what certain people are doing. But for us the value transcends its simply being an alternative."

Special Attention?

Some professors question whether the rise of Israel studies reflects only a scholarly quest.

Proponents of the new chairs "would like ... the academic study of Israel to be commensurate with the attention, special attention, that Israel receives in the United States, particularly in U.S. foreign policy," says Ali Banuazizi, a professor of psychology at Boston College and president of the Middle East Studies Association.

Israel probably has not received sufficient attention as an independent country within his own association, he acknowledges.

Members of the Association for Israel Studies have accused the Middle East-studies group of rejecting papers that did not present Israel as a colonialist, imperialist power. Mr. Banuazizi, however, says he is not aware of any papers or panels that have been rejected for that reason. "We haven't exercised that kind of censorship," he says. "I hope we never will. Israel is a party to a conflict. Of course you'd expect Israel to be mentioned."

## The Politics of Israel Studies

Israel is not, however, taught predominantly in terms of the conflict, asserts Rashid Khalidi, director of Columbia's Middle East Institute: "Anyone who says that obviously has their head in the sand," expressing "partisan views by people who are ignorant. The number of courses on Israel, not the conflict, per capita in terms of Israel's size, is enormous." That base of support, he says, is something "people in Turkish studies, in Iranian studies, would kill for. Over 100 kids are studying Hebrew here. That's certainly a lot."

Because the study of Israel in the United States has become "a study of our story versus your story," says Emory's Mr. Stein, he has reservations about the growth in the number of Israel-studies chairs, even though he holds one himself. Universities should avoid hiring polemicists and look for people who will teach the story of how Israel came into being and how Israeli society has handled immigration, he says. There are "lessons to be learned from Israel's experience that have application elsewhere that have nothing to do with the struggle."

It is true that modern Israel has not been given a due place on university campuses, Mr. Stein says, but "it's not correct to say the only reason why it hasn't is because Middle East-studies centers have decided it's not important."

In the 1960s, black studies, women's studies, and Jewish studies began to emerge. American Jewish donors who gave money to Jewish-studies programs, however, wanted them to focus on the Holocaust, not Israel, says Mr. Stein. They were themselves Holocaust survivors or had relatives who did not survive. "They wanted their names remembered," he says.

Today American Jewish donors have a different agenda, he argues: They are not endowing chairs to study what modern Israel did to change Jewish identity, he says. They are asking if Israel studies can be "used as a platform to promote Israeli identity on campus, ... to shape a different view of the conflict."

Martin S. Kramer says the answer to that question is no. Israel studies "creates a ghetto," says the author of *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America*. It "essentially absolves existing departments and programs from having to include Israel studies" and "deal with Israel in a way that's pragmatic and fair."

For years Mr. Kramer, a senior associate at the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University, has argued that scholars of the Middle East are biased against Israel. "I don't think you can bury these programs and chairs in a bunker deep enough to protect them from what goes on in Middle East studies," he says.

He points to the new Israel-studies chair being established at Columbia as an example. There, just looking for someone to hold the chair has revealed the political fault lines that plague the field. Four Columbia trustees, all of them Jewish, have pledged more than \$3-million for the position. Lee C. Bollinger, Columbia's president, suggested the idea two years ago, says Mark E. Kingdon, one of the contributors. The president, Mr. Kingdon says, felt that while the university offered excellent courses in Jewish studies, it did not adequately cover modern Israel.

While the decision to create the chair came well before the controversy over Middle East studies at Columbia, the appointment of the search committee has created a minor controversy of its own. The six-member committee includes two scholars known for their pro-Palestinian views: Mr. Khalidi and Lila Abu-Lughod, a professor of anthropology, who signed the petition seeking Columbia's divestiture from Israel.

Mr. Kramer and others contend that with anti-Israel academics on the committee, the search will not be fair.

The panel's chairman says that's absurd. "Both Professor Khalidi and Professor Lughod will act totally professionally, whatever their political statements outside the classroom," says Michael Stanislawski, a professor of Jewish history. "Like the other members of the committee, they have political opinions. We're not going to base our academic decisions on anyone's political opinions."

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## *The Clash Over Middle East Studies*

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### **Body**

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Brandeis University plans to open a Center for Middle East Studies this fall that, officials there say, will be free of bias.

It will not be solely focused on the Arab-Israeli conflict, which is what most centers pay attention to, says Jehuda Reinharz, the university's president. And it will be "ideologically free," he says, "to the extent we can make that possible."

But offering a program in Middle East studies whose ideology offends no one may prove to be no less difficult than dividing an ancient homeland between two warring peoples.

Scholars of Middle East studies today find themselves in the middle of a war of ideas as politically charged as the region they study. The discipline's critics, often conservative supporters of the Bush administration, have denounced the programs as anti-American and anti-Israeli and have called for the creation of an advisory board to review them. The U.S. House of Representatives has already passed a bill to create such a board; the Senate will consider the measure within the next few months. Many faculty members and administrators, however, argue that such a board would curtail their academic freedom.

At the center of the debate is what the centers actually do, whom they are training, and what they are training them for.

#### Legislating Cultural Diversity

The first stone was cast in June, when Stanley Kurtz, a research fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, told a House subcommittee that many academics in Middle East studies were biased against U.S. foreign policy and discouraged students from entering government service.

The influential postcolonial theory of Edward Said, the late Columbia University professor of English, promotes the idea that "it is immoral for a scholar to put his knowledge of foreign languages and cultures at the service of American power," Mr. Kurtz told the subcommittee. The centers, many of which receive funds under Title VI of the Higher Education Act -- generally three-year grants of no more than \$500,000 -- rarely balance Mr. Said's work with that of scholars who disagree with him, Mr. Kurtz said.

The centers should correct that imbalance, he said, or else risk losing federal money. "Unless steps are taken to balance university faculties with members who both support and oppose American foreign policy, the very purpose of free speech and academic freedom will have been defeated," Mr. Kurtz told the panel.

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His testimony helped persuade the House last fall to pass HR 3077 unanimously. The bill would create an advisory board to ensure that foreign-language and area-studies programs that accept federal funds "reflect diverse perspectives and the full range of views on world regions, foreign languages, and international affairs."

The board, made up of political appointees, would review the programs but not run them. Three members of the board would be named by the secretary of education, and one each by the majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate. "Nothing in this title shall be construed to authorize the International Advisory Board to mandate, direct, or control an institution of higher education's specific instructional content, curriculum, or program of instruction," the measure says.

Professors of Middle East studies fear not what such a board is supposed to do, but what it would try to do.

Amy W. Newhall, executive director of the Middle East Studies Association, says advisory boards in other programs, like that of the National Science Foundation, function as peer-review panels -- made up of academic experts in the field -- and so should the Title VI board. Otherwise, she says, political appointees, lacking expertise in Middle East affairs, would fall back on their particular political biases instead of any real knowledge when reviewing the centers.

Although the bill's language forbids the board to control curricula, the "potential for meddling is still very great," says Ms. Newhall, an assistant professor of Near Eastern studies at the University of Arizona. "Proponents certainly see it as intrusive." In fact, she says, "they're looking forward to it."

Mark Smith, director of government relations at the American Association of University Professors, says the presence of an advisory board would intrude on academic freedom and create "a huge, intimidating force over curriculum decisions, books chosen," and "approaches taken to the subject." Professors, and not legislators, he says, should be the ones responsible for determining course content.

Nezar AlSayyad, chair of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of California at Berkeley, says the idea for the advisory board is part of an effort by the Bush administration to wrest more control over what gets said in academe and in the news media.

"We get money from the federal government," he says. "That does not mean we do what the federal government says. As academics, we have academic freedom. That's our God-given right. Being in the academy means that we're allowed to form opinions actually based on intellectual discourse, not on political position."

### A Particular Need

Area-studies centers were first created during the cold war, when the United States decided that it needed to know more about the languages and cultures of the rest of the world, including the Middle East.

Of the 118 area-studies centers receiving Title VI funds from the U.S. Department of Education, only 17 focus on the Middle East, up from 14 in 2001. Their areas of study usually include the Arab countries, Iran, Israel, and Turkey.

The House bill applies to all area-studies programs, including those on Russia, Latin America, and Southeast Asia. But Middle East studies gained new relevance -- and a bigger audience -- after September 11, 2001. There is little doubt that the bill is aimed squarely at Middle East studies.

Arizona's Ms. Newhall says she saw the enrollment in her class, "Middle East Humanities," jump from about 250 students before the terrorist attacks to 400 this fall. Jon Mandaville, director of the Middle East Studies Center at Portland State University, in Oregon, says his first-year Arabic-language class has grown from 19 students before 2001 to 50 students this year.

Neither of those classes is taught at a Middle East-studies center. The centers can use their Title VI funds to pay only for language instruction, fellowships for graduate students, and special lectures and discussions. Courses themselves are carried on by language or history departments. In fact, some professors and administrators at the



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centers scoff at the idea of a review board, noting that lectures about such subjects as 19th-century Moroccan poetry shouldn't need reviewing.

In December 2001, Congress added \$20-million to Title VI, which governs foreign-language and area-studies programs, mostly for Middle East and Central and South Asia studies. The total budget now stands at \$95-million. A report that accompanied the appropriations bill said that the purpose of the increase was to produce more Americans with expertise on the Muslim world.

It "wasn't to generate 25 more professors," says Martin Kramer, editor of *Middle East Quarterly* and a proponent of the review board. "Title VI was supposed to increase the number of graduate students working in Muslim areas, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia, from 200 to 400." The hope was that these people would then go into government service, he says.

But Middle East-studies professors often dissuade graduate students from pursuing careers in national security and discourage scholarly work on terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism, says Mr. Kramer. "The message being sent is [that] doing anything related to Islamic extremism or groups that perpetrate terror is 'terrorology,' and that's not what we do," he says.

Mark Tessler, a professor of political science at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor who edits a series of books on Middle East studies, disputes Mr. Kramer's contention by ticking off several of the titles published this year by Indiana University Press. They include *Islamic Activism: Exploring Political Violence in Algeria*, *Hamas in Palestine*, and *Islamic Women in Yemen*.

"The notion that [these centers] are not doing their job and that they're soft on terrorism and anti-Israel -- that is just not the case in my experience," says Mr. Tessler, a former director of the Middle East Studies Center at the University of Arizona. He earned his Ph.D. from Northwestern University, lived in Israel for more than three years, and studied at Hebrew University of Jerusalem during one of them.

### Taking the Money

Rashid Khalidi, director of Columbia University's Middle East Institute, contends that critics of the field are actually intent upon a "witch hunt." Mr. Khalidi, a professor of Arab studies at Columbia, has faced considerable scrutiny already. Some critics routinely accuse him of support for Palestinian terrorists and prejudice against Israel. This is the same group, he says, that has convinced House Republicans that there is gross bias against the United States and Israel in Middle East studies.

Mr. Khalidi doesn't know whether Columbia's institute will continue to seek federal money if an advisory board is created. "It depends on the language," he says. If the board "did have the kind of prosecutorial intent to search out malfeasance that is presumed but does not exist, that would be objectionable," he says. "The university might feel this was political infringement on academic freedom."

Kenneth D. Whitehead, a former director of educational programs at the Department of Education, says academe's concerns are unfounded. For eight years in the 1980s, he was executive director of a Title VI advisory committee. In 1987, the Reagan administration and Congress agreed to eliminate several advisory panels, including the one for Title VI.

The decision was made for financial reasons, says Terry W. Hartle, a senior vice president at the American Council on Education. "The federal government was running a budget deficit," and "each advisory board cost \$500,000," he says. The move to disband the Title VI board created no controversy, he adds, and it died quietly.

Mr. Whitehead, a career Foreign Service officer who speaks Arabic, says that during his tenure with the board, two university presidents led it, and that one of its members was John R. Silber, Boston University's chancellor. Also holding seats were representatives of all of the federal agencies with an interest in Title VI, he says.

The old board's purpose, not unlike that of the newly proposed version, he says, was "to promote competent language-area specialists to serve the needs of the United States."

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"It's not a scary thing," he says. "What does whether or not you're competent in Arabic or Chinese or Farsi have to do with academic freedom?"

If the centers are worried, he says, "maybe they shouldn't be taking the money."

Mr. Mandaville, at Portland State, doesn't yet know whether his center, which has received Title VI funds off and on since it opened, in 1961, will reapply for the money. He would rather receive it without strings. The next grant competition is set for the fall of 2005.

To him, the language of HR 3077 implies that a center's Title VI support is conditional on "the committee's potential review of your program, whether it serves national security interests."

In the past 20 years, about half of the students who have completed Portland State's undergraduate program in Middle East studies, which graduates 7 to 10 students each year, have gone on to government service, he says. The rest have gone to graduate school.

"We do serve the national interest," Mr. Mandaville says. "We always have. We don't need Congress to tell us to do this."

If the legislation passes the Senate and becomes law, he says, then "we become subject to the whims of whatever administration is in power," and to shifts in whatever part of the world dominates the news.

For now, Brandeis officials say only that they are unsure whether they will seek federal support for their new center. But the university's president, Mr. Reinharz, has some idea of one subject the program should focus on -- the study of Islam.

Plenty of think tanks and academic centers already deal with the subject of terrorism, he says. An examination of Islam, however, does belong in the new program's work, he says. Islam is "not by definition a fundamentalist religion," he says. "All religions have fundamentalist elements. Clearly it's of major concern today."

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**Online and Even Near Home, a New Front Is Opening in the Global Terror Battle**

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## **Body**

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The flags that sprouted after the Sept. 11 attacks still flap on lawns and flutter on poles outside well-tended homes here, about 15 miles from Manhattan. Looming above them is a concrete tower that houses a real-estate firm, an office supplies company -- and, until recently, investigators fear, an outpost of Al Qaeda.

On the second floor, an Internet company called Fortress ITX unwittingly played host to an Arabic-language Web site where postings in recent weeks urged attacks against American and Israeli targets. "The Art of Kidnapping" was explained in electronic pamphlets, along with "Military Instructions to the Mujahedeen," and "War Inside the Cities." Visitors could read instructions on using a cellphone to remotely detonate a bomb, and one even asked for help in manufacturing small missiles.

"How can this be?" asked Cathy Vasilenko, who lives a few doors away from the Fortress ITX office. "How can this be going on in my neighborhood?"

Federal investigators, with the help of a small army of private contractors monitoring sites around the clock and across the world, are trying to find out. Ever since the United States-led coalition smashed Al Qaeda's training grounds in Afghanistan, cyber substitutes, which recruit terrorists and raise money, have proliferated.

While Qaeda operatives have employed an arsenal of technical tools to communicate -- from e-mail encryption and computer war games to grisly videotapes like the recent ones showing beheadings believed to have been carried out by Jordanian militant Abu Musab al-Zarqawi -- investigators say they worry most about the Internet because extremists can reach a broad audience with relatively little chance of detection.

By examining sites like those stored inside the electronic walls of the Clifton business, investigators are hoping to identify who is behind them, what links they might have to terror groups, and what threat, if any, they might pose. And in a step that has raised alarms among civil libertarians and others and so far proven unpersuasive in the courtroom, prosecutors are charging that those administering these sites should be held criminally responsible for what is posted.

Attempting to apply broad new powers established by the Patriot Act, the federal government wants to punish those who it claims provide "expert advice or assistance" and therefore play an integral part of a global terror

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campaign that increasingly relies on the Internet. Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, in testimony before the House Armed Services Committee recently, called such Web sites "cyber sanctuaries."

"These networks are wonderful things that enable all kinds of good things in the world," Mr. Wolfowitz said of the Internet. "But they're also a tool that the terrorists use to conceal their identities, to move money, to encrypt messages, even to plan and conduct operations remotely."

Many question the government's strategy of trying to combat terrorism by prosecuting Web site operators. "I think it is an impossible task," said Thomas Hegghammer of the Norwegian Defense Research Establishment, an agency that monitors the use of the Internet by Al Qaeda. "You can maybe catch some people. But you will never ever be able to stem the flow of radical Islamic propaganda."

He pointed out that it is difficult to distinguish between a real terrorist and a make-believe one online. "You would end up prosecuting a lot of angry young people who do this because it is exciting, not because they want to actually participate in terrorist attacks," he said. "I don't think it helps you fight Al Qaeda."

The government faces many hurdles in pursuing virtual terrorists. While many militant Islamic message boards and Web pages reside on computer servers owned by North American Internet companies, outfits like Fortress ITX say it would be impractical -- and unethical, given that the company sells server space to clients who then resell it -- for them to keep track of all of the content stored within their equipment.

"It is hideous, loathsome," said Robert Ellis, executive vice president of Fortress, after viewing postings from the Abu al-Bukhary Web site his company hosted. "It is the part of this business that is deeply disturbing." His company shut down the site within the last month after learning of it from a reporter. The intense focus on Muslim-related sites like Abu al-Bukhary, in an era when domestically produced anarchist manuals are commonly available on the Web, has provoked charges that the anti-cyber sanctuary effort is really a misguided anti-Muslim campaign that is compromising important First Amendment rights.

This effort "opens the floodgates to really marginalizing a lot of the free speech that has been a hallmark of the American legal and political system," said Arsalan Iftikhar, legal director for the Council on American-Islamic Relations. "Globally it really does nothing but worsen the image of America in the rest of the world."

