

**Date and Time:** Saturday, May 4, 2024 2:16:00AM EEST

**Job Number:** 223498100

## Documents (100)

1. [Excess baggage](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

2. [Morality and War](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

3. [Be grateful to those who sacrificed for freedom in WWII](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

4. [Council Urging Talks With Iran On Atom Bombs](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

5. [Letters to the Editor](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

6. [Major Step in Iraq As Council Named; SUPPORTERS: It's the birth of democracy. SKEPTICS: Americans are still in charge.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

7. [NEWS SUMMARY](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

8. [Heightened dangers lurk all around us](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

9. [There's No Escape When War Turns Ghoulish](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

10. [LETTERS](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

11. [\*Two Views of Democracy for Iraqi Voters: Bullets and Ballots\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

12. [\*With victory realised, time for the post-mortems\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

13. [\*Will France stop tiptoeing over head-scarf ban? ; POLITICUS\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

14. [\*A new party steps up\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

15. [\*NEWS SUMMARY\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**

**Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

16. [Palestinian Bomber Kills 8 and Wounds 50 in Jerusalem](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

17. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

18. [In low-tech street war, a different set of rules ; Deception is a key underdog tactic](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

19. [Letters to the editor](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

20. [Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff report.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

21. [Word for Word/Early Warnings The Surprise Was More When Than Whether or How](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

22. [In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

23. [WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE COLLAPSE IN MORALITY THAT FOLLOWED THE LIBERATION?](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

24. [Letters](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

25. [Don't think of widening this war; Committing ground troops or going into Iraq would destabilise a huge region of the globe, argues William Dalrymple](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

26. [Bomber kills 15 Israelis at pool hall: Sharon cuts U.S. visit short, vows to uproot 'terrorism'](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

27. [Far from victory](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

28. [Ideas & Trends Invasion Is Easy. Occupation Is Hard.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

29. [Chaos reigns in West Bank camp](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

30. [Bomber hinders Powell: U.S. demands Arafat condemn such attacks](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

31. [BACKGROUND: ISRAEL 'S ADVERSARIES: Hamas: Back-seat driver to Arafat group; Palestinian -run movement opposes the peace process](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

32. [TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

33. [Bedouins Are Often Forgotten in Efforts to Aid Israeli Arabs](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

34. [Guerilla girl power seeks role rebuilding Sri Lanka ; The best-trained female guerillas in the world also recognise a solemn moral obligation to the future](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

35. [Jenin sealed off after battle: As Israelis gear up for body-removal, nobody can say for certain how many died](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

36. [Letters from readers](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

37. [Israel won't 'surrender to blackmail': Sharon cuts U.S. visit short after suicide bomber kills 15](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

38. [SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

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

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

40. [Double-up in Middle East game](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

41. [On Baghdad Streets, Loyalty To Rebel Cleric Is Still Fierce](#)



**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

42. [Time to bring Iran in from cold: The west should start treating Iran like the superpower that it is - and allow it to possess nuclear weapons](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

43. [I'M IN THE DESERT!; RETURNING TO THE SYRIA OF HIS CHILDHOOD SUMMERS WAS TO BE A TRIP DOWN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

44. [U.S. troops surround holy city](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

45. [The good, the bag and the beautiful FASHION](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

46. [Spreading the Word: Who's Who in the Arab Media](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

47. [Mullahs on a nuclear mission](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

48. [Taking notes on terror](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

49. [CHECHEN BUTCHER TARGETS BRITAIN](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

50. [What Set Loose the Voice of the People](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

51. [Iraq takes key step to self-rule](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

52. [Abraham's children chat](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

53. [LETTERS TO THE EDITOR](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

54. [Turkish Town's Despair Breeds Terrorists, Residents Fear](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

55. [FRIENDLY AND FRENETIC; WESTERN MAIL THEATRE CRITIC DAVID ADAMS VISITED IRAN TO STUDY THE](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

56. [A NATION CHALLENGED: THE LIAISON She Spoke for Taliban And Now Pays a Price](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

57. [\*Victory and prosperity\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

58. [\*Sharon's Risks - and Why He Took Them\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

59. [\*BURST OF ATTACKS FROM PALESTINIANS CAUSES 14 DEATHS\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

60. [\*Israel attacks security complex\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

61. [\*BACKGROUNDER: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**

**Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

62. [Letters](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

63. [World Briefing Middle East: Lebanon : Militiamen And Families Back From Israel](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

64. [A bitter taste for vengeance](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

65. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

66. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

67. [No Headline In Original](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

68. [Vegetarians are not fair game](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

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

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

70. [International Briefs](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

71. [1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE\[\]](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

72. [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:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

73. [What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

74. [Film & Music: Film: The banality of murder: Beirut is being shaken by a new film that tracks down the killers - not the victims - of the notorious massacre of Palestinian refugees by Lebanese gunmen](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

75. [Elmasry's interview started firestorm](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

76. [Old kamikazes not suicidal](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

77. [Abbas orders forces to prevent attacks against Israel](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

78. [1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACEI](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

79. [Israeli Army Splits With Pals On How to Govern Territories THE SITUATION](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

80. [Defining Hamas: Roots in Charity and Branches of Violence](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

81. [Turning back the clock in the Muslim world: U.S. actions in Iraq threaten to undo, not remake, the region](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

82. [War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors



**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

83. [\*Naming the Evildoers\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

84. [\*ABBAS DECLARES VICTORY IN VOTE BY PALESTINIANS\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

85. [\*The Everything Explainer\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

86. [\*The DIY terror threat\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

87. [\*A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack\*](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**

**Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

88. [THE POWER of ONE - IRAQ : AFTER THE FALL](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

89. [Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night raid on a suspected Palestinian terrorist](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

90. [Ex-Aide to bin Laden Describes Terror Campaign Aimed at U.S.](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

91. [U.S. Israel policy not to blame](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

92. [14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS; THERE'RE MANY UNKNOWNNS IN 2-WEEK-OLD WAR, HERE ARE SOME ANSWERS 14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**

**Narrowed by**

News

Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

93. [Woman's suicide attack; news from Britain and around the world](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

94. [Un Should Condemn Syrians](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

95. [Deportations more cause for concern than strippers](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

96. [MONDAY UPDATE](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

97. [LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to Dec 31, 2005

98. [Unhealthy bedfellows](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

99. [Middle of the road map](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

100. [Eats meets west](#)

**Client/Matter:** -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah"

**Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

**Narrowed by:**

**Content Type**  
News

**Narrowed by**  
Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to  
Dec 31, 2005

## **Excess baggage**

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

July 21, 2001 Saturday

Late Edition

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**Section:** TRAVEL; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1118 words

**Byline:** Edited by Steve Meacham

### **Body**

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#### Snack in a box

Sick of airline food? Some of you might get your appetite back from Wednesday when Qantas introduces its new meal services on domestic flights. It's been a long time coming but Neil Perry's entree into economy is finally afoot: flights within Australia will feature the likes of bacon and onion egg cakes and pumpkin and fetta tarts for breakfast, and "quality braised dishes" such as lamb korma and beef penang - served with salad and ciabatta roll - for dinner. Lunch passengers will get gourmet sangers and focaccias, while dips and breadsticks, cheeses, cakes and biscuits will be available at customers' "convenience", Qantas says. And the familiar tray service will be replaced with a meal in a box, "to fit the innovative and contemporary style of service we will be serving", says Qantas executive general manager of marketing, Denis Adams. (Can't wait until the tired old meals on the Sydney-LA leg get a similar makeover). Let us know what you think of the new meals from July 25, by writing to GPO Box 506, Sydney 2001, or email [travel@mail.fairfax.com.au](mailto:travel@mail.fairfax.com.au)

#### Mobility guide

Illawarra Tourism is to be congratulated for its special booklet designed for visitors with limited mobility. With a foreword by Louise Sauvage, the international **female** wheelchair athlete of the year, it's a great guide to accommodation, restaurants and attractions in the Illawarra that are suitable for those whose lack of mobility doesn't imply lack of adventure. Details 4227 5545 or [www.tourismwollongong.com](http://www.tourismwollongong.com)

#### Llama charmer

There are speciality tours and speciality tours. But one that caught the eye is listed as being "especially designed for Australians with a keen interest in alpacas and llamas". Rather a limited market, possibly, but just in case there is a huge number of readers who have just been waiting for "an innovative 19-day Alpaca Odyssey Tour", read on. Certainly the setting couldn't be better. The trip, organised by Inca Tours, visits many of the highlights of Peru, including Cuzco, Machu Picchu, the Colca Canyon and Lake Titicaca. But the parts which will be particularly interesting to enthusiasts are the visits to "alpaca breeding centres, mills, markets and museums". The highlight will be an inspection of Peru's largest private alpaca breeding centre, located 4,000 metres above sea level on the Altiplano. Details 4351 2133.

#### Broaden the mind

## Excess baggage

A series of travel lectures will be held at the Australian Museum on August 4. Organised by Australians Studying Abroad, the lectures are free to people who are planning to travel or have travelled with ASA Tours, and \$7.50 for everyone else. The speakers are the Rev Dr Evan Burge, Christine Milner and Chris Wood. The first two lectures will address the subject of religion's contribution to cultural traditions and explore how Greek myths have played a vital part in forming and preserving the identity of the Mediterranean for nearly 3,000 years, while Celtic myths and folklore have enriched the cultures of Ireland, Scotland, England and France. The final two lectures concentrate on how the Mediterranean and the Baltic seas have played a powerful role in the histories of regions which surround them. Details: Freecall 1800 645 755 or [www.asatravinfo.com.au](http://www.asatravinfo.com.au)

## Flock to Norfolk

Norfolk Islanders were understandably shocked when Flight West, which served them, went under. However, the island's tourism general manager Joanne Libline is keen to stress that would-be visitors can still get there easily, thanks to extra flights by Norfolk Jet Express. The airline operates Boeing 737 services three times a week from Sydney and once a week from Brisbane. Forty thousand visitors - a record - travelled to the island in 2000-01, and new package deals have been offered to encourage similar numbers this year. For example, Norfolk Jet Holidays operates a "Fly Business Class at economy price" seven-night deal from \$959 per person, twin share. Freecall 1800 111 653.

## Smokes alarm

Smokers visiting Lebanon, take note. Lonely Planet reports that the country's Grand Ayatollah Mohammed Hussein Fadlallah - who gave up cigarettes 50 years ago and is widely thought to be the spiritual leader of the Lebanese Hezbollah movement - has announced a fatwa, or religious decree, against smoking. He argues that it endangers the health not only of the smoker but of others in the vicinity. Still, no-one's holding his/her breath in anticipation of a cigarette-free Lebanon. Smoking, at least among males, remains very much the norm.

## Sky high

Orbitz.com was launched in the US last month and is reportedly doing brisk business in the \$28 billion-a-year online ticketing business. The Orbitz search engine is a powerful one, able to scan 450 airlines and some two billion fares to find the cheapest or most convenient connections to your destinations. The Web site has been bankrolled by a group of airlines to the tune of an estimated \$290 million, and has attracted some criticism from consumer groups concerned it will promote collusion and price-fixing in the industry. Our enquiries to Orbitz HQ last week about the possibility of booking tickets online from Australia were met with this reponse: "We recognise this international destination issue and our product development team is researching enhancements. At this time, we only provide ticketing with a US origin." In the meantime, those Australians who've built up enough confidence to book and pay for tickets online can always use local providers such as [www.webjet.com.au](http://www.webjet.com.au) and [www.travel.com.au](http://www.travel.com.au)

## The best policy?

From Something to Declare, the newsletter of the Australian Customs Service, comes the story of the criminal who had a change of heart at 30,000 feet. Filling in the myriad boxes on the inbound passenger card, an overseas visitor (nationality not disclosed) about to land at Perth airport answered "Yes" to the question about prior criminal convictions. When quizzed by customs officers about his answer, the man conceded he'd done some time behind bars. His crime? Importing no less than four tonnes of cannabis into Germany. He was, naturally, refused entry and sent home swiftly.

## Star ratings

Which is Sydney's most glamorous hotel? If it's judged by the stream of foreign celebrities who check in to promote their latest film or record, the nominations are: The Park Hyatt, on the harbourfront (Russell Crowe, John Cusack, Christopher Walken and Jerry Seinfeld). Sheraton on the Park, centrally located with great views of Hyde Park (Kevin Costner, Michael Jackson, Janet Jackson, Chelsea Clinton, the Spice Girls, Oasis). And the Hotel Inter-

## Excess baggage

Continental, on Macquarie Street (Pierce Brosnan, Mel Gibson, Sylvester Stallone, Arnold Schwarzenegger, Elle Macpherson, and John Travolta).

## Graphic

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FOUR ILLUS: The Arthur and Yvonne Boyd education Centre at Bundanon, centre; International **female** wheelchair athlete of the year, Louise Sauvage, below. Norfolk Island birdlife; Sheraton on the Park, below right.

**Load-Date:** July 24, 2007

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## *Morality and War*

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

October 11, 2001, Thursday

Copyright 2001 The Christian Science Publishing Society

**Section:** FEATURES; IDEAS; Pg. 14

**Length:** 1701 words

**Byline:** Jane Lampman Religion and ethics correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

### **Body**

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To spur his followers to the horrendous acts of Sept. 11, Osama bin Laden claimed to lead a holy war against America to end its "crusade against the Islamic nation." Yet his chosen means of warfare - the fiery destruction of the twin towers of the World Trade Center - belied his claim. In the Islamic tradition of jihad, it is forbidden for men to use fire, because that is the weapon God will use in the Day of Judgment.

"One thing that struck me when I saw the TV images was that destroying those buildings by fire [represented] a usurping of the divine authority," says James Turner Johnson, professor of religion at Rutgers University, and a specialist on Islamic and Western traditions of war.

When the US launched military strikes in Afghanistan, Mr. bin Laden upped the ante with a chilling statement dividing the world into two camps, the faithful and the infidels, aiming to provoke passions and to raise the specter of religious war - and perhaps the clash of civilizations spoken of in the West.

Many Muslims have reacted with anger to the US military campaign, but are fears of a widening jihad well founded? War tends to rouse emotions on all sides, but the perceptions of the majorities in many societies are likely to be swayed by whether the actions of the players during the lengthy fight against terrorism are considered just.

When it comes to traditions of war and the efforts to harness it throughout history, those in the West and in the Muslim world are not as far apart as many may assume. The voices of Islam are numerous, as are those of Christianity and Judaism, but the moral tradition of jihad shares many similarities with the concept of "just war" in the West.

Of course, there is no guarantee that the acts of men and nations in war will conform to their principles. Yet civilizations have chosen to set those standards, based on their sense of the moral meaning of life, to serve as guides for testing potential courses of action, and for judging acts of war that have been taken.

To exert moral limits on the use of force, both Western and Islamic traditions say that war must be undertaken by a right authority (the head of a political community, not a private person), for a just cause, and under rules of right conduct.



## Morality and War

The significant difference is that, while "just war" theory originated in Christian thinking, it is now mainly a secular tradition instituted in international laws and codes, including the Geneva conventions, and jihad is inherently religious. Islamic normative thinking does not separate the religious from the political and is derived from the Koran.

"This is a fundamental difficulty between the West and the world of conservative Islam," Johnson says. "We can't understand how they can have a society where religion and politics mix, and they can't understand why we don't. And we fault each other for these characteristics."

The Muslim world is in the throes of a reinterpretation of Islamic political theory, and according to Sohail Hashmi, assistant professor of international relations at Mount Holyoke College, this is likely to bring concepts of jihad even closer to Western precepts.

### Protecting the innocent

The moral principles related to "just war" were explored first by Augustine in the 4th century, reiterated in the Middle Ages by Thomas Aquinas, and expanded by jurists and others such as Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), the father of international law. Holy war had a place in this tradition - the Crusades being the most vivid example.

Reacting to the efforts to convert Indians in the New World by force, the Spaniard Francisco de Vitoria in the 16th century became the first to reject the idea of religion as a legitimate basis for war. "Yet it wasn't until the horrendous experience of the post-Reformation religious wars, and particularly the Thirty Years' War," Johnson says, "that Western culture basically said: 'Never again.'" Still, examples of holy war appeared sporadically into the 17th century.

In addition to right authority, "just war" principles include:

- \* the idea of just cause, involving defense against attack, and retaliation.
- \* the idea of a right intention (not to dominate others, to show superiority, to enjoy the use of force, or exact cruel vengeance).
- \* a reasonable probability of success.
- \* an intention to restore a just peace.
- \* more good done than harm.
- \* use of force only as a last resort.
- \* avoidance of harm to noncombatants.

## Morality and War

\* proportionality - use of the least destructive force possible.

The West's campaign against Afghanistan (and any expansion into other countries) is being judged by many around the world on these principles, as well as by Muslims from their sense of grievance and their own traditions.

### Principles of jihad

In Islam, the war tradition is called "jihad of the sword," representing but one element of the broad concept of jihad, which refers to personal and community "striving in the path of God."

"Jihad is a very important concept in Islam," says Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, director of the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Va. "When you commit yourself to what God asks you to do, and avoid whatever he asks you to abandon, and when you cooperate with your community and encourage the practice of good - this is all part of the jihad.

"But also when somebody attacks your home, people, country, or religion, this also is jihad," he adds. "Just war is when you need to defend these things."

The author of several books on just war and jihad, Johnson says that in the 10th century, Islamic jurists in the Abbasid period of the Islamic state defined the concepts of dar al Islam (realm of Islamic society) and dar al harb (the sphere of war), representing the territories outside the Islamic state with which there were no treaties.

Offensive jihad could be initiated only by the Imam, the religious and political leader of the Islamic community. No such leader has existed for centuries - and will not again until the last days, according to Islamic teaching - so only defensive jihad may now be pursued.

The principles of war in that tradition include:

\* a purpose of self defense.

\* proportionality of response.

\* avoidance of harm to women, children, and other classes of people (the same lists as in just war), and to the environment.

\* cessation war if the enemy seeks reconciliation.

If the dar al Islam is attacked from the dar el harb, every Muslim has the responsibility to fight to protect it. During the periods of colonization by European powers, Dr. Al-Alwani says, many Muslims fighting for independence

## Morality and War

understood it as a defensive jihad for freedom. Peter Partner, the British author of "God of Battles: Holy Wars of Christianity and Islam," suggests that, at the same time, the leaders of the anticolonialist movement were largely modern nationalists, not religious people.

In fact, through history, he adds, "holy war has never been a knee-jerk reaction in Islam." Muslims didn't begin calling the response to the First Crusade a holy war until 22 years into the conflict, when they fully realized what they were facing. Saladin's campaign to oust the Crusaders later became the epitome of such war.

### Fighting the infidels

In Islam, the presence of elements of the outsiders can be viewed as aggression, Johnson says. This is the argument bin Laden uses: The presence of American troops on the holy soil of Saudi Arabia is an aggression, and therefore every Muslim has the obligation to fight back.

"Yet he departs from the normative tradition," Johnson adds, "because he is fighting America in general, not simply those stationed in Saudi Arabia, which is what the old doctrine says."

Islamic tradition says that establishment of a community where sharia is the law is God's plan for the world, and Muslims should be trying to create that society. Yet today, when one-third of Muslims live as minorities in other societies, many think less of these concepts in territorial terms, and more as spiritual struggle.

Al-Alwani, who chairs a council that issues legal opinions for Muslims in North America, has published materials aimed at modifying concepts of dar al Islam and dar al harb.

"We no longer need to use those terms," he says. Muslims should think instead of "the place of people who answer the call of God," regardless of their religion, and "the place where those people - Muslims, Christians, and Jews - need to work together" to reach the unbelievers. The conflicts between Muslims and Christians in Africa and elsewhere spurred him to this reinterpretation, Al-Alwani says. "We need to reach others by values, not by forcing them to change their religion."

The territorial concept, however, also helps to explain why groups such as Hamas in the occupied territories and **Hizbullah** in Lebanon are seen as having more justification than other radical groups, although their tactics are not supported. "The case of Israeli occupation fits the defensive jihad model much better than other situations," Johnson says.

Still, Islamic tradition forbids killing of innocents and the idea of suicide.

What al Qaeda and other similar terrorist groups are doing is a clear abuse, Al-Alwani says. "A person truly committed to his religion is a person of values, and wouldn't commit such crimes."

### Countering terrorism

## Morality and War

After the Sept. 11 attacks, the foremost authority on Sunni Islam - Sheikh Mohammed Sayed Tantawi, of Al-Azhar university in Cairo - condemned them as contrary to Islam, and the Shia Muslim spiritual leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, called the fight against terrorism a "holy war." The Iranian leader has since strongly opposed the military strikes.

"There is a real distinction between the normative tradition, represented by the Sheik of Al-Azhar, and the use it is being made to serve by people like bin Laden," Johnson says. The extent to which the words of such prominent leaders sway public opinion or more radical Muslim clerics remains to be seen.

Given the frustrations of millions in the region, the primary challenge to avoiding an intensified conflict seems to rest with the counterterrorism coalition's capacity to act in ways that are convincingly just.

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**Load-Date:** October 10, 2001

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**Be grateful to those who sacrificed for freedom in WWII**

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

May 22, 2005 Sunday

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**Section:** PERSPECTIVE; Pg. 2P; Newspaper

**Length:** 1182 words

**Series:** YOUR LETTERS

## **Body**

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Re: Noble myths of war, by Geoffrey Wheatcroft, May 15.

I am a World War II veteran. Geoffrey Wheatcroft sounds somewhat like many children born after World War II, with a liberal college education, who now pontificate with great selective misinformation.

Most of those children fail to appreciate the honor or nobility of those willing to give their all for freedom. Yes, we made mistakes. Our Sherman tanks, submarines and other war materiel were inferior. Many of our generals and admirals tried to run the war like it was World War I, and our GIs paid for it all.

Had Adolf Hitler and the Germans waited and continued the development of missile systems and atomic bombs instead of invading Poland, they could have overwhelmed us. Germany was far ahead of us while we were sitting in our "peace-at-any-price" position.

Please don't give me your sob-sister story about bombing Germany or, for that matter, the atom bomb for Japan. What we did was child's play compared to what their troops did when they viciously slaughtered millions of helpless men, women and children all over the world.

I offer Geoffrey Wheatcroft this suggestion: Find a private place, get down on your knees and be truly thankful for the Americans who willingly gave their all so you can live in freedom.

I have not agreed with any of the wars that followed mine because I never saw the threat we faced in World War II. God bless each and every man or woman who came to our country's calling. We have no business being the world's police. If we "must" go to war, go to war to win, no matter what or how - or don't go!

Al Brown, St. Petersburg

Methadone use and abuse

I want to sincerely thank the St. Petersburg Times for its informative and well-researched article on drug overdoses and deaths due to methadone (Methadone overdoses in Florida: "Safe" drug a leading killer, May 15). Lisa Greene's objective reporting may well save lives. The fact that methadone is being prescribed more and more for pain, often by physicians who know little about the pharmacology of the drug, is indeed frightening.

## Be grateful to those who sacrificed for freedom in WWII

I have worked hard over recent years, both nationally and in Florida, to get this word out - obviously, with little effect. Doctors who prescribe methadone for pain are to be commended for their efforts but must do more. Substance-abuse evaluations and drug screening should also be a part of treatment. I was at Gov. Jeb Bush's meeting on prescription abuse when he vowed to implement a registry for narcotic prescriptions. Unfortunately, the governor and state drug czar Jim McDonough have been unsuccessful to date in their efforts.

Methadone continues to be a valuable tool in fighting opiate dependence. As it takes lives when it is abused, it saves and restores lives when taken as prescribed. I only hope that the people who are responsibly treated with and benefiting from methadone are not further stigmatized.

Gary Wenner, vice president of methadone treatment services, Operation PAR, St. Petersburg

Drug needs greater regulation

Re: "Safe" drug a leading killer.

I am a licensed psychologist who has evaluated thousands of drug addicts for the criminal justice system and for disability. For nearly 20 years methadone users have come into my office for evaluations who were intoxicated and/or continuing to abuse drugs along with the methadone. Several years ago I alerted the office of the so-called "drug czar" about a very obvious problem. All I received back was a form letter defending the use of methadone, and saying that its use was backed by leading scientists.

One of my initial responses was that the scientists probably never saw an office patient "on the nod" in their entire life, and were probably looking at data from research studies. Nonetheless, I evaluated a patient just the other day to assist in his criminal case. This man's descent into breaking into his own parent's home to obtain goods to pawn was aided and abetted by methadone. When I told the man my beliefs he said that his mother would be glad to hear my views, as that is exactly what she thought.

Methadone is a scam. The problem will not improve until the state recognizes it as a problem, and has greater regulation of its use. Ultimately, it should be done away with, with research efforts directed to coming up with something better.

Michael S. Greenberg, Ph.D., licensed psychologist, Clearwater

Others hurt by flawed checks

Re: Faulty felon searches, May 15.

This editorial reveals much about the Times' perspective - rather unintentionally I suspect.

As an example, our National Instant Check System used to approve in-state firearm transfers has long inflicted the same sort of errors of identification upon legitimate purchasers of legal weapons as those listed in the editorial, such as false positives, duplicate names and bad data.

Despite the not-insubstantial difficulty, i.e., delays, rejections, etc., inflicted on buyers and sellers of legal firearms, I cannot remember ever seeing a Times editorial decrying the situation.

In contrast, during the past 12 months there have been numerous Times reports, opinion pieces and even lead editorials on the topic of incorrect data that potentially denies the rights of citizens legally seeking to cast their votes.

Since the perception regarding voter rights seems to focus on potentially disenfranchised African-Americans, who in recent elections have voted Democrat on a near 9-1 basis, perhaps it comes down to whose ox is being gored.

Be grateful to those who sacrificed for freedom in WWII

Jim Parker, Tampa

Headline heaviness

Headlines from the May 15 Times:

"Where is a sex offender to live?"

" 'Safe' drug a leading killer."

"Hezbollah grows in stature in Lebanon."

"Sugar returns as supermarket demon."

Gosh, this really made me feel wonderful! Then I felt even better when I turned to Section P to determine where to send this letter. Headlines there:

"Noble myths of war."

"Arafat, Inc."

"Klansmen+ sumo wrestlers = Freakonomics."

Isn't there any good news?

Walter Mitchell, Dunedin

Honesty in the face of illness

Re: The killer within, May 15.

I would like to thank Barry Bradley for his excruciatingly honest account of his illness. It's a scary proposition when a lay person has to self-diagnose. But physicians are not God. They are, in fact, practicing medicine. As Bradley said, no two people are alike and therefore no blanket detection or diagnosis is possible in medicine. Therefore, when we believe there is something wrong with us, we are our own best offense.

Bradley took his honesty to a plateau not usually aired in newspapers when he shared his obsession with his disease and how it has taken over every waking moment. His openness about his continuing to smoke also shed light on the addiction to one of the most powerful drugs, cigarettes. I'm rooting for his ability to quit.

What impressed me the most was the fact that he took full responsibility for his condition and didn't try to blame it on anyone else. This is most refreshing in today's world.

I hope young and old alike will read and heed Barry Bradley's words and take them to heart. My prayers are with him and his family.

Lynda Lippman-Lockhart, St. Petersburg

**Load-Date:** May 22, 2005

## *Council Urging Talks With Iran On Atom Bombs*

New York Sun (Archive)

July 16, 2004 Friday

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

**Length:** 1235 words

**Byline:** By ELI LAKE, Staff Reporter of the Sun

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

### **Body**

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The

Council on Foreign Relations will recommend Monday that America negotiate with Iran in an effort to stabilize Iraq, end Iran's pursuit of nuclear weapons, and capture members of Al Qaeda.

The Council on Foreign Relations, a private membership organization, is considered America's premier consensus-making body for foreign policy. It is rarely critical of a sitting president. In this case, its recommendation for warming ties with Iran is in line with Senator Kerry's public position on the campaign trail.

The Bush administration has signaled in the last month that it is prepared to take Iran's violations of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to the U.N. Security Council.

The report says America should pursue an offer Iran made last spring to American diplomats in Geneva to turn over some members of Al Qaeda to other countries, according to sources familiar with its contents.

In exchange, the report recommends that members of an anti-Iranian violent insurgency movement under custody of American forces in Iraq be sent to other countries to face prosecution for crimes against the Islamic republic.

Tehran originally asked for the 4,000 members of the Mujahadin e-Khalq to be rendered to their country, where State Department lawyers at the time feared they would be killed or tortured.

This advice comes as the State Department is negotiating the status of the MEK with the Iraqi interim government. A State Department spokeswoman Wednesday told The New York Sun, "We are working with interim Iraqi government and international organizations on the status of the MEK detainees. At these consultations we discuss methods to insure that the MEK members are treated in full accordance with international law and cannot pose a threat to individuals inside or outside Iraq."

America's support of a European initiative to entice Iran's cooperation with nuclear inspectors through dialogue and trade has appeared to do nothing to blunt the Islamic Republic's nuclear ambitions.

Meanwhile, conditions for Iranians seeking a referendum on the powers of the Supreme Leader have worsened since February, when the country's council of experts barred hundreds of reformist candidates from even running for office in the Majlis.



## Council Urging Talks With Iran On Atom Bombs

Last month, an interim report from the September 11 commission concluded that Al Qaeda sought and received training in Hezbollah training camps inside Iran and in southern Lebanon.

The Iraqi foreign minister, Hoshiyar Zebari, has also said his government has compiled recent evidence that Iranian agents have supported insurgents attacking American soldiers and Iraqi civilians.

It is in this environment that the Council on Foreign Relations task force on Iran has called for increased engagement with the Islamic Republic and concluded that a counterrevolution ousting the mullahs from power is not likely, but recommends America invite more Iranian students and professionals to visit America through so-called people-to-people contacts.

"This new task force finds that the U.S. government's lack of sustained engagement with Iran harms our national interests in this critical region of the world. The task force also concludes that external efforts to change the current regime are not likely to succeed, and urges the United States to pursue direct dialogue with Tehran on specific areas of mutual concern," a press release announcing the report says.

Most of the members of the task force include foreign policy realists that have been longtime advocates for engaging rogue states. The task force includes President Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski; former defense secretary Frank Carlucci, who is also the chairman emeritus of the Carlyle Group; and the first President Bush's director of central intelligence, Robert Gates.

The task force also includes the author of "Reading Lolita in Tehran," Azar Nafisi, a harsh critic of the current regime in Tehran. Ms. Nafisi did not return multiple phone calls.

Also on the task force is the chairman of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, Peter Ackerman. Mr. Ackerman has worked with Iranian dissidents to help distribute in Iran the documentary he co-produced on the nonviolent student movement that brought down Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia.

"I think that what is being called for in this report is appropriate as far as it goes. I also think there is more to be done in support of indigenous civilian based nonviolent resistance," Mr. Ackerman said. "If I believed that engagement would be counterproductive to the prospects of the Iranian democracy movement then I would not have signed it."

In Washington, some Iranian democracy activists told the Sun they are organizing a protest Monday in Washington when the new report is scheduled to be unveiled to the press.

"We are protesting because we do not agree with the approaches of the council. We believe there should be no negotiations, no dialogue, no engagement of any kind behind closed doors or in the open," said the organizer of the event and president of the Iranian Women's Alliance, Manda Ervin.

She said she had applied for a demonstration permit from the Washington, D.C., police and was initially denied one because two other protests are scheduled in Dupont Circle on Monday. Instead, Ms. Ervin said she planned on groups of 25 activists to picket the meeting where members of the council's task force will be briefing members of the press on their policy recommendations.

Ms. Ervin also said she was organizing an Internet campaign against the report and encouraging journalists affiliated with anti-regime satellite and television and radio stations to attend the event in order to ask hard questions of authors of the report.

"The council has called us back and told us to apply by e-mail for the event. They said they will let us know if they have room. That means they may not let us in," she said.

The spokesman for the council, Lisa Shields, said yesterday that all members of the "legitimate press" are welcome.

## Council Urging Talks With Iran On Atom Bombs

"We've had one satellite station call us and they are welcome to cover the event," she said. "We are working to accommodate other Persian American news organizations, we are just doing due diligence to be sure that indeed they are journalists."

The report's recommendations for selective engagement echo in many ways the Clinton administration's Iran policy in its last year in office. In 2000, Secretary of State Albright addressed a group of Iranian Americans and apologized for America's clandestine efforts to catapult the Shah to power.

She then initiated a set of dialogues with Iran over their support for international terrorism; nuclear proliferation, and Afghanistan. The council's report also recommends this approach.

Even though the FBI had concluded the prior year that senior members of the Iranian regime had directed the June 26, 1996, terror attacks on the Air Force housing facility in Saudi Arabia known as Khobar Towers, President Clinton decided Iran's election of Mohammed Khatami, whom he viewed as a moderate cleric, to the presidency warranted the warming of ties.

Today in Iran, Mr. Khatami is a weakened president and many of his reformer allies have been imprisoned and barred from politics. Last week, the Iranian interior ministry banned any public commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the Tehran University demonstrations against the regime that resulted in scores of students beaten and detained.

**Load-Date:** July 16, 2004

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End of Document

## 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

**Major Step in Iraq As Council Named;**  
**SUPPORTERS: It's the birth of democracy.**  
**SKEPTICS: Americans are still in charge.**

The Philadelphia Inquirer

JULY 14, 2003 Monday CITY-D EDITION

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**The Philadelphia Inquirer**

Found on Philly.com

**Section:** NATIONAL; Pg. A01

**Length:** 1117 words

**Byline:** Tom Lasseter KNIGHT RIDDER NEWS SERVICE

**Dateline:** BAGHDAD

## **Body**

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The first postwar governing council of Iraqis met for the first time yesterday, beginning a new political direction for the country three months after the ouster of Saddam Hussein.

In a deeply symbolic first public action, the 25 Iraqis from diverse political, ethnic and religious backgrounds set April 9 - the day Baghdad fell to U.S.-led forces - as a national holiday and banned celebrations on six dates important to Hussein and his Baath Party.

The council's formation was announced, significantly, by a prominent Shiite cleric. Shiites, long oppressed by Hussein, now dominate the council.

The council, which includes three women, will have real political muscle, with the power to name ministers and approve the 2004 budget. But final control of Iraq still rests with L. Paul Bremer, the U.S. administrator of Iraq and a major architect of the council.

"The establishment of this council represents the Iraqi national will after the collapse of the dictatorial regime," said Shiite cleric Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum from the holy southern city of Najaf.

With the U.S. military still struggling on the security front - facing daily attacks on Americans that are blamed on Hussein holdovers - establishment of the council is a major political step, giving an Iraqi face to the U.S.-led occupation of the country.

The council was assembled from representatives of the country's main political factions and ethnic groups, yielding 13 Shiites, five Kurds, five Sunnis, one Christian and one Turkman. They include former exiles, politicians, Muslim clerics, tribal leaders, social activists, physicians and lawyers.

Major Step in Iraq As Council Named; SUPPORTERS: It's the birth of democracy. SKEPTICS: Americans are still in charge.

The council said it would select its leadership today. The body's great test is winning respect from ordinary Iraqis as a legitimate institution.

Skepticism and optimism were voiced yesterday in Baghdad.

"I do not believe that they will represent the Iraqi people," Maha Ahmed, a pharmacist, said. "They were selected by the Americans, not by the people."

Razzak Abdul-Zahra, an engineer, said: "The formation of this council, which represents all sectors of Iraqi society, is the birth of democracy in the country. It is better than Saddam's government of destruction and dictatorship."

Sergio Vieira de Mello, the United Nations special envoy to Iraq, hailed the council as a landmark in Iraq's rebirth. "There are defining moments in history," de Mello said, "and for Iraq, today is definitely one of those."

The council's debut at the Baghdad Convention Center was open only to the news media, coalition officials and friends and family.

Council member Naseer Kamel Al-Chaderchi, head of the National Democratic Party, emphasized the need to win public support: "We believe, strongly believe, that Mr. Bremer cannot do anything without the support of the Iraqi people."

Raja Habib al-Khuzai, one of the female council members and the director of a maternity hospital in southern Iraq, said: "I helped deliver thousands of Iraqi babies, and now I am taking part in the birth of a new country and a new rule based on women's rights, humanity, unity and freedom."

Outside the convention center, there was less enthusiasm. Interviews with people across Baghdad suggested that the council had a long way to go to win popular support.

"The Americans chose those people; we haven't heard that the Iraqis selected any of them," said Tamar Sarkies, a saleswoman in a clothing store.

Ali Abdul Amir, an orthopedic specialist, said: "From the beginning, they put the right of veto in Bremer's hand, so what if they make a decision against the Americans' benefit, of course Bremer will blow it up. This is not freedom."

As politicians, professors and cab drivers argue about the governing body's role, almost everyone seems to agree that the nation's future could depend in large part on the council's success or failure. If Iraqis think that the council is only a puppet organization, then violence could worsen.

At least 31 U.S. soldiers have been killed since May 1, when major combat operations ended.

For now, the council's executive powers are limited. It can appoint heads of national ministries. At some point, it will organize a national assembly to write a constitution. It is also charged with selecting foreign diplomats and reviewing the 2004 budget.

But the group has yet to organize any internal voting structure or hierarchy.

Bremer did not speak at the council's meeting, but at a recent briefing, he made clear where ultimate power lies.

"At the bottom, of course, it is the case that the [coalition] authority still has the ultimate authority here until we get a sovereign Iraqi government in place," he said.

There are several well-known Iraqis on the council, including Ahmed Chalabi, the longtime exile leader who heads the Iraqi National Congress. Chalabi enjoys strong support from the Pentagon's civilian leadership.

But the council is dominated by lesser-known Iraqis, many of whom remained in the country during Hussein's 23-year dictatorship.

Major Step in Iraq As Council Named; SUPPORTERS: It's the birth of democracy. SKEPTICS: Americans are still in charge.

Several people involved in negotiations about the council's formation said last week that Bremer initially proposed something more akin to an advisory body, but began conceding more power when it became clear that the parties would not participate otherwise.

This article contains information from the Associated Press.

#### Iraq Governing Council

The Iraq Governing Council has 13 Shiites, five Sunni Kurds, five Sunnis, one Christian and one Turkman, including three women.

Ahmed Chalabi, founder of Iraqi National Congress, Shiite

Abdel-Aziz al-Hakim, a leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution, Shiite

Ibrahim al-Jaafari, Dawa Islamic Party, Shiite

Naseer Kamel Al-Chaderchi, National Democratic Party, Sunni

Jalal Talabani, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Sunni Kurd

Massoud Barzani, Kurdistan Democratic Party, Sunni Kurd

Iyad Allawi, leader of the Iraqi National Accord, Shiite

Ahmed al-Barak, human-rights activist, Shiite

Adnan Pachachi, former foreign minister, Sunni

Aqila al-Hashimi, female, foreign-affairs expert, Shiite

Raja Habib al-Khuzaai, female, maternity hospital director in south, Shiite

Hamid Majid Moussa, Communist Party, Shiite

Mohammed Bahr al-Uloun, cleric from Najaf, Shiite

Ghazi Mashal Ajil al-Yawer, northern tribal chief, Sunni

Mohsen Abdel Hamid, Iraqi Islamic Party, Sunni

Samir Shakir Mahmoud, Sunni

Mahmoud Othman, Sunni Kurd

Salaheddine Bahaaeddine, Kurdistan Islamic Union, Sunni Kurd

Younadem Kana, Assyrian Christian

Mouwafak al-Rabii, human-rights activist, Shiite

Dara Noor Alzin, judge, Sunni Kurd

Sondul Chapouk, female, engineer and teacher, Turkman

Wael Abdul Latif, Basra governor, Shiite

Abdel-Karim Mahmoud al-Mohammedawi, member of Iraqi political party Hezbollah, Shiite



Major Step in Iraq As Council Named; SUPPORTERS: It's the birth of democracy. SKEPTICS: Americans are still in charge.

Abdel-Zahraa Othman Mohammed, Dawa Party, Shiite

## Graphic

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PHOTO AND CHART;

MARWAN NAAMANI, Associated Press, pool

Members of Iraq's new governing council, after their meeting at the former Ministry of Military Industry in central Baghdad. In their first public action, the 25 Iraqis set April 9 - the day Baghdad fell to U.S.-led forces - as a national holiday and banned celebrations on

six dates important to former President Saddam Hussein and his Baath Party. The council said it would choose its leadership today.

ALI HAIDER, Associated Press

U.N. special envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello addresses reporters as the 25-member Iraqi governing council sits in the background after their inaugural meeting in Baghdad. The council has 13 Shiites, five Kurds, five Sunnis, one Christian and one Turkman.

CHART

Iraq Governing Council (SOURCE: Associated Press)

**Load-Date:** August 2, 2005

## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times

March 9, 2005 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1177 words

### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A3-14

#### Pro-Syrian Party in Beirut Holds a Huge Protest

Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese poured into central Beirut in a show of strength by the militant Muslim Shiite party **Hezbollah**, exposing fault lines of class and ideology in the struggle over withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon. A1

President Bush stepped up American pressure on Syria to withdraw from Lebanon and warned authoritarian governments throughout the Middle East that they stand before a powerful, fast-moving wave of democracy. A10

#### U.S. Lacks Intelligence on Iran

A commission due to report to President Bush this month will describe American intelligence on Iran as inadequate to allow firm judgments about that country's illicit weapons programs, according to people who have been briefed on the panel's work. A1

#### Chechen Rebel Leader Killed

Russian special forces killed the leader of Chechnya's separatists, Aslan Maskhadov, left, in a raid that gave the Kremlin a rare victory in a bloody war that has killed tens of thousands and spawned a wave of terrorist attacks across Russia in recent years. A3

#### Leader of Kosovo Surrenders

Prime Minister Ramush Haradinaj of Kosovo unexpectedly agreed to surrender to the United Nations war crimes tribunal in The Hague, which said it had indicted him for actions as a guerrilla commander fighting Serbian forces during the 1998-99 war. Mr. Haradinaj's decision to step down and answer war crimes charges came as a shock in Kosovo, where he became prime minister in December. A14

#### Military Challenged on Incident

The Italian foreign minister publicly challenged the United States military's account of how American soldiers came to fire on a car taking a freed Italian hostage to the Baghdad airport. Hours later, the American command in Baghdad announced that it was opening a high-level investigation into the incident. A14

## NEWS SUMMARY

## Dominican Jail Fire Inquiry

The Dominican government has appointed a commission to investigate a deadly fire that killed 136 prisoners at a provincial jail east of Santo Domingo. A4

## Bolton Confirmation Hurdles

Republicans and Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee cautioned against any expectation of a quick confirmation of John R. Bolton, an outspoken critic of the United Nations, as ambassador to that organization, but they did not suggest his nomination was in jeopardy. A6

## Congress Rejects Resignation

Bolivia's Congress rejected President Carlos Mesa's offer to resign, giving him a new start after fierce protests had paralyzed the country and prompted him to tender his resignation. A14

## NATIONAL A16-22

## Clinton to Undergo Surgery For Fluid and Scar Tissue

Former President Bill Clinton will undergo surgery to remove fluid and scar tissue from his chest cavity, some six months after he had a quadruple bypass operation, Mr. Clinton and his doctors said. A1

## DeLay Linked to Fund-Raising

Documents subpoenaed from an indicted fund-raiser for Tom DeLay suggest that he was more actively involved than previously known in gathering corporate donations for a political committee that is the focus of a grand-jury investigation in his home state, Texas. A1

## G.O.P. Plans Maneuver on Oil

After years of watching Democrats block President Bush's plan to allow oil drilling in an Alaskan wildlife refuge, Senate Republicans say a legislative maneuver may allow them to push it through. A16

## F.B.I. Scraps Computer Project

The Federal Bureau of Investigation declared an official end to its failed \$170 million effort to overhaul the agency's computer software and said it would take at least three and a half years to develop a new system. A16

## Accuser's Kin Cross-Examined

In his most determined effort so far to undermine charges that Michael Jackson sexually abused a teenage boy at his ranch, the lead defense lawyer tried to poke holes in testimony by the boy's younger brother. A20

## Bush Shift in Death-Row Cases

The Bush administration has shifted its position in a Supreme Court case with international significance, ordering state courts to consider complaints by 51 Mexican nationals held on death row that they were denied access to Mexican officials. A21

## Lawyer Asked to Pass Message

A lawyer for Matthew Hale, the white supremacist convicted last year of plotting to kill a federal judge whose husband and mother were slain last week, said Mr. Hale's mother called him a few months ago and asked him to pass on an encoded message to one of Mr. Hale's supporters. A22

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-8

## U.S. Inquiry Blames City For Fatal Ferry Crash

A federal investigation into the fatal crash of a Staten Island ferry in 2003 issued a damning assessment of the City Department of Transportation, saying its oversight of the system was compromised by inadequate training and poor enforcement of basic safety rules. B1

## NEWS SUMMARY

## A Harsh Spotlight

A dispute between Christopher J. Christie, the United States attorney for New Jersey, and John A. Kaye, the prosecutor of Monmouth County, N.J., has cast a harsh spotlight on the career of Mr. Kaye. B1

## Fewer Apply for Shelter

A new city policy to deny federal housing vouchers to homeless families is having its intended effect, city officials said, reducing the number of families applying for emergency shelter by 250 to 300 a month. B4

## EDUCATION B9

## SPORTSWEDNESDAY D1-6

## ARTS E1-10

## Morris Lapidus Work Destroyed

Heeding urgent pleas from preservation advocates, the city's Landmarks Preservation Commission agreed to hold a hearing on the future of the 1949 Paterson Silks retail building, designed by the architect Morris Lapidus, at Union Square. But it was too late. Hours earlier, the building's most distinctive feature, a double-height, glass-walled tower had fallen victim to the wrecking ball. E1

## DINING OUT F1-12

## OBITUARIES A23

## George Atkinson

A businessman who popularized home-viewing of Hollywood films by opening the first video rental store in 1979, he was 69. A23

## BUSINESS DAY C1-16

## Bankruptcy Overhaul Near

The Senate assured final passage of the first major overhaul of the nation's bankruptcy laws in 27 years, clearing the remaining political obstacles to a measure that the nation's credit and retail industries have sought for years. A1

## Silicon Valley Sweatshops

Electronic Arts, the video game maker, has become the focal point of raging debate over whether technology companies are exploiting workers by demanding long hours while skimping on overtime and benefits. C1

## Concern Over Commodities

A closely watched index of commodities rose to a 24-year high as the prices of crude oil, home heating oil and copper neared their record highs. The stock market slumped and Treasury prices fell, sending yields higher. C1

## Gucci Replaces Designer

Gucci announced that it was replacing its designer of women's apparel, Alessandra Facchinetti, after only her second collection. C1

## Business Digest C1

## EDITORIAL A24-25

## NEWS SUMMARY

Editorials: The world according to Bolton; terror suspects' right to bear arms; virtues of optical scan voting; Kosovo's new chance.

Columns: Nicholas D. Kristof.

Crossword E6  
TV Listings E9  
Public Lives B2  
Weather D7

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo

**Load-Date:** March 9, 2005

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End of Document

## *Heightened dangers lurk all around us*

The Australian

December 10, 2001, Monday

Copyright 2001 Nationwide News Pty Limited

**Section:** FEATURES; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1394 words

### **Body**

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Indeed, these groups may take the face of human rights groups [and] community organisations

Australia has become increasingly vulnerable to international terrorism, argues Rohan Gunaratna

INDIAN terrorist suspect Mohammed Afroz may or may not have planned airborne attacks in Australia. But one thing is clear: the threat of international terrorism against Australia and New Zealand has been enhanced since al-Qa'ida's multiple attacks against the US on Sept-

ember 11.

After all, Canberra has openly identified with the anti-terrorist US-led multinational coalition. By nature, terrorist groups are vengeful and retaliatory. So it's not surprising that Australia has earned the wrath of al-Qa'ida and its affiliates.

MATP

Then there are al-Qa'ida support and operational networks in North America and western Europe that are increasingly under pressure. The steadfast arrests are forcing al-Qa'ida to advance and execute its impending operations or shift its infrastructures to less alert, more conducive environments. In the Asia-Pacific, Australia and New Zealand are the only two liberal democracies where terrorist groups could operate with relative ease.

What's more, Australia is already the home of eight fledgling terrorist support networks: Hamas (Palestine), **Hezbollah** (Lebanon), Chechen mujaheddin (Russia), Kurdish Workers Party (Turkey), Euzkadi Ta Askatasuna (Spain), Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Sri Lanka), Babbar Khalsa International (India) and International Sikh Youth Federation (India). These groups disseminate terrorist propaganda, recruit, raise funds and procure technologies from Australia. Some have ideological, training and operational links with al-Qa'ida.

Another reason the terrorist threat is rising in Australia is that several terrorist groups in the immediate neighbourhood -- notably in The Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia -- have stepped up their activities at home and abroad. In addition to a dozen groups that have benefited from al-Qa'ida training and financial infrastructure in Afghanistan, two groups -- the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and Abu Sayyaf in Mindanao, The Philippines -- work closely with al-Qa'ida. With the operational reach of these groups increasing, the threat facing Australia and New Zealand has changed.

Indeed, during the past decade the face of terrorism has changed. The most profound impact of this change that affects Australian security comes from the shift in the geography of terrorism. Since the Oslo accords in 1993, the

## Heightened dangers lurk all around us

gravity of terrorism has shifted from the Middle East to Asia. Today, Asia is witnessing the largest number of terrorist attacks in the world, followed by Africa, the Middle East, Latin America, the former USSR and the West.

With the exception of the Oklahoma attack, all the significant terrorist attacks or attempts against Western targets have been conducted by people using the cover of diaspora and migrant communities. The geographic isolation of Australia won't make it immune from the new wave of terrorism that actively uses such cover to gather intelligence, support action cells and strike targets.

Six of the eight groups mentioned have conducted suicide terrorist attacks similar to al-Qa'ida. Only a small faction of their diaspora and migrant communities voluntarily support terrorism. But the fact that Australia has failed to control the support activities of terrorist groups on Australian soil suggests that these groups have expanded their range of functions from propaganda, recruitment and fundraising to procurement. Although the primary function of these cells in Australia is to support terrorist activities overseas, support cells have mutated into operational cells and conducted terrorist attacks on host soil in the past.

WHY has Australia been complacent about the rising terrorist threat? Well, unless there is a direct threat from a terrorist group, most countries are hesitant to act against the concerned group. So far, the terrorist groups operating in Australia have posed a threat primarily to a few foreign countries, mostly located in Asia and in the Middle East. Canberra has been tolerant and reluctant to act against these groups active on Australian soil.

What's more, Australia has experienced very few terrorist attacks. So, again, it's not surprising that Australian governments have failed to address and combat terrorism.

Several million US dollars are raised every year by the groups operating in Australia in support of terrorist activities overseas. It is not a criminal offence for a terrorist group to disseminate propaganda, raise funds, or procure supplies. Similarly, the Australian Federal Police has no separate anti-terrorism branch.

Tacitly, Australia has permitted the formation and function of foreign terrorist support networks on its soil. Indeed, these groups operating through front, cover and sympathetic organisations may take the face of human rights and humanitarian groups as well as community organisations.

Is Australia a safe haven for international terrorist groups? The short answer is yes. The traditional response of the Western intelligence community and those agencies trained by Britain and the US is to watch rather than attrite the personnel and infrastructure of these groups. It is a legacy the intelligence community inherited from the Cold War days of monitoring

spies. Fighting terrorism is different.

Unlike the Cold War spies who recruited agents or stole state secrets, terrorists are a dangerous breed. As the al-Qa'ida strikes in the US demonstrated, intelligence agencies think they are monitoring these groups, but they are not. As terrorist support cells are permitted to operate, they will generate funds for killing civilians irrespective of country or community. Liberal democracies have been notorious in this regard.

More than US\$50 million (\$97 million) has been seized in Western Europe and North America since September 11. As demonstrated in the US, you cannot appease terrorists. The only way to protect Australia and to contribute to international peace and security is to come into contact with these cells by a process of attrition. By targeting terrorist cells -- support or operational -- intelligence agencies can develop a better understanding of terrorist activities.

Al-Qa'ida attacks against US targets should be a wake-up call for Australia and New Zealand. Irrespective of whether it is a state or a group, if it engages in attacking civilians to advance a political goal, it is engaging in terrorism. Australia must seriously and sincerely join the global fight against terrorism. The first step should be to clean up its back garden. Without being an exception to the counter measures developed by two other Western liberal democracies, it must develop the legal framework to criminalise and then begin the slow process of attriting the existing terrorist support infrastructures on Australian soil.

## Heightened dangers lurk all around us

All the eight terrorist groups mentioned have misused and abused Australian soil. All these groups have raised funds in Australia to support terrorist operations (attacking civilian targets that kill men, women and children) overseas. By responding decisively, Australia should be able to set an example to the rest of Asia, including to New Zealand. As its gateway, Australia must ensure that New Zealand too develops similar legislation. When the US criminalised the operation of 29 foreign terrorist groups in October 1997, most of the groups moved their infrastructures to Canada and Europe.

Similarly, when Britain criminalised 21 foreign terrorist groups in February 2000, they moved their infrastructures to continental Europe. Today, terrorist groups continue to operate in the US and Britain by using neighbouring countries that are yet to crack down on foreign terrorist support networks. To prevent terrorist displacement, Australian and New Zealand initiatives must be simultaneous and co-ordinated.

If Australia and New Zealand deny these groups an active presence, these countries will not only enhance their security but also reduce the suffering of several other countries affected by protracted terrorist campaigns.

Rohan Gunaratna, a former principal investigator for the UN Terrorism Prevention Branch, is a research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St Andrew's University in Scotland

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2001

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## *There's No Escape When War Turns Ghoulish - Correction Appended*

The New York Times

May 16, 2004 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

### **Correction Appended**

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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 1; The World: Look Away

**Length:** 1094 words

**Byline:** By DONALD G. McNEIL Jr.

### **Body**

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THE pictures of Nicholas Berg having his head sawed off may have been too horrible to look at, but the bearable ones accompanying them were nearly as upsetting: those of his father, Michael, crying in the arms of another son, David, after learning that the brutal act was there for anyone to see on the Internet.

For 200 years now, most fathers have learned of their sons' deaths in war from letters, telegrams or a visitor in uniform climbing the steps of the front porch.

Instead, on a lawn in West Chester, Pa., the world saw a scene straight out of the battle for Troy -- Priam breaking down after watching Achilles kill his favorite son, Hector, and drag his naked body around the city walls.