### Tracking Cyber-Terror

The detective work begins in a northeast city in a compact office set up by a self-proclaimed terrorist hunter. This is the headquarters of Rita Katz, an Iraqi-born Jew whose father was executed in Baghdad in 1969, shortly after Saddam Hussein's Baath Party came to power.

Finding terrorists has become a crusade for Ms. Katz, who began going to pro-Palestinian rallies and fund-raisers disguised as a Muslim woman in the late 1990's, then presented information to the federal government in an effort to prove there were ties between Islamic fundamentalist groups in the United States and terror organizations like **Hamas** or Al Qaeda.

Federal agencies, including the National Security Agency, the F.B.I. and the Department of Homeland Security, monitor suspected terror sites on the Internet and sometimes track users. Private groups like Ms. Katz's Search for International Terrorist Entities Institute and The Middle East Media Research Institute are also keeping track of the ever-changing content of these sites. Ms. Katz's institute, which relies on government contracts and corporate clients, may be the most influential of those groups, and she is among the most controversial of the cyberspace monitors. While some experts praise her research as solid, some of her targets view her as a vigilante. Several Islamic groups and charities, for example, sued for defamation after she claimed they were terrorist fronts, even though they were not charged with a crime.

Sitting under wall maps of Europe, the Middle East and the United States -- including one pinpointing locations of suspected terror cells or possible supporters -- Ms. Katz and her team of computer technicians and researchers spend their days searching the Internet for any new messages from militant groups and new addresses for terror

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sites. Her institute, based in a city she does not disclose, also has a small crew in Israel, which allows the organization to monitor sites around the clock.

"We are trying to think the way terrorist organizations think," said Ms. Katz, "The Internet today has become a front in the war itself."

Keeping tabs on these jihadist sites -- several hundred exist -- requires vigilance, as videos and statements uploaded by different groups often appear only briefly. A recent Tuesday was a particularly busy day. The Islambouli Brigade, a militant Islamic group, turned to one popular message board site called islamic-minbar.com, operated out of the Netherlands, to release the names of two women it said were responsible for the Aug. 24 explosions of two Russian planes and to claim responsibility for an attack at a Moscow subway station. "When we pledge to avenge our Chechen brothers, we do not break our promise," the Aug. 31 posting said.

Jaish Ansar al-Sunna, a group that has surfaced in Iraq, posted a video on its Internet site showing the bodies of 12 Nepali contractor workers who it had taken hostage and killed. The site was taken down that same day, but then reappeared on a computer server of a Utah-based Web hosting company.

While staffers at Ms. Katz's office rushed to translate these postings, others were busy snooping by using a special software program to electronically suck up more than 15,000 computer files from a Web site, or referring to a custom-made database to identify sites with common administrators, an assignment initiated by a government request. This week, they watched postings on the Web site Ansarnet.ws/vb alerting followers that a hostage had been killed, then directing them to a video showing the beheading of an American engineer held hostage in Iraq.

A crucial question, of course, is whether a site is simply offering inspirational rhetoric or is genuinely linked to terror strikes. Often, Web site exhortations are followed by acts of violence, but that doesn't necessarily mean they are connected.

In late May, for example, shortly after a kidnapping guide appeared on an online magazine called Al Battar, a wave of kidnappings and beheadings started in Saudi Arabia and Iraq. Last December, a 42-page essay published on a Web site called Global Islamic Media observed that "the Spanish government could not tolerate more than two, maximum three blows, after which it will have to withdraw as a result of popular pressure" from Iraq. Three months later, bombs tore apart trains in Madrid, resulting in the eventual departure of Spanish troops from Iraq.

In Clifton, the digital images and terrorist manuals from Abu al-Bukhary's site resided, like data from thousands of other Internet pages hosted at Fortress ITX, inside a sprawling computer room. Pointing to the wall of boxes with blinking lights, Fortress executives said they did not know who controlled most of the Web sites on their servers, as they sell space to clients who then resell it to countless others. "It is like an orange you buy at the supermarket," Mr. Ellis said. "Try figuring out what farm that came from."

### Strategy of Prosecution

Knocking militant groups off the Internet for a day or two by urging individual Web hosting companies to shut down the sites didn't accomplish much, Ms. Katz believed. So the government, in an unusual alliance with Ms. Katz, has been testing a different strategy in the last year.

Sami Omar al-Hussayen would be their first target. The 35-year-old father of three had arrived at the University of Idaho in 1999 to pursue a doctorate in computer science. In his spare time, Mr. Hussayen, who lived in Moscow, Idaho, established a series of Internet sites with names like liveislam.net or alasar.ws ("the generation") and served as a regional leader of the Islamic Assembly of North America, a group that described itself as a charitable organization, but which prosecutors said recruited members and instigated "acts of violence and terrorism."

Along with news from the Middle East and interviews with scholars, the sites included more disturbing information. Videos displayed the bodies of dead suicide attackers as a narrator declared "we had brethren who achieved what they sought, and that is martyrdom in the cause of Allah." Requests were posted for donations to Chechen groups

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that were trying to "show the truth about Russian terrorism." Clerical edicts appeared on topics including "suicide operations against the Jews."

The Justice Department, which declined to comment for this article, did not claim that Mr. Hussayen had authored the most militant items. Instead, by registering the Web sites, paying for them and posting the material, he was charged with providing material support to a banned terrorist group.

But Mr. Hussayen's lawyers said their client was expressing his free-speech rights. The Internet is the modern equivalent of the soap box, said David Z. Nevin, one of the lawyers. "They were wildly too zealous," Mr. Nevin said about Ms. Katz and the Justice Department. "This was not within a country mile of the kind of behavior that this nation has any business trying to criminalize."

The jury was unconvinced by the government's case, and acquitted Mr. Hussayen in June after a monthlong trial. "We went through files and files and files of evidence -- transcripts of telephone calls, bank statements, all the e-mails, information from the Internet -- and we could not substantiate that he was directly involved with a terrorist organization," said Claribel Ingraham, one of the jurors. "It just wasn't there."

The setback in Idaho has not stopped the government from pursuing similar cases. In late July, a warrant was issued in Connecticut for Babar Ahmad, resulting in his arrest in London Aug. 5. The 30-year-old computer technician at a London college is accused of setting up Internet sites from 1997 to 2003, most prominently azzam.com, to recruit terrorists and raise money for them. "If you're going to use cyberspace, we're there and we're paying attention," said Kevin J. O'Connor, the United States Attorney from Connecticut, after Mr. Ahmad's arrest.

The trial has not started -- the United States is trying to persuade British authorities to extradite him -- but already Muslim groups and civil libertarians in Britain are assailing the case. In a letter from his prison cell that was posted on the Internet, Mr. Ahmad asserted that he was imprisoned "to strike terror and fear into the hearts of the docile, sleeping Muslim community."

Ms. Katz said she was not discouraged by the criticism of the prosecutions. "When you call for the death of people and then it results in actions -- that is beyond the First Amendment," she said. "You are organizing a crime."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Rita Katz heads an institute that monitors Web sites around the clock for clues to the plans of terrorists. (Photo by Sabina Louise Pierce for The New York Times) Chart: "Seeking Clues to Terror Online" As federal investigators examine Web sites they suspect of having links to terrorist groups, investigators are warning that the sites' creators and administrators could be held responsible for what they post. A look at three sites that have come under scrutiny: AZZAM PUBLICATIONS -- [www.azzam.com](http://www.azzam.com) OVERVIEW -- Web site that offered articles, photos and videos about Muslim issues focusing in particular on Afghanistan, Chechnya and Bosnia and frequently urged readers "to undertake military and physical training for Jihad." INTERNET SERVER HOST -- California Regional Internet Inc. of San Diego. Site is no longer active

its creator has been arrested. ABU AL-BUKHARY -- [www.abualbukhary.net/vb/](http://www.abualbukhary.net/vb/) OVERVIEW -- Internet message board, part of a larger site that features forums on a variety of topics including current events, literature and prayer, as well as extensive sections focused on military studies where terrorist tactics and equipment are discussed in detail. INTERNET SERVER HOST -- DedicatedNow division of Fortress ITX of Delawanna, N.J., until it was taken down within the last month. AL BATTAR -- [www.hostinganime.com/sout19/index.htm](http://www.hostinganime.com/sout19/index.htm) OVERVIEW -- Web site

## Online and Even Near Home, a New Front Is Opening in the Global Terror Battle

that is the posting board for Al Battar, a biweekly electronic magazine that describes itself as a product of the military committee of Al Qaeda and offers detailed advice on kidnapping, firing shoulder-mounted missiles and building hideouts.INTERNET SERVER HOST -- Hosting Anime, address unknown.

**Load-Date:** September 23, 2004

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## *Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers*

Yorkshire Post

August 30, 2004

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**Length:** 2260 words

### **Body**

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From: Paul Samways, Queens Street, Skipton.

Here we go again. Farmers are seeking a crumb of comfort, writes Chris Berry (August 26), and this time it's because the weather is too wet. Is this the same crumb they seek when it's too dry? Or too hot, or too cold?

Now I'm not aware that "weather" is something unique to farmers, so why are they alone to be regarded as a "special case"? Among others presently suffering are those making sunglasses, swimsuits, flip-flops, anti-perspirants, plus their suppliers and all those who retail the finished articles. Ice cream and candy floss sales will be down, as will takings at the launderette because there is less washing to be done for the local holiday B&B.

Probably skin cancer will reduce, so drug companies will be out of pocket. Let's give them all a fat cheque from our taxes - and while we're at it, set up a couple of government departments with a few thousand more civil servants to administrate the money, fund advisers, initiate surveys and publish long studies.

Yorkshire Post

I can immediately offer Mr Berry and his fellow farming apologists five industries that are "attracting poorer prices for their primary products than two decades ago" - car manufacturing, electronics, domestic appliances, air travel, clothing. The difference is that they have learned to operate efficiently and make the best of the cards they are dealt, while our farmers just sit on the emotional high ground - and a few billion pounds of assets - and claim not to be businesses at all. As a result, they are excepted as a "special case" from just about every rule in the land, from inheritance to State Aid.

There is no group more cosseted than farmers, and if they put as much effort into running their farms efficiently as they put into organising Chris Berry and his fellow lobbyists to whinge for them, I for one would be mightily pleased.

Israeli action not to blame for terror

From: Leon Collins, Sandmoor Lane, Leeds.

Michael Meadowcroft attributes the present sad situation of the Palestinians (August 20) to a single Israeli action, the killing of the "engineer", a **Hamas** terrorist and explosives expert who had already carried out two successful bus attacks which resulted in dozens of civilian casualties, which included children.

He says: "I am in no doubt that the present situation is the continuing result of that one Israeli action".

This one-sided partiality is quite breathtaking. The present Palestinian intifada started almost a year before the incident he refers to and it followed Yasser Arafat's refusal to accept a peace agreement which would have



## Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers

provided almost everything he was demanding. This intifada has claimed the lives of more than 1,000 Israelis, Arabs as well as Jews. Unlike Israeli reprisal actions, these victims are nearly all non-combatant civilians, with a high proportion of women and children.

But the intifada was not the beginning of Palestinian terror. It started from the very commencement of the Israeli state. Between 1948 and 1951, almost a thousand Israelis were killed in Arab terrorist attacks. Again, in the mid 1990s there were over 600 Israeli casualties, all from terrorist attacks. The terror is constant, as is Israeli helplessness in knowing how to respond.

For Mr Meadowcroft to then suggest that it has all resulted from a single Israeli action makes one wonder what drives him to write in this way and why he chooses Israel when we live in a world where there is killing and injustice on such a vast scale.

A problem of hatred

From: Rick Davis, San Anselmo, California.

"Of course Israel will continue to exist", writes Michael Meadowcroft in his article "The Suffering of Palestine" (August 20).

Sadly, there is no "of course" about this statement. That is the crux of the problem, and if Mr Meadowcroft can make this statement along with his opening "some of my best friends are Jewish" (and probably black too?) he may well be guilty of Orwell's charge that many in Britain would rather die than acknowledge secret feelings of anti-semitism.

Firstly, Mr Meadowcroft confuses Jews with the policy of this Israeli government, the implication being that his criticisms apply to both. This is how criticism of Israel crosses the line.

Secondly, he fails to acknowledge continued Jewish oppression that calls for the continued existence of a Jewish refuge state.

Thirdly, he fails to acknowledge that there are way too many nations in our world today that still call for the end of Israel, notwithstanding the resolution of the Israel/Palestine issue. The problem is far greater than resolving the "short-term" conflict over the Palestinian homeland territory. It is a conflict of millennia, not decades or even centuries. It is the problem of Jew hatred.

I have just ended a three-day conference addressing anti-semitism and the progressive Left. The Left's focus is on recent times, not on 3,500 years of oppression. That is what makes me doubt "of course"!

John the Baptist's life

From: Walter Metcalfe, Central Avenue, Shipley.

Having read "John the Baptist 'comes to life' with cave find" (August 17 ), I note that there is little in it that connects with Scriptural authority. Shimon Gibson himself was somewhat diffident about the finds - others said "no proof".

First, Scripture never names John the Baptist's home town; it refers to "a town in the hill country of Judea" (Luke 1:39).

Second, we know he was in the desert at the time of his calling, so perhaps there was a cave, (Luke 3:2).

Third, anointing and feet-washing are not on John's biblical agenda, but we know that he baptised along the River Jordan - "Now John was baptising at Aenon near Salim, because there was plenty of water, and people were constantly coming to be baptised" (John 3:23).

This article really belongs in some apocryphal slot; but the prize gaffe must be "John who was just a figure from the Gospel, now comes to life". He was not "just a figure", he was the supreme prophet preceding Jesus Christ who

## Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers

testified of him - "Among those born of women there has not risen anyone greater than John the Baptist" (Matt 11:11).

When John proclaimed a baptism of repentance, it was not "his ideas of baptism" but a challenge to the traditions and the law, which challenge Jesus Christ endorsed when he said: "For all the Prophets and the Law were until John".

(Matt 11:13).

Sex, love and tenderness

From: Frank Littlewood, Wylam, Northumberland.

For once I don't agree with Marjorie Gill (Letters, August 21). The sex that she so clearly disapproves of cannot be ignored or loosely set aside, because it is life's essential procreative element; we are all made by it: we are surrounded by its universal presence; every flower on every plant is an expression of sex, every living creature is ruled, along with its need for food, shelter and protection from predators, by the instinctive drive to reproduce itself, and in one way or another sets out its stall for that purpose. And we human beings have precisely the same instincts; they are part of us.

Unfortunately, for a strange variety of reasons, the expression of this instinct has come, except in carefully designated circumstances, to be regarded by prudish minds as "filth". And of course, in common with all human activities, is widely abused. But in spite of all that's said, sex is love, and one of the most beautiful things in the whole of life is the tender embrace of a man and a woman who truly love each other. The really sad folk are those who have forgotten, or have chosen to reject this.

Strikes are old-fashioned

From: Mrs J Evans, Norton, Malton.

I enjoyed Mr Woods' letter ("Striking appearance", August 26) but feel surprised that he should smile when discussing such things as strikes and ruined holidays.

The whole point is that today there is no need for strike action. If the Government is to be believed, no-one should be unable to get a job.

To pretend that it would be impossible for discontented workers to leave and get work elsewhere is simply untrue. The fact is that we are importing from so-called second world countries workers to fill the gaps in our essential services. At this moment, surely, striking is old-fashioned.

To bring in farmers and hauliers presumed by Mr Woods to be anti-Labour seems strange. The ballot of General Elections is secret, isn't it? I doubt that all the employees at BA are paid up-union members or even Labour voters, so why confuse the issue with politics?

If he needed a modern strike as a comparison, why not try the firefighters?

Disastrous memorial to much-loved princess

From: Mrs Jean RM Searle, Hillcrest Rise, Cookridge, Leeds.

Last week I was in London and took the opportunity of visiting the Diana, Princess of Wales, memorial.

Over the past few weeks I have read and seen the coverage in the media, but I wanted to make my own judgment about the success, or otherwise, of it for myself. I was appalled that so much money could have been spent on such a ghastly creation; it is not stimulating, and not even pleasing to the eye. It is all and more what the critics have

## Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers

written. The place looks unkempt as the surrounding grass has little or no grass growing, a few pathetic trees planted in the middle, the granite still has algae growing on it, etc. It presents itself as a farcical financial folly.

I am saddened that this is the memorial to a woman who was loved by so many, gave pleasure and understanding to many; yet this horrendous architectural disaster is what is left, for us the public, to remember her by.

Foxhunters are not the ogres their opponents make them out to be

From: Phyllis Capstick, Old School House, Hellifield, Skipton.

People do not congregate with the intention of causing cruelty to any animal. A fox is either killed, usually almost instantly by one or two hounds, or it escapes scot free.

A fox is a wily animal and is not "chased over long distances and then savaged by a pack of hounds". If Heather Holmes (Letters, August 20) had ever watched a hunt, as I have, it doesn't happen like that, but she and many others do not want to believe or even listen to the true facts.

She has this image fixed in her mind and she won't believe anything else.

I would ask her to go and witness a few hunt meets and see the reality.

A hound will kill a fox as quickly as possible for fear of being bitten by the vicious animal.

Many people see the fox as a furry little animal that does no harm to anything, but this is not the case.

Foxes do a lot of harm in the countryside, to ground-nesting birds, to poultry, sheep and lambs and all foxhunting people do is to try and keep the harm they do, to a minimum.

Foxhunting people are countryside and animal-loving people. They would not deliberately cause suffering to anything (what about the suffering the fox causes?)

These people are not the ogres that anti-hunting people like to make them out to be; they care about the countryside and the animals and wildlife therein, and they try their best to keep the countryside a lovely place to be.

From: William B Thompson, Park House Green, Harrogate.

Concerning cub hunting, or autumn hunting as the hunters like to call it, in the words of a former hunt servant: "It is a barbaric, hideous business in which the victims are utterly inexperienced and still dependent on their mothers".

I have no reason to doubt the word of this former hunter.

Points

Winners and losers

From: Max Nottingham, St Faith's Street, Lincoln

RUDYARD Kipling's If is the most popular poem in the country. Didn't it win a BBC poll?

Take the line about treating "triumph and disaster just the same". The Olympic Games have made good television; but it does make you wonder about four years intense training for a rather unlikely moment of glory. No one deserves to suffer like Paula Radcliffe did. I was surprised that a vehicle wasn't on hand to remove her from the cruel camera's gaze. I suppose competitive sport never was about just "taking part". But if the media were less excitable we could have a slightly more rational attitude to winning and losing.

Liberal justice

### Crop of complaints from cosseted farmers

From: David Quarrie, Lynden Way, Acomb, York.

Terry Yorath was three times over the allowed drinks limit, he was speeding and he knocked down and severely injured a young lady who was innocently and correctly standing on a road central reservation in north Leeds. For this he was fined a mere £500, had his driving licence withdrawn for 30 months and he has to do some community service work.

There is no deterrent here for drink drivers. Until this country adopts truly draconian measures of deterrents and punishment, there is no hope of the quality of life improving.

We have adopted, since 1946, evermore liberal and soft policies, all of which result in massive failure and yet no-one will alter course.

Verdict on Blunkett

From: BH Sheridan, Redmires Road, Sheffield.

Bernard Dineen rightly attacks some sections of the Press, especially The Guardian, for applying double standards in their judgment of New Labour's David Blunkett and Tory politicians David Mellor and Tim Yeo (August 23).

However, in a recent editorial, his own employer, the Yorkshire Post appears

to agree with The Guardian, at least with regard to the Home Secretary's dating a married woman. While implicitly condemning Kimberly Fortier's behaviour as a matter for her own conscience, it states that David Blunkett has a right to seek "personal happiness".

Letters and litter

From: Austin Myall, Springwood Hall Gardens, Huddersfield.

Further to the letter from Iain Morris ("Litter menace", August 23), I have often seen rubber bands on the footpaths near where I live. I presume

**Load-Date:** October 31, 2004

## *Tunnel people - INTO THE UNDERWORLD*

Weekend Australian

August 20, 2005 Saturday

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**Byline:** Marie Colvin

### **Body**

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They burrow deep under the Israeli-Egyptian border to smuggle everything from weapons to wives into the Gaza Strip. The rewards can be great, but the cost greater - detention, disaster and, too often, death.

Beneath the Israeli-Egyptian border lies a secret network of narrow tunnels through which Palestinians smuggle weapons into the Gaza Strip for vast profits. But the tunnellers run the terrible risk of being buried alive. Marie Colvin is the first journalist to venture ... INTO THE UNDERWORLD

Nadr Keshta was 18 and his attractive young neighbour had caught his eye. He started hanging about on street corners, trying to catch sight of her as she walked home from school in her blue-and-grey uniform. For weeks she ignored him. When she finally waved back to his wink, it was her signal that she returned his interest. Without ever exchanging a word, they considered themselves "engaged". That was where their story, as told by his younger brother Mohamed, led into the subterranean world of the "tunnel people" of Rafah, the southernmost city in the Gaza Strip.

MATP

Nadr needed money now, to build a house for his bride and, truth be told, to show off a bit - buying a new gun was first on his list. For young men in Rafah, a gun is street cred; it's cool, like having the latest pair of trainers.

Nadr was earning a pittance on his father's farm; Gaza has been locked down by the Israeli army since the armed Palestinian intifada began in September 2000. There are no jobs for young men because Gaza can no longer export the fruit and vegetables that were the staples of its economy - tomatoes that used to sell for \$26 a crate are down to \$4 in the local market. Only a few men have permission to enter Israel for work.

Nadr turned to the only paying job in Rafah: digging tunnels under the Israeli-Egyptian border. I had heard rumours of tunnels for years, but never really believed them, because there is nothing but white sand that runs through your fingers. How could you have a tunnel network in this flimsy sand? My scepticism was buttressed by knowledge of Israel's defences: the army has erected a 2.4-metre wall that plunges invisibly many more metres underground along the Rafah side of the Philadelphi road - a dirt stretch patrolled by armoured Israeli Jeeps that parallels the Egyptian border - to stop tunnellers. Then there are explosions every night in Rafah, set off arbitrarily by Israeli engineers in the hope that they might collapse an undiscovered tunnel.

A CHANCE CONVERSATION RESULTED in my living in Rafah for a week with the "tunnel people". It was like discovering a lost tribe in a city I had been visiting for 15 years. I found an extraordinary secret culture known to only a few Palestinians. The tunnel people told

## Tunnel people - INTO THE UNDERWORLD

me they originally smuggled in contraband drugs, women, cigarettes (5 shekels in Egypt, 12 shekels in Gaza), and even the python that still slithers around in the Rafah zoo. Since the second intifada began five years ago, however, the tunnellers have mostly smuggled weapons.

The profits are huge. A Kalashnikov rifle sells for \$260 on the Egyptian side, but fetches \$2600 on the Gaza black market. A good night's delivery is 1200 Kalashnikovs - a profit of more than \$2.6 million. Bullets - 65 cents in Egypt, \$10 wholesale in Gaza - are even more profitable. A standard one-night delivery returns a profit of \$975,000. The tunnels are financed by wealthy families - locals call them "snakeheads" - who run the tunnels as businesses. They rent the passage to anyone who pays \$13,000 for one night's use - a gun dealer, Hamas or Islamic Jihad, the militant Islamic fundamentalist groups, or a man who can't get his wife legally into Gaza.

Cash is the currency, not politics, patriotism or sentimentality.

They rent, build or buy a house, even an entire farm, just to disguise a tunnel's "eye", as they call the entrance.

The gun dealers are their biggest clients.

"We call them blood dealers," said Abu Sibah, 36, the bearded head of a rogue Palestinian militia in Al-Bureij refugee camp, north of Rafah. "But there is nothing to do about them. We depend on the tunnels for guns." He was particularly proud of the black Belgian revolver in his belt - at \$3800, a special order. It was to this world that Nadr Keshta turned for the money to marry.

His relatives were in the tunnel business and he heard a "big project" was about to start. He signed on with a group of eight young men, all relatives.

In the tunnels there is a hierarchy:

those not related to the patron work for \$130 a day as diggers, while those who are relatives get a share of the profit in return for their labour, a much better deal. When the tunnel is finished they are entitled to a percentage on every load that passes through it.

Israel has made efforts to stop the

tunnels; apart from explosives, bulldozers have chopped away at Rafah's unlovely blocks of concrete houses that used to sprawl right up to the border fence. But all that has done is make the digging longer and more arduous. Tunnels now have to extend about 800 metres to span the bulldozed divide.

Keshta expected to make \$26,000 as his share of the tunnel's first load, and then a continuing profit as long as it remained undiscovered. In Gaza, that was enough to build a house and have some left over for his new gun and a wedding reception. But disaster struck.

AT THE START, THE NEW PROJECT ran smoothly following wellrehearsed procedures. Keshta and his fellow diggers began excavating a shaft from a back bedroom of a three-storey house. The tunnel was financed by Hisham al-Sha'ir - the alSha'irs are known as Gaza's premier tunnelling family. An al-Sha'ir grandmother had died there and the house was empty. The tunnel "eye" was concealed by four marble floor tiles.

They dug a narrow shaft, barely wider than their bodies, 12 metres down through "hard sand" - red sand that is impacted and solid - until they reached a layer of soft sand. The tunnellers of Gaza are self-taught geologists; their grandfathers discovered that a "hard sand" stratum runs under Rafah to varying depths. They dig through it until they hit the soft sand below - the layer of hard sand becomes their ceiling. They are hunted by both the Israelis and the Palestinian Authority (PA).

Keshta and the other young diggers lived day and night in the house, so that their comings and goings would not arouse suspicion. They hid the telltale sand in other rooms. But unbeknown to them, the explosives that the Israelis periodically set off had weakened the hard-sand ceiling. Three days of unexpected rain weakened it further, and the tunnel collapsed on Keshta and his two cousins, Nidal al-Sha'ir and

## Tunnel people - INTO THE UNDERWORLD

Sufiyan al-Sha'ir. The three were also trapped. Other diggers heard Nadr yelling over the intercom that goes through every tunnel: "Help us, help us, help us to live." The three entombed teenagers began chanting "there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet", the phrase that Muslims intone in times of crisis.

The tunnel financier raced to the scene and began digging with a bulldozer along the tunnel's path, but nobody knew the boys' location. Friends and relatives gathered at the intercom in the back bedroom.

"There is no air, it is too dark, we are feeling like we are in a grave," Nadr's brother, Mohamed, heard him shout. "I was sure then that they would die," Mohamed said, remembering his sense of helplessness. For nine hours, the cousins were heard praying aloud and pleading for rescue. The Palestinians dug on their side of the Philadelphi wall and the Israelis began digging on theirs after a desperate relative broke the

tunnel code of secrecy and drew the Israel Defence Forces (IDF) a map of the tunnel's path. Nadr Keshta's illicit fiancée heard of the disaster, but she could not come even just to hear his voice: her parents would have been furious if they had known of her relationship with a boy they had not approved. She would have been considered to have dishonoured the family. Juliet, who doesn't want her real name used, was despondent. She had no idea her Nadr had gone down the tunnels. "Why did he do this? I wanted him, not money!" she cried in secret. But she had to hide her distress from her family. After nine hours of digging, an Israeli bulldozer accidentally cut the intercom wire and there was silence on the line that connected the three cousins to the world above.

Keshta and his cousins had made the mistake of young men the world over: succumbing to the lure of the big score. But the price in Rafah's tunnels is higher than elsewhere. However vast the sums to be made in the tunnel business, it is not easy money. The horrific slow death of suffocation stalks this subterranean world. The day before I arrived in Rafah, a teenager had been electrocuted in a tunnel and his body dumped where he, but not the tunnel "eye", would be found. Families who receive the bloated bodies of their tunnel dead take a little consolation from the fact that tunnellers who die digging are considered shaheed martyrs to the Palestinian cause - even if they mostly die in the pursuit of profit. In Rafah, the culture of the martyr is as pervasive as guns.

Yousef and Ahmed Keshta, 24 and 31, run the most popular barber's shop in Rafah, the Shaheed Salon - the Martyrs' Salon. The walls are plastered with photographs and posters of late former customers. Instead of shampoos and conditioners, cabinet shelves are lined with keepsakes from the dead: a string of worry beads left by

Mahmoud al-Sha'ir the day before he was killed; a toy gun from their youngest customer to die in a tunnel.

Their most popular hairstyles are the side-buzzed marine cut - modelled on that of the American marines seen on the news, even though most young Gazans are vaguely anti-American and the French cut, so called because it resembles a mushroom when done properly. I asked a bearded Shaheed Salon customer if it was not disconcerting to be stared at from all sides by the dead. He looked at me as if I came from a different planet. "Of course not. I remember them all: most are relatives, neighbours, friends - it is my duty to remember them."

ISRAELI TANKS ROLLED INTO RAFAH in May 2004 after five Israeli soldiers died when Palestinians fired an RPG at an armoured personnel carrier. IDF tanks and bulldozers destroyed another entire block of homes. Ibrahim Keshta knocked holes through his walls to get his family out.

"It used to be a big neighbourhood here. Now there are only dogs," he said as he brought a tray of sweet tea and sat cross-legged on the floor of his halfruined house. "You die alone here."

Looking down through windows emptied of glass by tank shells, Ibrahim's view is of a mound of rubble - all that remains of a small tin-roofed house custom-built to hide the "eye" of the tunnel where his younger brother Mohamed died. A baby fig tree grows above the barely visible sunken path of sand that is the only trace of the destroyed tunnel beneath.

Ibrahim blames a "snakehead" for luring his brother underground. "He told my brother, 'Join my crew and you will have nice expensive guns, a nice house, you can marry,' " he says, shooing away his three small children, who return moments later to listen.

## Tunnel people - INTO THE UNDERWORLD

After hundreds of metres of digging and one day away from punching

through in Egypt, on his first tunnel job, the roof collapsed above Mohamed and his boss. Both died.

In Ibrahim's neighbourhood alone, locals reckon there are about 20 tunnels in various stages of destruction or excavation. Down the street from Ibrahim's ruin is the rubble of a house destroyed because the owner financed one of the most famous tunnels in Rafah: the one commissioned by Yasser Arafat - then president of the Palestinian Authority - to smuggle in 50 tonnes of weapons from Iran aboard the freighter Karine A, which the Israelis captured in the Red Sea. Arafat denied any connection, but the trace was clear: the PA had commissioned the \$130 million cargo of rockets, missiles, mortars and sniper rifles.

When I went to the site of the destroyed house, a white baby donkey lay basking in the sand at the foot of all that was left: a mound of dirt and concrete slabs. After my visit, the PA found the "eye" of another tunnel dug to connect to the main one - right underneath where the baby donkey had been tethered by a rope.

MORE TERRIFYING THAN THE spectre of sudden death is the psychological trauma of spending months underground in a space 60cm wide by 73cm tall. A 700m tunnel can take six months to finish.

When tunnellers lowered me by rope down a shaft that began in a little girl's bedroom with posters of cuddly animals on the walls, I was gripped by panicky claustrophobia. The so-called "safe" hard-sand walls trickled away on my head as I passed into the depths; the sand crumbled each time I scrabbled for footing on the way down; the walls closed in, and the bare bulbs did little to alleviate the darkness or the fear that the whole thing might cave in on top of me at any moment.

"To do this work, you have to throw your heart away," says Ayed (not his real name), who at 28 is considered a veteran digger. So comfortable with his work has Ayed become that he sleeps in tunnels.

He has a muscular, wiry body and spade-like callused fingers. He brews coffee up top, and takes a flask down with him and thinks nothing of staying underground for days. As I would learn, each tunneller has his own methods.

Unlike the tunnel that I went down, where hard sand formed the walls of the shaft, Ayed's entry shaft is lined with metal plates specially welded for the job.

As boss, he checks the tunnel's progress with a compass every 10-15 metres; after 20 metres he installs a bespoke engine that hauls back nine "boats" containing pails of sand. Two tunnellers work at the face, Ayed digging and the other loading the pails. Two work at the foot of the shaft unloading the buckets, then buzz when the buckets are empty, and the forward crew starts the engine to haul them back. If the sand gets soft on the horizontal he is digging, Ayed either installs supports or just tunnels lower to make sure he has a hard-sand ceiling. He is nostalgic about the time he worked in a well-financed tunnel where the owner installed airconditioning.

At 50 metres, he brings in a vacuum cleaner and hooks it up to a hose to draw in air. It is gospel in Gaza that Israel has banned the import of vacuum cleaners.

By the time the tunnel reaches 50 metres, there are three systems operating: a specially engineered motor-and-pulley system to get the pails of sand to the mouth of the tunnel; an intercom on a separate wire to connect him to the top; and a third wire that brings in

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2005



**Kingmaker: (Part 1): Long a tourism magnet, Trinidad and Tobago's tropical beauty conceals a darker identity. Donna Jacobs investigates Trinidad's ties to terror and, in an exclusive interview, talks to the Toronto-educated man who holds the key to the country's uncertain future.**

Ottawa Citizen

January 24, 2004 Saturday Final Edition

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**Byline:** Donna Jacobs

**Dateline:** PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad

## **Body**

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PORT OF SPAIN, Trinidad - Trinidad has a troubling kind of beauty.

Ostentatious wealth flourishes in disturbing proximity to severe poverty. Exotic restaurants abound not far from garbage dumps where people fight vultures for scraps of food. The vibrant Carnival rocks the island with explosions of colour and music while people lose lives and loves in almost daily shootings and kidnappings. The gorgeous sight of the sky turning blood-red from a flock of scarlet ibises twists the heart. And so will the sight of a baby being bathed at a ditch waterpipe.

Trinidad is a study in extremes.

Citizen Special

Under the Shadow of the Swords

It's April 2003, 19 months after terrorists took down all of the World Trade Center and part of the Pentagon.

I am in a mosque compound in Trinidad, waiting to meet Yasin Abu Bakr, the imam of the Jama'at-al-Muslimeen. The name translates to, simply, Muslim Group.

Known as Jamaat, it is widely regarded as radically Islamic, and has mosques throughout the country.

It's hard to get a precise Jamaat membership figure for Trinidad, but estimates start at 20,000 -- almost two per cent of Trinidad's 1.3 million population. (Jamaat is not active on Trinidad's smaller tourism-driven sister island, Tobago). The group's growth hasn't gone unnoticed.

Even Trinidad and Tobago's prime minister, Patrick Manning, tells me he is concerned about Jamaat's recruitment rate among poor black Afro-Trinidadians.

As Jamaat's influence grows and spreads, the international community is taking fresh notice -- especially since Sept. 11, 2001.

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A year ago, the British government warned against travel to the islands due to the threat of terrorism, prompting the temporary cancellation of cruises. This followed a newspaper report that a radical Muslim group, The Islamic Front, planned a biological or chemical attack on U.S. and British interests in Trinidad if the two countries invaded Iraq.