Thanks to the Internet, the atrocity was not run through a script doctor. It was neither heightened into docudrama by Homer nor softened by a squeamish editor. Terror reached the terrified unedited.

Meanwhile, the Islamic world was seeing something new and yet somehow familiar. For the most historically imaginative, the pictures of mistreated prisoners of war from inside Abu Ghraib prison recalled the sight greeting Ottoman soldiers when they marched north in 1476 into Romania: hundreds of their captured comrades spiked on poles along the roadside by Vlad the Impaler, the Christian prince who gave rise to the Dracula legend.

Throughout history, all atrocities have been local, and have cowed or inflamed those closest by. Displaying Caesar's body to the crowd, Marc Antony named the author of each wound. Rebels in Sierra Leone chopped off hands in each village they overran.

With the projection of armies across empires and oceans, the emotive power of atrocities became the feedstock of propaganda and went global. But getting news of them back home to drum up army recruits or sell war bonds meant putting them through a series of filters: the time it took to get an image, the military censor, the cautious editor.

When 1,300 British troops were disemboweled by Zulus in 1879, newspaper engravers had to invent the visuals. When British troops let 26,000 Boer women and children die of fevers and starvation in concentration camps from 1900 to 1902, they were exposed only through letters read out in Parliament weeks later.

## There's No Escape When War Turns Ghoulish

Such lapses in time and distance always raise questions about veracity. Japanese beheading of prisoners was well known in World War II.

But legends grew up around it; a long dispute has lived, for example, about whether two officers in occupied Nanking, lieutenants named Mukai and Noda, really held a contest to see who could be first to cut off 100 heads, and whether a fellow officer wrote a ballad about their fine swords. It may have happened; it may have been an invention of Chinese propagandists. Many "historical" pictures exist of what are alleged to be Japanese beheadings, but some look very much staged.

Even today's live film is screened in advance: tapes mysteriously delivered to Al Jazeera TV are watched before they are released; live pictures reaching CNN by satellite are monitored by a producer with a finger poised over a cutoff button.

Now the terrorists have cadged an idea from the playbook of Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf "and learned how to bypass the filters and go directly to the American people," said John R. MacArthur, author of "Second Front: Censorship and Propaganda in the Gulf War."

The dissemination of the footage of Nick Berg's death, he said, was akin to General Schwarzkopf's handing out tapes of his smart bombs destroying targets without hurting bystanders: apparently irrefutable evidence of American effectiveness, to be presented exactly as delivered.

Mr. Berg's murder, his killers said, was in revenge for Abu Ghraib. But how they felt their cause was served by the sight of five masked men butchering a trussed-up victim is a mystery. Was it meant to intimidate Americans, or just to boast to other terrorist cells? Many Muslim commentators expressed shame at the deed. Even Hezbollah, which killed 241 American servicemen with a single truck bomb in Lebanon in 1983, expressed shock, saying the act did "an immense wrong to Islam."

John Keegan, a military historian and defense editor of The Daily Telegraph in Britain, said he expected the impact to be minimal. "I think the average American will say, 'This tells me what I already knew, that the Islamic terrorist is a barbarian,'" he said.

Something about small-scale atrocities, he argued, fails to haunt the viewer the way 1945 footage of legions of skeletons in the Bergen-Belsen concentration camp or the sight of the World Trade Center falling.

Also, the death of a lone victim always leads to personality profiles that often raise blame-the-victim doubts: What was Mr. Berg doing roaming Iraq, Jordan and possibly Iran saying he was repairing antennas? How did he come into the hands of the Iraqi police and the F.B.I., and find himself accused of being an Israeli spy by fellow prisoners?

The events at Abu Ghraib are hardly morally equivalent, because the prisoners were humiliated, not killed (although there are reports that some died of torture).

The pictures are squeezing through a series of filters: Editors mask the nakedness and some faces. More important, both the Defense Department and some Congressional representatives are determined that the whole batch not be released.

In this case what is most frustrating, said the military historian Victor Davis Hanson, is that on the voyage from a shocked member of the 372nd Military Police Company to military investigators to the press, the context disappeared.

"These pictures really aren't worth a thousand words," he said. "They remind me of the 'Girls Gone Wild' videos. Do they always do that? Or is it something that happened because the cameras were around?"

The pictures were taken late at night, he pointed out, and the behavior of the soldiers in them is quite bizarre. They are not caught on camera "water boarding" prisoners or using other tortures that have apparently been approved for top-level detainees. They are posing in the middle of quite odd actions: pointing to genitals, arranging naked bodies into living piles, holding captives on leashes or in Ku Klux Klan-style costumes.

## There's No Escape When War Turns Ghoulish

Where did reservists who were trained more in controlling traffic than in running a prison learn such moves? Were pictures of humiliated Iraqis taken to intimidate future prisoners facing interrogation? Or were they personal trophies taken by out-of-control soldiers?

For all their immediacy, the images are simply baffling. Page the script doctor.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Correction

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Because of an editing error, a picture caption last Sunday about ghoulish images of war misstated the date of an execution in Europe. It was 1268. (The image was painted around 1860.)

**Correction-Date:** May 23, 2004

## Graphic

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Photos: When atrocity was local: An execution in Europe in 1860

a beheading before European troops during the Boxer Rebellion in China in 1900

a Nazi hanging of a student in Belgrade during World War II. (Photo by Bethmann/Corbis)

(Photo by Corbis)

(Photo by Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)

**Load-Date:** May 16, 2004

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## LETTERS

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

May 11, 2004 Tuesday

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NATION/WORLD; Pg. 10

**Length:** 1103 words

### **Body**

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Letter Of The Day: Remember Lessons Of Long Binh

Regarding "In Prisons, Troops Not Prepared Or Trained" (Page 1, May 9):

The story told how the 1,000 soldiers of the 320th Military Police Battalion sent to Iraq did not know how to do their jobs. Why must the military continuously reinvent the wheel only after some event occurs that blackens its reputation? This current situation in Iraq is eerily reminiscent of a similar episode in Vietnam. During those days the Army maintained a holding facility at Long Binh, commonly known as Long Binh Jail. Treatment of prisoners there throughout 1966, 1967 and the first half of 1968 was so abominable that on Aug. 29, 1968, 719 prisoners rioted and took over the compound.

Lack of supervision of guards and their lack of training were prime contributors to prisoner abuse. It was only after the riot made international headlines that the headquarters of the military police acted to prevent a reoccurrence. A new military occupational specialty was created to train soldiers in the proper way to treat prisoners. Commanders at Long Binh Jail carefully scrutinized those who worked for them, from top to bottom. By mid-1969, it had become a model prison.

So why would the Pentagon order MPs with little or no training into a situation fraught with tension, anger and a desire for revenge? The scandal existing today could easily have been avoided had those in charge only remembered the riot at Long Binh Jail.

CECIL B. CURREY

Lutz

The writer is a professor emeritus of military history.

"Know Our Enemy"

Media focus on the abuse of Iraqi prisoners, highlighted by President Bush's forthright apology, has been adequate. There is, however, a perspective which has been ignored.

At the end of my World War II service, I was assigned to one of our German prisoner of war camps. It was our duty to screen German prisoners in order to differentiate between SS types with brands in their armpits and prisoners who might be able to serve in a new Germany. Our adherence to the Geneva Convention was scrupulous.

## LETTERS

Overlooked in the frenzy of this story is that we have yet to hear a word from any Arab leader condemning the obscene butchering of Americans and hanging their mutilated bodies on public display. We are still waiting for the Iraqis to turn over the killers. The killing of a pregnant Israeli mother and her four very young children was described as a "heroic act" by Arab spokesmen.

It is obvious that the values of the Arab world are very much different from ours. It is high time that this point be understood. Of course, it must be conceded that the actions of a few of our military were reprehensible. ENevertheless, we would do well to "know our enemy."

NORMAN N. GROSS

Palm Harbor

The writer is president of Promoting Responsibility in Middle East Reporting and chair of the Anti-Hate Committee, Greater Florida B'nai B'rith.

No Need For Apology

Like most people, I was shocked and disappointed upon seeing the abuse of the Iraqi prisoners. President Bush summed it up nicely by saying that "their treatment was un-American." I hope that those responsible are punished accordingly.

But what has disgusted me even more is the self-righteous tirade coming from around the world and even here. Where was all the outrage when Iraqis were murdering Americans and hanging their bodies in public? Where was their outrage when Jessica Lynch was being sexually assaulted as she lay unconscious? Where were they when Saddam Hussein was torturing and murdering thousands of his own people? All this politically motivated posturing makes me want an apology! And until the Arab world apologizes for a few of its "bad apples" like Hussein, bin Laden, the Taliban, Hezbollah, etc., we shouldn't worry about apologizing for a few bad apples of our own.

CHARLES GLENN

Lutz

"It's A War, Stupid!"

The recent hyperventilating by the media regarding the mistreatment of some Iraqi prisoners of war is ridiculous. Every day it's on the front page of the newspapers and every evening it's the lead story on all the national news programs. All of this is nothing but typical liberal anti-Americanism to place the United States in a bad light and somehow make George Bush look bad.

Who cares if a few prisoners of war are humiliated? I don't. To paraphrase a popular saying, "It's a war, stupid!" People get killed in war and they get treated really bad on a routine basis. What about that don't the navel-gazing media understand?

Why didn't we hear such a media storm when the mass graves were found in Iraq with hundreds of thousands of bodies? Why no exaggerated obsession when the Iraqi army used innocent men, women and children as human shields during the war?

No, these things don't matter to the media, which have no perspective whatsoever. Only something that can be blown all out of proportion and used to bash the United States is important.

STEVEN A. ROYAL

Tampa

Who Is In Charge?

## LETTERS

I listened very closely to the hearings on Friday before the Senate and the House of Representatives and found these inquiries quite good. I came away with the following: (1) Lt. Gen. Lance Smith does not communicate with Gen. Richard Myers, (2) Gen. Myers does not communicate with Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, (3) Rumsfeld does not communicate with the president, and (4) the president doesn't know what the hell is going on.

My question: Who is in charge?

HARRIET MCKENZIE

Sarasota

Information Deficit

How fortunate we are to live in the state of Florida! We have the best of all possible worlds. Our governor is a Bush and our president is a Bush.

However, both brothers seem to have a similar problem I call "information deficit." Gov. Jeb Bush says he was not aware of any tax breaks for The Walt Disney Co. (Nation/World, May 6). This was said in reference to the documentary film by Michael Moore, "Fahrenheit 9/11," which Disney refuses to distribute. (The film criticizes the handling of the 9/11 attacks and links the Bush family to Osama bin Laden's family.)

President George W. Bush says that he learned about the torture of prisoners in Iraq at Abu Ghraib Prison from the media (Nation/World, May 6).

Are these leaders so insulated by their staffs that their credibility becomes questionable?

Are our citizens so naive as to believe that a major economic force in Florida such as Disney receives no tax breaks from our state?

Are our citizens so naive as to believe that President Bush was unaware of the torture of prisoners in Iraq until he read about it in the media?

Give me a break!

LESTER GLAGOV

Tampa

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**Load-Date:** May 13, 2004

## *Two Views of Democracy for Iraqi Voters: Bullets and Ballots - Correction* *Appended*

The New York Times  
January 28, 2005 Friday  
Late Edition - Final

### **Correction Appended**

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**Section:** Section A; Column 4; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; THE CONFLICT IN IRAQ: ELECTION DAY

**Length:** 1017 words

**Byline:** By JAMES GLANZ

**Dateline:** BASRA, Iraq, Jan. 27

### **Body**

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A convoy of flag-bedecked sedans and pickup trucks, packed with cheering campaigners, nosed its way through the this southern Iraqi city on Thursday, accompanied by a pop-music-style refrain, a paean to Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, the country's most important Shiite cleric.

Campaigning in much of Iraq is a furtive, life-threatening affair, best done on the quiet, if at all. Not so in the south, where the party identified with Ayatollah Sistani, symbolized by a burning candle and called the United Iraqi Coalition List, is one of dozens stumping openly and sometimes raucously.

With candidates and party workers still spray-painting slogans, handing out literature, debating on the radio and shouting through speakers on the last day before the campaigns are supposed to shut down, it was almost possible to forget that this election is taking place in a country still torn by war.

"Thanks to God, the security situation in Basra is good, and better than the other provinces," said Ali Resan, a government worker who was spraying green paint onto a rock wall. Mr. Resan, who favors another party, the National Brotherhood, in local elections, gestured with pride to members of Hezbollah -- an Iraqi offshoot of the radical Lebanese Shiite group -- who were painting their own slogans on the same wall a few feet away. The juxtaposition "confirms the meaning of freedom and democracy," Mr. Resan said.

There is a sense among many parties that the possibility of a high voter turnout in the south could give it disproportionate sway in Sunday's elections. Basra is Iraq's second largest city, and the province as a whole has about 1.8 million people. Taken together, the seven provinces that make up the comparatively peaceful south have about 7.7 million people. Iraq's estimated total population is just under 28 million.

The security situation in the south is far from perfect -- on Thursday, militants fired mortar shells at four provincial schools designated as polling stations. And the chief of the National Brotherhood party, Majid al-Timimi, survived an assassination attempt a week ago, Mr. Resan said. Basra Province alone suffered more than 30 insurgent attacks in the last month, according to data provided by a private security company that is operating in Iraq.

## Two Views of Democracy for Iraqi Voters: Bullets and Ballots

"Generally speaking, it's a good situation," said Abdul Sahib A. al-Battat, the regional chief for Iraq's Independent Electoral Commission. "But at the same time, I don't want to say it's ideal."

Still, Iraqis in the predominantly Shiite south, a neglected region in the best of times under Saddam Hussein and the focus of the horrific Iran-Iraq war in the 1980's, do not seem fazed by a few attacks a week -- or the sounds of gunfire that echo every night in the streets. So the biggest barrier in the south is often not fear, but bewilderment over just what makes a successful campaign. Anwar Aljebor, of the government-sponsored Radio Al Nahrain, said that she initially had few takers after inviting candidates to speak on "Case for Discussion," a late-morning program. "But when they understood the power of the media," Ms. Aljebor said, "one by one they started to arrive."

Since then, Ms. Aljebor said, she has had on her program candidates from 20 of the 41 parties on the ballot for local elections, and has broadcast interviews with many of the others. Like anywhere else, the candidates varied widely in their ability to work the medium, she said.

"Some are good and some are very confusing," she said. "Some are very shy, and they don't express themselves perfectly."

Of all the parties making their bids in the south, the clear front-runner in terms of organization, visibility and sheer hustle is that associated in most people's minds with Ayatollah Sistani, known by the No.169, with its distinctive burning-candle logo and slick posters. Signs supporting the party are everywhere, and the party has the formidable backing of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, a countrywide powerhouse that functions locally almost like the old political machines in Chicago, New York and Boston.

To get out the vote and promote its party, the council has organized symposiums at mosques, soccer tournaments, special gatherings for women and neighborhood rallies, said Salah al-Battat, head of the council's Basra branch. Men on street corners hand out literature, ads appear on radio and television and in newspapers, and the news media are invited to the organization's headquarters for interviews.

To students, the organization hands out black pens with "SCIRI List 169" written on the side; more influential citizens receive a sleek oval case with a pen-calculator combination inside, again emblazoned with party names. And, very much in parallel with the old city machines, the council does not neglect the less educated.

"You will see a lot of logos on the voting menu," says one bit of literature the size of an index card, showing a box that has been checked. "Put this mark in front of the candle."

Asked whether there is any of the time-honored trickery of urban campaigning taking place among parties, Mr. Battat was philosophical. He said that while his campaign workers thought it wrong to tear down competitors' posters or cover them with their own, he had heard that such things sometimes occurred. The signature events for the party may be the loudspeaker motorcades. "Vote 169!" barked Abdul Hamood, the owner of a small electrical shop, into a microphone hooked to a speaker sticking out the side of his car. "It's the best list," he said. "It includes the candle!"

But all the council's clout is no guarantee of success.

As campaign workers handed out fliers at one of Basra's busiest corners, Jeenan Abood, in a black abaya and accompanied by her young son, took a copy and promised to read it carefully. Then she was asked whom she would support in the election.

"Ayad Allawi!" she said, referring to the prime minister whose party is competing with the council. "Because he's firm, and Iraqis really demand somebody strong at the polls."



## Correction

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Because of an editing error, an article yesterday about election preparations in the southern Iraqi city of Basra quoted incorrectly from a comment by Anwar Aljebor, who works for the government-sponsored Radio Al Nahrain and has had increasing success in booking local candidates for a morning program. In assessing their media skills, she said: "Some are good and some are very confusing. Some are very shy, and they don't express perfectly" -not "express themselves perfectly."

A caption with the continuation of the article misstated the day the picture was taken. It was Wednesday, not on the last day of campaigning, which was Thursday.

**Correction-Date:** January 29, 2005

## Graphic

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Photos: Campaigners in Basra used flags and loudspeakers to woo voters. (Photo by Shawn Baldwin for The New York Times)(pg. A1)

Workers for the Nation Party list handed out fliers in Basra on the last official day of campaigning before Sunday's elections. Southern Iraq was mostly free of campaign violence. (Photo by Shawn Baldwin for The New York Times)(pg. A11)

**Load-Date:** January 28, 2005

*With victory realised, time for the post-mortems*

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

April 12, 2003 Saturday

Late Edition

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**Section:** NEWS AND FEATURES; Letters; Pg. 58

**Length:** 1207 words

## **Body**

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With an approval rating at an all-time high, an adoring media, an ineffectual Opposition, the fall of Baghdad with no Australian casualties, this would have to be the perfect time for the little general to call a double dissolution.

This would give John Howard the perfect exit into retirement. A few months back as PM doing a lap of honour, a quick trip to see George and Tony, drop in to kiss and make up with Megawati, then head off into the sunset with the applause of his adoring fans ringing in his ears.

How could he resist such an exit? It would be perfect for someone who has given so much to this country.

D. J. Fraser,

Mudgeeraba (Qld), April 11.

To me it's glaringly straightforward in fact, why hasn't it been done already?

Ten fully equipped field hospitals, airlifted into Baghdad for the treatment of Iraqi civilian casualties, would do much to mend fractured regional and local relationships.

Richard Pocock,

Elizabeth Bay, April 11.

You are quite right, Mary Garden (Letters, April 11). As you say, we did fail to listen to the stories of Iraqis who had escaped from a population silenced and terrorised by the horror of Saddam's regime.

That's why when they fled to the safety of Australia we confined them and their children in detention centres and still keep them there. Or at best we keep them in limbo and dependent on private charity with temporary protection visas.

Moya Crowe,

Orange, April 11.

Chris Riedy (Letters, April 11) writes: "Who would dare not to rejoice when the world's most powerful army has occupied their home?" You show your disingenuous sympathy for Iraqis maimed or killed when you condescendingly refer to those celebrating.

With victory realised, time for the post-mortems

Many celebrated in Auburn, Michigan, Detroit and London. There was even a statement on Hezbollah television in Lebanon by a prominent Iraqi Shiite cleric and political leader calling the fall of Saddam a gift from God.

You were also not watching the BBC when an Iraqi exile, Dr Hasan Artia, was asked his feelings on the fall of the Saddam statue and the scenes of jubilation. There was a long pause, after which the host asked again about his feelings. There was another long pause before one realised this wasn't a technical glitch he was in tears.

While it is right to say people on both sides of the debate look for events and incidents that reinforce their opinion, your letter on the whole, while commendable and compassionate, is let down by the unfortunate tone that has pervaded the anti-war camp. Freedom for us and tyranny for them. In the future, stick to compassion.

Ben Marr,

Rozelle, April 11.

While I was reading the letters page today, the phrase that came to mind was "winners are grinners". There is not much agreement, though, on what game it is that we are playing, how the score is kept and who decides when the final siren is sounded.

Pro-war writers claim victory over the "neo-pacifists". But then I read about bodies in the bulging Iraqi morgues and people trapped in the humanitarian crisis in southern Iraq. They sound a lot like losers. There are Iraqis in Australia today who must be wishing we were this keen on liberation and victory when they landed on our shores in the past couple of years.

The final siren is still a long way off but people have already forgotten what was happening in the first half of this tragic game.

Malcolm Moore,

Albury, April 11.

I am still waiting for Saeed al-Sahaf, the nice Iraqi Information Minister, to tell us Saddam's statue has simply been pulled down for cleaning before the victory parade.

Bill Carpenter,

Bowral, April 11.

Fear not, people of Iraq. As I sit here eating popcorn chicken while watching reruns of Everybody Loves Raymond, I can't help but think how good you're going to get it.

Stan Bear,

Rozelle, April 11.

Back in the first Gulf War the anti-American lobby assured us that the war was all about oil. Despite that the Americans simply liberated Kuwait and made no attempt to take over Iraqi oil. In fact, working with the UN, it did the reverse.

The "oil for food" program restricted Iraq's ability to export oil to ensure the proceeds were not used for military purposes.

Iraq is and will continue to be an independent nation which controls its own oil reserves and facilities. It is naive to suggest that any future government is going to allow US oil interests to simply take over and pocket the profits. The US Administration is only too well aware that such action would be a political disaster, and will strive to ensure the independence of Iraq and its resources.

With victory realised, time for the post-mortems

Stephen Thomas,

Wahroonga, April 11.

Before, during and now after "Operation Iraqi Freedom" we have been showered with punditry which predicted, among other things, civilian deaths ranging from tens of thousands to millions, oil installations burning out of control, fierce fighting by

doughty Iraqi warriors, soaring oil prices, collapsing economies, the uprising of something called "the Arab street", a Vietnam-style quagmire and, in Australia, that John Howard should listen to the neo-pacifist Saddam supporters.

Now, given their track record of total inaccuracy, I confidently expect their gloomy predictions of a failed peace, increased terrorism and a new US empire to be similarly consigned to the dustbin of history.

Gilbert Mane,

Belrose, April 11.

A million Australians marching against the war are unrepresentative of mainstream Australia, yet a hundred Iraqis taking time out from looting to support the invading troops are mainstream Iraq. Go figure.

Steve Forsyth,

Tumut, April 11.

Winning an unjust war doesn't make it right. Unless, of course, you believe Germany's successful invasion of France in 1940 justified Hitler's policies.

Norm Neill,

Leichhardt, April 11.

As soon as the dust has settled the opportunity presents itself for those gallant marchers, letter writers, ABC staff, academics and numerous columnists to once again display their opposition to the war and their solidarity with the Iraqi people.

This time they should march in Basra and Baghdad. They can be guaranteed a warm reception.

Barry Cohen,

Calga, April 11.

Vindication? I thought they were looking for weapons of mass destruction.

Sophie J. Kunze,

Penrith, April 11.

I wonder how many of those "No War" bumper stickers will quietly disappear this weekend?

Robert Cousens,

Lower Macdonald, April 11.

The success of the coalition on the battlefield now creates an urgent problem

maintaining law and order within Iraq.

With victory realised, time for the post-mortems

It is delusory to think that any hearts and minds can be won by allowing the mobs to let off steam against the previous regime and go on an orgy of looting and destruction. This will not make them think better of the coalition. In that part of the world, regrettably, any attempts at softness or giving in to mob pressure are seen as a weakness, to be exploited.

Mike Fitchman,

Bilgola, April 11.

Susan Anthony (Letters, April 11) wonders why no women were at the rallies celebrating the fall of the regime. The looters are also men, as are the ransackers of the humanitarian aid warehouses.

History teaches us that it is usually men who wage wars; men who ultimately profit from them. It is women, the young, infirm and elderly, who suffer.

The women were probably at home trying to rebuild shattered lives, or in the hospitals.

Catherine Courtenay,

Seaforth, April 11.

## Graphic

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Cartoon: John Shakespeare

**Load-Date:** July 17, 2007

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End of Document

*Will France stop tiptoeing over head-scarf ban? ;*  
*POLITICUS*

The International Herald Tribune

February 2, 2004 Monday

Copyright 2004 International Herald Tribune

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1202 words

**Byline:** John Vinocur

**Dateline:** PARIS:

## **Body**

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Over the past couple of years, a French comic named Laurent Gerra has done a biting imitation of Pope John Paul II. Gerra's mimicry creates a croaking voice, packed with phlegm and spittle and predication, that wavers at the edge of delirium. And this on mainstream, drive-time radio.

Gerra's caricature of the pope has a wildly funny sting. Yet, to American and other non-French molars, the routine can slip past discomfort and into a rejection zone that involves as much pain and embarrassment as political correctness; after all, the gag ripples with ridicule for a vast community of faith and the 83-year-old at its head who took a bullet for his convictions.

International Herald Tribune

No big problem in France. Gerra's send-up of John Paul and the Catholic Church has the legitimacy of the anti-clericalism that was a propellant of the French Revolution -- and that remains a given in the aggressively secular democracy that has been the French Republic for more than two centuries.

No U.S.-style Pledges of Allegiance to a nation "under God" in public schools here; no crucifixes on the walls like those, upheld by German courts, in public school classrooms in Bavaria.

Perhaps in a way that is unique and admirable and strong, French democracy offers both freedom of religion and freedom from religion. The state and its institutions, or public life in its essence, are neutral.

Since this is the case, and since maintaining the inviolability of the Republic is one of the close-to-sacred tasks of French democracy, there is something extraordinarily reticent and short on confidence about the process the government has undertaken to pass a law to stop the wearing of ostensible Christian, Jewish or Muslim religious symbols in public schools.

Unmistakably, the law's narrow intent is to keep the head scarves imposed on young Muslim women by Islamic fundamentalism out of classrooms below the university level. Just as clearly -- but never stated with the convincing and easily available bona fides of details, names and specifics -- the government wants to combat a kind of political/religious fanaticism that it thinks is trying to create a no-go enclave for itself within national life.

## Will France stop tiptoeing over head-scarf ban? ; POLITICUS

Leaving the head scarf a place in the school system, the heart of the country's secular tradition and cross-community system of integration, would be to legitimize a potential Islamic fundamentalist separatism that doesn't give a toss about the primacy of the Republic.

Starting on Tuesday, the National Assembly begins a debate on the issue leading to a vote on Feb. 10. For those politicians who will vote against or abstain from backing the law, the question has been made simplistic by the government's caution about saying where the problem lies. For Herve Morin, a centrist deputy whose parliamentary group has announced its retreat from support of the government, "Everybody knows that the target is the Muslims."

Yet, this looks like a brutal and insulting overstatement.

The target is clearly not a broad religious grouping, since the vast majority of French Muslims (the French population of Arab origin is variously estimated at five to seven million) are not fundamentalists. Rather, the action comes after teachers have been threatened or shouted down in science classes, or in lessons dealing with the Holocaust, or the history of religions. In public hospitals, women have refused to be examined by "ungodly" doctors.

In ticking off the effect of these developments on the country last week, Claude Imbert of the newsmagazine Le Point wrote, "In sum, here and there, a certain kind of Koranic law has been instilling its intolerable taboos."

Substantially more politically correct, the government has hardly spoken to its concerns with the voice of Laurent Gerra.

At its most extremely bold, Prime Minister Jean-Pierre Raffarin has talked vaguely of putting a stop to "proselytizing" in schools, and has said, "It is important to show that the Republic will not let itself be eaten away from within." But no names get mentioned.