"With our weapons we are going (to) reach you. We will reach you where you sleep, we will reach you where you take your baths, we will reach you where you take your meals and have your drinks, even a glass of water you hold in your hand to drink may not be safe," said a statement that appeared in the Trinidad Express.

The statement was given to a reporter who was taken, blindfolded, to a lab where he said chemical and biological weapons were being created. Jamaat dismissed the group and its leader, Umar Abdullah, as marginal. The government said it was a bogus publicity stunt. Abdullah insisted that he is a security threat.

Only a few weeks ago, airline bomb threats shut down the airport, Piarco. Coastal and port security is tightening.

Last month, Manning assured U.S. President George W. Bush that Trinidad was moving to protect energy supplies from terrorism by upgrading its coast guard, adding a radar system and two new patrol boats to monitor the coastline.

I have gone to Trinidad and Tobago to try to make sense of this, to gauge the threat of Jamaat and to try to reconcile the tropical glory of the islands with the dark stories about terror.

It was a journey that gave me the unsettling feeling that Trinidad, for all its breathtaking beauty and powerful industrial base, is really a ticking time bomb. And I suspect it's not a matter whether the bomb will go off, but when.

Visitor From the North

Sitting in the mosque, also waiting to see Yasin Abu Bakr, are three men and a woman. They don't look at me.

The mosque office is small. Its only art is a map of "The Muslim World" that colour-codes an impressive march of Islam around the globe. North America is least Islamic.

The map is probably meant to encourage Trinidadian Muslims, but amidst this sense of hostility, it looks like a battle plan.

Finally, a man in a white Muslim gown and fez arrives.

"Why are you here?" he demands.

I tell him I have an appointment to interview Yasin Abu Bakr, news he receives with disapproval.

The four people in the waiting room tense up, as do I.

"What?" I ask, with bravado. "Are you going to frisk me?"

Much tense silence as he glares at me.

Suddenly, he laughs.

"Frisk you? You just came from Canada," he says. "I don't want SARS."

Everyone else laughs.

Trinidad's Strategic Importance

Trinidad and Tobago, the southernmost islands of the Caribbean archipelago, won their independence from Britain in 1962. Today, thousands of North Americans escape the winter each year by booking holidays in the twin-island nation, especially Tobago, with its miles of white sand beaches and average temperature of 30C. Next month, the

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islands will attract plane-loads of visitors for their annual celebration of Carnival, a famous Mardi-Gras-like festival similar to those held across South America and the Caribbean at this time of year.

But I wonder how long this will continue untroubled.

With its petroleum exports to the U.S. and Europe, Trinidad is strategically crucial. Its southern-based powerhouse industrial complex keeps churning out oil and chemical products to the world.

It is a base for the world's energy giants, including BP Amoco, British Gas, EOG, BHP Billiton, Exxon Mobil, Trinidad's state-owned Petrotrin and such Canadian companies as PetroCanada, Talisman Energy, Vermilion Oil and Gas and Methanex, the world's largest methanol company.

Yet, Trinidad is shot through with corruption and destabilized by profitable money-laundering, drug and gun smuggling from a terrorist-rich South America 12 kilometres away -- where al-Qaeda, Hamas and Hezbollah are well-ensconced.

(Opposition leader and former prime minister Basdeo Panday has said outright that al-Qaeda is here and has ties to the government.)

Bakr arrives with a small entourage. After another wait, I am summoned to finally meet this man face to face.

We had spoken by phone over a period of a year -- harsh interviews focused on allegations he was planning an Islamic uprising in this oil-rich Caribbean country.

After all, it wouldn't have been his first. Only 10 years before, 114 Jamaat members launched a bloody coup that made headlines around the world.

During the six-day insurrection, Bakr's lieutenant, Bilaal Abdullah, and his armed followers stormed Trinidad and Tobago's parliament. They trussed up the ailing prime minister, Arthur Robinson, who was shot in the leg. Another MP bled to death of his gunshot wound; the attorney general was also shot. Other legislators lay tied.

One Jamaat member crashed a car into the police headquarters, killing a guard in the explosion. Meanwhile, Bakr took over the state television station to announce to a stunned country he had overthrown the government. Jamaat maintains it was an act of self-defence, that it had advance warning security forces were coming to kill the Jamaat leadership.

Bilaal Abdullah -- who renounced Jamaat membership in 1993, is critical of Jamaat now and is a paid adviser to Manning -- explains the coup was never an Islamic act. He tells me a week ago, 114 men "could not rule our country and it would have been wrong and will always be wrong for a tiny minority to impose their will on the nation by force of arms and take over the reins of the state machinery. But it is also wrong to single out a minority for destruction through abusing the power to command the security forces."

In all, 31 people died and 693 people were injured in the shooting and looting which caused \$36 million in property damage.

The coup ended when Bakr and Abdullah negotiated an amnesty with the government. However, security forces rounded up the 114 insurrectionists anyway, charged them with murder and treason and put them in jail. Two years later, they were freed after a court upheld the amnesty.

Post-9/11, the coup seems still more ominous. Trinidadian parliamentarians and businessmen told me Bakr had links to Libyan and Sudanese terrorists, and possibly to al-Qaeda. There is speculation that Jamaat has been busy setting up cells all over the Caribbean and in Latin America: in Guyana, Surinam, St. Vincent, Grenada, Barbados, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Belize, St. Lucia and Antigua, though Jamaat denies this.

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Political sources told me Jamaat had penetrated the government at the highest levels in exchange for helping Manning's People's National Movement (PNM), a leftist party, to win at the polls.

The methodology, say opposition politicians such as Senator Robin Montano, was a sophisticated voter-padding scheme funded with public money. The PNM gave Jamaat millions of dollars in social and job-program contracts. Jamaat directed the money to its members who, in turn, registered and swung the vote in four key ridings.

Bakr describes himself as a "kingmaker."

"Whichever party we support, wins," he says, matter-of-factly.

Montano says the PNM-Jamaat tie mirrors Indonesia's tolerance of Islamic terrorism which turned Bali into a soft target for al-Qaeda. The result was the October 2002 nightclub bombings that killed 202 and injured 300.

Terrorism expert Mark Ensalaco is familiar with Bakr and the 1990 coup. He says al-Qaeda is adept at finding a haven, or an operations base, in countries with Islamic organizations sympathetic to some -- if not all -- of its aims.

"If you look at the Americas, there are only a few places like that, and Trinidad makes perfect sense as a place where you would suspect al-Qaeda."

Ensalaco, director of International Studies and Human Rights at Ohio's University of Dayton, has studied Osama bin Laden and Middle East terrorism for a book he is writing, *From Black September to September 11 -- A terrorism history from 1968-September 2001*.

Al-Qaeda, he says, can "patiently organize in places where they think they can prosper. I think you have one in Trinidad and Tobago."

They could use Trinidad and Tobago to launder money, solicit funds, or, he says, "move their people through the Americas."

However, if they are planning terror operations, "natural gas becomes a potential site of terrorist attack."

In time, he suggests, al-Qaeda might step in and take over an existing organization. "If al-Qaeda or groups in the global terror network have an interest in Trinidad and Tobago, and if they begin to make contacts, they can just simply push aside Bakr."

### Social Unrest and Rampant Crime

While intelligence experts worry about Trinidad's allure as an anti-U.S. anti-Britain terror target, ordinary people told me simply that they feared another coup. But this time, a coup would take place in a less-stable Trinidad, one buffeted by violent crime. Many citizens blame Jamaat's predominantly poor black members for the crime rampage; the sudden infusion of millions of dollars into social welfare programs has fuelled a murderous rise in the gang-controlled gun and drug trade. In 2003, a record 229 people were murdered.

But a new, sinister crime -- kidnapping -- has shattered what remains of Trinidad's sense of security.

It has also raised racial tensions between the country's equal populations of Indian and African descendants. Most kidnap victims are Indians; most kidnappers are blacks. (The indigenous populations have dwindled.)

The Afro-Trinidadians are descendants of slaves brought from Africa by Europeans from the 1500s. The Indo-Trinidadians descend from indentured servants whom the British 'imported' from East India after slavery was outlawed in 1845.

Socially and economically, Indians are winning. They dominate retail, industry and the professions. Wealthy Indians school their children abroad. They carry themselves with elan and a sense of easy superiority over visitors and locals -- as the saying goes, "more British than the British."

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But the blacks have a champion in two key Trinidadians: Prime Minister Patrick Manning and Bakr. Manning's PNM is largely supported by blacks.

He eagerly sought and received Bakr's help in winning the October, 2002 elections -- even if Bakr had al-Qaeda ties. Bakr describes himself as an "adviser" to Manning on matters concerning black youth.

In our talks, I sensed a revolutionary fervour in the charismatic Bakr, although he speaks as a social reformer.

Clearly, he is no Osama bin Laden, but what is he? And what risk does he pose? And how does social unrest, much of it generated by Jamaat, create an environment that is ripe for international terrorism?

From Ryerson Grad to Radical

Bakr greets me from behind his large desk with a genuine smile. He looks even taller than his six-feet-four-inches with his white Muslim fez.

My first thought is of who Bakr used to be. In his previous life, he was Lennox Phillip, an Anglican-born police officer. Phillip read the Koran in 1969 and converted to Islam and Bakr was born.

Yet his two identities often converge. On this day, Bakr speaks enthusiastically about Canada, where, in the '70s, he graduated from Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and worked in film production at CBC's Toronto office. He has already mentioned his friendship with Nancy Sinclair, daughter of legendary journalist Gordon Sinclair.

It is easy to forget, when you talk to him, that he is under surveillance by the CIA, FBI, Britain's MI5 and MI6 and possibly by Canada's CSIS and the RCMP and has been for some time since the coup and even before, when his ties to Libya triggered Western suspicions. He is barred from entering the U.S. and Canada and was scooped up for interrogation by MI5 at London's Heathrow Airport.

His office is as simple as the other buildings on the religious and educational compound. The large open-air mosque dominates at 1 Mucurapo Rd. in St. James -- a western suburb of the capital city, Port of Spain.

Bakr is a staunch personal friend of Libya's Col. Moammar Gadhafi.

"He is the most beautiful human being I have met in my life," he says. "As a leader to his people, he is par excellence."

Like Muslims from scores of countries, Bakr reportedly has received millions of dollars -- he won't say how much -- from Libya through his membership in the World Islamic Call Society (WICS). These funds went exclusively to his mosque, schools and medical centre, he says, and not to support the spread of radical Islam throughout the Caribbean.

WICS describes itself as an Islamic benevolent society with UN recognition.

Washington Times columnist and president of the Center for Security Policy, Frank J. Gaffney Jr., describes WICS as a "well-known and longstanding Libyan-controlled funding vehicle for terrorism."

Abdul Rahman al-Amoudi, recently indicted in the U.S. for illegal ties to Libya, has admitted to laundering hundreds of thousands of dollars, some of it from Libya, in Saudi Arabia before depositing it in the U.S. for his American Muslim Foundation.

He selected and trained U.S. Muslim military chaplains, including Capt. James Yee, now held on suspicion of espionage at the Guantanamo, Cuba detention centre for Taliban and al-Qaeda operatives.

Two of Bakr's sons have received religious education in Libya. Jamaat members have taken military training there, and, according to Trinidadian newspaper reports citing "intelligence sources," a small group of Jamaat members just recently returned from Libya.

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Bakr's loyalty to Gadhafi costs him in public opinion, especially now with Libya's confession of complicity in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Even as the aging Libyan leader makes a public repentance to Bush, promises millions of dollars to the 270 victims' families and promises to renounce violence in order to end UN sanctions, Great Britain is reportedly signing oil deals with Gadhafi.

Bakr was elected to the WICS executive council in 2000, the same year its general congress called for jihad against Western "tyranny and imperialism," "sacrifice until martyrdom" and "liberation of Palestine from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean." Explicit in this manifesto is the eradication of Israel.

At the same meeting, it denounced "all aspects of violence, terrorism and extremism."

Bakr also attends meetings of Gadhafi's World Islamic People's Leadership (WIPL) which has primary headquarters in Tripoli, and secondary headquarters at the Taric Islamic Centre at 99 Beverly Hills Dr. in Toronto. Both have ties to UN agencies, including UNESCO, and operate as Muslim charities. Nonetheless, the suspicion still exists among more moderate Muslims that the group is also involved in uncharitable activities towards the West.

#### Proclamation of Innocence

In person, Bakr keeps his Caribbean good humour throughout a stream of questions on Jamaat's alleged links to kidnappings for ransom and terrorism, both domestic and international.

During the 2002 national election, did he dispatch a band of Jamaat members to intimidate voters in four key ridings where he became kingmaker with easy access to a grateful Prime Minister Patrick Manning? Is he linked to al-Qaeda, **Hamas** and other Islamic terrorist groups?

"No and no," he says, to each question.

He parries even the sharpest questions without rancour.

"I have extreme patience," necessary for any man, he implies, with four wives and 15 children. But, finally, after an hour, he pounds the table. Not in denials but in an aggressive attack on successive governments that he says break trust with the black people of Trinidad.

"There are too many people in this country who are not fed. The ghettos are hungry and starving. People have nothing to eat on a daily basis. The basis of the economy is oil and the money belong to the people and the money do not get to the people."

He is almost out of breath, almost shouting.

"They live in poverty, squalour and destitution. This country is the largest producer of methanol, the largest producer of ammonia in the world. This country was an oil-producing nation since 1912, long before the Arabs had any oil. We have asphalt. We have water. We have very, very fertile land. If you spit outside, something will grow. Where is all this money?"

He says corrupt politicians steal public funds needed for food and medicine. He claims his complaints about corruption have made him a government target. In August, Bakr had his first run-in with the law since the coup. He was arrested for conspiracy to murder two Jamaat members in June whom he'd expelled for "unislamic activities." The two men had denounced Bakr and Jamaat on radio for tolerating criminal activity. One of the men was injured and the woman with him was killed in a shooting that followed the radio program.

The alibi Bakr offered to the court: He was working at the state-owned Petrotrin oil company 100 kilometres away at the time he was supposed to be ordering the killing of the two men. (The alibi shows how freely Bakr operates -- even gaining a work pass at the high-security oil patch.) The case is still working its way through the courts.

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His alleged co-conspirator has fled the country. Bakr says he was charged because "some people in the People's National Movement government think that I am getting too powerful. That is actually what was said. 'Take him down.' That is the word."

Ordinary Trinidadians gossip about regular meetings between Bakr and Manning.

"People say that you often see the prime minister," I say.

"I will see the prime minister," he answers quietly, "if I want to see the prime minister."

'Carvin' Out De Hills'

"I'm going to take you on a tour," says Bakr, "to the other side, where women still have to bathe at a stand on the side of the road. See for yourself; 27 per cent of people live below the poverty level. That means no food, no shelter, no clothing.

"Mr. Manning have a budget of \$20 billion (Trinidadian, roughly \$4.3 billion Canadian) ... show me what is happening."

In this most wealthy Caribbean country, one-quarter of the people live in poverty despite the \$11 billion Canadian gross domestic product. Most of Trinidad's wealth comes from its large petroleum industry. The U.S. relies on Trinidad for two-thirds of its imported liquid natural gas. Other exports include chemicals, steel goods, fertilizer and sugar, cocoa and coffee.

I've already gone by cab to the poor, crime-ridden eastern Port of Spain suburb of Laventille. We drive up and down the hills, past hovels, and homes under repair, past curious children who want their photos taken. One offers me a plastic bead necklace with a large green crucifix as a gift.

But Bakr wants me to see other places, worse places. We agree to meet the next day, a third meeting.

Bakr isn't here. In his place, he has selected a high-ranking Jamaat member from the entourage at the mosque. Sadiq Al Razi drives his small Japanese car (apparently without suspension system) with purpose. We are silent for the first 10 minutes.

We pass a large, elegant condominium complex. He points to it bitterly.

"I can't go in there."

"Why not?" I ask, thinking of the fear Jamaat provokes.

"Because I'm a black man. I could go there today because I'm with a white woman."

Al Razi relaxes, introduces himself more fully and allows a few personal questions.

He, too, is an imam whose mosque is in prosperous Point Fortin, home of Trinidad's lucrative petrochemical industry. As civil engineer and technician by training, he worked as a quality auditor in design and construction on a large Atlantic LNG (Liquid Natural Gas) installation.

Our first destination is Goodwood, where businesspeople live in huge houses on the sides of wooded hills. A bulldozer is making a large shelf in the hill for another.

"Carvin' out de hills ..." he says, slipping into Carib. "And this is nothing, nothing" compared to the country's more wealthy sections.

It's not, he insists, the wealth that angers him.

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"No, if they earned it, more power to them. I'm saying the wealth is circulating among the rich and nothing is reaching the poor people. These people don't recognize that sooner or later, sooner or later, the shit is going to hit the fan and" -- a short laugh -- "is going to spill on them."

Next, he takes me past the former U.S. army base in Chaguaramas, which was established for training and transit during the Second World War, at Trinidad's northwest tip.

While I notice the U.S. is unloved by nearly everyone I encounter, Canadians are seen as good employers, for their petrochemical investments and for more than \$40 million in Canadian International Development Agency and the International Development and Research Centre grants over the past 40 years.

The newspapers, rich with anti-American sentiment, reinforce public resentment against American ideology and actions, especially the Iraq invasion. Some Trinidadian oil workers fear a revenge terror attack on the U.S. and British-owned multinational petroleum industry.

I asked Bakr about the situation in Iraq and he was, predictably, sympathetic to Saddam Hussein.

I ask Bakr point blank if he is a security risk to his country.

"I don't know what all the fuss is about," he says, innocently.

"How can I be a security risk? I live here. I born here. I am a security risk to whom?"

#### Divisions Along Racial Lines

Now Al Razi and I arrive at nearby Staubles Bay, home of the coast guard and the drydock for rows of multimillion-dollar yachts. They're used only a few times a year, says Al Razi.

"Many, many are running drugs. There are big, big drugs going in and out, mostly cocaine, some heroin, from Venezuela. You can see Venezuela right there, 12 kilometres away."

(Trinidadians will name off hotel-owners and other businessmen whose sudden drug-financed wealth purchased businesses and mansions. Some go legit afterwards. There are few secrets on this island.)

Bakr insists that 95 per cent of kidnap victims are involved in the cocaine trade.

Trinidad is a drug dealer's and money launderer's haven. The Royal Bank of Trinidad and Tobago puts the processing of "dirty money" from drugs alone at \$6 billion -- more than half the country's 2002 GDP.

"And not one prosecution -- not one," Al Razi growls, "in this country, because these people own the judges."

Al Razi says Trinidadians are angry and cynical as corruption and injustice "continue unabated. Police force, politicians, the judicial system -- they are all very, very corrupt."

Al Razi says he is starting a trade school, affiliated with Jamaat, to train unemployable, unskilled black youths in pipefitting, instrumentation, welding and fabricating. Most companies he's asked to contribute have declined their help. It's shortsighted, he says.

"Every 50 youths they help to rehabilitate will be 50 fewer desperate men who will be coming at them in kidnappings and robberies."

While Jamaat is not the only Muslim group in Trinidad, it is by far the most vocal and most controversial and draws unwelcome notice to Trinidad's many moderate Muslim organizations. In fact, it's hard to determine the number of Muslims in Trinidad and Tobago. Estimates range from six per cent, as reflected in the 1990 census, to 12 per cent, the figure used by international Muslim organizations. That puts the Muslim population between 65,000 and



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130,000. The census figures are likely out of date as they predate Jamaat's heaviest period of recruitment, following the coup.

Al Razi echoes the general statement that Islam is the fastest growing religion in Latin America and the Caribbean.

"Tens of thousands of young people in Trinidad have become Muslims over the last 10 years. I know about more than 25,000."

(Prime Minister Manning doesn't give numbers but, in his words to the Citizen, Jamaat is busy recruiting.)

"Young men's parents are keeping them back. As soon as they get an opening, (young black men) come to the mosque. They see this as something they can relate to."

Bakr sees wealth and status divided along racial lines.

"For 25 years we fought against the PNM because we felt they were doing nothing for the African people.

"It is now at the stage," he thunders, "that 99.9 per cent of the doctors are Indians and 77 per cent of the lawyers are Indians and 95 per cent of the people in prisons are African and 86 per cent of the people in the mad house, the crazy house, are African."

Depending on which group's political party is in power, the aid and benefits swing markedly in their direction. Indians and Africans dominate the island's populations at 40 per cent each.

The chief remaining ethnic populations: mixed 18 per cent, Chinese, Middle Eastern, Portuguese, native Indian and Creole 1.2 per cent and white 0.6 per cent.

#### Love Mixed With Fear

Al Razi drives to the Sea Lots. This is the worst place I've been on the island. We drive through quickly, too quickly, and I have to ask him to return and drive around this tiny tin-shack community within view of downtown towers. When the tide rises, the bare earth turns to mud and floods the tiny shed homes.

"These people live as rats," says Al Razi.

The stench among the tiny corrugated shacks is overpowering -- somewhere between that of rotted garbage and carrion.

Al Razi looks at a young woman who is washing her baby at a roadside pipe.

"They don't need to live like that."

Yet, this, even this, isn't the worst. In nearby Beetham Estates, Al Razi says, there is a dump where people fight the vultures for scraps of refuse. "I could take you there, too, but I don't want to. That place is very, very dangerous. Sick."

Poor people, wealthy people -- everyone is still traumatized by the 1990 coup and the death, injury and destroyed businesses. Some well-known figures still refuse to speak to Bakr or shake his hand. He is not forgiven.

His refusal to publicly apologize for the coup rankles. But some days he takes a softer tone.

I caught up with him, by phone, during Ramadan 2002.

"Is the coup one of your mistakes?" I ask.

He begins, as he often does, with a story.

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"Let me answer you this way. Imagine you were to come into your house and you saw somebody murdering your daughter or your son. You kept telling them to stop that act of aggression and to stop murdering and oppressing your children. And a gun went off and some of the peop

## Graphic

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Colour Photo: Illustration by Robert Cross, The Ottawa Citizen; (See hard copy for illustration).; Colour Photo: (Donna Jacobs); Photo: Donna Jacobs; Yasin Abu Bakr, leader of a failed coup attempt in 1990 in Trinidad, was open to discussion about his alleged ties to terrorism. Though he denies ties to al-Qaeda, he readily admits that his group, Jamaat, 'rules the streets.'; Photo: Shirley Bahadur, Associated Press; Supporters of cheer Yasin Abu Bakr, imam of the Jama'at-al-Muslimeen (Muslim Group) in Trinidad. The group's membership is estimated at 20,000 -- almost two per cent of Trinidad's 1.3 million population.; Photo: Donna Jacobs; Sources say Jamaat has penetrated the government at the highest levels in exchange for helping the People's National Movement, a leftist party, win at the polls.; Photo: Donna Jacobs; A young woman washes her baby at a roadside pipe at Sea Lots, an impoverished tin-shack community within view of Port of Spain highrises. Jamaat officials complain that 'these people live as rats.'; Map: (See hard copy for map).; Photo: Donna Jacobs; Poverty and crime run rampant in Port of Spain suburb Laventille.; Photo: Donna Jacobs; Woodward Estates -- where businesspeople live in huge houses on the sides of wooded hills -- is one example Jamaat points to as how the rich are getting richer (some from drug dealing, money laundering and government corruption) while the poor get poorer.; Photo: Donna Jacobs; Sadiq Al Razi, an engineer by training, is a high-ranking Jamaat member. Trinidadians are angry and cynical, he says, as corruption and injustice 'continue unabated.'; Photo: Donna Jacobs; Trinidad and Tobago's Prime Minister Patrick Manning has assured the Americans that Trinidad is moving to protect the islands' energy supplies from terrorism.

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## *High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London*

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### **Body**

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On Fridays, in front of north London's Finsbury Park mosque, what begins as a call to prayer ends up sounding like a battle cry to jihad, or holy war.

A hooded muezzin calls out in the middle of the road, and worshippers gather.

They've been praying outside for more than a year, since the mosque was shut down after a police raid. They don't have a permit, but police block traffic nonetheless.

Then come the enforcers, swaggering to and fro as they prepare the way for Abu Hamza al-Masri, the cleric the British government accuses of inspiring terrorists.

"Yo! Yo! No pictures," a man with a headscarf covering all but his eyes shouts to a photographer.

Other bodyguards bark at worshippers not to talk to reporters.

A hulk of a man, dressed all in black, tells police that a TV cameraman is too close to where his leader soon will be standing.

The road is a public space, an officer says.

"You don't want to have a bad day," the man in black replies. "You have your rules, we have our Islamic rules."

The cameraman is moved back.

It's a balmy spring day and 100 worshippers stand barefoot on blue plastic sheets spread out on the road.

Music that clearly isn't part of the program blares from an apartment overlooking the street.

So, when Hamza finally appears wearing a black turban and microphone, it's to the incongruous sounds of rap.

"Seek the way of death," he says in English, his voice booming through loudspeakers.

"Try to do actions that subject you to death ... because you would love to go to paradise.

"You would love to meet your Lord."

## High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London

He then attacks what he calls the "racist" state of Israel and accuses Jews and Zionists of "controlling all the banks."

The Zionists, he adds, kill Palestinian children and steal Palestinian land.

He shifts to Iraq, where he says "explosions" targeting U.S. soldiers are the work of Muslims who "love death" and defend their land.

"All of these people, they are keen to die honourably, for the sake of God, for the sake of religion. It's a culture we are proud of," he declares.

"Our beloved Prophet said if you die to defend your religion, you are a martyr. If you die to defend your honour, you are a martyr. If you die to defend your property, you are a martyr," he bellows.

"So die honourably. Don't die humiliated."

With his one eye and metal hooks for hands, 44-year-old Hamza has become the notorious public symbol for what police insist is a growing terrorist threat on British soil.

Again on Friday, a top police official described a strike by extremists against Britain as "inevitable."

"I think there are people out there that wish us harm, and I think they will continue to wish us harm for some time to come," said James Hart, police commissioner for the City of London.

Long accused of turning a deaf ear to locally based, Al Qaeda-linked extremists, British police are intensifying a crackdown that began after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks on the United States.

But mainstream community leaders among Britain's 2 million Muslims detect a backlash.

Heavy-handed police tactics, they charge, are pushing Muslim youths into the arms of extremists.

"They have alienated a large segment of the Muslim community because of the police action," says Inayat Bunglawala, whose Muslim Council for Britain meets regularly with Home Secretary David Blunkett.

The crackdown is a far cry from pre-Sept. 11 days, when French authorities coined the term "Londonistan" and accused Britain of striking an implicit pact with extremists: Don't bomb us; we won't bother you.

The British tradition of granting asylum, and London's role as a hub for international banking and the world's media, made the city a magnet for exiles and radicals across the Middle East.

It became a money-laundering centre for extremist activities abroad. But British residents could not be prosecuted for planning attacks outside the country until the Terrorism Act of 2000.

By 1994, Osama bin Laden had established a "media office" in London under the control of his associate, Khalid al Fawwaz. It operated freely until 1998, when Fawwaz and two Egyptian associates were arrested under U.S. extradition warrants linking them to the bombing of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

All three remain in jail while waging legal battles against extradition.

By 1994, London was also the home of a leading preacher of radical Islam, Palestinian cleric Abu Qatada. A Spanish judge describes him as Al Qaeda's spiritual ambassador in Europe.

Police estimate that up to 1,000 British Muslims were recruited during the past few years to fight for the deposed Taliban regime in Afghanistan or to train in Al Qaeda camps.

## High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London

At the Finsbury Park mosque, where police suspect some recruiting took place, worshippers included Zacarias Moussaoui, accused of intending to be the 20th airplane hijacker on Sept. 11, and Richard Reid, convicted of trying to explode a shoe bomb on a U.S.-bound flight from Paris.

A BBC poll in December, 2002, indicated that 8 per cent of Muslims surveyed believed Al Qaeda would be justified in launching terrorist attacks in Britain.

Recently, Sir John Stevens, commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, spoke of a "definite link" between Islamic extremists in the United Kingdom and the cell that carried out the March 11 train bombings that killed 191 people in Madrid.

The U.K. crackdown began with a post-Sept. 11 law that allows suspected terrorist who are not British citizens to be held indefinitely without charge.

A dozen are behind bars, including Abu Qatada, all being held under conditions described by Amnesty International as "cruel, inhuman and degrading."

Bunglawala says he recognizes that Britain is a terrorist target. His council and other Muslim groups have even drafted action plans in the event of an attack to confront an expected rise in "Islamophobia."

In March, the council sent a letter to imams of Britain's 1,000 mosques, asking them to report to police any activities that suggest a terrorist threat.

The letter was written after eight London-area men were arrested and linked to half a tonne of ammonium nitrate fertilizer that can be used for bombs. In Ottawa, Canadian software specialist Momin Khawaja was arrested in connection with the alleged plot.

Thousands of British Muslims have had their homes searched or been randomly stopped and questioned.

Bunglawala accuses police of casting wide arrest nets in fishing expeditions. But a spokesperson for the Association of Chief Police Officers says some of the most valuable information about suspected terrorists comes from within the Muslim community.

"We're not targeting Muslims, we're targeting terrorists," he says.

Since Sept. 11, 2001, 572 people have been arrested for suspected terrorism offences.

Of those, 97 were charged with such offences and 289 were released without charge. The rest were charged with crimes not related to terrorism, including violating immigration laws.

Only six people have been convicted of terrorist-related activities, two of them non-Muslims.

The arrests are accompanied by frightening media tales of would-be terror attacks that fuel distrust of Muslims. But releases generally go unmentioned, fuelling a sense of injustice among Muslims.

Last week, all 10 people arrested a week earlier - headlines had them preparing a chemical attack on a Manchester United soccer game - were released without terrorism charges.

High-profile arrests in alleged plots to release poison gas in the London subway, and to use ricin in a chemical weapons attack, resulted only in convictions for fake passports.

A story still discussed widely in the community is of a 29-year-old London-area Muslim whose home was raided by police last December. He claims he was handcuffed prostrate in his prayer room and repeatedly beaten while laughing officers asked, "Where is your God now?"

He was released without charge seven days later. The Police Complaints Authority is investigating his claims.

## High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London

Exacerbating anger is Britain's close alliance with the United States on Iraq and in Israel's conflict with the Palestinians.

Last month, when U.S. soldiers assaulted the besieged Iraqi-rebel stronghold of Falluja, Bunglawala was stunned to see 15 gruesome pictures of the battle's victims posted on the bulletin board of his London-area mosque.

Printed from the Al-Jazeera TV Web site, they showed bloodied corpses, mostly of women and children, from a battle that has killed at least 600 Iraqis.

Young men crowding around the pictures were livid, Bunglawala says, and called on God to help the Falluja resistance.

They railed against a perceived Western double standard: Arab attacks against occupying forces in Iraq and Palestinian territories are terrorism, but attacks by U.S. or Israeli soldiers against Arabs are in the name of democracy and self-defence.

Radicals such as Omar Bakri Mohammad, another London cleric, exploit this sentiment to recruit Muslims to their cause, Bunglawala says.

Bakri's influence is being questioned in a trial that began Monday in connection with the first British citizens to become suicide bombers.

On April 30, 2003, 21-year-old Asif Hanif blew himself up outside a Tel Aviv bar, killing three people and injuring 65.

With him was Omar Sharif, 27, who ran away after his bomb belt failed to detonate. Sharif was found mysteriously drowned in the Mediterranean 12 days later.

Sharif's sister, 36-year-old Parveen, is charged with inciting her brother to commit the act, while his wife and his brother are charged with failing to disclose information that might have prevented the bombing.

All pleaded not guilty.

Sharif was the youngest of six university-educated children, all born in Britain to Pakistani parents.

He made three trips to Damascus to study Arabic and the Qur'an, lived in west London and had three children, one a 7-week-old daughter, at the time of his death.

On April 10, he and Hanif had travelled to Damascus. Two days later, they used their British passports to enter Israel. Before carrying out their suicide mission in the name of the Palestinian group Hamas, Sharif sent e-mails to his family back home.

To his wife, he wrote: "We did not spend a long time together in this world, but I hope through Allah's mercy and your patience we can spend an eternity together."

He asked her to pray that Allah "makes me sincere, firm and that he accepts my actions."

His sister e-mailed him: "Stay focused and determined. You have no time for emotions."

After the attack, police searching Sharif's house found material from Al Mahajiroun, a radical group founded and led by Bakri.

Bakri admits to knowing Sharif, but denies any knowledge of his bombing plans.

The material in Sharif's house included notes his wife made of a Bakri lecture entitled: "What the West refers to as suicide bombings, which we refer to as Martyrdom Operations."

Ten days ago, Bakri gave a similar lecture, in English, to 50 young men in a community centre in east London.

### High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London

The audience sat enthralled as the rotund sheikh delivered a talk with the rhetorical flare of a Baptist preacher. At the sound of key phrases, or the name of Osama bin Laden, they shouted in unison: "God is great."

"He is a great man for me," says Bakri, 45, referring to bin Laden.

Bakri was born into an affluent family in Syria, moved to Saudi Arabia and fled to Britain in 1986 after hearing he was to be arrested for preaching jihad at university campuses. He has been granted indefinite leave to stay.

He claims there are 1,000 members in his group, describes the Sept. 11 attacks as "retaliation" for U.S. policy in the Middle East and calls the hijackers who slammed planes into the World Trade Center and Pentagon "the magnificent 19."

In his lecture, he makes clear that Al Qaeda will strike European cities if bin Laden's recent offer of a truce - in return for foreign troops pulling out of Iraq within three months - isn't accepted.

He insists he doesn't want to see attacks in Britain, although he rejects everything about the country.

"Any Muslim that joins the British army, the police or parliament - he becomes an apostate," says Bakri, who wants to see Britain transformed into an Islamic, Taliban-style state.

"There's no legislator but God. That's why Muslims do not follow, obey or submit to anyone but almighty Allah."

Referring to Tony Blair, he says: "You can call yourself prime minister, but in my eyes you are kuffar" - a non-believer and non-Muslim.

He describes suicide bombers as following the path to paradise, a place where everyone lives in massive palaces. Room after room is filled with beautiful maidens in baths and "rivers of milk and honey" flow everywhere.

His young listeners giggle with eagerness.

Bakri and Hamza controlled the Finsbury Park mosque until its trustees, who opposed the radical clerics, shut it down after the police raid in January, 2003.

The British government now wants Hamza out of the country. At an unprecedented legal hearing to strip the Egyptian-born cleric of his British citizenship last week, government lawyers accused him of harbouring and encouraging terrorists.