In not laying out the elements of its specific worries, in avoiding any links to the context of terrorism, the government -- even with more than 60 percent of the population backing its position on the head scarf -- has fled the arguments that would obliterate the charges it is antireligious or anti-Muslim.

And, in acting glancingly on the broad problem of the integration of Muslim immigrants into European life while largely skirting the language of fact, President Jacques Chirac has gone only a short distance in his intention to reduce the potential thunder in regional elections this spring of Jean Marie Le Pen's right-wing extremism.

If Le Pen beat out the Socialist Prime Minister Lionel Jospin in the first round of last year's presidential election to worldwide horror, it was with his crude and direct exploitation of a sense of declining French identity in the face of Arab immigration.

Still, the caution and discomfort of Chirac's government is not a European fatality.

In the Netherlands, where the difficulties of Muslim integration are treated in a less coded, although traditionally tolerant context, Klaas de Vries, the former Social Democrat interior minister, has said: "We describe real problems with the most accurate words at our command. If we see a problem in an ethnic group that bothers our society we no longer try to tuck it away. Everything that was taboo, or politically correct, is now on the table."

But the Dutch do not have an assertively pro-Arab foreign policy or what Francis Fukuyama, the American historian, described last week in an article as a French government stance which "generally seeks in part to appease Muslim opinion" on issues like U.S. policy or Iraq.

Indeed, Dominique de Villepin, the sometimes theatrical-sounding French foreign minister, went so far as to suggest on Thursday that, however much on tiptoes it trod, the government and its proposed law were messing up his act in the Arab world.

## Will France stop tiptoeing over head-scarf ban? ; POLITICUS

Villepin later denied saying this, but a number of French government members insisted (and reasserted after Villepin's "formal denial") that he had complained at a cabinet seminar about France's being put "on the wrong foot in relation to the Arab countries" and "in a very delicate situation on the international scene."

Where was the problem? Could it be in saying out loud to Arab friends that Muslim fundamentalism has become a serious problem for France?

Whatever the answer, whatever the government's ineffectual caution, reality asserts that French influence in the Middle East has been diminishing for years.

It reached its current the-emperor-has-no-clothes point last month with France's exclusion from any involvement in the current U.S.-British-Libyan initiative on arms reduction, and was re-emphasized last week when Germany played the trusted and sole go-between in securing a rare prisoner exchange among Israel, Hezbollah, and Lebanon.

The parliamentary debate on the head-scarf ban that begins Tuesday has no limits on the number of speakers. In a country where the pope can be a running breakfast-time gag, somebody in the establishment may even find the words to say exactly what the all the grief and concern is about.

**Load-Date:** February 3, 2004

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## *A new party steps up*

University Wire

April 14, 2004 Wednesday

Copyright 2004 The Observer via U-Wire

**Section:** COLUMN

**Length:** 1178 words

**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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**Load-Date:** April 14, 2004

## NEWS SUMMARY

The New York Times  
December 9, 2002 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

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

**Length:** 1147 words

### **Body**

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INTERNATIONAL A3-10, 14

#### Iraqi Says Arms Are Gone, But Hints at a Bomb Effort

A top adviser to President Saddam Hussein of Iraq challenged the United States and Britain to produce evidence that Iraq still has any weapons of mass destruction or programs to develop them, but implied that Iraqi scientists had come close to building at least one atom bomb in 1991. A1

#### Iraqi Documents Arriving

Iraq's declarations on its weapons programs arrived at United Nations offices, and arms experts have begun trying to determine whether the material reveals any illegal activity. A12

#### U.S. Courts Turkish Leader

The leader of Turkey's governing party, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, is coming to the White House for a meeting with President Bush. The United States is eager to shore up ties with Mr. Erdogan and secure his support in the event of war with Iraq. American officials said they were confident that the United States would eventually secure access to air bases in Turkey. A1

#### Al Qaeda Claims Kenya Attacks

A statement that appears to be from a spokesman for Al Qaeda claims responsibility for the recent attacks in Kenya and vows that the terror network will carry out even more "lethal" assaults against Israel and the United States. A13

#### Woman Killed in Gaza Strip

In the Gaza Strip, Israeli soldiers killed a Palestinian woman and wounded her three children as they walked near an Israeli settlement. Two Israeli soldiers were wounded on the Israel-Lebanon border. Lebanon's Hezbollah guerrilla group was blamed for the attack, but denied any connection. A6

#### Bangladesh Bombing Arrests

The authorities in Bangladesh arrested dozens of opposition militants after bombs exploded in movie theaters, killing 17 people as families celebrated the end of Ramadan. A6

## NEWS SUMMARY

## Indian Ex-Minister Found Dead

A former state minister kidnapped three months ago by India's most notorious bandit was found dead in the southern state of Karnataka. A6

## Chavez Pledges Oil Control

President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela, facing a battle with opponents whose nationwide strike has nearly paralyzed oil production, vowed to retake control of the oil industry. A5

## NATIONAL A15-24

## President Said to Choose Rail Executive for Treasury

John W. Snow, chairman of the CSX Corporation, has emerged as President Bush's choice to replace Paul H. O'Neill as Treasury secretary, a person with ties to the administration said. A1

Mr. O'Neill's resignation was met with hints of relief by business executives and economic policy makers outside the United States. A20

## Budget Woes in California

California is facing budget cuts and possible tax increases in its worst budget crisis in a decade. A21

## Pressure Mounts on Cardinal

Cardinal Bernard F. Law abruptly canceled his schedule and flew to Rome as anger toward him mounted and some priests signed a draft of a letter calling for his resignation. A15

## Silver Lining for Democrats

Democrats found a ray of sunshine in the unexpected victory of Senator Mary L. Landrieu over a Republican challenger who had been bolstered by the White House. A15

## Gun Dealer Broke Laws

The Tacoma, Wash., gun store that supplied the rifle used in the Washington-area sniper attacks was allowed to stay in business despite four investigations by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, according to court records. A19

## Christmas Tree Ban in Yosemite

There will be no real Christmas trees or evergreen decorations at Yosemite National Park's hotels because of a crackdown on fire hazards. A15

## EDUCATION

## Radicals' Son a Rhodes Scholar

This year's list of Rhodes scholarship recipients includes Chesa Boudin, a student at Yale whose parents, members of the 1970's radical group Weathermen, have been in prison since he was 14 months old. A1

## Survey on Leadership

The number of women tapped to become college presidents has leveled off in recent years, according to a survey of more than 2,500 two- and four-year institutions. A19

## NEW YORK/REGION B1-7

## Negotiations Continue As City Braces for Strike

## NEWS SUMMARY

With a transit strike looming, the Metropolitan Transportation Authority and Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union, which represents 34,000 transit workers, continued to negotiate over wages and other issues. Officials at the Mayor's Office of Emergency Management said that a plan to cope with a strike was being prepared. A1

## Mayor to Focus on Housing

Mayor Michael R. Bloomberg, whose public policy agenda has been eclipsed lately by the city's fiscal woes and the threat of a transit strike, is planning to shift his attention somewhat to the physical state of New York City, particularly its housing. B1

## Low-Key Inauguration Planned

Gov. George E. Pataki is not planning to crow over his recent electoral victory with a big inaugural ball, as he did at the beginning of his first term, his aides say. Instead, the governor is planning a relatively small ceremony on Jan. 1: a Mass at Albany's premier cathedral, a swearing-in at a state auditorium and a party at a nearby hotel. B3

## Neediest Cases B6

## SPORTSMONDAY D1-10

## Jets Over Buffalo

The Jets beat the Broncos, 19-13, keeping their playoff hopes alive with three games remaining. D1

## Giants Beat Redskins

The Giants defeated Washington, 27-21. The Giants (7-6) need Philadelphia or Atlanta to crumble to have any chance at the playoffs. D1

## ARTS E1-10

## OBITUARIES A25

## Jimmy Caras

The four-time billiards world champion was 93. He won the world titles in 1936, '38, '39 and 1949, then returned from semiretirement to win the United States Open in 1967. A25

## BUSINESS DAY C1-14

## United Obtains Financing

The board of UAL, the parent company of United Airlines, has voted to allow management to file for bankruptcy protection. The vote came shortly after bankers and lawyers reached agreement on the terms of a \$1.15 billion loan deal that would allow the airline to keep operating. A17

## Examining Enron Deals

Congressional investigators are examining a series of undisclosed deals between Enron and Citigroup that raise questions about whether the bank ignored its guidelines and sidestepped accounting requirements in order to satisfy a client, according to people involved in the inquiry. C1

## I.B.M. vs. Microsoft, Again

I.B.M.'s plan to pay \$2.1 billion for Rational Software, a supplier of software tools, is another step in I.B.M.'s drive to build its prowess in software based on Internet standards. In so doing, I.B.M. continues a decades-long rivalry by positioning itself as the main challenger to Microsoft. C1

A team of I.B.M. researchers plans to report on what would be the world's smallest transistor when they deliver a research paper this week at an industry meeting. C4

## NEWS SUMMARY

Business Digest C1

EDITORIAL A26-27

Editorials: Destroying weapons of terror; rollback on forest law; mice as a measure of man; the commuter's fair share.

Columns: William Safire, Bob Herbert.

Bridge E6

TV Listings E9

Crossword E4

Weather B8

Metro Diary B2

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos

**Load-Date:** December 9, 2002

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## **Palestinian Bomber Kills 8 and Wounds 50 in Jerusalem**

The New York Times  
February 23, 2004 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2004 The New York Times Company

**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1120 words

**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Feb. 22

### **Body**

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A Palestinian suicide bomber killed himself and at least eight other passengers aboard a crowded bus in the center of Jerusalem on Sunday, a day before the International Court of Justice was to start hearings about the West Bank barrier that Israel says it needs to block such attacks.

The rush-hour blast wounded more than 50 people. As an icy wind lashed Jerusalem, emergency workers pulled flapping plastic body bags over the remains of the dead.

"It was a fireball -- smoke, windows shattered," said Moshe Matitya, 38, who witnessed the attack from his car about 15 feet away. "People fell out, bodies fell out, parts of bodies."

Then, he said, "People started pushing their way out, a lot of them with blood all over them."

The wounded included teenagers on their way to school. The dead -- seven men and one woman -- were all 18 or older, the police said. They included two high school seniors.

The bombing occurred at the foot of Liberty Bell Park, dedicated in honor of the American bicentennial, and a block from the Inbal Hotel, where the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations was holding its annual meeting.

Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, a violent offshoot of Yasir Arafat's Fatah faction, claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement that called the Israeli barrier "a Nazi wall." It released a videotape of the bomber, a 23-year-old man from a village near Bethlehem, and said the attack was in retaliation for the barrier and for an Israeli raid into the Gaza Strip on Feb. 11 that killed 15 Palestinians.

With his security officials, Mr. Arafat, the Palestinian leader, issued a statement condemning the attack and promising action "as soon as possible" against those responsible. Israel accuses Mr. Arafat of fomenting, if not directing, such violence.

The American Jewish conferees were attending a briefing in a hotel room with the Israeli chief of staff, Lt. Gen. Moshe Yaalon, when the general was passed a note informing him of the bombing.

## Palestinian Bomber Kills 8 and Wounds 50 in Jerusalem

Several of the Americans made their way through a throng of reporters and past a police cordon to survey the destruction.

Standing near the ruined bus, Representative Jerrold Nadler, a New York Democrat, said the bombing underscored the "hypocrisy" of the hearings in The Hague.

"Israel is being put in the dock for taking mild defensive measures," he said. "Arguments are being made that the fence inconveniences Palestinians -- and I'm sure it does -- but they ought to blame their own leaders."

Palestinian leaders say they would not object to an Israeli barrier built on the so-called Green Line, the boundary between Israel and the West Bank. But they say the barrier Israel is constructing, portions of which are inside the West Bank, amounts to a land grab that will disrupt the lives of tens of thousands of Palestinians and provoke violence, not prevent it.

Israel has built roughly 110 miles of the barrier, a network of fencing, concrete walls, ditches and guard towers that is about 165 feet wide in most places and is planned to stretch more than 450 miles. Israel occupied the West Bank and Gaza Strip in the 1967 Middle East war. The Palestinian leadership says it wants to establish a state in those territories.

Just before the bombing on Sunday, Israel began demolishing a five-mile segment of the barrier that cut a Palestinian village off from the West Bank. Officials said that section was no longer necessary because workers had completed a parallel section west of the village, along the Green Line.

Israel has built the barrier into the West Bank and around some Palestinian villages in part so that it could include some Israeli settlements on the Israeli side. The Bush administration has been urging Israel to hew to the Green Line.

The barrier is under construction around Jerusalem. Israeli officials contended that if it had already been completed here, it would have prevented the bombing.

Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades identified the bomber as Muhammad Zaoul, from the village of Hussan. Relatives said Mr. Zaoul, the married father of a 2-year-old boy, used to sneak into Jerusalem to work in the Talpiot industrial area. They said he had been shot and wounded earlier in the conflict.

"What do you expect from someone who can't find money to buy milk for his baby?" Amjad Zaoul, a cousin, said of the bombing.

As Israeli forces sealed off the Bethlehem area, the Zaoul family evacuated its four-room house in anticipation of its demolition, a standard Israeli reprisal measure.

An Aksa cell in Bethlehem conducted the last suicide bombing in Jerusalem, killing 11 people on the No. 19 bus on Jan. 29. Israeli officials say that Al Aksa cells, including the one in Bethlehem, are increasingly financed and directed by Iran, acting through the Hezbollah guerrilla group in Lebanon.

On Sunday, the bomber boarded the No. 14 bus in Talpiot and rode it for a couple of miles before detonating his explosive, which he apparently carried in a bag packed with metal bits, said Superintendent Gil Kleiman of the Israel police.

"He traveled quite a distance," Superintendent Kleiman said. "Usually they get on and blow up." He said it was possible that the bomber was waiting for the bus to fill with passengers.

Superintendent Kleiman said that two security guards rode the bus for portions of that trip, and that one of them stepped off just before the blast. No one noticed anything suspicious, he said.

Mr. Zaoul blew himself up at 8:30 a.m., toward the back of the then-crowded bus, at a red light just past the point where Bethlehem Road converges with a road called the Valley of the Ghosts.



## Palestinian Bomber Kills 8 and Wounds 50 in Jerusalem

David Tucker, 22, a rescue worker, arrived minutes later, as wounded people were fleeing in panic. "There was one woman with pieces of flesh in her hair," he said. "Inside the bus there was a man underneath the seats screaming. We did not hear him at first because of all the chaos. Then three or four guys got him out. He was missing a leg."

Harvey Tannenbaum, 51, was driving on an intersecting street when he heard the explosion. He parked and rushed to help. "I saw three women lying on the street, screaming as they were bleeding," he said. He said he accidentally tripped over a severed head that was also in the street.

Mr. Tannenbaum said an elderly woman called to him in Yiddish from another nearby bus stop. "She kept asking me how many children were killed," he said.

He said the woman said: "Russia, Russia, I want to go home. Israel has died."

Within two hours, the bus was hauled away, and as traffic resumed workers speedily erased any sign of destruction. Government officials prepared for a conference beginning Sunday evening on tourism to Israel.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Relatives of an Israeli student killed yesterday by a suicide bomber on a bus in Jerusalem waited at a funeral home, above. Members of a rescue and recovery team, below, searched the scene for human remains. (Photographs by Rina Castelnovo for The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** February 23, 2004

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

December 29, 2001, Saturday

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**Section:** Opine; Pg. A-5

**Length:** 1177 words

### **Body**

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League is opposed to hatred, oversimplifying

These are anxious times, stalked by terrorism and violence across the globe. Unfortunately some people, looking for answers, turn to blame -- Arabs in general, or Arab Americans, or Muslims, or the nation of Israel. The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) fights the defamation of any and all groups -- national, racial, ethnic or religious. That is what the ADL is for.

Some people seem all too ready to blame America itself for the crimes committed against it. We oppose that, too.

Some people would blame Israel alone for the conflict between that nation and its Palestinian neighbors -- and blame that conflict for Arab hatred of America. ADL opposes that simplistic view of a complex world.

In our view, that conflict displays the ultimate futility of defamation and hatred. Fifty years of organized terrorism and three Arab wars against Israel demonstrate that Israel is not about to submit to extermination and Palestinian aspirations are not going to vanish into thin air. Someday the violence and terrorism that has long plagued the Middle East will finally stop.

We call on our leaders to continue seeking a just solution to this dangerous and tragic conflict. The ADL endorses fully the policies set forth by Secretary Colin Powell and President Bush in regard to these matters, calling for a peaceful Palestinian state with secure borders and freedom from terror in Israel. After all, more than a million Arabs live in Israel as peaceful citizens.

Let us, thrust into the midst of new forms of war and conflict, resist the temptation to play the blame or defamation game. Let us fight with vigor when we must, sorrowing for our fallen heroes and with pity for the fallen enemy as well.

Never forget: "Blessed are the peacemakers."

John H. Rubel

chair

New Mexico Anti-Defamation League

Tesuque

Stop madness

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The madness in the Middle East must be stopped. The United States must lead, not veto, intervention through the United Nations Security Council to protect the rights of the people of Israel as well as those of Palestine.

Israel is being terrorized, and the Palestinian people are being brutalized by retaliation. The conflict has degenerated into a battle between extremists who have no common ground.

The winners are the radical groups -- Hamas, the Islamic Jihad, the Front for the Liberation of Palestine and Hezbollah -- who do not want the State of Israel. The losers are the Israeli and Palestinian people and the U.S. effort to eliminate terrorism and its roots in Islam and the underdeveloped world.

This dilemma of major historic and moral proportions for the free world cries for leadership to achieve a just outcome. If not resolved, the United States will pay the bill economically, with its credibility and with the security of its people and businesses in an increasingly integrated world.

Do we have the sense of history and the will to take action before it is too late?

Fred Bender

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Feeding the hungry

In spite of all the trying events of the last few months and the economic uncertainties during these holiday times, we must still remember those most needy.

U.S. Rep. Tom Udall has done so by sponsoring the "Hunger to Harvest" resolution in Congress, which will help those most in need in Africa. In addition to this program, we need to support legislation that will help domestic programs -- such as the food-stamps program -- which are needed more than ever.

Brother Jim Brown

College of Santa Fe

Santa Fe

No respect

It did not take courage for Tom Udall to vote against the "PATRIOT Act" because that's exactly what the Democratic Party leadership wanted him to do. You show courage when you take a position that could cost you something, so real courage would have been to vote with the huge majority of other lawmakers and against his powerbrokers.

If we are to believe the polls (and we know how important the Democratic "leadership" thinks the polls are), most of Udall's constituents would have wanted him to vote otherwise. Unfortunately, the Democratic Party is not ruled by its members but by its leadership -- which cares less about the plight of its members.

The Democratic Party has continued to move away from most of its loyal but unappreciated (and disrespected) members who, amazingly, continue to support it -- but for how long?

Tom Chrisman

Santa Fe

via e-mail

No 'trickle-down'

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Frank Lombardo's letter (Dec. 17) stated that tax reductions are ethical because they return wealth to its rightful owners -- those who created it. By that same logic, those who create no wealth (and by inference own none) should pay all the taxes. Now that's ethical!

Returning to huge and wealthy corporations retroactively the minimal taxes they've paid for the last five years is a travesty and a slap in the face to all hard-working, tax-paying Americans.

Those individuals and corporations most able to pay should pay the lion's-share of taxes -- period. "Trickle-down" economics didn't work for Ronnie, and it won't work now.

Brian Martinson

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Response to Salaz

Ruben Salaz's letter of Dec. 16 attempts to keep alive the "Cyber Arte" controversy. I can only wonder if Salaz formed his viewpoint without seeing the exhibit. Otherwise, he would have seen the adjacent exhibit on Familia y Fe, which, for more than 10 years, has displayed Hispanic religious art. Last year the "Cyber Arte" curator had an excellent exhibit, Sin Nombre, on Hispanic New Deal artists who had received essentially no recognition for their work -- particularly the Hispanic female artists.

For almost 100 years, the Palace of the Governors has displayed the history of New Mexico with emphasis on the Spanish and Mexican periods.

Viewers of art are entitled to their own opinion of a particular work. Those who do not like a particular artist or work of art can avoid the exhibit, museum or gallery. However, many could benefit from exposure to new ideas or interpretations.

If only art that was accepted by everyone were displayed, there would be no art on display anywhere.

Paul Andrews

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Can do better

On Dec. 14 you ran a story about the Osama bin Laden tape. The story did not tell us where the tape was found, how it had been translated or what local speakers of Arabic thought of it. It did, however, give us the opinions of an 18-year-old fast-food service worker, a 23-year-old bar patron or worker, a recently arrived 22-year-old and a 23-year-old waitress plus -- finally -- the opinions of some local lawmakers who might or might not have been better informed on the subject.

If we had had the opinions of local speakers of Arabic or any speaker of Arabic, the first half of the article might have been news. What four young people think of this tape is not news; it is blather. "Man on the street" articles are usually blather since the average "man" on the street knows little or nothing about recent and immediate happenings of any complexity.

We depend upon our news media to inform us about those complexities. The Santa Fe New Mexican can and should do better.

Anna Orde

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Santa Fe

via e-mail

**Load-Date:** December 31, 2001

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*In low-tech street war, a different set of rules ;*  
*Deception is a key underdog tactic*

The International Herald Tribune

March 28, 2003 Friday

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1158 words

**Byline:** Alan Cowell

**Dateline:** LONDON:

## **Body**

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Each battered high-rise becomes a sniper's lair, each deserted thoroughfare an ambush zone. In this kind of warfare, advances and retreats are measured in blocks or half-blocks, or even just houses.

In the calculations of battle, the shield of technology gives way to human failings and human skills speed and deception, close knowledge of streets and alleys.

From Stalingrad and Berlin in World War II, to the American assault on Hue in 1968 and on to the war zones of Beirut or Nablus, Belfast or Mogadishu, urban warfare has become a central part of the underdog's arsenal, a fight without scruples for the high ground of propaganda that exploits civilian losses and denies the intruder's superior might.

The New York Times

And it is precisely that messy, manipulative and murderous kind of fighting between conventional forces and elusive defenders that could beckon American forces as they approach Baghdad, despite their much-publicized reluctance to engage in a close, urban brawl.

"The Iraqis will want to fight close and dirty, with Iraqi tanks darting in and out of garages and buildings," according to General Wesley Clark, the American former commander who led North Atlantic Treaty Organization forces during the Kosovo campaign. "They will conduct small-scale offensive actions with dismounted soldiers supported by mortars."

"The fighting will be full of the tricks we have already seen and more: ambushes, fake surrenders, soldiers dressed as women, attacks on rear areas and command posts," he wrote in a newspaper article. "The Iraqis will be prepared to conduct high-risk missions of a kind we would not consider."

For all Western commanders in Iraq have expressed outrage at what they see as such dishonorable tactics, urban warfare has always set its own rules of guile and deceit, from the use of a wooden horse to break the siege of Troy more than 3,100 years ago to modern times when war is broadcast live 24 hours a day.

And in this post-Cold War era of asymmetric warfare the fight between overwhelming conventional forces and zealous adversaries seeking the chinks in the high-tech Western armor the fight has come to mean a contest to disable the technology that enables American forces to contemplate killing without loss of their own.

In low-tech street war, a different set of rules ; Deception is a key underdog tactic

That was evident in Mogadishu, Somalia, in 1993 when sophisticated Black Hawk helicopter gunships were brought down by crude, shoulder-fired Soviet-era RPG-7 rocket-propelled grenades, a standard item in the kit of guerrilla armies around the globe, along with AK-47 assault rifles, land mines and hand grenades.

The downing of the helicopters not only seemed a victory for the lightly equipped Somali street fighters, it also led to humiliating American casualties that hastened the U.S. withdrawal just as images of wounded and slain U.S. Marines at Hue and other battle zones of the Tet offensive in Vietnam turned American opinion against the war.

In recent decades, urban warfare has taken many forms, with many aims.

When battle-hardened Soviet troops pushed into Berlin in 1945 against the last feeble remnants of the Third Reich, lofting the Red Flag over the battered Reichstag, their intention was clearly conquest, not the liberation Washington says it seeks in Iraq.

In Beirut in the mid-1970s, by contrast, Muslim and Palestinian forces fought Christian militias across a line of faiths whose incongruous initial markers were luxury seafront hotels the St. Georges and the Phoenicia, the Palm Beach and the Normandie, won and lost in room-to-room fighting.

The weapons were generally low-tech shoulder-fired anti-tank grenades, assault rifles and mortars, pickup-mounted machine guns that put a premium on stealth and mobility. But when American Marines intervened in Lebanon, an equally crude weapon, a suicide truck bomb, killed more than 230 of them in 1983.

In Berlin and Beirut, as in successive waves of Russian assaults on the Chechen capital, Grozny, the fighting reduced urban areas to rubble. But it is precisely the familiarity of the urban terrain to those who live there that enables them to use it to the advantages of ambushes, surprise attacks and rapid redeployment.

"Urban warfare usually benefits the defender," said Clifford Beal, the editor of Jane's Defense Weekly, a leading publication on military matters. Not only that, urban warfare "will negate the technological advantage of the coalition."

A war depending on low technology and high numbers of combatants and casualties is precisely the opposite of what the modern U.S. Army is trained to do. And even the British Army, with three decades of experience fighting the Irish Republican Army in Northern Ireland, would not be familiar either with the terrain in Iraqi cities such as Basra or Baghdad or with the much greater firepower Iraqi troops could use in urban areas.

Indeed, said Tom Clonan, a military analyst in Dublin, a more likely comparison for allied troops in Iraq would be the humbling experience of Russian troops fighting Chechen separatist forces in Grozny. "There are striking similarities between Grozny and Baghdad," he said.

"For example, Saddam's Republican Guard, equipped with the same weaponry as Chechen separatists in Grozny, might well mimic their modus operandi in the streets of Baghdad." The "low-tech weapons would form a formidable arsenal in the narrow alleys and back streets of Iraq's capital," Clonan said.

Others draw comparisons with house-to-house fighting in Hue in 1968, which not only sent home bloody images of American casualties but also forced U.S. commanders to loosen the rules of engagement.

"The allies are fighting with kid gloves on," Beal said, "but it'll be very difficult to keep this clinical if urban warfare ensues. It can bog down large numbers of troops. This war is being fought on a clock. And the longer it goes on, the more carnage is seen, the more difficult it is for the Bush administration to continue."

The pressure, thus, could be to unleash a massive strike, despite the ostensible war aims of keeping civilian casualties and damage to minimum.

"If such force were to be applied in the indiscriminate manner required of high-intensity urban warfare in Baghdad," Clonan said, "military casualties would be eclipsed by the certain destruction of the Iraqi capital and the annihilation of its citizens."

In low-tech street war, a different set of rules ; Deception is a key underdog tactic

In the region's recent history, there are some ominous parallels. When Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in 1982, for example, they evicted Yasser Arafat from Beirut, only to find him depicting his departure as a victory, validated simply by the same ability to survive superior force as Saddam Hussein displayed after the last Gulf War in 1991.

And, as The Economist magazine reported last week, the Israelis' welcome was short-lived.

"When Israel invaded here in 1982, we met them with showers of rice and roses," a spokesman for Lebanon's **Hezbollah** Shiite Muslim militia was quoted as saying. "One hundred days later, we blew up their headquarters."