Yemen wants him for allegedly planning terrorist attacks there, but the cleric denies terrorist links. He also denies recruiting British Muslims to fight abroad.

He recently told the Star he doesn't want British Muslims to fight in Iraq because that would result in a premature victory against the United States.

Better for U.S. soldiers to stay longer in Iraq, so that more of them will die, he said.

"It's not in the interests of Muslims that Americans go out of Iraq now, because they have to learn lessons harder than Vietnam.

"So, we would like them to stay a bit longer, really." "Muslims do not follow, obey or submit to anyone but almighty Allah'

## Graphic

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## High-profile arrests; few charges Jihad in London

RANDY QUAN FOR THE TORONTO STAR A masked member of Abu Hamza al-Masri's entourage keeps an eye on media and police observing the radical cleric's incendiary Friday sermon on the street outside the shut-down Finsbury Park mosque. RANDY QUAN FOR THE TORONTO STAR With his one eye and metal hooks for hands, 44-year-old London firebrand cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri, here holding a street service in north London, has become a notorious public symbol for what British police insist is a growing terrorist threat on British soil. RANDY QUAN FOR THE TORONTO STAR With his one eye and metal hooks for hands, 44-year-old London firebrand cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri, here holding a street service in north London, has become a notorious public symbol for what British police insist is a growing terrorist threat on British soil.

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## *A year in Obituaries*

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### **Body**

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Joan Aiken, writer, was born on September 4, 1924. She died on January 4, aged 79.

Joan Aiken was the author of some of the best-loved children's books of our time, although she rarely received due recognition for them. She produced some 20 novels for adults, ingeniously exploiting the possibilities of crime and mystery, but her distinction as a writer lies in her varied and richly imaginative books for children. The axis of these is the long and inventive series of adventures that began with *The Wolves of Willoughby Chase* in 1962, predicated upon the alternative history of a Stuart monarchy continuing into the 19th century with Hanoverians questing for control. Aiken herself liked to live in worlds of her own, and although she had many friends, she was something of a recluse.

\* Frances Partridge, CBE, writer, was born on March 15, 1900. She died on February 5, aged 103.

Frances Partridge was the survivor of that small and loosely defined group of people named after a London square. She will be remembered for as long as people continue to be fascinated by Bloomsbury, since she knew all the key figures so well and played such a crucial role in the various crises in the life of one of them, Lytton Strachey. Although she began her writing life in 1927, not until she was 78 did she publish anything under her own name. Her biography of Julia Strachey and her two volumes of autobiography won high praise, but it is likely that her diaries will constitute her lasting memorial.

\* Norman Thelwell, cartoonist, was born on May 3, 1923. He died on February 7, aged 80.

In the new-found affluence of the Fifties, the growing numbers of middle-class parents saddled with six-legged daughters were a ready-made market for Norman Thelwell's child-and-pony cartoons, and his rotund little rosette-hungry horseriders and their spherical steeds became the bestselling stuff of books, mugs, greetings cards and tea towels. Also an enthusiastic landscape artist, he was philosophical about the comparative lack of attention his more serious work received, declaring in 1986: "I'm quite sure that there are many excellent artists who would not be averse to stumbling upon something which caught the public imagination."

\* His Eminence Franz Cardinal Konig, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Vienna, 1956-85, was born on August 3, 1905. He died on March 13, aged 98.

The Austrian Cardinal Franz Konig was one of the most influential Roman Catholic churchmen of the postwar era. For four decades, under four popes, he was a trusted Vatican insider, exerting a profound and progressive influence on the worldwide Church. His greatest achievement was Catholicism's "opening to the East" at the height of the Cold War. For almost 25 years, he was a vital link between the Vatican and the persecuted Church of Eastern Europe. As Archbishop of Vienna, he also proposed John Paul II for the papacy.

## A year in Obituaries

\* Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, leader of Hamas, was born in 1937 or 1938. He died in an Israeli missile attack on March 22.

Sheikh Ahmed Yassin was the spiritual and political leader of the Palestinian militant group Hamas, an organisation infamous for its campaign of suicide bombings that led to the death of countless civilians. Confined to a wheelchair and speaking in small squeaks, Yassin had the demeanour of a fragile, pious sage.

Yet he was possessed by an unswerving ruthlessness. His fanaticism inspired sacrificial devotion among men willing to kill civilians in the cause of the destruction of Israel.

\* Queen Juliana, Queen of the Netherlands, 1948-80, was born on April 30, 1909. She died on March 20, aged 94.

The style of Queen Juliana's reign of almost 32 years was informal and relaxed.

She scrupulously performed her many royal duties, including making State visits to Britain in 1950 and 1972. And she was a unifying force in her country, both in the postwar years of reconstruction and when it proved difficult to find a prime minister for a coalition government for some months in 1972-73. Just as her mother, Queen Wilhelmina, had abdicated in 1948, Queen Juliana became the second to do so in 1980. Yet the affection of the Dutch people for their Royal Family was enhanced by the dignified handling of the successions.

\* Sir Peter Ustinov, CBE, entertainer, was born on April 16, 1921. He died on March 28, aged 82.

Sir Peter Ustinov was a wit, an actor, a diplomat, an intellectual who spoke six languages, a man of great understanding and of encompassing, Shakespearean spirit.

He could be a figure of Falstaffian benevolence, laughing at the idiosyncrasies of men to show the shared humanity behind them; but equally he could be King Lear, raging against inhumanity. He appeared in nearly fifty films and won two Oscars; he wrote short stories and articles; he made records and radio programmes and directed plays, films and operas. Above all, he was the best of raconteurs. The sound of laughter was to him, he said, "the most civilised music in the world".

\* Alistair Cooke, journalist and broadcaster, was born on November 20, 1908. He died at midnight on March 29-30, aged 95.

The best-known broadcaster of his age, Alistair Cooke was also the most accomplished practitioner. His Letter from America, which went out weekly from 1946 until the month of his death, was easily the longest-running BBC programme.

It spanned the history of America, from the days of recovery after the Second World War, through the Cold War and the turbulent 1960s, to the attacks of September 11, 2001, and the Iraq war. Letter from America had its critics -who regarded it as altogether too bland and soft -but even among its detractors there was no denying the sheer professionalism with which it was done.

\* Norris McWhirter, CBE, author and broadcaster, was born on August 12, 1925. He died on April 20, aged 78.

After a brief career as an international sprinter, in which he represented Scotland and Great Britain in the early 1950s, Norris McWhirter became a sports journalist, then a television commentator. He and his twin, Ross, were fascinated by facts and became founder editors of the Guinness Book of Records in 1955, with Norris continuing until 1985. Individual freedom was their obsession, and after Ross's murder by the IRA in 1975, Norris launched the Freedom Association, campaigning for the strictest possible rule of law, which he believed to be the only basis for a free society.

\* Estee Lauder, cosmetics empire founder, was born on July 1, 1906. She died on April 24, aged 97.

Estee Lauder was a formidable businesswoman whose innate grasp of marketing and female psychology took her to the top of the beauty industry. She did not just sell face creams. She sold a dream, fleshed out by a series of

## A year in Obituaries

lofty-looking house models. She was the first to use a model to represent a range: buy the face cream, the advertisements suggested, and you too might live like the Lauder woman. You too might inhabit a gracious world full of Ming vases, borzoi hounds, topiary and magnolias. By the early 1980s her company was worth about a billion dollars, making it the largest privately held cosmetics company in the world at the time.

\* Thom Gunn, poet, was born on August 29, 1929. He died on April 25, aged 74.

Thom Gunn was one of the most charismatic poetic talents of the past half century and one of its shrewdest moralists. He made a strong critical impact with his first collection, *Fighting Terms* (1954), written while an undergraduate at Cambridge. His reputation wavered after his move to the United States, but he continued to develop as a poet, applying the disciplines of art to a life lived experimentally. From the 1970s on, his poetry dealt frankly with homosexual experience and his volume *The Man With Night Sweats* (1992), which registered the effects of the Aids crisis, won the first Forward Prize for poetry in Britain and the Lenore Marshall Poetry Prize in the US.

\* Hubert Selby Jr, writer, was born on July 23, 1928. He died on April 27, aged 75.

Worked and reworked painstakingly over a period of six years, the handful of linked short stories that make up the novel *Last Exit to Brooklyn* gained for Hubert Selby an instant notoriety in 1964. Few authors have written so graphically of the brutalisation of the denizens of the streets. Yet *Last Exit's* dispassionate observation of violent robbery, prostitution, gang rape and homosexual activity are treated in an almost moralistic framework that lends them a power which endures beyond their initial capacity to shock.

\* The 11th Duke of Devonshire, KG, MC, was born on January 2, 1920. He died on May 3, aged 84.

A tall, slim, fit man who wore suits of the finest lightweight worsted, and who was always well brushed and pressed, Andrew Robert Buxton Cavendish was the younger son of the 10th Duke. His elder brother was killed in the last months of the Second World War, and as 11th Duke, Andrew managed to restore the fortunes of the family seat, Chatsworth. He was a man of many interests, the principal one being books. He was a pillar of support to the London Library, and he also assisted various tennis, racing and football bodies.

\* Lord Murray of Epping Forest, OBE, PC, General Secretary of the TUC, 1973-84, was born on August 2, 1922. He died on May 20, aged 81.

As General Secretary of the Trades Union Congress from 1973, Len Murray was at the helm during years in which the relationship between Government and industry on the one hand and organised labour on the other went through a profound and irrevocable change. When he assumed office in the final year of Edward Heath's Conservative administration, the TUC stood on the verge of greater influence on economic affairs than it had ever had before. But the Winter of Discontent strikes handed power from Callaghan's subsequent Labour Government to Margaret Thatcher in 1979, and by the time a second general election in 1983 had confirmed the Conservatives in power the TUC was a broken reed. Murray had seen his cherished belief in consensus in the conduct of economic life utterly vanquished. In retirement he adhered to his resolve to lead a private life.

Jack Rosenthal, CBE, television dramatist, was born on September 8, 1931. He died on May 29, aged 72.

\* Jack Rosenthal was one of the outstanding television dramatists of his generation and among the few whose work could be guaranteed to carry a personal signature. He wrote for *Coronation Street*, *That Was the Week That Was* and *Taxi!*, among many others. His forte was close observation of ordinary lives, tempering realism with humour, and he often drew on his own roots - northern, working-class and Jewish - to lend authenticity to his dramas. From the moment he met Maureen Lipman, whom he married in 1973, their writing, joking and punning was a collaborative pleasure.

\* Frances Shand Kydd, mother of Diana, Princess of Wales, was born on January 20, 1936. She died on June 3, aged 68.

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As the mother of Diana, Princess of Wales, Frances Shand Kydd maintained her dignity at every stage of a life subjected to intolerable pressures caused by having fame thrust upon her family. As her son, Earl Spencer, put it: "Diana's marriage in 1981 moved us from the shadows of the landed aristocracy into the role of bit-part players in the soap-opera fantasy world that the media foisted on the Royal Family." She later converted to Roman Catholicism and was renowned for her charity work.

\* Ronald Reagan, President of the United States, 1981-89, was born on February 6, 1911. He died on June 5, aged 93.

Ronald Reagan manifestly lived the American dream in which he so fervently believed. He rose from the humblest origins to become a minor Hollywood star, Governor of California for two terms, and finally America's 40th President. His presidency was controversial and marked by some signal failures as well as achievements, but he handsomely won two presidential elections and was one of the few presidents to leave office better loved than when he was sworn in. As President, he will be primarily remembered for hastening the end of the Cold War by ordering the largest peacetime military build-up in United States history.

By the time Reagan left office, the threat of nuclear war between the West and the communist bloc had greatly diminished. Reagan's foreign policy in other areas, however, notably the Middle East and Central America, was far less successful.

\* Ray Charles, musician, was born on September 23, 1930. He died on June 10, aged 73.

Ray Charles was a singer whose fusion of gospel fervour and secular love lyrics made him a seminal force in the pop music world. The singular authority of his rough-hewn, R'n'B vocal style had an immense impact on the British and Irish pop singers of the Sixties: Joe Cocker, Steve Winwood, Van Morrison and Eric Burdon, of the Animals, were among those who cited him as a formative influence. He was fluent in all three of the basic musical forms of black America -jazz, blues and gospel -and by welding them into a coherent whole he created the genre that became known as soul.

\* Anthony Buckeridge, OBE, schoolmaster, writer and playwright, was born on June 20, 1912. He died on June 28, aged 92.

"If I had been an undertaker," Anthony Buckeridge once wrote, "I would write funny stories about funerals." As a schoolmaster, though, he turned naturally to the foibles of boys for his source material and, in the creation of Linbury Court School and its inhabitants, he shared with several generations of young readers his delight in the ridiculous. His play Jennings Learns the Ropes, written after the war for the BBC, so impressed the producer of Children's Hour that he was commissioned for five more scripts. Such was their popularity that Buckeridge soon found himself kitting them out to join the ranks of the English school story, with the first book, Jennings Goes to School, appearing in 1950.

\* Marlon Brando, actor, was born on April 3, 1924. He died on July 1, aged 80.

For the generation of cinemagoers who came of age in the 1950s, Marlon Brando was a role model and icon. He had the talent to embrace the first half-dozen roles offered to him and he put an indelible personal stamp on each of them. He exuded a new kind of male sexuality, rough and sweating, as Stanley Kowalski in *A Streetcar Named Desire* (1951). He was also noted for his appearances in *The Wild One* (1954) and *On the Waterfront* the same year. He was in the doldrums for 20 years before reinventing himself as *The Godfather* in 1972, and put himself back in favour among the intellectuals with *Last Tango in Paris* the same year. Later he worked when he felt the need to add a few noughts to his bank account, and the films of his last years were little more than footnotes to his long and impressive career.

\* Paul Foot, journalist and author, was born on November 8, 1937.

He died on July 18, aged 66.

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Variously regarded as being dedicated to the truth or as a calumniator of justly earned reputations, as being totally irresponsible or deeply humane, Paul Foot could never be denied the reputation of being one of the most compulsively readable and passionately committed journalists of his day. An articulate spokesman of the far Left in the pages of *Private Eye*, the *Daily Mirror* and *The Guardian*, and at the end of his life one of the few remaining proponents of old-fashioned revolutionary socialism, Foot was an Angry Young Man who refused to stop being angry.

\* Sacha Distel, singer and guitarist, was born on January 28, 1933.

He died on July 22, aged 71.

Sacha Distel was a heart-throb French singer and entertainer whose projects ranged from pop vocal to jazz guitar and from Bardot to Chicago. The great Gallic vocal seducer of his era, with an irresistible appeal to women of all ages and climes, he became the best known of French male singers outside his own country. Yet the mere quality of his voice could hardly tell the whole story of the almost mesmeric effect he had on audiences wherever he appeared.

\* Francis Crick, OM, FRS, biologist, was born on June 8, 1916.

He died on July 28, aged 88.

Francis Crick was one of the most distinguished and influential biologists of the 20th century, as well as one of the most flamboyant. He was the biologist whose co-discovery of the structure of DNA in 1953 unlocked the "secret of life", for which, with J. D. Watson, he received a Nobel prize. He was not afraid to court controversy. In 1981 he published *Life Itself*, in which he suggested that life on Earth might have been planted as micro-organisms by an advanced alien civilisation.

\* Henri Cartier-Bresson, photographer, was born on August 22, 1908. He died on August 2, aged 95.

Considered by many to be the greatest photographer of the 20th century, Henri Cartier-Bresson was a legendary French photographer who evolved the concept of "the decisive moment" and helped to found the Magnum agency. Cartier-Bresson published many books, the most important of which, *Images à la Sauvette* (1952), is his definitive statement and one of the seminal works in the history of photography.

\* Paul "Red" Adair, firefighter, was born on June 18, 1915.

He died on August 7, aged 89.

When the Piper Alpha production platform in the North Sea exploded on July 8, 1988, killing 167 of the 225 men on board, there was only one man in the world who could douse the fires and avert an ecological disaster. The Occidental Petroleum Company called him in: "Red" Adair, a 73-year-old Texan whose exploits in fighting wild wells from the Equator to the Arctic Circle had made him a legend. Adair was credited with tackling more than 2,000 oil-well fires.

\* Bernard Levin, CBE, journalist, was born on August 19, 1928. He died on August 7, aged 75.

A writer whose life of passionate commentary on art and society was distilled in his 25 years as a *Times* columnist, Bernard Levin was the most famous journalist of his day. Prolific, controversial, passionate, versatile, maddening, enthusiastic, sometimes irresponsible, always courageous, he was recognised instantly in the street by people of all ages.

\* Fay Wray, actress, was born on September 15, 1907. She died on August 8, aged 96.

Fay Wray will always be remembered as the blonde girl who gets snatched up into the paw of a huge, besotted gorilla in the 1933 film classic *King Kong*. No Hollywood player of the vintage era had a bigger or hairier leading man; and few later took their pigeonholing as a one-film performer with such good grace. In the late 1920s, Wray

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worked with some of the most notable directors then working in Hollywood -Erich von Stroheim, Josef von Sternberg and Mauritz Stiller -and only five out of her seventy-seven feature films could properly be classified as horrors. But somehow the gorilla was always there.

\* Johnny Ramone (John Cummings), guitarist, was born on October 8, 1948. He died on September 15, aged 55.