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**Letters to the editor**

Lincoln Journal Star (Nebraska)

July 13, 2003 Sunday

City Edition

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**Section:** D; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1216 words

**Body**

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**TAKERS WILL KEEP TAKING**

In response to Cindy Lange-Kubick's "Free-wheelin' coaches" column (LJS, July 3), no - she is not petty. I feel the same way. The only difference is that I no longer believe that expressing my thoughts, feelings or beliefs will make a difference.

Those who take will always be takers because they are excellent at justifying why they take. Those who are givers understand enough is truly enough and find joy in what they do for others.

Although staff positions are being cut and tuition continues to rise, those in leadership at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln believe free transportation is due and justified. I know people who make \$15,000, \$35,000, \$60,000, \$125,000, \$250,000, and \$500,000-plus a year, and they purchase and maintain their own vehicles. Oh - that's right - academia is different. Anyway, that justification seems to work!

Should we all protest? Why? What will change? Nothing. Except perhaps fewer staff, higher tuition and more free vehicles so UNL can be "competitive."

Patricia Beck, Lincoln

**'WIFE AND WIFE' NOT A RIGHT**

Our marriage laws are under attack in a Nebraska court case challenge. Marriage law rule, "One Man, One Woman," passed by a 70 percent majority, will be defended by our new Attorney General Jon Bruning, and should he lose, "Husband and Wife" may become "Husband and Husband" or "Wife and Wife."

Just like a driver's license, a marriage license is a privilege and not a right. In both cases you have to meet the qualifications. Most people seem to know what is needed to qualify you for a driver's license - as a matter of fact the law just reinforced this to a woman that wanted to hide her face on her driver's photo. Nope, said the court - rules apply here. Privilege and not a right.

So why shouldn't the rule "one single man and one single woman" apply any more for a marriage license? Why is this privilege being attacked as exclusive? Where is the sense of fair play here? Isn't that like changing the rules in the middle of a baseball or football game? Would we stand for that? I dare say "foul" or "flag on the play" would be heard.

## Letters to the editor

If a man wants a union with another man, then make another category with another name or make it an incorporation. But don't change the rules for marriages for everyone else. Don't take what the majority wants and turn it inside out so it has no meaning or is so hazy that its significance is lost. And if we go there to the land of hazy nothingness, what then?

Will men want to marry a sewing machine or their dog? Why not let women marry their car or a horse? Silly, you say? OK, then how about polygamy - or is that next on the hazy "if it feels good, do it" crowd's agenda?

Colleen "C.J." Bessey, Elkhorn

## PALESTINE DEFINES TERROR

To paraphrase President Reagan, "There she goes again." Ruth Thone consistently goes over the top with caustic, one-sided, prejudicial remarks (Local View, LJS, July 5). Her view that Palestinians are totally right and Israelis totally wrong is ridiculous - as in nearly any dispute, there is right and wrong on both sides.

Thone's explanation of terror needs expansion as well.

Terror is a leader like Palestinian Arafat, who has demonstrated over and over he seeks and promises his people the total elimination of Israel. Terror is Hezbollah, Harnas, the Martyr's Brigade and Arafat's own Fatah. Terror is suicide bombers pledged, at Arafat's orders and encouragement, to blow up buses, restaurants and assorted business establishments indiscriminately, with men, women, children, even infants, as the victims. Terror is teaching Arab children it is virtuous and obligatory to kill Jews if one is to be assured of a place in paradise. Terror is encouraging teenagers to blow themselves apart in order to kill Israelis.

Terror is Arafat diverting financial assistance from Saudi Arabia and Egypt to personal Swiss and other bank accounts, monies ostensibly intended for food, jobs, hospitals, roads and education. Terror is blaming others for miserable living conditions inflicted by Palestinian leadership. Terror is speaking to the world of peace in English while declaring Jihad, holy war, on Arab TV in the native tongue. Terror is planned killing instead of building. Terror is distorting the Quran to justify murder.

Finally, terror is a modern-day weapon against which Israel, like any sovereign nation, has a right and obligation to defend itself - it does and it will.

Thone's simplistic analysis is just that - simplistic - as well as dogmatic and erroneous.

Yale Gotsdiner, Lincoln

## HALF-TRUTHS HELP NO ONE

Rather than present a balanced assessment of the current Israeli/Palestinian situation, Ruth Thone presents a biased, vicious diatribe against the state of Israel, characterized by half-truths (Local View, LJS, July 5).

If the Arabs of the British Mandate of Palestine had accepted partition in 1947, as the Jewish inhabitants of the mandate did, they already would have marked the 55th anniversary of a Palestinian state. The Palestinian leadership consistently has neglected the needs of the Palestinian people and has used them as pawns in their goal of the destruction of the state of Israel. If there were no Palestinian suicide bombers and if Yasser Arafat had even negotiated, rather than absolutely rejecting the Camp David and Wye River proposals, there would be no need for Israeli incursions into Gaza or the West Bank.

Rather than provide a balanced perspective for a better understanding of this difficult situation, Ruth Thone became a tool of Palestinian propaganda. If Ruth Thone is truly concerned about oppressed minorities in the Middle East, I suggest she devote some of her energies to help the Jews who live in Syria.

Albert Weiss, Lincoln

**ANIMAL CRUELTY IS CRIME**

I'd like to respond to Wesley Halvorsen of Syracuse (LJS letter, July 1) who feels us "city folk" are "treading" on him. I agree elected village officials are the business of the village and no one else. That's why I commend Heather Bruns for handling the situation as she has. A recall vote is an appropriate way to handle the question of whether village residents want an alleged animal killer to run their governing body. If the people of Palmyra are comfortable with Rex Schroder making decisions for them then that is their business, not mine.

But cruelty to animals is all of our business, not just in principle, but by state law. Halvorsen or Schroder may want us "pompous, know-it-all city folks" to leave them alone, but much as they might not like it, they are still residents of the state of Nebraska and, as such, must abide by all state laws.

Hopefully, the state's attorney general will investigate and prosecute, to the full extent of the law, any and all animal cruelty laws Schroder may have violated.

I agree with Halvorsen wholeheartedly that people should mind their own business. Threatening, anonymous letters to Schroder are completely inappropriate and should also be investigated and prosecuted to the full extent of the law. What a recent Journal Star article failed to mention, however, was that anonymous, threatening phone calls were received by people who simply voiced their opinion in the "Letters to the Editor" column recently. Hopefully, those, too, will be prosecuted (what would we do without caller ID?)

Beth Boal, Lincoln

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2006

**Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan.**  
**Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff report.**

Ottawa Citizen

August 1, 2002 Thursday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A5; Crime; Series

**Length:** 1171 words

**Byline:** Hal Bernton, Mike Carter, David Heath and James Neff

**Series:** Inside Jihad: Ahmed Ressam's War of Terror

**Dateline:** MONTREAL

## **Body**

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MONTREAL, March 1998 - Before Ahmed Ressam could embark on his journey to terrorist training, jihad and glory in Allah's name, he had pressing business: He needed a new identity. If he were a Canadian with a passport, instead of an Algerian without one, he could move around the world with ease.

He began with a blank baptismal certificate stolen from a Catholic parish in Montreal. He found the name of a priest who was at the church in 1970 -- his new year of birth -- and forged the priest's signature on the certificate. And he created a new name, Benni Antoine Noris.

The Seattle Times

That, along with a photograph, was all Mr. Ressam needed to get a passport. He didn't even have to take the forged certificate to the passport office himself, instead paying an acquaintance \$300 to pick it up.

Benni Noris, a Montreal native with a strangely Algerian accent, could now travel the world.

On the evening of March 16, with Canadian intelligence agents eavesdropping, Mr. Ressam said goodbye to his roommates. One of the men even cried as Mr. Ressam left to board the bus to Toronto.

Using his new name, Mr. Ressam bought an airline ticket and flew from Toronto to Frankfurt, Germany. There, he met with al-Qaeda contacts before flying on to Pakistan. He travelled by ground to Peshawar, perched at Afghanistan's rugged mountain border, where he met with Abu Zubaydah, the No. 3 man in al-Qaeda.

As a Palestinian teenager, Mr. Zubaydah had fought the Soviets in Afghanistan alongside Osama bin Laden. At 25, he was the emir of Mr. bin Laden's training camps, serving as gatekeeper and placement director. He set up cells, doled out money and helped co-ordinate al-Qaeda's operations around the world.

Mr. Zubaydah gave Mr. Ressam traditional Afghani robes and assigned him a trunk in which to store his western clothes. He told him to grow a beard so he would blend in with the Afghans.

For the next three weeks, Mr. Ressam stayed at the Peshawar safe house, talking to other raw recruits, studying the Koran and praying.

Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mik....

In late April, Mr. Zubaydah gave Mr. Ressam an introductory letter and sent him by car over the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. From there, Mr. Ressam and other recruits marched on foot down steep hills to the Khalden camp.

Khalden was a compound of four tents and four stone buildings. Recruits, 100 or so at a time, were grouped by nationality. There were Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Yemen and Algeria, and Europeans from France, Germany, Sweden and Chechnya.

Among the 30 or so Algerians were two of Mr. Ressam's former roommates from the Malicorne apartment, Sahid Atmani and Moustafa Labsi. Once the Algerians finished their training, they were to be supervised by Abu Doha, an Algerian living in London.

By this time, al-Qaeda training was formalized. There was even a textbook, available in Arabic, French and other languages. The training incorporated methods American advisers had introduced to the Afghans in the 1980s in the war with the Soviets.

Early each morning, Mr. Ressam and the others were called to formation, then sent to pray. After a meal, they went through strength and endurance training. Scarred veterans of the Afghan war taught self-defence and hand-to-hand combat, using knives, garrotes and other weapons.

Trainees practised with small arms, assault rifles and grenade launchers provided by the Taliban, the Islamist rulers of Afghanistan. They learned about explosives and landmines. Representatives of terrorist groups, including Hamas, Hezbollah and Islamic Jihad, gave lectures on their organizations.

As Mr. Ressam was being trained in terrorist attacks, other Islamists pulled off two to near-perfection: On Aug. 7, 1998, powerful truck bombs shattered U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, killing 224 people and injuring more than 5,000. The Clinton administration quickly concluded that al-Qaeda was to blame.

On Aug. 20, U.S. navy boats in the Arabian and Red seas fired 70 cruise missiles at the training camps. Most missed their targets, and casualties were light. In Khalden, Mr. Ressam was unhurt.

That summer, Mr. Doha, the Algerian ringleader, visited Mr. bin Laden at his base in Kandahar. Mr. Doha said he had a newly trained cell of Algerians, based in Montreal, that would be available to cross into the United States and wage jihad.

By September, Mr. Ressam finished basic training and was sent to another camp, Darunta, for what amounted to terrorist graduate school. There, he took a six-week course in bomb construction. He copied into a notebook dozens of pages of notes and circuit diagrams and recipes for explosives.

Before they left Afghanistan one by one, the Algerians discussed potential U.S. targets -- an airport, an Israeli embassy, a military base. They decided the blast should coincide with the millennium.

In mid-January 1999, Mr. Ressam left Afghanistan with his notebook, \$12,000 U.S. in cash, and -- unknown to him - - a budding case of malaria. His assignment: Rent a safe house in Canada. Buy passports and weapons. Build a bomb to be used in the United States.

On his way back to North America, he stopped in Peshawar to pick up his western clothes and shave his beard. Based on his training about which airlines were lax in security, Mr. Ressam flew Asiana Airlines to Seoul, South Korea, then to Los Angeles International Airport, where he waited for a flight to Canada.

It was the morning of Feb. 7, 1999. At a U.S. checkpoint, an agent stopped him and took his passport. In his bag, Mr. Ressam carried a notebook with bomb recipes. He also carried a shampoo bottle filled with glycol and a Tylenol bottle of hexamine tablets -- two key ingredients for a bomb.

Chapter 8: Going to camp: Budding terrorist Ahmed Ressam learns the essentials of mass murder at an al-Qaeda-run training camp in Afghanistan . Hal Bernton, Mik....

The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agent checked the name "Benni Noris" and the passport number against a computerized watchlist. Although Canadian authorities had photographed Mr. Ressam leaving for an al-Qaeda camp, the INS was clueless.

Mr. Ressam was allowed to pass.

He took his first look around the U.S., the Great Satan. Families in Mickey Mouse garb. Men carrying golf clubs. Dark-suited women talking on cellphones.

Scouting the L.A. airport, one of the world's busiest, Mr. Ressam decided it was a perfect place to put his training into action.

## SERIES SCHEDULE

### THURSDAY, JULY 25

Chapter 1: Past as prologue

### FRIDAY, JULY 26

Chapter 2: The fountainhead

### SATURDAY, JULY 27

Chapter 3: Leaving home

### SUNDAY, JULY 28

Chapter 4: Sneaking in

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Today

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MONDAY, AUG. 5

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Chapter 15: Puzzle pieces

FRIDAY, AUG. 9

Chapter 16: The reckoning

SATURDAY, AUG. 10

Chapter 17: Nine-eleven

SUNDAY, AUG. 12

Inside Jihad epilogue

## Graphic

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Photo: The Associated Press; Detail from an al-Qaeda training camp registration form.; Photo: Reuters; Recruits wave guns and display copies of the Koran in this image from a video shot at an unidentified terrorist training camp in Afghanistan. Weapons were provided by the Taliban, in power at the time.

**Load-Date:** August 1, 2002

**Word for Word/Early Warnings; The Surprise Was More When Than Whether  
or How**

The New York Times

May 19, 2002 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1262 words

## **Body**

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CASSANDRA'S ghost is stalking the corridors of Washington.

Last week, Democrats in Congress pounced on a disclosure that President Bush was cautioned last August -- the month before the Sept. 11 terror attacks on New York and Washington -- that Osama bin Laden might be planning a hijacking. The White House responded that the warnings weren't based on specific intelligence, and Condoleezza Rice, the president's national security adviser, said, "I don't think anybody could have predicted that these people would take an airplane and slam it into the World Trade Center, take another one and slam it into the Pentagon, that they would try to use an airplane as a missile."

Actually, somebody did predict something remarkably similar, and nearly two years earlier.

The warnings, drawn mostly from public sources, were included in a 131-page study prepared by the Federal Research Division of the Library of Congress for the National Intelligence Council, which reports to the Central Intelligence Agency. The report has been public for a while; the White House said it learned of it on Friday. With benefit of hindsight, the intelligence seems chillingly prescient. Excerpts follow.

The report, completed during the Clinton administration, was titled "The Sociology and Psychology of Terrorism: Who Becomes a Terrorist and Why?"

The purpose . . . is to focus attention on the types of individuals and groups that are prone to terrorism in an effort to help improve U.S. counterterrorist methods and policies. The emergence of amorphous and largely unknown terrorist individuals and groups operating independently (freelancers) and the new recruitment patterns of some groups, such as recruiting suicide commandos, *female* and child terrorists, and scientists capable of developing weapons of mass destruction, provide a measure of urgency to increasing our understanding of the psychological and sociological dynamics of terrorist groups and individuals.

The study recalled the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center and a Japanese cult's 1995 gas attack in the Tokyo subway: "These two acts in Manhattan and Tokyo seem an ominous foretaste" of terrorism by weapons of mass destruction "to come in the first decade of the new millennium."

When the conventional terrorist groups and individuals of the early 1970's are compared with terrorists of the early 1990's, a trend can be seen: the emergence of religious fundamentalist and new religious groups espousing the rhetoric of mass-destruction terrorism. In the 1990's, groups motivated by religious imperatives, such as Aum



## Word for Word/Early Warnings The Surprise Was More When Than Whether or How

Shinrikyo, Hezbollah and Al Qaeda, have grown and proliferated. These groups have a different attitude toward violence -- one that is extra-normative and seeks to maximize violence against the perceived enemy, essentially anyone who is not a fundamentalist Muslim or an Aum Shinrikyo member. Their outlook is one that divides the world simplistically into "them" and "us."

Many of these fanatical groups were identified as being well financed, highly educated and exceptionally ruthless:

The new generation of Islamic terrorists . . . are well educated and motivated by their religious ideologies. The religiously motivated terrorists are more dangerous than the politically motivated terrorists because they are the ones most likely to develop and use weapons of mass destruction (W.M.D.) in pursuit of their messianic or apocalyptic visions. The level of intelligence of a terrorist group's leaders may determine the longevity of the group.

The study anticipated the tactics that these new terrorists might employ:

These religiously motivated groups would have no reason to take "credit" for such an act of mass destruction, just as Aum Shinrikyo did not take credit for its attack on the Tokyo subway, and just as Osama bin Laden did not take credit for various acts of high-casualty terrorism against U.S. targets in the 1990's. Taking credit means asking for retaliation. Instead, it is enough for these groups to simply take private satisfaction in knowing that they have dealt a harsh blow to what they perceive to be the "Great Satan."

Those blows could come with greater frequency -- and greater destructive power -- because of access to new technology.

The number of international terrorist incidents has declined in the 1990's, but the potential threat posed by terrorists has increased. The increased threat level, in the form of terrorist actions aimed at achieving a larger scale of destruction than the conventional attacks of the previous three decades of terrorism, was dramatically demonstrated with the bombing of the W.T.C.

The W.T.C. bombing illustrated how terrorists with technological sophistication are increasingly being recruited to carry out lethal terrorist bombing attacks. The W.T.C. bombing may also have been a harbinger of more destructive attacks of international terrorism in the United States.

Al Qaeda was singled out as the most likely perpetrator of terrorism. And Mr. bin Laden was cited as "the prototype of a new breed of terrorist -- the private entrepreneur who puts modern enterprise at the service of a global terrorist network."

If Iran's mullahs or Iraq's Saddam Hussein decide to use terrorists to attack the continental United States, they would likely turn to bin Laden's Al Qaeda. Al Qaeda is among the Islamic groups recruiting increasingly skilled professionals, such as computer and communications technicians, engineers, pharmacists and physicists, as well as Ukrainian chemists and biologists, Iraqi chemical weapons experts and others capable of helping to develop W.M.D.

Al Qaeda poses the most serious terrorist threat to U.S. security interests, for Al Qaeda's well-trained terrorists are actively engaged in a terrorist jihad against U.S. interests worldwide.

Suggesting that Al Qaeda would retaliate against an American counterterrorism strike the year before, the report listed a range of potential targets. Some of the detail was drawn from statements made by Ramzi Yousef, who was captured in 1995 and convicted for his role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

Al Qaeda's expected retaliation for the U.S. cruise missile attack against Al Qaeda's training facilities in Afghanistan on Aug. 20, 1998, could take several forms of terrorist attack in the nation's capital. Al Qaeda could detonate a Chechen-type building-buster bomb at a federal building. Suicide bomber(s) belonging to Al Qaeda's Martyrdom Battalion could crash-land an aircraft packed with high explosives (C-4 and Semtex) into the Pentagon, the headquarters of the Central Intelligence Agency (C.I.A.) or the White House. Ramzi Yousef had planned to do this against the C.I.A. headquarters. . . .

## Word for Word/Early Warnings The Surprise Was More When Than Whether or How

Following the August 1998 cruise missile attack, at least one Islamic religious leader called for Clinton's assassination, and another stated that "the time is not far off" for when the White House will be destroyed by a nuclear bomb. A horrendous scenario consonant with Al Qaeda's mind-set would be its use of a nuclear suitcase bomb against any number of targets in the nation's capital. Bin Laden allegedly has already purchased a number of nuclear suitcase bombs from the Chechen Mafia.

Al Qaeda's retaliation, however, is more likely to take the lower-risk form of bombing one or more U.S. airliners with time-bombs. Yousef was planning simultaneous bombings of 11 U.S. airliners prior to his capture.

Whatever form an attack may take, bin Laden will most likely retaliate in a spectacular way for the cruise missile attack against his Afghan camp in August 1998. . . .

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Paper trails: Al Qaeda documents found in Kabul. (Tyler Hicks/Getty Images)

**Load-Date:** May 19, 2002

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## *In Georgia, a Race Too Close to Call*

The New York Times  
August 19, 2002 Monday  
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**Length:** 1115 words

**Byline:** By PHILIP SHENON

**Dateline:** ATLANTA, Aug. 18

### **Body**

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No one would confuse the leafy suburban streets of Georgia's Fourth Congressional District with a seaside boulevard in Tel Aviv or with the dusty roads that crisscross the West Bank.

But the issues of war and peace in the Middle East may be what decide the primary on Tuesday between two African-American women battling for the Democratic nomination for this district's seat in the House. Recent polls suggest that the race between Representative Cynthia A. McKinney, a five-term incumbent who has received substantial financial backing from Arab-Americans, and Denise Majette, a former state judge supported by pro-Israel groups, is too close to call.

"This is turning into a small proxy war -- a little, Middle East proxy war," said Khalil E. Jahshan, executive vice president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in Washington.

The group's political action committee is urging its members to support Ms. McKinney, who is being opposed by pro-Israel groups because of her support for Arab causes. "One can raise all sorts of legitimate questions about McKinney's position on this or that issue, but she has been articulate on our concerns," Mr. Jahshan said.

Ms. McKinney has received campaign contributions from Arab-Americans around the country, including several who have come under scrutiny by the Federal Bureau of Investigation for possible terrorist links. Some of her contributors turned up as defendants in a \$1 trillion lawsuit filed last week in Washington by families of Sept. 11 victims; the suit accuses them of being "enablers of terrorism."

Ms. Majette has received donations from Jews from outside Georgia, raising almost twice as much over all as Ms. McKinney, more than \$1.1 million versus about \$640,000 for the incumbent. The challenger has accused Ms. McKinney of taking money from "people who have been named as Arab terrorists."

Ms. McKinney and her spokesmen, who did not return phone calls for comment, have defended the contributions as legal, and have suggested there is no need to return the money.

If Ms. McKinney loses, she will be the second House Democrat to be defeated this year in a race in which Middle East politics, and the influence of campaign contributions from both Arab-Americans and Jewish Americans, have

## In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call

played a significant role. Representative Earl F. Hilliard, an Alabama Democrat who has also supported Arab and Muslim concerns, was ousted in a primary vote in June by Artur Davis, a candidate backed by pro-Israel groups.

The races in Alabama and Georgia are seen as evidence of new strains between African-Americans and Jewish Americans, who for decades were seen as unshakable political allies, given their shared history of discrimination. "Unfortunately, this is symptomatic of the tensions between the black and Jewish communities," said Abraham H. Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League in New York, which is traditionally aligned with Jewish and pro-Israel groups.

But, Mr. Foxman said, it made sense that Jewish Americans would want to contribute to efforts to replace Ms. McKinney and Mr. Hilliard because of the lawmakers' records on matters of interest to the Jewish community.

Ms. McKinney, a 47-year-old educator-turned-politician with a liberal voting record and a confrontational style, is known in Congress for statements that border on the outrageous.

After Sept. 11, she suggested that President Bush ignored warnings of the attacks because a war on terrorism would be good for businesses allied with the Bush family. Senator Zell Miller, a fellow Georgia Democrat, described her accusations as "looney." Last fall, she apologized to a Saudi prince whose \$10 million donation of relief aid to New York City was rejected by Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani because of the prince's assertion that American foreign policy was partly to blame for the attacks.

Although her suburban Atlanta district is mostly black, Ms. McKinney has a sizable Jewish constituency, and Jewish voters here are alarmed by her support for Arab and Muslim causes. Their anxiety almost certainly grew with the announcement that Louis Farrakhan, the Nation of Islam leader who has been accused of anti-Semitism, intended to campaign for Ms. McKinney in Atlanta in the final days of the race.

In a recent appearance before the Islamic Foundation in Chicago, Ms. McKinney pleaded for support. "It's just not about a Congressional district," she said. "It's about the members of Congress who have the courage to come to the Muslim community."

She and Mr. Hilliard were among 21 members of the House who opposed a resolution in support of Israel's military response to Palestinian suicide bombings.

Her list of contributors reflects her support for Arab causes. A sizable number of the names on the contribution lists she has provided to the Federal Election Commission are those of Arab-Americans from outside Georgia, many of them respected lawyers, physicians and merchants.

Her opponents say they are concerned with the donations to Ms. McKinney from several people who have come under investigation for financial ties to terrorist organizations, including Al Qaeda. Among her donors is Abdurahman Alamoudi, the leader of a Muslim organization who has expressed support for Hezbollah, the Lebanese-based terrorist group, and Hamas, the violent Palestinian group; he has contributed the maximum \$2,000 to Ms. McKinney's campaign. Mr. Alamoudi was among the McKinney donors who were named in the suit last week by the Sept. 11 families. Some other McKinney donors are connected to Muslim charities that have been accused of raising money for terrorist groups.

In recent weeks, campaign officials have been quoted as saying that the donations in question would not be returned. "We don't racially profile our contributors," Ms. McKinney said in a debate this month. "All of our contributions are legal."

Ms. Majette, 47, a Brooklyn-born, Yale-educated lawyer, has tried to distance herself from the perception that she is the candidate solely of pro-Israel groups. Her campaign manager, Roland Washington, said in an interview that issues involving the Middle East would not be Ms. Majette's focus in Congress.

"Denise is pro-peace as it relates to the Middle East," Mr. Washington said. "But she is much more concerned with the local issues that are driving voters to look for an alternative to the current leadership. The campaign's focus is on economic development, infrastructure, child care, trying to reduce the cost of health care."

## In Georgia , a Race Too Close to Call

Her campaign has drawn financial support from other prominent Democrats, including Senator Miller, and from other local celebrities, including Henry Aaron, the former Atlanta Braves star.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Denise Majette, a former state judge who is supported by pro-Israel groups, has raised nearly twice as much money as her opponent. (Robin Nelson for The New York Times); Representative Cynthia A. McKinney has received substantial financial backing from Arab-Americans around the country. (Erik S. Lesser for The New York Times) Chart: "AT A GLANCE: Georgias Fourth Congressional District" POPULATION (2000): 629,690 RACE AND ETHNICITY WHITE: 37.9% BLACK: 53.5% HISPANIC (ANY RACE): 8.6% 2000 CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION RESULT Sunny Warren (R): 39% Cynthia A. McKinney: (D) 61% 2000 PRESIDENTIAL Bush: 28% Others: 2% Gore: 70% (Source: Georgia Legislative Reapportionment Office) Map of Georgia highlighting the Fourth Congressional District.

**Load-Date:** August 19, 2002

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## **WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE COLLAPSE IN MORALITY THAT FOLLOWED THE LIBERATION'?**

The Independent (London)

April 12, 2003, Saturday

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**Section:** COMMENT; Pg. 16

**Length:** 1180 words

**Byline:** ROBERT FISK

### **Body**

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Let's talk war crimes. Yes, I know about the war crimes of Saddam. He slaughtered the innocent, gassed the Kurds, tortured his people and - though it is true we remained good friends with this butcher for more than half of his horrible career - could be held responsible for killing up to a million people, the death toll of the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war. But while we are congratulating ourselves on the "liberation" of Baghdad, an event that is fast turning into a nightmare for many of its residents, it is as good a time as any to recall how we've been conducting this ideological war.

So let's start with the end - with the Gone With The Wind epic of looting and anarchy with which the Iraqi population have chosen to celebrate our gift to them of "liberation" and "democracy". It started in Basra, of course, with our own shameful British response to the orgy of theft that took hold of the city. Our defence minister, Geoff Hoon, made some especially childish remarks about this disgraceful state of affairs, suggesting in the House of Commons that the people of Basra were merely "liberating" - that word again - their property from the Baath party. And the British Army enthusiastically endorsed this nonsense.

Even as tape of the pillage in Basra was being beamed around the world, there was Lieutenant Colonel Hugh Blackman of the Royal Scots Dragoon Guards cheerfully telling the BBC that "it's absolutely not my business to get in the way." But of course it is Colonel Blackman's business to "get in the way". Pillage merits a specific prevention clause in the Geneva Conventions, just as it did in the 1907 Hague Convention upon which the Geneva delegates based their "rules of war". "Pillage is prohibited," the 1949 Geneva Conventions say, and Colonel Blackman and Mr Hoon should glance at Crimes of War, published in conjunction with the City University Journalism Department - page 276 is the most dramatic - to understand what this means.

When an occupying power takes over another country's territory, it automatically becomes responsible for the protection of its civilians, their property and institutions. Thus the American troops in Nasiriyah became automatically responsible for the driver who was murdered for his car in the first day of that city's "liberation". The Americans in Baghdad were responsible for the German and Slovak embassies that were looted by hundreds of Iraqis on Thursday, and for the French Cultural Centre, which was attacked, and for the Central Bank of Iraq, which was torched yesterday afternoon.

But the British and Americans have simply discarded this notion, based though it is upon conventions and international law. And we journalists have allowed them to do so. We clapped our hands like children when the Americans "assisted" the Iraqis in bringing down the statue of Saddam Hussein in front of the television cameras

## WHO IS TO BLAME FOR THE COLLAPSE IN MORALITY THAT FOLLOWED THE LIBERATION'?

this week, and yet we went on talking about the "liberation" of Baghdad as if the majority of civilians there were garlanding the soldiers with flowers instead of queuing with anxiety at checkpoints and watching the looting of their capital.

We journalists have been co-operating, too, with a further collapse of morality in this war. Take, for example, the ruthless bombing of the residential Mansur area of Baghdad last week. The Anglo-American armies - or the "coalition", as the BBC still stubbornly and mendaciously calls the invaders - claimed they believed that Saddam and his two evil sons Qusay and Uday were present there. So they bombed the civilians of Mansur and killed at least 14 decent, innocent people, almost all of them - and this would obviously be of interest to the religious feelings of Messrs Bush and Blair - Christians.

Now one might have expected the BBC World Service Radio next morning to question whether the bombing of civilians did not constitute a bit of an immoral act, a war crime perhaps, however much we wanted to kill Saddam. Forget it. The presenter in London described the slaughter of these innocent civilians as "a new twist" in the war to target Saddam - as if it was quite in order to kill civilians, knowingly and in cold blood, in order to murder our most hated tyrant. The BBC's correspondent in Qatar - where the Centcom boys pompously boasted that they had "real-time" intelligence (subsequently proved to be untrue) that Saddam was present - used all the usual military jargon to justify the unjustifiable. The "coalition", he announced, knew it had "time-sensitive material" - ie that they wouldn't have time to know whether they were killing innocent human beings in the furtherance of their cause or not - and that this "actionable material" (again I quote this revolting BBC dispatch) was not "risk-free".

And then he went on to describe, without a moment of reflection, on the moral issues involved, how the Americans had used four 2,000lb "bunker- buster bombs to level the civilian homes". These are, of course, the very same pieces of ordnance that the same US air force used in their vain effort to kill Osama bin Laden in the Tora Bora mountains. So now we use them, knowingly, on the flimsy homes of civilians of Baghdad - folk who would otherwise be worthy of the "liberation" we wished to bestow upon them - in the hope that a gamble, a bit of faulty "intelligence" about Saddam, will pay off.

The Geneva Conventions have a lot to say about all this. They specifically refer to civilians as protected persons, as persons who must have the protection of a warring power even if they find themselves in the presence of armed antagonists. The same protection was demanded for southern Lebanese civilians when Israel launched its brutal "Grapes of Wrath" operation in 1996. When an Israeli pilot, for example, fired a US-made Hellfire missile into an ambulance, killing three children and two women, the Israelis claimed that a Hezbollah fighter had been in the same vehicle. The statement proved to be totally untrue. But Israel was rightly condemned for killing civilians in the hope of killing an enemy combatant. Now we are doing exactly the same. And Ariel Sharon must be pleased. No more namby-pamby western criticism of Israel after the bunker-busters have been dropped on Mansur.

More and more, we are committing these crimes. The mass slaughter of more than 400 civilians in the Amariyah air raid shelter in Baghdad in the 1991 Gulf War was carried out in the hope that it would kill Saddam. Why? Why cannot we abide by the rules of war we rightly demand that others should obey? Why do we journalists - yet again, war after war - connive in this immorality by turning a ruthless and cruel and illegal act into a "new twist" or into "time-sensitive material"?

Wars have a habit of turning normally sane people into cheerleaders, of transforming rational journalists into nasty little puffed-up fantasy colonels. But surely we should all carry the Geneva Conventions into war with us, along with that little book from the City University. For the only people to benefit from our own war crimes will be the next generation of Saddam Husseins.

**Load-Date:** April 12, 2003

## Letters

The Tampa Tribune (Florida)

February 20, 2003, Thursday,

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** NATION/WORLD,

**Length:** 1187 words

## **Body**

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### A Better Plan Passed

Here's the rest of the story contained in Amber Degryse's letter regarding the work of the state Legislature on the women's heart initiative (Feb. 17). First, I hope your readers know better than to believe that the Florida House would turn down any federal dollars for women's health. Such an allegation is outrageous and preposterous. We all supported the legislation, and I personally served on the health care committee when the women's heart initiative was being developed.

The rest of the story is that the Department of Health grant proposal in question was very top-heavy in new bureaucrats. About two-thirds of the \$1 million grant was in salaries for new bureaucrats and only one-third was for direct services to women. In this case, the direct service was advertising for heart disease awareness. Because of this problem with the grant, the House Appropriations Committee chairman, Bruce Kyle, developed the House strategy to deny the grant and make the health department come back a month later with a better proposal with more dollars for direct services to women and less spending on bureaucrats.

It took real courage by Reps. Kyle, Waters, Brummer, Simmons and Bilirakis to vote "no" on the original grant and hold the health department's feet to the fire for a better plan that will put more dollars into advertising and ultimately save more lives of women.

Guess what? The new health department plan that was approved Feb. 13 will have \$300,000 more for direct services - in this case, advertising - and half as many new bureaucrats as originally proposed!

To set the record straight, women in Florida will be better off because several House members had the courage to do something that will actually save someone's life.

JOHNNIE BYRD

Plant City

The writer is speaker of the Florida House.

### Protesting Naked?

To the women who stripped naked to protest President Bush's policies on Iraq (Metro, Feb. 15):

1. As others have observed: Wrong president.



## Letters

2. If you want to surrender to radical Islamic fundamentalists like Saddam Hussein and his good buddy Osama bin Laden, showing even your ankles in public could get you beaten. Publicly stripping naked or making political statements will get you beheaded.

But for now you have your blood-bought freedom of speech - even the freedom to stupidly, immorally malign those who protect your freedoms.

ROBERT L. ANDREWS

Tampa

### Prayer Is Best Weapon

As the days quickly pass, war in Iraq seems impossibly unavoidable. The death and destruction of such a conflict, along with terrorist reprisals at home and abroad, may be very close to becoming reality. But are there legitimate answers for peace yet unknown? At this point, the very best answers may still be beyond us all.

Shortly after the Sept. 11 tragedy, religious leaders across our country brought us all together for prayer and reflection. Why not once again collectively reach out beyond our human limitations? Why not in this time of crisis jointly seek God's wisdom as a people "under God"? The power of our prayer is truly our greatest weapon.

Religious leaders of the Tampa Bay area, let's take action now! Please bring us all together for a special day of prayer. Encourage our nation to follow your lead on that very same day. In unison, let us join hands in our churches, synagogues and temples, look to God and pray for what seems out of our human reach: miraculous peace. With divine intervention, the impossible can truly become possible.

JOHN J. BRENNAN

Palm Harbor

### Worth The Hard Work

As a father, stepfather, grandfather, husband and Vietnam vet, I totally oppose the war with Iraq. There are a lot of countries with weapons of mass destruction, including China, Russia, Britain, North Korea and, yes, the United States. The whole issue of weapons of mass destruction is the wrong focus and a bit hypocritical.

War to me is a failure to resolve issues. It would seem to me that the United States, as a "world leader" - although we are now very isolated - could do much better than going to war. Where is the leadership? Why the rush to war? Our lack of creative and patient world leadership is not acceptable.

In addition, I believe that going to war is exactly what the terrorists and al-Qaida want us to do, as it opens up an opportunity for more destruction on their part, i.e., retaliation. Let's not give them that opportunity.

I know that working for peace is much harder and more frustrating to accomplish, but it is well worth it.

ROSS P. ALANDER

Tampa

### What's So "Small Scale"?

The article "U.S. Troops Setting Stage For Ground War In Iraq" (Nation/World, Feb. 13) states, "In addition to the ground operations, a small-scale air war against Iraq also continues." The same paragraph goes on to say, "On [Feb. 11], U.S. warplanes dropped more than a dozen bombs and on [Feb. 12] they returned to bomb ..."

Is there a difference between small-scale war and any other? I can imagine

the effect of one bomb in a place the size of California, but a dozen in one day and then more the next? Please explain how this action can be justified.

## Letters

JOANN ALTHOFF

Avon Park

## An Unjustifiable War

I agree with the millions of people around the world who demonstrated last weekend (Nation/World, Feb. 16): War in Iraq is unjustified at this point. War would result in the deaths of hundreds, maybe thousands, of innocent civilians and soldiers on both sides. War could ignite anti-American fervor in the Middle East and elsewhere, resulting in many more terrorist attacks on American soil.

Engaging in war means that we are willing to sacrifice the lives of our own people - husbands, wives, sons and daughters, in order to accomplish our goals. Saddam Hussein is evil - there is no doubt about that - but his actions to date do not warrant the tremendous sacrifices that would be required to depose him through war.

LINDA EASTON

New Port Richey

## Not Worth The Risks

Each person who is in favor of a war with Iraq ought ask himself one question: Do I believe that Iraq poses such a grave and imminent threat to the United States that it is worth my life or that of my offspring, sibling, spouse or parent? If that question cannot be answered in the affirmative, you ought not be in favor of a war that will kill someone else's loved one.

RICHARD P. FLATAU

Seminole

## The Missing Messages

To the peace advocates:

Where were your speeches and signs telling Saddam Hussein to show us the evidence of his destruction of his weapons of mass destruction and to stop his mass murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling Osama bin Laden and Yasser Arafat to stop their murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling Hamas, Hezbollah, al-Jihad, al-Qaida and all of the many other terrorist groups to stop their murderous ways?

Where were your speeches and signs telling North Korea's President Kim Jong Il to stop his development of weapons of mass destruction and his threats of mass murder?

Where were your speeches and signs asking the governments of China, Russia, Cuba, Libya, Iran and Syria to stop supporting terrorist organizations?

Please tell me - where were all these speeches and signs?

SOL KOPPEL

Beverly Hills

## Notes

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LETTERS

Letters

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

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***Don't think of widening this war;  
Committing ground troops or going into Iraq would destabilise a huge  
region of the globe, argues William Dalrymple***

The Evening Standard (London)

October 9, 2001

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**Section:** Pg. 13

**Length:** 1121 words

**Byline:** William Dalrymple

## **Body**

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TEN years ago, when I was living in Delhi at the height of the Gulf War, I met a man who had made an overnight fortune printing pictures of Saddam Hussein.

Syed Farid Khan - small, shabbily dressed, with printer's ink all over his hands - was never expected to be one of India's great financial success stories; but a visit to the Iraqi Embassy on the first day of the US assault on Iraq changed all that. The embassy gave Mr Khan the Saddam Variety Pack: Saddam the Soldier firing a machine gun at the infidel hordes against a background of billowing fire and smoke; Saddam the Arab, in full flowing jellaba and keffiyeh, sprouting mysteriously from a lotus; even Saddam the Tyrant from Tyrol, bare-kneed in his best lederhosen.

It was a sensation. The first print run, of 1,500 copies, sold out within hours. The next, of 10,000 copies, went just as quickly. A week into the US strikes, with CNN being watched 24 hours a day in every bazaar in South Asia, Mr Khan found to his astonishment that he had sold more than half a million copies. Before the American strikes, no one in Delhi had shown any interest in Iraq, still less in its president. But thanks to the bombing, as Mr Khan put it, "people here are crazy for Saddam".

Nothing does more to unite the normally fractious and divided Islamic world than a massive US attack on one or other prostrate Muslim state.

During the Gulf War, "Death to America" riots spread from the Maghreb to Indonesia.

This time it may be much worse. Already the likely reaction can be gauged from what is happening in Pakistan: a bazaar and a cinema burned down in Quetta, serious rioting in Karachi, a car bomb in Rawalpindi, while Peshawar has dissolved into an anarchy of tear gas and police shooting.

Afghanistan sits bang in the middle of the three of the world's most volatile regions: Central Asia and Chechnya to the north-west; the nuclear-powered enemies India and Pakistan to the south-east; and Israel-Palestine to the south-west. On its own, the current action against the Taliban has the makings of what Jack Straw has called "the most frightening situation since the Cuban crisis in the 1960s". But the Republican hawks of Washington are now making it increasingly clear that whatever Colin Powell thinks, they see this as just the beginning.

Don't think of widening this war; Committing ground troops or going into Iraq would destabilise a huge region of the globe, argues William Dalrymple

Paul Wolfowitz, the Under-Secretary of Defence, has proposed simply "ending states which support terrorism", while the Republican media have been urging a much wider war against much of the Islamic world.

Here is AM Rosenthal arguing in the Washington Times, a paper influential in Bush circles, that all Middle Eastern states should simply be given an ultimatum to hand over alleged terrorists: "The ultimatum should go to the governments of Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Libya, Syria, Sudan and any other devoted to the elimination of the United States." In the three days the terrorists would be given to consider the American ultimatum, the residents of the countries would be urged 24 hours a day by the US to flee the capital and the major cities, because they would be bombed to the ground on the fourth day. Nor is this sort of dangerous nonsense restricted to the US media. In an astonishingly bigoted piece in yesterday's Daily Telegraph, Sir John Keegan rattled his rusting sabre in favour of what he unattractively described as a "conflict between settled, creative, productive Westerners and predatory, destructive Orientals". More worrying still, in yesterday's Daily Mirror, Lord Owen claimed that intelligence sources have now "proved" a link between the Trade Center's bombers and Iraqi intelligence and urged the "broadening of the campaign to all state sponsors of terrorism, starting with Iraq".

If such a policy were to be applied rigorously, it would mean declaring war on the entire Middle East. Yet the truth is that even a limited war against a single enemy like Iraq would be much more likely to give birth to a whole new crop of fundamentalist regimes across the region than achieve its intended aims. Most groups regarded as "terrorist" in Washington are looked on in the Middle East as legitimate resistance movements: Hezbollah, for example, was founded to resist the illegal Israeli occupation of a quarter of Lebanon, and is seen in Beirut, Cairo and Damascus in much the same heroic light as we look on the French Resistance.

IN the long term, terrorism is only going to be brought under control with the full co-operation of Arab regimes.

And only one thing is going to bring that about. In the month since 11 September, a large number of instant "experts" on Islam have popped up offering bizarre reasons for Arab anger at the US, among them existential angst at Western prosperity, a hatred of democracy, and a dislike of unveiled Western women, particularly Hillary Clinton. But anyone who has spent any time in the Middle East knows that it has always been the running sore of the dispossession and enslavement of the Palestinians by Israel that lies at the heart of the problem. This view was confirmed by Bin Laden himself in his recent broadcast.

Palestine is no pretext; nor is it, thank God, insoluble. It is a myth that Arafat rejected "generous" Israeli proposals last year, or that the Palestinians are somehow "not interested in peace". Arafat accepted the Taba Offer as a basis for negotiation; it was Barak that walked away when the Palestinians came up with counter-proposals.

If there is to be peace, pressure has to be applied by Britain as well as America to make it clear to the Israelis that continued occupation and settlement-building is as immoral as it is illegal, that it enrages the entire Islamic world, and that it badly endangers all our security.

After the Gulf War, it was enough for Bush Snr to threaten withdrawing the loan guarantees that financed Yitzak Shamir's illegal settlement programme to bring that former terrorist to the negotiating table. Now, for the safety of the West, we need America to be just as resolute in imposing a strategy of peace and justice on its old ally, Israel, as it has been in waging war on its new enemy, the Taliban. The Taba proposals must be put back on the table as a basis for negotiation, and Israel resolutely protected within its legal 1967 borders.

If it is combined with a new, just US policy on Palestine, most Muslim states will support a surgical assault on the al Qaeda network and the Taliban high command; but without it, a prolonged ground war in Afghanistan - or Iraq - could bring utter disaster. If we are to avoid destabilising the entire region, we must proceed with the greatest caution.

William Dalrymple's *From the Holy Mountain* (Flamingo) is an assessment of the last days of Christianity in the Byzantine world.

Don't think of widening this war; Committing ground troops or going into Iraq would destabilise a huge region of the globe, argues William Dalrymple

**Load-Date:** October 10, 2001

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**Bomber kills 15 Israelis at pool hall: Sharon cuts U.S. visit short, vows to uproot 'terrorism'**

Ottawa Citizen

May 8, 2002 Wednesday Final Edition

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**Byline:** Matthew Kalman

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

## **Body**

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JERUSALEM -- A Palestinian suicide bomber carrying a bomb in a bag killed at least 15 people in a billiards club in central Israel yesterday, enraging Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who cut short a visit to the United States.

The blast, which tore through the third floor of the building in Rishon Letzion south of Tel Aviv, was the first suicide attack in three weeks and raised questions about the effectiveness of an Israeli military campaign in the West Bank.

Mr. Sharon said his forces would press on and uproot "terrorism," declaring: "The battle continues."

"I say today Israel will not surrender to blackmail ... he who rises up to kill us, we will pre-empt it and kill him first," Mr. Sharon told a news conference before breaking off his visit to Washington and flying home.

The Ottawa Citizen; with files from Citizen News Services

Mr. Sharon said the bombing was "proof of the true intentions of those who lead the Palestinian Authority." The Palestinian Authority has condemned the attack, but Mr. Sharon has said its leaders, including Yasser Arafat, cannot be trusted.

"Israel will act the same as any democracy that protects itself. Israel will act like any other democracy which fights the forces of darkness. Israel will continue to uproot the terror infrastructure," he said.

He said the Israeli military offensive against militants in Palestinian towns and villages had made great strides in rooting out the terrorist infrastructure, but that the job clearly was not done.

"He who rises up to kill us, we will pre-empt and kill him first," he said.

Mr. Sharon, speaking first in Hebrew and then in English, said he was departing for Israel "with a heavy heart -- heavy with grief and heavy with rage."

He said it was "the rage of each and every Jew in the world."

The address was carried live on TV in Israel and the U.S.

Mr. Sharon said U.S. President George W. Bush had asked him "to express his dismay of the terrible massacre of innocent people -- children, women and youth on a night out whose only sin was being Jewish Israeli."

## Bomber kills 15 Israelis at pool hall: Sharon cuts U.S. visit short, vows to uproot 'terrorism'

In an apparent reference to the military onslaught against Palestinian towns of the last few weeks, which followed a wave of suicide bombings in Israel, Mr. Sharon said: "The operation has yielded tremendous achievements, but our work is not done. The battle continues and will continue until all those who believe that they can make gains through the use of terror will cease to exist."

Witnesses said the Sheffield snooker club was crowded when the bomber walked in and detonated a bomb packed with nails and metal shrapnel just after 11 p.m., minutes before Mr. Sharon began talks with President George W. Bush in Washington.

"The timing which the murderers chose to carry out this attack was carefully planned," said Israeli cabinet minister Eli Yishai, who was with Mr. Sharon at the White House.

It was the first terrorist attack on the sleepy suburban town, police said.

"They noticed a stranger. He had an odd expression. He walked three to four steps inside and detonated his explosives. There was no time to get away," a police spokesman told reporters at the scene.

"He entered all of a sudden into the hall and then he exploded," said Haim Cohen, a police commander.

Motti Monir, who was slightly wounded in the attack, said he was leaving the club just after 11 p.m. when there was a "huge explosion."

"I don't know how I got out of there," he said.

"The entire floor flew in the air. It looked like a terrible dream," witness Hanir Azulei said.

Witnesses said the explosion occurred on the third floor, causing the ceiling to collapse on dozens of people below. The club, on the top floor of a shopping and commercial centre, was a meeting place mainly for men, with snooker and billiard tables and slot machines.

Ambulance service spokesman Yerucham Mandola said parts of the targeted building had collapsed, trapping people underneath.

"There are bodies and perhaps injured people trapped under the rubble," said Mayor Meir Nitzan. "The emergency services are trying to get them out as quickly and carefully as possible."

Rescue workers sifted through the wreckage, collecting body parts and clearing away rubble. Strapped into stretchers, the bodies were lowered through the gaping hole of the shattered club by a firetruck crane to rescue workers below.

Young women and men cried as they looked up at the bombed-out building. The first floor held a furniture store called Baby World, advertised by a sign with a smiling curly-haired baby, and another child's furniture store called Pinocchio.

Nearby stood factories, car dealerships and a Greek dance club, and not far away, one of Israel's largest malls.

Al-Manar television station run by Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon said the militant Hamas group had claimed responsibility, although Hamas leaders in the Gaza Strip did not confirm or deny the report.

Israel blamed the blast on President Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, although the Authority issued a statement condemning the blast and vowing to act against those behind it.

Mr. Sharon is certain to face criticism from right-wing Israeli politicians that he wound down the West Bank offensive too quickly, without finishing the declared task of eliminating militants. He will now face pressure to hit back hard.

"We have withdrawn our forces too soon (from the West Bank) ... You cannot negotiate with terrorism. You have to uproot it. It's like a cancer," Public Security Minister Uzi Landau told reporters.



## Bomber kills 15 Israelis at pool hall: Sharon cuts U.S. visit short, vows to uproot 'terrorism'

Israeli forces have stopped at least one suicide bombing every day for the past week, security officials said, adding that two militants planning suicide attacks were arrested by troops during a raid on the West Bank city of Tulkarm yesterday.

David Baker, an official in Mr. Sharon's office, said that it was "clear that the Palestinian Authority has not given up the terror option and continues on its murderous path."

The Palestinian Authority vowed to punish those responsible, saying such attacks harmed the Palestinian cause and gave Mr. Sharon a pretext to hit back.

"The Palestinian leadership ... considers the parties which carried out the attacks as parties working against the interests of the Palestinian people," it said in a statement.

Mahmoud al-Zahar, a Hamas leader in Gaza, said the bombing showed the West Bank offensive had fuelled the Palestinian desire for revenge.

"The will of our people is stronger than the tanks. The Israelis have either to withdraw or continue to lose," Mr. al-Zahar, the Hamas leader, said.

## Graphic

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Photo: Barak Pachter, The Associated Press; An injured Israeli is led away by ambulance personnel near the destroyed pool hall in Rishon Letzion, Israel, where a suicide attack killed at least 15 and injured about 60, yesterday. Israel blamed the blast on Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, although the Authority condemned the blast and vowed to act against those behind it.; Photo: Barak Pachter, The Associated Press; An Israeli woman is cared for by a police officer near the destroyed pool hall in Rishon Letzion. Mayor Meir Nitzan said he fears 'there are bodies and perhaps injured people trapped under the rubble.'

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2002

## *Far from victory*

South China Morning Post

August 24, 2003

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1074 words

**Byline:** Suicide bomb attacks last Tuesday in Iraq and Israel are shocking reminders that terrorism is alive and well, despite significant setbacks. Nearly two years after President Bush's pledge to defeat every terrorist group of global reach, Peter Kammerer looks at progress in the war

## **Body**

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President George W. Bush was shaking with anger when he fronted Congress nine days after the terrorist attacks in New York and Washington. With the twisted ruins of New York's World Trade Centre still billowing smoke, his mission, amid a tide of patriotism, was simple: revenge.

Almost two years later, the desire for retribution is undiminished. Indeed, it is being seen as increasingly necessary as terrorist groups rise to the challenge. Two high-profile suicide-bomb attacks last Tuesday - at the United Nations headquarters in Iraq and in Israel - indicate that the war is far from over.

The plan Mr Bush mapped out to the nation on September 20, 2001, was less straightforward than it seemed.

"Our war on terror begins with al-Qaeda, but it does not end there," he said. "It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated."

They were words Americans wanted to hear, even if the specifics of how the terrorists were to be defeated were not clear.

The perpetrators were known. They had a leader, Osama bin Laden, and they were known to operate from Afghanistan. With United Nations blessing, a coalition military force was assembled and within two weeks, war had been declared on Afghanistan's Taleban regime, al-Qaeda's protectors.

The Taleban were quickly overthrown and their fighters, along with al-Qaeda's, killed, arrested and scattered. But al-Qaeda and the Taleban are not a spent force; the conflict continues as a guerilla war in Afghanistan's remotest regions. Dozens of people have been killed in recent weeks in suicide bombings and gunfights.

The United States has failed to capture bin Laden or Taleban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar. They are among dozens of terrorists sought across the Arab and Muslim worlds. A series of attacks that have claimed the lives of hundreds of civilians prove that terrorism is alive and well, despite Mr Bush's pledge. From the Bali bombings last October to suicide attacks in Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Iraq, terrorism experts agree the fight will be long and difficult.

But there have also been important gains, they say.

## Far from victory

Paul Wilkinson, of the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence at St Andrew's University, in Scotland, said important results included the Taleban's removal and the capture or killing of key al-Qaeda figures.

"That's positive, because it means they've had to adapt to the new situation in which a much more serious effort has been made at international co-operation against terrorism," Dr Wilkinson said last week. "But they have also managed to adapt and organise attacks."

He said one way this had been achieved was through penetrating and influencing like-minded Muslim groups, such as the Southeast Asian network Jemaah Islamiah, believed to be behind the Bali bombings and an attack earlier this month on the JW Marriott hotel in Jakarta.

Such operations gave al-Qaeda more flexibility. It was giving money and advice to affiliated networks, with the ultimate aim being the creation of a pan-Islamic state.

"This way, they've managed to overcome the considerable blows they've suffered, particularly in the removal of the Taleban," he said. "They've had to go to Pakistan and much further afield to escape capture."

Bin Laden's whereabouts are unknown, although he is widely believed to be in Pakistan. While the charismatic, hero figure remains at the top of the US list of most-wanted terrorists, his ideological strategist, Ayman al-Zawahiri, is also keenly sought.

Both are among 21 Muslims charged by the US Justice Department with terrorism and wanted dead or alive.

The deputy director of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, Thomas Sanderson, cautioned that the "war on terror" had achieved significant gains, but it was far from over.

"The arrests in recent months of Jemaah Islamiah's Riduan Isamuddin, al-Qaeda's Khalid Shaikh Mohammed and a cell in Saudi Arabia are all significant wounds to terrorist groups, but by no means are they mortal blows," Dr Sanderson said.

"Not even killing or capturing Osama bin Laden would be."