Lou Reed's famous dictum that "one chord is fine, two chords are pushing it, three chords and you're into jazz" might well have been the maxim of Johnny Ramone, the guitarist of the band that played punk rock before the genre was even named. For more than 20 years, between the Ramones' formation in 1974 and their final split in 1996, Johnny Ramone stood stage right, legs spread, eyes down, hammering out some of the most influential chord sequences of the late 20th century.

\* Russ Meyer, film director, was born on March 21, 1922. He died on September 18, aged 82.

Russ Meyer was undoubtedly one of the most influential writers and directors in Hollywood in the second half of the 20th century and was hailed by the screenwriting guru William Goldman as American cinema's only true "auteur". Meyer was vilified by contemporary critics and his work banned and prosecuted by the authorities. Now it is studied in film schools and celebrated at high-brow festivals. But its value remains the subject of considerable debate: many still find it difficult to applaud a man whose work was driven by an obsession with large breasts. For whether they played kittens or killers, the women in Meyer's films all corresponded to his fantasies.

\* Brian Clough, footballer and manager, was born on March 21, 1935. He died on September 20, aged 69.

Brian Clough was one of the most successful football managers of his era, winning a total of 12 major trophies with the previously unfashionable Derby County and Nottingham Forest, both of whom he elevated from the second division to the League championship. He was one of only two managers to have won the old English first division title with different clubs. In addition, Clough led Forest to victory in the European Cup in 1979 and 1980. He was also perhaps the most charismatic and certainly the most outspoken -football manager this country has produced.

\* Richard Avedon, photographer, was born on May 15, 1923.

He died on October 1, aged 81.

Almost everyone who was anyone in late-20th-century Western culture was at some stage captured by the lens of Richard Avedon. His portfolio contained more than half a century of work: from Marilyn Monroe to Ezra Pound, from Jimmy Carter to the Duke and Duchess of Windsor, hundreds stood against the bleak white backdrop that he made his hallmark. Though having one's portrait shot by Avedon was, from the 1950s onwards, a mark of having arrived in society, the pictures themselves were not always flattering. Avedon was often censured for what critics saw as the misanthropy of his approach -a judgment he sternly contested. He will also be remembered for his high-profile advertising campaigns for fashion giants such as Calvin Klein, Chanel and Versace.

\* Janet Leigh, actress, was born on July 6, 1927. She died on October 3, aged 77.

Janet Leigh made more than 50 films -romances, period dramas, thrillers and westerns -and she co-starred with Errol Flynn, Judy Garland, Frank Sinatra and John Wayne, but she will be remembered primarily for one movie in which she died long before the end. A single scene has ensured her place in popular cinema history, and her character's death in *Psycho* (1960) remains one of the most memorable, chilling and iconic ever. Leigh's terror, Alfred Hitchcock's frenetic camera-work and Bernard Herrmann's violin music gave audiences nightmares and set personal hygiene back years.

\* Maurice Wilkins, CBE, FRS, biophysicist, was born on December 16, 1916. He died on October 5, aged 87.

The biophysicist Maurice Wilkins shared the 1962 Nobel Prize for Physiology or Medicine with Francis Crick and Jim Watson, nine years after their discovery of the structure of DNA. But while Crick and Watson enjoyed the limelight, Wilkins did not. A diffident and private man, he preferred to stay in the shadows, and his contribution to

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the remarkable discovery of the double-helix DNA structure the molecule that genes are made of -remains relatively little known.

\* Jacques Derrida, philosopher, was born on July 15, 1930.

He died on October 8, aged 74.

Jacques Derrida, whose name became practically synonymous with the word "deconstruction", had an enormous, though not uncontested, influence on literary study in the later half of the 20th century. While he disliked the term "philosopher", he was nevertheless one of the most important thinkers of his era.

Derrida revolutionised our understanding of words, texts, reading and authorship.

For him, the meanings of texts were never stable. His term "deconstruction theory" -the approach by which one unpicks a text layer by layer to expose its unspoken meanings -has become common parlance. Both his acolytes and his detractors agree that Derrida made a phenomenal contribution to Western philosophy.

\* Christopher Reeve, actor and activist for disabled rights, was born on September 25, 1952.

He died on October 10, aged 52.

Christopher Reeve first came to fame in Superman (1978) as one of cinema's last great traditional heroes. A man who knew right from wrong, he was a superhero driven by a belief in truth and justice. In 1995 Reeve was paralysed from the neck down in a riding accident, and he went on to campaign ceaselessly for the disabled and their rights. He wrote a best-selling autobiography and even resumed his screen career, both as an actor and as a director.

\* John Peel, OBE, broadcaster, was born on August 30, 1939.

He died on October 25, aged 65.

John Peel was Britain's most durable and consistently innovative disc jockey for almost 40 years. While most of his Radio 1 colleagues became identified with a specific era, style or genre of music and were soon superseded by younger faces, Peel endured thanks to his remarkable ability to adapt to changing musical fashions and to remain at the cutting edge of taste. He had a seemingly bottomless enthusiasm for the new and the left-field, and in his time he championed underground, progressive rock, punk, reggae, thrash metal, hip-hop, hardcore and ethnic music long before they crossed into the mainstream.

\* Lord Hanson, businessman, was born on January 20, 1922.

He died on November 1, aged 82.

During the 1980s, the corporate-raiding Hanson Trust was the bane of sleepy corporations on both sides of the Atlantic. With a series of aggressive takeovers, it rapidly became one of Britain's biggest and most successful companies. The company's chairman, James Hanson, and his lieutenant, Gordon White, would identify and capture an undervalued, badly run target, then Hanson Trust would clear out the management, cut costs and restore the company to its core business. The two men were regularly denounced, but their supporters, who included Margaret Thatcher, argued that they delivered value for their shareholders and swept away the complacency that had bedevilled British and American management for far too long.

\* Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates, was born in 1918.

He died on November 2, aged 86.

Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan al-Nahyan, President of the United Arab Emirates since its inception in 1971, began his adult life as a poor Beduin tribal leader and became one of the richest men in the world. He was the ruler of Abu Dhabi, the largest and richest of the seven crucial states of the Gulf which became united under his presidency in

## A year in Obituaries

December 1971 after the withdrawal of British Forces from the region. As such he wisely oversaw the spending in the UAE of the huge revenues from oil which had come on stream in Abu Dhabi from 1962. The UAE is the third-largest oil producer in the Gulf after Saudi Arabia and Iran.

\* Emlyn Hughes, OBE, footballer, was born on August 28, 1947.

He died on November 9, aged 57.

Known to players and fans as "Crazy Horse", Emlyn Hughes was one of the most talented footballers of the 1970s, and almost certainly the most enthusiastic. He played for England 62 times, 24 of them as captain, and was captain of Liverpool during one of the club's glory eras. He was an inspiring leader. "I am a shouter on the field and though 90 per cent might be rubbish, the remaining 10 per cent could be good advice," he said. He later found renown as a panellist on the BBC's A Question of Sport.

\* Yassir Arafat, President of the Palestinian National Authority, was born on August 4, 1929.

He died on November 11, aged 75.

Yassir Arafat was the Palestinian leader who inspired his people's struggle for a homeland but lacked the political clout to make their dream a reality. A tireless politician, administrator and, in the opinion of some, an exhibitionist and opportunist, for more than 40 years Arafat inspired his people to remain hopeful for eventual freedom from Israeli occupation. He also won almost universal recognition for his Palestine Liberation Organisation as the sole representative of the Palestinian nation. In 1994 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace, jointly with Shimon Peres, the Israeli Foreign Minister, and Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli Prime Minister. In the end, however, he took his dream of a Palestinian state to his grave.

\* Arthur Hailey, novelist, was born on April 5, 1920. He died on November 24, aged 84.

Arthur Hailey was famous both for the reliance of his fiction on facts (hostile critics called them factoids) and for the feature films that were made from his books. Airport, published in 1968, was perhaps the best known of these; it was made into an immensely successful movie and inspired several more on cognate subjects. His 11 books were published in 40 countries, and world sales to date have exceeded 170 million copies. A prodigious researcher, he disclaimed any creative dimension to his books. "I don't think I really invented anybody," he said.

Dame Alicia Markova, ballerina, was born on December 1, 1910.

She died on December 2, aged 94.

Alicia Markova became an international star while helping to establish a British ballet tradition. She was blessed with a phenomenal technique and beautiful style, and her presence at a critical time in the 1930s proved invaluable in founding the institution of British ballet, not only by attracting audiences to the early efforts of the young companies but by the inspiration she provided both to creative artists and to other dancers.

\* Lord Scarman, PC, OBE, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, 1977-86, was born on July 29, 1911. He died on December 8, aged 93.

In a distinguished judicial career Lord Scarman won an assured place in the annals of English law as the outstandingly successful chairman of the Law Commission during the first seven years of its life, and he went on to become a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary from 1977 to 1986. He was a man of radical and progressive instincts, and in no instance was his liberal humanity and understanding of social issues better displayed than in his remarkable report on the Brixton riots of 1981.

\* Renata Tebaldi, Italian soprano, was born on February 1, 1922.

She died on December 19, aged 82.



## A year in Obituaries

To many Italians, Tebaldi was *la nostra Renata*, our Renata. Many of her greatest successes were in America, both North and South, but she remained the most Italian of singers. She refused to sing in any language but her own, even if the opera happened to be by Wagner or Gounod. She preferred to speak in Italian and had only a smattering of English when she conquered the Metropolitan Opera House in the mid-1950s. But the phrase was also used to divide Tebaldi from her great rival Maria Callas. When Callas was "in" at La Scala, then Tebaldi was out. And vice versa.

\* Anthony Sampson, author and journalist, was born on August 3, 1926. He died on December 18, aged 78.

An author and journalist with a lifelong commitment to human rights and social justice, Anthony Sampson fought his first battles in Africa in the 1950s, when he was involved in the African National Congress's struggle against the iniquities of the South African apartheid regime. Invited to edit the influential magazine *Drum*, he became a close associate of Nelson Mandela and other leading ANC figures and found himself at the heart of African nationalist aspirations.

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## *Yes, I think power drives you mad*

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### **Body**

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Wole Soyinka, the writer and activist, argues in this year's Reith Lectures that the powerless become terrorists, but too much power can drive a leader insane

Oracular, poetical, ironical -to be frank a little windy -this year's Reith lecturer is not an easy man to paraphrase. But I'll have a go.

Wole Soyinka will suggest in his Climate of Fear lectures that terrorism is a question of power. Without power, the oppressed seek to avenge their indignity with violence. Have too much power, and the gods send you mad. The righteous terrorist who starts out fighting a genuine tyranny is therefore fated to end up insane, crazed by the power he has to inspire fear in others. Thus Osama bin Laden, the holy warrior ridding Afghanistan of its Soviet invaders, is last seen giggling in his cave at the death of 3,000 American office workers.

"Clearly", says Soyinka, "he is not even now without a vision, the vision of a purified Arab nation and an Islamic world. But on the way he's become mentally warped."

Perhaps the Nobel prize-winning Nigerian playwright, poet and political activist should leave it there, playing shrink to al-Qaeda. But he goes on, taking his diagnostic skills to the White House. George Bush, he tells me, hears voices.

"He's another Joan of Arc. He believes he's carrying out the will of God, that he is acting directly on orders from God. And that is dangerous. That puts him more or less at the same level as Osama bin Laden."

People won't like him saying that, I caution.

"I know they won't but they have to consider the possibility that there's a grain of truth in what I'm saying. We're looking into people's make-up, their motivations. If you believe you are acting under divine orders then that is very dangerous for us on Earth. I don't consider Bush is the kind of contemptuous terrorist that bin Laden is, but I believe it is possible for two people walking in different directions to do so from the same kind of psychological make-up and basic motivation.

"Incidentally, I separate Bush's motivation from Blair's. I think Blair is an unfortunate, tragic figure who acted from the best of motives, and the reason I say this is because of his conduct in Kosovo. He was the one who pulled Europe together and made the Americans enter the war on behalf of the Muslims. This was a very powerful signal for the whole world, a powerful signal to the Muslim population. And I believe it's the same kind of principle which led Blair to act precipitately (in Iraq)."

Yes, I think power drives you mad

He is conducting this morning's tutorial on terrorism in the busy lobby of a building near Hyde Park. He is dressed, disappointingly, in shirt and jeans rather than in the tribal robe he wears for the Reiths, but his fine face is good value, topped by excessive white curls that turn him into a cross between Albert Einstein and the juvenile Michael Jackson. It is hard to credit he is 69.

It's two weeks since he recorded his first lecture, *The Changing Mask of Fear*, at the Royal Institution, and what weeks they have been! In Piccadilly on lecture night, amid an audience of BBC executives and past Reith lecturers, terrorism was the subject of polite intellectual scrutiny stimulated by wine and canapes. During the Q and A at the end, one clever clogs suggested it would shortly become clear that al-Qaeda did not actually even exist. Two days later there was Madrid.

Now, even as we meet, comes news that Israel has assassinated Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, the "spiritual" leader of *Hamas*. A few days on and Tony Blair will glad-hand Colonel Muammar Gaddafi. Terrorism seems to be everywhere, even if it is sometimes hard to know who the terrorists are. Indeed, as I later say to Soyinka's annoyance, some people even consider him a terrorist for holding up -or so it was alleged -a radio station 40 years ago.

When the BBC acting Director-General Mark Byford, in his speech of thanks, spoke of the authority with which Soyinka spoke he was not, naturally, thinking of this.

He had in mind the two years that Soyinka was locked up by Nigeria's military Government for supposedly "spying" for Biafra during the 1967-69 civil war. He was never charged and, in fact, his mission to the Biafran leader, General Emeka Ojukwu, was to persuade him of the folly of separation. After his release he began an "exile of despair" in France but returned to Nigeria in 1975 for a university post. Twenty years later he was again forced to flee a military regime in Nigeria, escaping over the border after a 12-hour bike ride.

He now lives primarily in Los Angeles although, after the dictator Sani Abacha's suspicious death in 1998, he has got back his Nigerian passport. He has just returned from visiting his homeland to help prepare the elaborate funeral of his (third) wife's father. His relationship with Nigeria is a rollercoaster, he says, and he is on a downward plunge: "The President of the nation and myself had a slanging match on the pages of the newspapers. I accused his Government of certain deficiencies and his party of harbouring a nest of killers. Plus ça change."

If, then, Soyinka is an expert on terror, his specialism is state terror and he majors in African dictators. A recent Soyinka play, *King Baabu*, reworked Alfred Jarry's absurdist masterpiece, *Ubi Roi*, turning the mad king into a composite of African tyrants from Idi Amin to Abacha. His lectures will contain several digs at Robert Mugabe. Every time a dictator falls, he says, he uncorks a bottle of wine.

About the motives of the terrorist, however, Soyinka's guess is hardly better informed than yours or mine. He has suffered more than most, but that, unless you are Christ Himself, does not necessarily bestow wisdom. These lectures -or the drafts I have seen of them -show him thinking deeply about terrorism's causes but his thoughts remain flamboyantly conjectural. They are certainly not free of writerly hyperbole. If we are to take seriously, for instance, his comparison of Bush with bin Laden we must, presumably, also take literally his complaint to me that political correctness in American universities has degenerated into "fascism".

What truly fascinates is how his own life corresponds to his insistence on the importance of dignity as a human right, the lack of which, as in the case of the Palestinians, he regards as a prime cause for terrorism.

Now, Soyinka is one of the most dignified people I have ever met. His very comportment denotes a steady evaluation of his own worth. Yet he has been subjected to appalling indignity. For most of his 27 months in jail in Kaduna he was chained and left in solitary confinement. He went on hunger strike, suffered the mental torture of being told repeatedly he was on the verge of release and was almost blinded by the dry Saharan wind that blew through the cell's glassless window, leaving his right eye permanently damaged. He says that a slave can never have dignity. Can a prisoner?

Yes, I think power drives you mad

"It's a very good question. The difference being a prisoner is that you're in a microcosm of your own and therefore you can aspire to some dignity in relation to your jailers. In fact, you're freer internally than your jailers, because your jailers are constantly receiving orders -'Treat him this way, take away his pens, his writing paper, you know, humiliate him some more.' But you are in your own world. It's a community of one and you control that community completely. So while there are moments when you feel extremely frustrated and you have a sense of humiliation because you cannot walk out, once you've transcended that, it's possible to actually make them feel inferior to you."

You do not, however, need to be jailed to have your dignity tested. In 1954 Soyinka arrived in Britain to study at Leeds University. In 1957 he moved to London as writer in residence at the Royal Court, where his play, *The Invention*, was staged. His academic credentials and career success did not, however, make him any less "coloured". His adventures finding digs are memorialised in his poem, *Telephone Conversation*, in which a potential landlady asks exactly "how black" he is.

Facially, I am brunette, but madam, you should see  
The rest of me. Palm of my hand, soles of my feet  
Are a peroxide blond. Friction caused - Foolishly madam -by sitting down,  
has turned My bottom raven black.

He offers to show it to her.

"Discrimination was very strong, very subtle, very hypocritical," he recalls. "But I made up my mind from the beginning that I would ignore it. Only on a few occasions did I feel like somebody had stepped on my toes with hobnail boots and I reacted in a very loud, near-violent way. There were a few scuffles. But since the approach of the British was a very hypocritical one, I decided mainly simply not to notice."