Isamuddin, better known as Hambali, was captured earlier this month in central Thailand in a joint operation by the US Central Intelligence Agency and Thai security forces. A founder of Jemaah Islamiah, he was considered al-Qaeda's link in Southeast Asia.

Mohammed, described as "the kingpin of al-Qaeda", was arrested on March 1 by Pakistani intelligence officers in the city of Rawalpindi and handed to US officials. Both arrests were hailed by Mr Bush as breakthroughs in the "war on terrorism".

"But that doesn't mean we pack up our bags and go home," Dr Sanderson said.

Al-Qaeda and its affiliates were not the only threats. Arab fundamentalist organisations seeking to destroy or marginalise Israel, including Hezbollah, Hamas and the al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, should not be forgotten - as the deaths of 20 people in Israel proved.

The American-led invasion of Iraq in March has added a worrying dimension to the terrorism fight. Unknown groups have attacked American and British soldiers and there have been well-organised bomb attacks on foreign civilians and infrastructure.

Muslim observers warned that Iraq could become another Afghanistan.

The inability of the US-led coalition to create stability and control borders with neighbouring countries had allowed dozens of Islamic groups to evolve. A Middle East expert with the Cairo-based Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies, Diaa Rashwan, said Muslim extremists were being drawn to Iraq from throughout the Middle East and Asia.

## Far from victory

"They're coming from the Arab peninsula, Central Asia and the Indian sub -continent," he said.

"Even before the United States declared war on Iraq, there were perhaps 8,000 foreign militants there. Some of them probably left during the war, but others stayed and still more have arrived since."

The "war on terror" is approaching the end of its second year with no end in sight on the fronts opened in Afghanistan and Iraq. Experts warn the threat of attacks on western targets has not diminished, and their words have been strengthened by the bombing of the UN headquarters in Baghdad.

Mr Bush's pledge that every terrorist group would be found, stopped and defeated is looking increasingly more difficult to fulfil.

## Graphic

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(Photo: AP, Reuters); The attack on the World Trade Centre's twin towers triggered President Bush's war on terrorism. Two years on, Indonesian Muslim militant Amrozi savours another "victory" after receiving the death penalty for the Bali bombings.; A Canadian soldier walks past women wearing burqas in Kabul. There is no end in sight to the troubles on the Afghanistan front.

**Load-Date:** August 25, 2003

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**Ideas & Trends; Invasion Is Easy. Occupation Is Hard.**

The New York Times  
April 13, 2003 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1178 words

**Byline:** By SUSAN CHIRA

## **Body**

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A little history is a dangerous thing. And history is being brandished like a weapon right now in Iraq to shape the terms of the peace.

Scenes of jubilant Iraqis, handing flowers to American soldiers in the streets of Baghdad, may evoke images of liberating troops in World War II, but for most of history, occupation has rarely been welcome or benign. Rather, it meant imperial conquest or retribution for defeat. Occupying armies were rapacious looters of the land and symbols of humiliation.

The question now is what it will mean for Iraqis, once the reality of a continuing foreign presence has sunk in. "We will help you build a peaceful and representative government that protects the rights of all citizens," President Bush told the Iraqis. "And then our military forces will leave."

If only it were that easy. In reality, even the best intended of occupations often come to grief. "It's pretty hard to be a historian and to be optimistic," said Gaddis Smith, professor of history emeritus of Yale, surveying the sorry history of occupation.

In 1898, the United States proclaimed that it was waging war on Spain to liberate Cuba and the Philippines from Spanish colonial oppression. Americans built roads and schools, but absorbed the nationalist rage once directed at the Spanish. A brutal American suppression of a Philippine insurgency, and eventual revolution in Cuba, ensued. The British liberated Greece from Germany after World War II, only to be drawn into a conflict between the monarchists they supported and the Communists. Even in Japan, today regarded as a model occupation, the Americans were hated in Okinawa, which they ruled virtually as a colony.

Yet if history tilts toward the pessimists, what does it teach America to avoid, or embrace, in Iraq?

1. Get out fast.

Ahmed Abdu Al Rudda, greeting American soldiers from the 101st Airborne in Iraq on Wednesday, offered a warning: "We want them to finish Saddam Hussein, we want them to leave. Then we can be friends."

His sentiments are echoed by many scholars of the Middle East, as well as students of other occupations. The Israelis drove the Palestine Liberation Organization out of Lebanon but stayed in the south for 18 years, alienating the Shiites of southern Lebanon and helping turn Hezbollah into a deadly foe.

## Ideas & Trends Invasion Is Easy. Occupation Is Hard.

In contrast, Americans acted swiftly and wisely in Germany, said Stanley Hoffmann, a Harvard professor and a scholar of international relations. "The lesson there was that it was a brief period and by 1949 they had regained fairly full sovereignty under someone who was anything but a stooge, Konrad Adenauer," he said. "Nor was he an exile."

Nile Gardiner, a visiting fellow at the Heritage Foundation, points to the long-running United Nations administration of Bosnia and Kosovo as models to avoid. "The key lesson of history is that we cannot impose a government long-term on Iraq," he said. "We have to send a message to the rest of the Arab world that this is not a colonial occupation."

### 2. Build democracy slowly.

How long does an occupier have to stay to instill democracy? "It's easier to create new institutions and democracy if you're willing to have U.S. troops occupy the country for nearly a decade," said Nancy E. Soderberg, vice president of the International Crisis Group.

That is what happened in postwar Japan, where the United States deployed 100,000 Americans and stayed for seven years. They wrote Japan's constitution to disavow war, redistributed land to poor tenant farmers, wove praise of democracy into school textbooks and guaranteed the rights of organized labor.

"If six months from now America has packed its bags and left, there's a very small chance that Iraq will be a real democracy," said Fareed Zakaria, author of "The Future of Freedom" (W.W. Norton, 2003).

He said the Americans should quickly turn over authority to Iraqis who are perceived as legitimate. Then the United States and other nations should help create the prerequisites for democracy -- the rule of law, a system to balance competing ethnic and religious interests, economic reforms -- before the divisive process of holding elections. This is a crucial lesson of the United Nations experience in Kosovo, Bosnia, East Timor and Cambodia.

### 3. Work though the locals.

In Japan and Germany, American generals ruled, but local bureaucracies remained. For many Japanese or Germans, then, the face of government was familiar, which helped bestow a degree of legitimacy.

Andrew Gordon, professor of Japanese history at Harvard, said many of the reforms the American occupation put in place had been backed by Japanese intellectuals, farmers, bureaucrats, labor unionists or women's groups. The Americans joined forces with those who shared their vision.

That begs the question, said Mr. Gordon, who opposes the war in Iraq, whether such constituencies exist in Iraq today. Or whether there are enough untainted Iraqis to assemble a viable civil service.

"Iraq is probably more Baathized than Germany was Nazified," said Ian Buruma, the author of "Wages of Guilt," a study of how Germany and Japan view their wartime history.

### 4. Avoid carpetbagging.

In hindsight, the American occupation of Japan succeeded in part because the country was in ruins and had no natural resources. In Iraq, the United States faces suspicions that it is really after oil -- suspicions that will only intensify if American companies are disproportionately awarded lucrative contracts to rebuild Iraq, or if America is seen as looting the oil itself.

### 5. Win hearts and minds.

The United States had not only unleashed the horror of atomic warfare on Japan, it had deliberately used Japanese civilians as the targets, firebombing 64 Japanese cities and killing tens of thousands. So why were the Americans embraced?

### Ideas & Trends Invasion Is Easy. Occupation Is Hard.

Japanese citizens "had been led to expect brutality, the same sort of thing that the Japanese had done to others," Mr. Buruma said. "There was such relief that didn't happen that it led to gratitude and compliance."

In addition, Mr. Gordon said, after years of total warfare, the Japanese blamed their leaders as much as the Americans for their suffering, and no one questioned the Americans' right to occupy them.

It is not clear how much resentment Iraqis nurse toward the United States, or to what degree American largesse will win them over. In the near term, will American soldiers be seen as welcome enforcers of order, curbing the anarchy that has erupted in Iraq, or a hated police force?

6. All occupations are unique.

Iraq is riven by ethnic and religious tensions, more like Kosovo or Bosnia than Germany or Japan. And the global context of this war is different than World War II. John W. Dower, the foremost historian of the American occupation of Japan, points out that Iraq's neighbors are hostile to an American occupation, while Japan's neighbors welcomed the Americans.

Both the optimists and the pessimists can draw ammunition from history, but history is always an uncertain oracle. "None of this means it's impossible," Mr. Zakaria said. "It just means it's hard."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: In 1945, the United States occupied Japan and, over seven years, turned it into a demilitarized democracy. Here, an American military policeman in Tokyo works with a Japanese assistant. (Associated Press)

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2003

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## *Chaos reigns in West Bank camp*

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia)

April 13, 2002, Saturday

Copyright 2002 Charleston Newspapers

**Section:** News; Pg. P2A

**Length:** 1202 words

**Byline:** Laura King The Associated Press

### **Body**

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JENIN REFUGEE CAMP, West Bank - They know enough of what happened here to grieve - but not enough to say for whom.

In the chaotic aftermath of the worst fighting of a 2-week-old Israeli military offensive, wives are searching for husbands, fathers for sons, cousins for cousins. A full day after Israel said it subdued the last resistance by Palestinian gunmen inside the Jenin refugee camp, no one - not the Palestinians, not the Israelis, not aid workers - can say with certainty how many people died in the rubble of this bleak and blasted enclave in the northern West Bank.

Israeli army officials have estimated that 100 Palestinians were killed in the camp during eight days of the deadliest fighting of an Israeli onslaught that ranged the length and breadth of the West Bank. Palestinians say the toll in Jenin camp is far higher, and accuses Israel of trying to cover up what went on.

On Friday, the army kept journalists at bay, turning them away at roadblocks set up on approaching dirt roads, or at the rough, irregular treeline that marks the western edge of the camp. A wide area surrounding the camp and the adjoining town of Jenin has been declared a closed military zone by the army, and anyone traveling inside it was liable to be detained by Israeli soldiers, as many journalists were.

The camp's people, too, were unable to move about freely, even though the fighting had all but halted. An occasional burst of machine-gun fire rattled from the camp's interior, and at one point black smoke rose into the clear sky. Tanks and armored personnel carriers, often closely spaced, rumbled along all the camp's perimeter roads.

Many of the camp's 14,000 people fled during the fighting, especially those whose homes were in its center, which took the heaviest pounding from Israeli tanks and attack helicopters. Then, they said, troops prevented them from returning to their homes, rendering them refugees from their refugee camp.

"I think the people who lived in the heart of the camp are dead," said Thawer Ahmed, a 17-year-old with a wispy mustache who was lingering on the camp's outskirts Friday, unable to make his way back to the wrecked home he had left four days earlier. Soldiers had fired warning shots at groups of residents who had tried to make their way to the center a short time earlier.

"We thought we were in hell," said Ahmed, describing repeated rocketing and shelling attacks that shattered windows and sent terrifyingly loud explosions echoing through the camp during the eight-day battle. He and others



## Chaos reigns in West Bank camp

described seeing homes collapsed either by shellfire or huge Israeli military bulldozers, with the stench of decomposing corpses emanating from the rubble.

In one home, he said, he saw the limbs of what appeared to be five separate bodies protruding from the wreckage. A neighbor, 20-year-old Rabi Amar, also said he saw the corpses of entire families in their ruined homes. But the part of the camp where they said this happened could not be approached.

With the camp effectively closed to outsiders, Israelis and Palestinians traded bitter accusations over the number and nature of the casualties. Israel suggests that many of the dead were gunmen; the camp's people acknowledge that gunmen were among the fatalities, but say many civilians were killed as well.

"I saw many people die - some of them in the street, some of them in their homes, some of them in fire from tanks and helicopters, and some underneath their homes when they fell down," said 22-year-old camp resident Rami Rateh. "Not just men, but women and children."

He said he had more than a dozen relatives with whom he had not been able to make contact since the fighting ended, including brothers and cousins.

Israeli army spokesman Brig. Gen. Ron Kitrey said collection and burial of the bodies in Jenin refugee camp would begin Friday. Rateh and several others said they saw dozens of bodies being carried away early in the morning in military trucks, but the army would not confirm whether any bodies had been removed and whether burials had taken place.

Kitrey said the bodies of gunmen from the camp would be buried at a special cemetery in the Jordan Valley - a forlorn field where Lebanese fighters killed in cross-border clashes have been buried in graves marked only by numbers. During the Lebanon conflict, some of those bodies were dug up and repatriated in body swaps with Lebanon's Hezbollah guerrillas.

"The terrorists we found with guns we are going to bury in what we call the enemy cemetery site," Kitrey told The Associated Press. "The civilians we will try to give back to the Palestinians."

Word that Israel was going to remove some of the bodies immediately prompted Palestinian accusations of a cover-up, but Kitrey denied Israel was trying to keep secret what had gone on inside the camp.

Late Friday, Israel's Supreme Court ordered that the bodies of dead Palestinians not be removed, pending an appeal issued by Israeli Arab lawmakers, scheduled to take place on Sunday.

Aid groups including the Red Cross and the Red Crescent said they had been denied permission to enter the camp. "This is part of their disinformation campaign to hide something," said Dr. Hussam Sharkawi of the Red Crescent.

Palestinian Cabinet Minister Saeb Erekat repeated accusations the Israelis were trying to cover up the killing of civilians. "They want to hide their crimes, the bodies of the little children and women," Erekat told AP, saying the visiting U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell should visit the camp and witness the aftermath of what Erekat called war crimes committed there.

Although the smoke of the battle has not yet cleared, Palestinians have already embraced Jenin as a symbol of wider resistance to the Israeli presence. In the Gaza Strip, hundreds of people demonstrated in sympathy of the gunmen who died in fighting in the camp, and doctors in Gaza City said in the past three days, three newborns have been named "Jenin."

Jenin is a bitter emblem for the Israelis as well. Several suicide bombers who carried out bloody attacks in Israel had lived in the camp. And subduing Jenin cost Israel dearly: 23 soldiers were killed there during this offensive, including 13 slain this week in an elaborate ambush involving explosives and gunfire in the largest single loss of soldiers' lives during the past 18 months of conflict.

## Chaos reigns in West Bank camp

Tamam Raja, 44 and clad in a traditional long embroidered dress, paused on a stone to rest after climbing a slope from the camp's center. She said that during the offensive, her son-in-law bled to death while relatives watched helplessly from their adjoining home. And she did not know whether her husband and son were dead or alive, because she had been separated from them two days earlier when a dozen family members fled in panic during a shelling attack.

Israeli soldiers had turned her away, she said, when she tried to return to her home in the middle of the camp. During the fighting, she had spent her nights there cowering under blankets in her home, too frightened to do anything but count the incoming rounds of rockets and shells.

"We thought once upon a time that we would make peace with them. Now, that's impossible," she said. "May God not forgive them."

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2002

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## **Bomber hinders Powell: U.S. demands Arafat condemn such attacks**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)  
April 13, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A1 / FRONT

**Length:** 1185 words

**Byline:** HILARY MACKENZIE

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

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A suicide bomber blew herself up at a crowded outdoor market in Jerusalem yesterday, killing six people, wounding at least 80 and dealing major damage to hopes for a Mideast peace settlement.

The deadly attack came as U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell tried to broker a peace accord with Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and caused a postponement of today's meeting with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

Powell viewed the aftermath of the suicide bombing from the air - he was in a helicopter headed to the Lebanese border at the time, Israeli officials said. Palestinian officials said late yesterday that the meeting with Powell has been delayed, possibly until tomorrow, at the request of the United States.

Southam News; AP and Cox News Service contributed to this report

White House officials had demanded that Arafat publicly condemn what they called a campaign of "murder bombings."

"Yasser Arafat needs to come out and publicly condemn today's attack," White House spokesman Ari Fleischer said. "This is terrorism. This is murder and Yasser Arafat needs to denounce it soon."

The scene at Mahane Yehuda market, which was filled with shoppers at the start of the Sabbath holiday when the bomb went off, was one of chaos and mayhem.

Glass and metal shards were mixed with blood and body parts, which included the limbless torso of the 20-year-old **female** bomber.

Work crews hurried to sponge up the blood and collect every last piece of flesh, even as ambulances screamed through the street, ferrying the injured to local hospitals.

"We're in a fight for the very survival of Israel," visibly angry government spokesman Daniel Seaman declared. "If terrorism succeeds here, every civilized country will be facing this."

As the 36th bombing attack seemed to detonate the last hope to end the Israeli-Palestinian violence, the Israeli incursions into the West Bank continued in Ramallah, Bethlehem, Jenin and Nablus.

Fresh allegations swirled around the fiercest gunfights in Jenin, with the Israeli Defence Force admitting to hundreds of civilian casualties and the Palestinian leadership declaring a "massacre."

## Bomber hinders Powell: U.S. demands Arafat condemn such attacks

Israel launched Operation Defensive Shield on March 29 after a spate of suicide bombings that left dozens dead and wounded.

Almost 4,200 Palestinians have been detained since the operation began.

Yesterday's bomber was identified as Nidal Daraghmek, a 20-year-old woman from the Jenin refugee camp.

The Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, a militia linked to Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed responsibility for the attack.

Gil Kleinman, a police spokesman, said the bomber tried to get into the crowded Jewish marketplace, but turned around and blew herself up when a local bus approached.

Avria Gabbay, 23, came running out of a bakery when he heard the blast to see bits of bodies flying into the air.

"I think it's time to declare war," Gabbay said. "They should dismiss the Palestinian Authority, put Arafat on a plane to Tunisia and shelve the peace plan."

Passions ran high as Israelis suffered what has started to become a way of life.

One man carried a poster which read: "Let the IDF uproot terror; Bush don't Push," another read "Off with his head," over a picture of Arafat's head.

"You must know the Arab people don't want peace," said Joseph Ahronon.

"They want to throw us Jews into the sea."

In Geneva, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan called for a multinational peacekeeping force to be deployed to stem the violence between Israelis and Palestinians.

He condemned the "grave violations" by Israeli forces in their West Bank offensive and called for Israel to withdraw immediately from Palestinian towns and refugee camps.

"The situation is so dangerous and the humanitarian and human-rights situation so appalling, the proposition that a force should be sent in there can no longer be deferred," Annan said.

Speaking before the latest suicide bombing, Annan said the killings on both sides of the conflict were "an affront to the conscience of mankind."

Prime Minister Jean Chretien told reporters at the conclusion of his six-nation trip to Africa that Canada would send peacekeeping troops to the Middle East if requested.

He noted that former prime minister Lester Pearson sent Canada's first peacekeepers to the region in the late 1950s.

"Of course, it's a very explosive situation. If we are requested, we will want to be there," Chretien said, adding that the government would first want to know the requirements and role.

If a request comes, Chretien said he would go to cabinet and there would be debate in the Commons. "But we can move quickly, especially when Parliament is in session."

Earlier yesterday, Powell began a marathon four hours of talks with Sharon, aimed at brokering a ceasefire and an end to the bloodshed.

He backed off his earlier demand that Israel withdraw immediately from the West Bank and seek a political solution to the crisis.

But he emerged from the talks without a firm agreement from the Israeli leadership and no timetable on a pullout.

## Bomber hinders Powell: U.S. demands Arafat condemn such attacks

Powell said that he understood Israel's need to defend itself but cautioned that "eventually the parties must talk."

Sharon said "Israel is conducting a war against the Palestinian infrastructure of terror and hopes to end it as soon as possible."

But that hope appeared to fade with the latest explosion that foiled Powell's meeting with Arafat.

Yesterday's bombing raised the question of whether the Israeli military effort in the West Bank is vital or futile.

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, who had just finished shopping in the Mahane Yehuda market when the bomb exploded, said the military campaign should be continued, even though attacks persist.

"It can't be eradicated but it can be reduced," Olmert said.

He said Powell's mission now has no chance of success at all.

"I never thought there was any hope," Olmert said.

"I never thought there was any chance."

He blamed Arafat for the bombing and added that Powell's earlier decision to meet with the Palestinian leader had been a "tragic mistake," not only for the Middle East but for the U.S. standing in the worldwide fight against terrorism.

U.S. officials did not say so directly but it appeared that Arafat's chances of meeting with Powell were directly tied to his making a strong public condemnation of terrorism.

"Today would be a very good day for Yasser Arafat to publicly denounce terrorism and show some statesmanship," Fleischer said at the White House.

But Palestinians blamed Sharon and the military campaign for triggering the bombing.

"This is coming from the anger and suffering of the Palestinian people due to these attacks and sieges," said Mohammed Dahlan, head of Palestinian Preventive Security Service for the Gaza Strip.

Later yesterday, Powell toured the border area, where Israeli warplanes have blasted suspected guerrilla hideouts in southern Lebanon after Hezbollah fighters attacked Israeli outposts.

He touched down in Safed, headquarters of Israel's northern command, with Lebanon and Syria in view off the horizon, and met with the commander, Major General Gaby Ashkanazi.

## Graphic

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Photo: DAVID GUTTENFELDER, AP; An injured man is helped away from the scene of yesterday's suicide bombing in Jerusalem. Six people were killed and at least 80 were injured.

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2002

**BACKGROUND: ISRAEL'S ADVERSARIES: Hamas: Back-seat driver to  
Arafat group;  
Palestinian-run movement opposes the peace process**

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution  
January 24, 2002 Thursday,  
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**The Atlanta  
Journal-Constitution**

**Section:** News;

**Length:** 1210 words

**Byline:** LARRY KAPLOW

**Body**

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Ramallah, West Bank --- His group a day earlier declared a "ferocious war" against Israel, so Hamas official Hasan Yosef was keeping an eye on the television Wednesday. He liked what he saw.

Tens of thousands of Palestinians were shown marching through the West Bank city of Nablus in the funeral procession for three of the four Hamas fighters killed by Israeli troops the day before.

Palestinians call the men "martyrs," and their deaths spurred a new call to arms. Though Yosef did not say so, he knew that in the angry crowds were probably a few budding suicide bombers prepared to prosecute Hamas' latest declaration of war.

Cox Washington Bureau

"If I come to your house and attack you, what would you do to me?" he asked rhetorically. "The support for Hamas is clearly increasing."

The breakdown of the peace process and 16 months of intense fighting has caused a surge in popularity for Hamas' violent methods.

Hamas, the Palestinian-run Islamic Resistance Movement (whose acronym also means "zeal" in Arabic), has long opposed the peace process and sought the destruction of Israel.

The group's slick Internet Web site contains a chilling "Glory Record" of attacks on Israelis ([www.palestine-info.com](http://www.palestine-info.com)). Hamas has taken credit in the last year for attacks on restaurants, discos, city buses and shopping malls. The dead probably total more than 100 and include children and the elderly.

As Yasser Arafat built his secular Palestinian National Authority upon the foundation of the Oslo Accords, the 1993 agreements with Israel, Hamas played the role of the pessimistic back-seat driver.

## BACKGROUNDER: ISRAEL 'S ADVERSARIES: Hamas: Back-seat driver to Arafat group; Palestinian -run movement opposes the peace process

Hamas leaders used their religious credentials and a network of schools, health clinics and welfare offices to woo the hearts and minds of Palestinians --- and to try to prove that they are purer than the Mercedes-riding officials under Arafat.

Hamas operatives have carried out bombings against Israeli soldiers and civilians to try to derail a peace process they say is a sham. In the past 16 months, more than 1,100 people have died in Palestinian attacks and Israeli counterattacks, the vast majority of them Palestinians.

A poll taken in mid-December by the Palestine Center for Policy Survey Research showed 58 percent of Palestinians support attacks on Israeli civilians. And 62 percent said attacks on civilians are more effective than negotiations with the Israelis.

Still, though it may win the sympathies of many, Hamas has trouble winning over more than a small minority of Palestinians to its ranks.

Tens of thousands might turn out to Hamas funerals, but polls rarely show more than one-fifth of Palestinians who support Hamas as their political party.

Hamas was founded in an earlier period of great upheaval. In 1987, the Palestinians were beginning their first uprising, or intifada, against their Israeli military occupiers, who had controlled the West Bank and Gaza Strip since capturing them in 1967.

With ties to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist groups, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin helped create Hamas and remains its leader. Yassin, 63, a quadriplegic as the result of a childhood accident, has served eight years in Israeli jails.

Another key Hamas figure was Sheikh Abdullah Azzam, a mentor to Osama bin Laden who heavily influenced today's international Islamic "jihad."

Much of Hamas' support rose from the squalid and densely populated refugee camps of the Gaza Strip. They are the kind of places where religion eases hopelessness and frustration is easily converted to violence.

Money for the group's activities --- Israeli experts say it tops at least \$20 million a year --- has come from foreign donors. Iran reportedly made a \$30 million contribution in the early 1990s, but most has come from private donors in the Arab world. And much has come from the United States. The Bush administration in December froze the assets of the Texas-based Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, saying it supported Hamas. The group's officials deny funding terrorism.

A good chunk of Hamas' funds goes to charitable agencies. Like the Lebanon-based Hezbollah, Hamas provides kindergartens, cash assistance, health programs and thousands of meals during holidays.

"There are people associated with these organizations like Hamas who are struggling against authoritarianism and repression," said Robert Pastor, formerly of the Carter Center and now a political science professor at Emory University. "We should never support acts of terrorism on their part, but people in the Middle East who see Hamas in a very different light."

Along with the fight against Israel, Hamas has fought other Palestinians to enforce its strict Islamic code. Hamas activists were responsible in the 1987-93 uprising for dozens, if not hundreds, of killings of alleged collaborators --- Palestinians working with the Israeli authorities. Human rights groups charge that many of Hamas' victims were women simply accused of immoral behavior or prostitution.

At the start of the current uprising in 2000, Hamas activists were accused of leading mobs that tried to burn down Gaza restaurants that served alcohol. But Hamas, once an open rival to Arafat's authority, has sought to unify with it --- at least publicly.

## BACKGROUNDER: ISRAEL 'S ADVERSARIES: Hamas: Back-seat driver to Arafat group; Palestinian -run movement opposes the peace process

Hamas officials never say they would consider accepting Israel's existence. But if other Palestinian factions want them to, they might offer a truce. That would only come after Israel withdraws all its troops and settlers from occupied areas, cedes Jerusalem to Palestinian control and allows refugees to return to their land in Israel --- a package Israelis flatly reject.

Already, though, the public bond between Hamas and Arafat is fraying. After a particularly lethal series of bombings in early December, killing about 40 Israeli civilians, Arafat called for an end to suicide attacks.

Under intense international pressure, he arrested Hamas members and put Yassin under house arrest. There was almost a month of relative quiet until the fighting started again --- punctuated by a Hamas attack that killed four soldiers earlier this month.

Tuesday, the bloodshed continued. The Israeli pre-dawn commando raid on a Hamas apartment in Nablus killed three Hamas activists. The Hamas leaflet declaring war on Israel came out by the afternoon.

On Wednesday, in an office in Ramallah, Yosef spoke about Hamas and the war with Israel. The conversation took sharp turns. He wanted to know why Americans look at him as a terrorist.

Yosef said he follows the Quran, which teaches that all life is sacred. The stocky 47-year-old has a professorial demeanor for a man on Hamas' national and Islamic forces committee that meets regularly to plan the fighting.

On the topic of killing of civilians: "If the Israelis would stop killing civilians, we in Hamas would stop killing civilians," he said.