On the contrary, he noticed so carefully he took precise revenge in his poem, much anthologised at the time. Similarly, in prison he wrote constantly, using lavatory paper and cigarette packets. His prison memoir, *The Man Died*, is considered one of his finest works. To indulge in a little speculation myself, it seems that human dignity is bound up with the ability to express yourself -and to find someone to listen.

As is apparent from his memoirs, *Ake: The Years of Childhood*, even aged 3 Soyinka considered it his mission to proffer opinions and ask questions. Born in Abeokuta, south-west Nigeria, his father, Samuel, was headmaster of the local primary school. His mother, Grace, was a respected political force in the community who led a protest against a tax on women. He joined in her political battles and the larger fight for independence from British rule.

Typically, however, when commissioned to write a play to mark independence in 1960, he annoyed the government by devising an allegory, *A Dance of the Forests*, in which the "half-child", Nigeria, feared she would be born dead.

He was equally assured when it came to his writing style, although he has frequently been accused of prolixity, obscurity and self-consciousness. Scolded by black writers for borrowing from Western rather than exclusively African mythology, he asserted his right to write in whatever style and tradition he wanted.

The "negritude" campaign for an authentic black African literary voice waged by his friend, the Senegalese poet and President, Leopold Sedar Senghor, never really recovered from Soyinka's put-down that "a tiger does not proclaim its tigritude".

In 1986 he received the Nobel Prize for Literature, becoming -belatedly, some cattily noted -the first African and first black to be so honoured by Swedes.

Their motivations," he says now, "were their problem, never mine."

Significantly, the only time Soyinka was driven to violence was when his voice, in the guise of his democratic vote, was ignored. In 1965, after a fixed election in western Nigeria, he reportedly burst into the local studios of the Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation and at gunpoint ordered the tape of a speech by the fraudulent new premier to be replaced by another telling him to get out of town.

Yes, I think power drives you mad

Soyinka spent three months in prison awaiting trial and was then acquitted of armed robbery on a technicality. He left court on his supporters' shoulders.

Soyinka reminds me that he was found not guilty. Is he saying it wasn't him?

"Let's speak in the third person. Let's look at this figure, since we are on the subject of terrorism. I would not say that holding up a radio station to publicise the true result of an election and to remove a tape broadcasting a lie was a terrorist act. We were living at the time under a terrorist regime. If there were any acts of terrorism -and there were several recorded -those acts were perpetrated by the Government."

Was the gun loaded?

"I don't know. You're asking me questions that are prejudicial. But I doubt very much if anybody would be foolish enough to walk into a place like that, swarming with policemen, with an unloaded gun."

He must have been a passionate young man, I say. Switching to the first person, he agrees that even at school he stood up to bullies. He tells me a story from the early Seventies. He was driving in Upper Manhattan when a taxi in front screamed to a stop. A woman leapt out, followed by a man who took her by the shoulders and began to pound her head against a wall. Soyinka got out and knocked him down, only for the woman to pummel him, shouting that she loved her man and to leave him alone.

"I said, 'Please take her home, I beg you, and give her the beating of her life.

You love each other. You deserve each other. Please go home and beat her shitless.' And I ran back to the car and fled."

Only afterwards, he says, did he realise how stupid he had been, a black man taking on a white man in a white city. But Soyinka has never felt inferior to anyone, not as a child, not among the racists of our own islands, and not when jailed by a dictator. That he can imagine himself into the mind of the pathetic, voiceless terrorist who, like some crazed reader of Alain de Botton, uses violence to address his status anxiety, demonstrates what a true artist he is. Wole Soyinka's first Reith lecture will be broadcast on Radio 4 at 8pm on April 7.

**Load-Date:** March 30, 2004

**G2: First two bitter wars in Chechnya. Then a savage massacre in Beslan.  
Now Russia's nightmare is coming true: an explosion of Islamic militancy  
across an entire region**

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## **Body**

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The film is shaky, its pixillated frames jarring as it scans across the contents of the makeshift morgue. A leg, a dark mound of pubic hair, a heavily burned head, a broad chest that must for years have seemed invulnerable. About 60 bodies are heaped without decency or clothing on the floor of the refrigerated wagon, their blank faces caught by the mobile phone's camera.

"It looks like something from Treblinka," says Raya, whose son Vyacheslav, 30, a former Russian special forces soldier, lies among the dead. "I looked for him for a week before I found him there."

Yet the authorities say these are not the bodies of victims but of "terrorists", some of at least 92 men shot dead by special forces when they staged one of the biggest uprisings in Russia since the second Chechen war in 1999. On October 13, about 200 men in the sleepy southern spa town of Nalchik staged simultaneously eight armed attacks on police stations, the headquarters of the security and prison services.

The attacks failed spectacularly. Groups of about eight to 10 men, many from the town's educated, young middle classes, appeared hopelessly ill-trained to face Russia's souped-up special forces. One witness who watched the storming of the security services building recalls hearing them shouting frantically at each other: "How do you reload a grenade launcher?"

Officials say that the attacks began when police unearthed an arms dump meant to supply a larger uprising in early November, and the militants decided to go for broke, summoned by just a phone call from the underground Islamic groups that they had joined.

Police responded with brutal efficiency and the insurgency was over within hours. In total, officials said, 33 police and 12 civilians died, far fewer casualties than after previous attacks by Islamic militants in the region. But the violence had one undeniable consequence: Russia had lost the control and the cooperation of yet another town in the troubled north Caucasus.

In mid-2002, when I first came to the region, extremist and separatist violence was limited to the grey ruins of Chechnya, crippled by two separatist wars in the 90s. But by 2003, the violence had begun to spread to neighbouring Ingushetia, then further west to the tiny town of Beslan in September last year. By the end of this year, months of violence in Dagestan, to Chechnya's east, and the Nalchik attacks in the previously dozy republic of

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Kabardino-Balkaria, proved conclusively that the Kremlin had failed to keep a lid on the violent radicalisation of an entire region. Moscow may blame foreign fundamentalism for infecting its southern flank, but it is clear that Europe now has its own indigenous Islamist movement with militant teeth, what one analyst close to the Putin administration has called a "Russian ***Hamas***". Extremists within the movement advocate establishing by force an Islamist caliphate across the north Caucasus.

Last Sunday, Russia attempted to complete the political solution it has imposed on the republic by holding parliamentary elections, a final bid to convince the outside world that the conflict is ebbing rather than intensifying. Ahead of the vote, I travelled from Nalchik in the republic of Kabardino-Balkaria through five other republics to see how and why Islamic radicalism began to captivate the north Caucasus.

The growing power of the jamaats

The bodies of the dead of Nalchik will not be returned to their relatives. Russian anti-terrorist laws forbid it, but critics say the move is designed to thwart the Muslim imperative to bury the dead within 24 hours.

Raya's son Vyacheslav had wanted to be a policeman when he left the elite Russian special forces. "He tried to join, but I did not have the money to pay the bribe needed to get a job there," she says. "Nobody needs people like him, who don't smoke, drink or pay bribes. All he wanted to do was live cleanly and honestly." She says her son joined a local "jamaat", or council, a strict Islamic group which claims to offer an alternative system of justice to the corruption of the local authorities.

Raya's membership of the jamaat and regular attendance at a mosque attracted the attention of the local police, says his mother. He was arrested twice, she says, once as he left prayer. "They beat him, once on the kidneys so badly that he could not work (as a builder) for a week. After you go through that, you are ready to do anything."

Tales of police abuse are echoed by others. Fatima Mamayeva's husband, Timur, is now on a police wanted list for suspected involvement in the uprising; earlier this year, he was arrested and heavily beaten four times. "They put a plastic bag over his head to partially suffocate him." She says police recently joked to her that she will have to take revenge as a "shakhidka", or ***female*** suicide bomber.

Another suspect is Rasul Kудayev, a former wrestling champion whom the Russian authorities cite as proof of the international connection to the militants. Kудayev was arrested in Afghanistan by US troops in 2001 and held in Guantanamo Bay. In May 2004, he returned home to Nalchik, telling his family he had been given mysterious coloured pills and subjected to extreme temperatures, irritant gels and stress positions. He told them that local police continued to harass him for months and then accused him of attacking a police checkpoint on October 13. They arrested him 10 days later. His lawyer, Irina Komissarova, says that when she saw him on October 26 he had to be carried into the room and had clearly been beaten.

One woman, Ira, had two sons who died in the arrests, Rustam, 25, and Ansur, 21. She says they were both graduates with no history of arrest. "If they are guilty, then they are guilty, but how can they be terrorists? They attacked government buildings and police."

The mobile phone film of the morgue is circulating, and fuelling their anger. "What do you think is going to happen next if we can't get the bodies?" says Rustam, hinting at further insurrection. "What would you want to do?"

Poverty and religion

Moscow's bid to master the predominantly Muslim Caucasus is a centuries-old and turbulent enterprise, born in tsarist times of an imperial need to "civilise" a neighbouring people. But since the fall of the proudly secular Soviet Union, corrupt local government and intense poverty have been the catalyst of an Islamic revival in the north Caucasus.

The Kremlin has often played down social decline in this tinderbox region. But in June this year, Putin's envoy to the north Caucasus, Dmitri Kozak, wrote a report for his boss that said intense local corruption, unemployment and

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police abuses were bolstering the role "extremist groups" and "Sharia enclaves" were playing in the region. Poverty hasn't helped; over the past three years, the United Nations Development Programme in Moscow has noted, living standards have risen across Russia but remained the same in the north Caucasus. In this climate, anger has grown, and the response from Moscow has been brutal, the practical application of Putin's famous promise to "kill the terrorists in the outhouse". All of which has made the Islamist alternative appear more attractive.

Rasul is a senior figure in the Kabardino-Balkaria jamaat. Young, well shaven and liberally doused in aftershave, Rasul is the only one of three deputies to the jamaat's head - a fugitive ideologist called Musa Mukhozhev - who is not on the run or believed to be dead.

Rasul spent three and a half years at a retreat in Saudi Arabia, where he learned Arabic. His jamaat, which forms smaller deputy councils in each village, requires that its members go to the mosque as often as possible to pray. "The jamaat is never supposed to do anything against the local government," he says. "We go to the local administration and say that we have a group of young, physically fit volunteers who are ready to help people with any problem." He says the groups, which are often led by a young man rather than a village elder, follow a contemporary take on sharia law that bans drinking and frowns upon smoking and premarital sex. Suspected criminals are called to make amends before their peers and are threatened with expulsion from the jamaat, he says. Would the group ever use violence to further its ends? "Yes. When we have to."

Rasul blames the Nalchik attacks on a months-long crackdown by police against suspected radicals. "They started arresting the youth in the villages," he says. "They were shaving crosses in their heads." He says many were tortured: a 28-year-old had a bottle inserted in his rectum and had to go to hospital to have it removed; people were battered on the kidneys; fingers were slammed in doors. A spokeswoman for the Kabardino-Balkaria police denied all accusations of torture and said such "rumours" are distributed by those interested in "destabilising the republic".

Rasul says most participants in the October 13 violence were "well connected" to local jamaats. "There is not one person who took part in that who was not beaten by the police," he claims. "If the torture continues then it (the conflict) will become more radical. If they keep beating our sisters and parking armoured personnel carriers near our houses, then the 4,800 men left in the jamaats will not listen to Musa (Mukhozhev, their leader). They will not listen to anyone."

A lockdown now chokes Nalchik. Thousands of Russian troops, drafted in from across Russia's south, stand on street corners and sleep in school gyms, where six-year-olds now go to school next to men with AK47s. One senior Russian ministry of interior officer says: "Chechnya is now in the 10th stage (of insurgency). They are getting cleverer and cleverer. But this place is in stage one. We have to take hardcore measures; it will die down and we can go home."

## Back to Chechnya

To reach Chechnya, I have to pass through the republics of North Ossetia and Ingushetia. The former is home to Beslan, where at least 32 gunmen held a school hostage last September, killing 331, roughly half of whom were children. In 2002, the United Nations rated Ingushetia as the second worst place to live in Russia (after the remote republic of Tyva, just north of Mongolia). Since then it has also begun to resemble a conflict zone. In June last year, militants took over the capital Nazran for a night, killing up to 100 local police.

Chechnya's own capital, Grozny, is a city ground down to a dusty despair. When I arrived, prior to the elections on Sunday, it was under a deep fog. The vote marked an almost surreal attempt to impose some common ground on the warring factions among Chechen society, whose internecine violence is proving such a powerful recruiting tool for Islamic militants. The pro-Kremlin party, United Russia, won nearly two-thirds of the votes, amid widespread accusations of serious electoral fraud.

In March 2003, the Kremlin handed over control of Chechnya to a loyal group of Chechens headed by the mayor of Grozny, Akhmed Kadyrov. Installed as president in October that year, he and his son Ramzan, 28, began buying up an impressive army of former militants and mercenaries that became known as the "Kadyrovtsi" - Kadyrov's people.



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The Kremlin gave these pro-Russian Chechens the task of suppressing fellow Chechen separatists and militants, thus turning Chechen against Chechen. The Kadyrovtsi, who quickly earned the Russian military's brutal reputation, have gradually become the republic's new caretakers.

There are now four main groupings among the pro-Russian Chechens, some more orderly than others. On June 4, a unit from one of the battalions carried out an operation on the border between Chechnya and Dagestan. Just after 4pm, 300 masked troops burst into the village of Borozdinovskaya and, in an uncomfortable echo of the Beslan massacre, herded its men into the school, where they were held, say witnesses, for nine hours. Eleven men were led away and have not been heard of since.

It's a familiar equation, one that Zerem, a senior commander in another unit, says makes the militants even more popular. "All the time we are bickering among ourselves, they get stronger and stronger," he says, pointing to a region on a map of Chechnya on the wall of his Grozny office. With his finger he draws an oval around four villages in the south: the volatile Vedeno and Nozhai-Yurt regions. In this region, Zerem says, the militant leader Doha Umarov commands 200 men out of a scattered force of about 3,000 Islamic militants.

Zerem says this year eight men have left his home village to join the Islamists. "The militants are agitating very strongly right now. They have a recruiter in every village. The government is paying no attention to the youth at the moment, and if someone is beaten, let's say by federal troops, he will join the militants to take revenge."

#### Dagestan

High in the hills of the mountains above the Dagestani capital of Makhachkala, about four hours' drive from Grozny, is the village of Ghimri. A ramshackle tunnel bores through the mountains for the last three miles, leading out on to what seems like a different country, the green star and crescent flags of Islam peppering the unrefined beauty of the landscape.

The local school teaches Arabic, women cover their hair, arms and legs, and in rare cases, their faces. When someone was last caught drinking two years ago, they got 40 lashes. Local criminals are asked to repent before their peers at the local mosque. Most residents claim the village adheres to some form of sharia law; whether it adheres to Russian law is open to question. In May three men shot dead a local police chief who was trying to stop them blowing up the tunnel to the village. They hid in Ghimri, the village refused to give them up and the police dared not enter.

Outside the mosque, Magomed-Ali, 17, says: "We have sharia here. Theft does not occur. People do not drink. Some smoke, but only a bit." The town has its own jamaat that works alongside (some say above) the local administration.

Habib, 27, moved here after finishing his Islamic studies in Syria in 2001. "Each person has their own path and we have ours here," he says. "You know the situation. Our youth talk about jihad. I have my children, my family and we all fulfil what we can of our Islamic obligations."

Habib expresses concern that the federal authorities might move to reassert secular control over the village. "Who wants their home destroyed?" he asks. He is right to be concerned. The town of Karamakhi , a mucky cabbage plantation a few hours drive from Ghimri, renounced Russian rule and declared itself under sharia law in 1998. By September the next year, Putin's military had removed many of the roofs from the village's houses, leaving its 5,000 residents to live among the ruins. According to Ibadullah Mukayev, now the head of the local administration, at least 50 residents were killed. "People saw how bad it was," says Mukayev, "what happened to their homes. If you go against Russia, where do you go?"

But Dagestan retains active, extremist local jamaats. Explosions and gunfights have claimed the lives of police and militants almost every second day since January. In Makhachkala, I am given a propaganda video made by local young "mujahideen" by a militant sympathiser who gives his name only as Abdul. The son of a well-known Islamic ideologist in the region, he begins the now familiar justification. He was himself tortured by the police two years ago,

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he says. "They picked me up off the street, and knew who I was. They beat me with telephone cables, batons. They put a gas mask on my head and beat my chest. I weighed 70 kilograms when I went in, and 47 when I came out two months later." He lists other torture methods he has heard of: objects violently inserted into the anus, women and children raped in front of male relatives. The Dagestani police deny all allegations of torture.

Like Rasul in Nalchik, Abdul is a meek young man reeking of aftershave. Yet his rhetoric becomes less gentle when he speaks of what should follow. "The reaction of any man to this is to take up arms and get revenge. The jamaat provides a focus for the soul, and our members are not the unemployed or discontented, but the educated and middle class. We have lost 40 Dagestani members of the jamaat so far this year against the police. The aim of the jamaat is to create a united Islamic caliphate in the north Caucasus and live as is written in the Koran. Will the fight be difficult? Yes. It is written that it should be."

Civilian casualties are an "unintentional consequence" of jihad, he says. As we pass a checkpoint, he winds up the window between him and the police officer outside and continues with an ominous confidence.

"No part of this jamaat is underground. We can all go where we want, rent a flat, raise a family, travel to Moscow." He mocks police incompetence: "They do not know who we are." Then he shakes my hand in parting, courteous and demure. "Assalam alaikum," he says. Peace be with you \*

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