"Most of our attacks are against Israeli soldiers and settlers," he said, referring to the latter as Israelis who have moved into the West Bank and Gaza Strip. "But this is a war, and sometimes civilians are hurt."

Finally, his voice rising, he said: "Do you want us to just be slaughtered without any response? Like sheep?"

"The Israeli occupiers are conducting a comprehensive war against the Palestinians," he said. "The victim has the right to use all its means to defend itself."

## Graphic

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Photo:

ISRAEL AND CAPTURED PALESTINIAN TERRITORIES (map shows location of Palestinian territories with area of detail) Photo:

Palestinians carry posters of three Hamas members in their funeral procession Wednesday. They were killed in an Israeli raid. / NASSER ISHTAYEH / Associated Press

**Load-Date:** January 24, 2002



## **TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN**

Richmond Times Dispatch (Virginia)  
September 25, 2001 Tuesday City Edition

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**Section:** AREA/STATE; Pg. A-1

**Length:** 1258 words

**Byline:** From Wire Reports

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

### **Body**

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President Bush yesterday ordered an immediate freeze of all assets in the United States of suspected Islamic terrorist groups and individuals. He also gave the Treasury secretary broad new powers to halt transactions with banks around the world that do not cooperate in cutting off the flow of money to terrorists.

The move is an effort to choke off financial support for Osama bin Laden, whom the United States considers the prime suspect in the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

Among the 27 individuals and organizations named in a list attached to Bush's orders were three charities that the government believes knowingly or unwittingly channeled money to bin Laden and his al-Qaeda network.

"Money is the lifeblood of terrorist operations," Bush said in an announcement in the Rose Garden.

Bush said yesterday's list was based on "clear evidence, much of which is classified," so he declined to discuss details. "We will not make the war more difficult to win by publicly disclosing classified information."

Previous efforts to cut off bin Laden from funds have been unsuccessful, including steps by the United States and the United Nations in 1998 to freeze his assets after the U.S. Embassy bombings in Africa. Bin Laden, an exile from Saudi Arabia, has a personal fortune estimated at \$300 million.

White House officials acknowledged that they did not believe bin Laden maintained any significant assets in the United States and that they did not have a clear idea how his activities were financed.

But Bush reached beyond American borders, threatening any foreign banks that fail to cooperate with American investigators with a stiff financial sanction. Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill now is empowered, Bush said, to bar such banks from doing business in the United States.

That threat, if acted upon, could set up a conflict between Washington and countries - from Switzerland to the Cayman Islands to many other offshore banking centers - whose secrecy laws have long given cover to terrorist groups and crime syndicates.

The president said he recognized that some European countries probably would need to rewrite their own laws to meet America's conditions. He said the administration would respond on a case-by-case basis in determining compliance.

## TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN

It is unclear how much money Bush's order will affect, and the Treasury offered no estimates. In all likelihood, bin Laden's organization has kept its money in places that are as difficult to find as the reclusive suspect himself.

But with yesterday's order, financial experts said, it will be far more difficult for people or groups associated with bin Laden to conduct ordinary commercial transactions, assuming that banks around the world are aware of their true identities and willing to respect the ban.

As for the frozen assets, Bush's list names 12 individuals, including bin Laden and an Egyptian militant suspected to be his top deputy, Ayman al-Zawahri. It also includes 11 organizations, including the al-Qaeda network, plus three charities and one business. The charities were identified as Makhtab al-Khidamat, Wafa Humanitarian Organization and the Al Rashid Trust. The business is Mamoun Darkazanli Import-Export Co.

Missing from the list are Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Hezbollah, militant groups that are on the State Department's roster of terrorists but that some Arab nations see as legitimate fighters against Israel. Their absence showed the delicate path Bush must walk in trying to enlist support from Arab and Islamic states.

In other developments:

**MEETINGS** - Bush met privately with about 50 relatives of the passengers and crew of United Flight 93, the hijacked plane that crashed in Pennsylvania. He also convened another session of a special White House committee dealing with the aftermath of the terrorist strike.

**DIPLOMACY** - Bush plans to meet today with congressional leaders as well as Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi, a key to his anti-terrorism coalition. On Thursday, he will meet with Belgian Prime Minister Guy Verhofstadt, whose country holds the European Union presidency. The next day, he will meet King Abdullah II of Jordan.

**FREE TRADE** - The administration began a new drive to persuade Congress to grant Bush the authority to negotiate trade agreements, telling lawmakers passage would help the fight against global terrorism.

U.S. Trade Representative Robert Zoellick said supporters of legislation to let the president negotiate a hemispherewide free trade agreement and a new round of global trade talks should know within two weeks whether the votes are there for passage in the House.

**HOME LOANS** - Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld and Housing Secretary Mel Martinez announced interest rate reductions for all members of the Reserves and National Guard who are called to active duty and who have home mortgages with Federal Housing Authority-approved lenders.

By invoking the 1940 Soldiers' and Sailors' Civil Relief Act, the government is requiring lenders to cut their rates to a maximum of 6 percent for one year. It also gives these military members more protection against foreclosure on their home loans, and renters more protection against eviction.

The Department of Housing and Urban Development will have a toll-free number (1-888-297-8685) for servicemen and women who have questions about their mortgages.

### THE GROUPS

The Associated Press

The list of organizations to which President Bush's executive order applies:

Al-Qaeda/Islamic Army, Osama bin Laden's organization.

Abu Sayyaf Group, identified by the Congressional Research Service as a terrorist organization with Islamic and Filipino elements.

## TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN

Armed Islamic Group, Algerian and Islamic, a bin Laden-connected group that hijacked an Air France plane in Algeria in 1994.

Harakat ul-Mujahidin, Pakistan-based, accused of terrorist activities in Kashmir; leaders closely linked to Afghanistan's ruling Taliban.

Al-Jihad (Egyptian Islamic Jihad), blamed for the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, another bin Laden arm that was added a year ago to the State Department's list of terrorist organizations, accused of various criminal activities including kidnapping of four American mountain climbers.

Asbat al-Ansar.

Salafist Group for Call and Combat (GSPC), especially active in Algeria.

Libyan Islamic Fighting Group.

Al-Itihaad al-Islamiya (AIAI).

Islamic Army of Aden, another bin Laden arm.

Osama bin Laden, identified by U.S. authorities as the mastermind of the Sept. 11 attacks and of the bombing of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania.

Muhammad Atif (aka Sobhi al-Sitta, Abu Hafas al-Masri), commander of the Islamic Army for the Liberation of Holy Sites, which claimed responsibility for the bombing of U.S. embassies.

Sayf al-Adl.

Shaykh Saiid (aka Mustafa Muhammad Ahmad).

Abu Hafs the Mauritanian (aka Mahfouz Ould al-Walid, Khalid Al-Shanqiti).

Ibn Al-Shaykh al-Libi.

Abu Zubaydah (aka Zayn al-Abidin Muhammad Husayn, Tariq).

Abd al-Hadi al-Iraqi (aka, Abu Abdallah).

Ayman al-Zawahri, bin Laden's chief deputy, an Egyptian surgeon and a leader of Jihad.

Thirwat Salah Shihata.

Tariq Anwar Al-Sayyid Ahmad (aka Fathi, Amr al-Fatih).

Muhammad Salah (aka Nasr Fahmi Nasr Hasanayn).

Makhtab Al-Khidamat/Al Kifah.

Wafa Humanitarian Organization, a Saudi group whose operations include food distribution and construction of a clinic in Kabul, Afghanistan.

Al Rashid Trust, based in Pakistan, is a charitable group espousing the brand of Islam enforced by the Taliban in Afghanistan.

Mamoun Darkazanli Import-Export Co.

## TERRORISTS' ASSETS ARE FROZEN

**Load-Date:** September 27, 2001

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End of Document

## *Bedouins Are Often Forgotten in Efforts to Aid Israeli Arabs*

The Chronicle of Philanthropy

March 8, 2001

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**Section:** OPINION; Pg. 72

**Length:** 1329 words

### **Body**

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To the Editor:

It is heartening to know that promoting equality for Israeli Arabs is gaining increasing interest among American Jewish donors ("Wagering on Peace," February 8). But the otherwise informative piece omitted American philanthropic efforts to help a much-neglected segment of Israel's Arab population -- the Bedouins. This indigenous people have been loyal citizens and even serve in the army, but this has not prevented their relegation to the ranks of second-class citizens.

Many Israelis are blissfully unaware of their country's less-than-stellar treatment of the Bedouins. But over the past few years, American Jews have designated major gifts to Ben-Gurion University of the Negev to help the Bedouins attain the higher education needed for integration into mainstream Israeli society and to enable them to achieve the knowledge and know-how to work within the system to attain their rights.

To accomplish these goals, I helped fund the creation of the Center of Bedouin Studies and Development at the university in 1998. The center's mission is to support the educational and social development of the Bedouins in the Negev, which is home to some 120,000 Bedouin Arabs (25 percent of the Negev population).

Currently, 350 Bedouin students are enrolled at Ben-Gurion University. Many are there because of the center's innovative programs that prepare Bedouin high-school students for higher educational opportunities in the fields of science, engineering, and computers.

One alumna of the high-school preparatory program has become Israel's first **female** Bedouin medical student. Four years ago, there were only eight **female** Bedouins attending Ben-Gurion University. Today, there are 120, 22 of whom are studying for master's degrees. This is a revolutionary step toward equality and empowerment for **women** in this traditional society. And it has been accomplished primarily through the generosity of American donors who believe that when you educate a woman, you educate a family.

The Bedouin Center sponsors academic conferences, workshops, and visiting scholarship programs all aimed at examining and finding solutions for problems relevant to the needs of Negev Bedouins. The center also conducts vital research, such as its recent development plan for the seven Bedouin towns in the Negev. These towns were built by the Israeli government, which coerced the Bedouins into inhabiting them. They lack almost every urban amenity, including adequate educational facilities, and are, the study concludes, "a national disgrace."

According to an official of the UJA Federation who was quoted in the article, the speaker of the Knesset, Avraham Burg, is urging Americans to become more involved in the fate of Israeli Arabs in order to get "the fabric of Israeli

## Bedouins Are Often Forgotten in Efforts to Aid Israeli Arabs

democracy to move forward." Fortunately some American donors already had reached and acted upon that conclusion. They have done much, but they, and others, must do more.

Robert H. Arnow  
New York

Mr. Arnow is chairman emeritus of the Board of Governors of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

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To the Editor:

Not only are there new philanthropic efforts toward meeting the needs of Israel's Palestinian citizens, but new grass-roots philanthropy is supporting people-to-people peacemaking across the Israeli-Palestinian frontier.

Responding to months of blockades of Palestinian towns and villages and the destruction of thousands of olive trees by Israeli soldiers and settlers, Rabbis for Human Rights -- the only Israeli organization in which rabbis of Orthodox, Reform, Conservative, and Reconstructionist denominations work together -- has started a campaign to replant olive trees in West Bank/Gaza villages and to meet the villages' emergency humanitarian and human-rights needs.

Rabbis for Human Rights sought help from American as well as Israeli Jews. In response, the Shefa Fund agreed to work with the Shalom Center and a network of pro-peace American Jews called Break the Silence to begin a national campaign called "Olive Trees for Peace." The Shefa Fund, which co-founded and initially administered the Jewish Funders Network, has been a leading funder of Israeli and American Jewish Middle East peace efforts.

The campaign began on February 8, which in the Jewish calendar is Tu B'Shvat, the Jewish festival for trees. The full text of the "Olive Trees for Peace" statement appears on the Shalom Center Web site (<http://www.shalomctr.org/html/peace27.html>).

Using e-mail to begin with, the campaign has raised thousands of dollars to support the work of Rabbis for Human Rights. Some has come in donations of \$1,000 and more; some, in pooled contributions from children in Jewish Sunday-school classes.

The campaign is now raising money for a national advertisement to reach the general American public with the "Olive Trees" effort, and to educate the public about the policy questions involved in the sieges of Palestinian villages and the uprooting of their trees. These grass-roots efforts are an important complement to the types of programs discussed in your article.

Jeffrey Dekro  
President  
The Shefa Fund  
Philadelphia

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To the Editor:

The subject of American Jewish philanthropic assistance for Israel's Arab sector has attracted a good deal of attention lately, and I am pleased that I had the chance to offer some of my own thoughts on the matter in the piece on the subject that appeared in The Chronicle's February 8 issue.

This is, of course, a complicated issue with problems surrounding Arab-Jewish relations in Israel having come to the fore during last September's riots.

### Bedouins Are Often Forgotten in Efforts to Aid Israeli Arabs

As several people cited by The Chronicle pointed out, primary responsibility for addressing infrastructure and other needs of Israel's Arab sector belongs with the Israeli government itself.

At the same time, Jewish federations throughout North America's primary overseas beneficiaries, the Jewish Agency for Israel and the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, are already engaged in efforts of their own as well, including ones aimed at fostering Arab-Jewish coexistence. For the federations, the issue thus is not whether the American Jewish community has a role to play but whether its funding for projects in this area should now be substantially increased.

This is a time when traditional needs are skyrocketing; when the immigration and absorption which have been the keystone of federation-supported activity in Israel are proceeding apace; and when, with the Palestinian Intifada escalating and Hezbollah operatives threatening Israel's northern border, human-welfare needs are increasing as government funds are being drained from them.

Frankly, at this time, with the Palestinians turning to violence rather than peace, it is hard to see the American Jewish community being ready to direct large sums of money to Israel's Arab sector.

The Chronicle's article is entitled "Wagering on Peace." Were peace indeed clearly on the horizon, one could imagine the organized Jewish community engaging in a peace campaign that would have a component supporting programs fostering coexistence between Arabs and Jews along with specific social programs that would positively impact the Arab citizens of Israel.

But while the developments of September indeed have brought extra attention to issues surrounding the Israeli Arab population, until Israel is at last at peace with its Arab neighbors, I believe that most American Jewish donors with a special commitment in this area will address it by directing their additional gifts to single-interest entities like the Abraham Fund or to projects created within the Jewish Agency and Joint Distribution Committee structures. Meanwhile, the bulk of the dollars given through the federations' annual campaigns will continue to go where the majority of their donors wish them to in Israel, assisting Jews in need while expressing a profound sense of connection with the Jewish state.

Steven B. Nasatir

President

Jewish United Fund/Jewish Federation  
of Metropolitan Chicago

**Load-Date:** May 7, 2001

***Guerilla girl power seeks role rebuilding Sri Lanka;  
The best-trained female guerillas in the world also recognise a solemn  
moral obligation to the future***

Sunday Tribune (Ireland)

August 11, 2002

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**Section:** Pg. 18

**Length:** 1155 words

**Byline:** TOM FARRELL KILINCHCHI

## **Body**

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THE **female** guerillas are easy to spot on the main street of Kilinochchi, the Tamil Tiger 'capital' in Sri Lanka's northern province. Most **women** here wear the traditional shalwar kameez or a patterned sari, their flowing black hair tied back. The **female** guerillas have their hair cropped boyishly short or tightly braided.

They wear shirts belted at the waist and black pants. A few are kitted out in the combat uniform, tight green fatigues banded to blend with the tropical undergrowth.

The **women**'s wing of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) has existed since 1984, and in the last decade - which has seen a heavy death toll on the male fighters - they have come ever more to prominence and are now recognised as the best-trained and most disciplined **female** guerillas in the world.

Thamilini (30) is head of the **women**'s political wing in Kilinochchi and her own sister was killed when the town was captured by the Tigers in 1998.

This was during a massive Sri Lankan army (SLA) offensive codenamed 'Jaya Sikuru' ('Certain Victory') to open the Tigerheld A-9 highway.

She sees her sisters both as fearless patriots and gun-toting feminists, with a mission to liberate Tamil **women** in a very patriarchal, Hinduist culture. A burly woman of unusual height, Thamilini's delicate sing-song voice carries an underlying menace when she speaks of the "morality codes" the Tigers impose in their areas.

"The main reason for this male oppression is pornography and illegal alcohol and so we try to take strict measures against their usage in our territories. That's why we are able to control this situation " These "strict measures" are reason for men to watch their step in Kilinochchi. There are stories of habitual sexual harassers being lured by pretty girls to secluded locations, only to be beaten senseless by gangs of **women** cadres known as Sutanira-Paravaikal (Freedom Birds).

"We were taught that we have to not only be involved in the military operations, we have to start on our society, we have liberation in education and employment opportunities, " says Thamilini. "We have to get social status in the society, so that's why we have to fight in this way." The **women**'s wing first came to prominence during 1987-90, when Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi sent 60,000 troops to the island as 'peace keepers'.



Guerilla girl power seeks role rebuilding Sri Lanka ; The best-trained female guerillas in the world also recognise a solemn moral obligation to the future

When the LTTE pulled out of peace talks, the 'Indian Vietnam' that commenced left 1,200 of its troops dead and 3,000 maimed.

'Women's Day' in rebel-held areas is observed on 2 October, honouring the martyrdom of Second Lieutenant Malathy in 1987. Malathy was part of a crack all-female unit that had attacked Indian troops entering Jaffna city in Soviet T-72 tanks. Mortally wounded by the Indians, Malathy swallowed cyanide.

Like all cadres, male or female, Thamilini also carries a vial of cyanide on a black string around her neck, to be taken if captured by enemy forces. "In our movement, we abide by certain concepts. That is, we won't be an obstacle to the continuation of our struggle. When we are captured by the enemy, we don't want our struggle interrupted by our arrest, and by killing ourselves, we won't be an obstacle."

Women have formed the backbone of the 'Black Tiger' suicidebomber unit which, before 11 September, was the world's most effective and ruthless. In the 1980s and 1990s, the Tigers executed twice as many suicide bombing missions as Hamas and Hezbollah combined. It is believed the 'suicide jacket' used by Hamas bombers was sold to them by the Tigers.

It was a 31-year-old woman named 'Dhanu' who killed Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, herself and 15 others at an election rally near Madras in May 1991. While garlanding Gandhi, Dhanu pulled the detonator cord on a string of shrapnel grenades concealed under her dress. Her head, remarkably unscathed, was afterwards recovered 60 metres from the point of the explosion.

The worldwide impact of 11 September probably weighs heavily on the mind of the LTTE's 48-year-old leader, Vellupillai Prabhakaran. The movement was already reeling from the ban imposed by British Home Secretary Jack Straw the previous March, leading to the closure of its London office. The SLA's Deep Penetration Unit had also made several excursions into LTTE territory, assassinating a number of senior cadres.

After the Tigers came close to capturing Jaffna in May 2000, the SLA purchased new and more effective weaponry and was believed to have acquired Ukrainian 'fuel air' bombs last summer.

But after 11 September, millions of dollars worth of Tiger assets were frozen in various bank accounts. Although hardly bankrupt, with millions of dollars still being raised through legal business activities, the movement's income has been reduced considerably.

It is probably small consolation that the Sri Lankan economy is also in a dire condition.

The 5 December elections resulted in a narrow victory for the United National Party (UNP) led by Ranil Wickremesinghe.

The UNP ruled from 1977 to 1994 and pursued a particularly hardline stance against Tamil nationalists, allowing the security forces to commit horrendous civilian massacres throughout the 1980s and early 1990s.

A consortium of legal Tamil parties banded together as the Tamil National Alliance (TNA), endorsing the LTTE as the "sole representatives of the Tamil community" during the campaign.

Wickremesinge's critics charge that - knowing he needed TNA support to win - he capitulated to the LTTE's demands, calling a ceasefire and signing a Moratorium of Understanding (MOU) that is biased towards the Tigers.

Ahead of peace talks scheduled for Thailand this month, there is a huge need for reconstruction in the north and east of the country. The lands on either side of the A-9 highway are heavily mined. The UNP's Minister for Refugee Rehabilitation and Resettlement, Dr Jayalath Jayawardena says: "There are supposed to be about one million landmines in the north and east so we have to de-mine the entire areas, and most of the cities and houses have been destroyed. We have to start from zero, with no basic infrastructure facilities, the roads, the drinking water, houses, electricity and nothing is there. So it is a huge process and I don't think that by utilising our own resources, we will be able to rehabilitate the entire area. We will be depending on the international donors as well as our ex-

Guerilla girl power seeks role rebuilding Sri Lanka ; The best-trained female guerillas in the world also recognise a solemn moral obligation to the future

patriots to help us." Kilinochchi itself is not much more than a huge shanty town, its stone buildings shattered by mortar fire and most walls peppered with bullet holes. The women cadres are convinced victory will be theirs someday. Not that a victorious Tigress will be idle. "Soon after we achieve our Tamil Eelam, we have a lot of work to build up our society and our country, " predicts Thamilini.

Few of the 'Freedom Birds' see themselves as future wives or mothers. Says Thamilini: "We don't take that idea seriously because it would disturb our life in the movement."

## Graphic

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Above left, battle-hardened members of the Tamil Tigers women's wing. Above, the remains of a government base in northern Sri Lanka, overrun by the Tigers two years ago. Below, a boy poses with a live rocket retrieved close to the A-9 highway, scene of heavy fighting between the rebels and government forces

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

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**Jenin sealed off after battle: As Israelis gear up for body-removal, nobody can say for certain how many died**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

April 13, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A21

**Length:** 1177 words

**Byline:** LAURA KING

**Dateline:** JENIN REFUGEE CAMP, West Bank

## **Body**

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They know enough of what happened here to grieve - but not enough to say for whom.

In the chaotic aftermath of the worst fighting of a two-week-long Israeli military offensive, wives are searching for husbands, fathers for sons, cousins for cousins.

A full day after Israel said it subdued the last resistance by Palestinian gunmen inside the Jenin refugee camp, no one - not the Palestinians, nor the Israelis, nor aid workers - can say with certainty how many people died in the rubble of this bleak and blasted enclave in the northern West Bank.

Israeli army officials have estimated 100 Palestinians were killed in the camp during eight days of the deadliest fighting of an Israeli

onslaught that ranged the length and breadth of the West Bank. Palestinians say the toll in the Jenin camp is far higher, and accuses Israel of trying to cover up what went on here.

AP

Yesterday, the army kept journalists at bay, turning them away at roadblocks set up on approaching dirt roads, or at the rough, irregular treeline that marks the western edge of the camp. A wide area surrounding the camp and the adjoining town of Jenin has been declared a closed military zone by the army, and anyone traveling inside it was liable to be detained by Israeli soldiers, as many journalists were.

### **Heaviest Pounding**

The camp's people, too, were unable to move about freely, even though the fighting had all but halted. An occasional burst of machine-gun fire rattled from the camp's interior and at one point black smoke rose into the clear sky. Tanks and armoured personnel carriers rumbled along all the camp's perimeter roads.

Many of the camp's 14,000 people fled during the fighting, especially those whose homes were in its centre, which took the heaviest pounding from Israeli tanks and attack helicopters. Then, they said, troops prevented them from returning to their homes, rendering them refugees from their refugee camp.

"I think the people who lived in the heart of the camp are dead," said Thawer Ahmed, a 17-year-old with a wispy mustache who was lingering on the camp's outskirts yesterday, unable to make his way back to the wrecked home

Jenin sealed off after battle: As Israelis gear up for body-removal, nobody can say for certain how many died

he had left four days earlier. Soldiers had fired warning shots at groups of residents who had tried to make their way to the centre a short time earlier.

"We thought we were in hell," said Ahmed, describing repeated rocketing and shelling attacks that shattered windows and sent terrifyingly loud explosions echoing through the camp during the eight-day battle. He and others described seeing homes collapsed either by shellfire or huge Israeli military bulldozers, with the stench of decomposing corpses emanating from the rubble.

In one home, he said, he saw the limbs of what appeared to be five separate bodies protruding from the wreckage. A neighbour, 20-year-old Rabi Amar, also said he saw the corpses of entire families in their ruined homes. But the part of the camp where they said this happened could not be approached.

With the camp effectively closed to outsiders, Israelis and Palestinians traded bitter accusations over the number and nature of the casualties. Israel suggests many of the dead were gunmen; the camp's people acknowledge gunmen were among the fatalities, but say many civilians were killed as well.

"I saw many people die - some of them in the street, some of them in their homes, some of them in fire from tanks and helicopters, and some under their homes when they fell down," said 22-year-old camp resident Rami Rateh. "Not just men, but women and children."

#### Special Cemetery

He said he had more than a dozen relatives with whom he had not been able to make contact since the fighting ended, including brothers and cousins.

Israeli army spokesman Brig.-Gen. Ron Kitrey said collection and burial of the bodies in the Jenin refugee camp would begin yesterday. Rateh and several others said they saw dozens of bodies being carried away early in the morning in military trucks but the army would not confirm whether any bodies had been removed and whether burials had taken place.

Kitrey said the bodies of gunmen from the camp would be buried at a special cemetery in the Jordan Valley - a forlorn field where Lebanese fighters killed in cross-border clashes have been buried in graves marked only by numbers. During the Lebanon conflict, some of those bodies were dug up and repatriated in body swaps with Lebanon's Hezbollah guerrillas.

"The terrorists we found with guns we are going to bury in what we call the enemy cemetery site," Kitrey said. "The civilians we will try to give back to the Palestinians."

Word that Israel was going to remove some of the bodies immediately prompted Palestinian accusations of a coverup, but Kitrey denied Israel was trying to keep secret what had gone on inside the camp.

#### Aid Groups Kept Out

Aid groups including the Red Cross and the Red Crescent said they had been denied permission to enter the camp. "This is part of their disinformation campaign to hide something," said Dr. Hussam Sharkawi of the Red Crescent.

Palestinian cabinet minister Saeb Erekat repeated accusations the Israelis were trying to cover up the killing of civilians. "They want to hide their crimes, the bodies of the little children and women," said Erekat, adding visiting U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell should go to the camp and witness the aftermath of what Erekat called war crimes committed there.

Although the smoke of the battle has not yet cleared, Palestinians have already embraced Jenin as a symbol of wider resistance to the Israeli presence.

In the Gaza Strip, hundreds of people demonstrated in sympathy for the gunmen who died in fighting in the camp, and doctors in Gaza City said in the past three days, three newborns have been named Jenin.

Jenin sealed off after battle: As Israelis gear up for body-removal, nobody can say for certain how many died

Jenin is a bitter emblem for the Israelis as well. Several suicide bombers who carried out bloody attacks in Israel had lived in the camp. And subduing Jenin cost Israel dearly: 23 soldiers were killed there during this offensive, including 13 slain this week in an elaborate ambush involving explosives and gunfire in the largest single loss of soldiers' lives during the past 18 months of conflict.

Tamam Raja, 44, and clad in a traditional long embroidered dress, paused on a stone to rest after climbing a slope from the camp's centre. She said that during the offensive, her son-in-law bled to death while relatives watched helplessly from their adjoining home. And she did not know whether her husband and son were dead or alive, because she had been separated from them two days earlier when a dozen family members fled in panic during a shelling attack.

Israeli soldiers had turned her away, she said, when she tried to return to her home in the middle of the camp. During the fighting, she had spent her nights there cowering under blankets in her home, too frightened to do anything but count the incoming rounds of rockets and shells.

"We thought once upon a time that we would make peace with them. Now, that's impossible," she said.

## Graphic

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Photo: JEROME DELAY, AP; Reflected in a wing mirror, a photojournalist holds up his hands for Israeli border police near Jenin.; Photo: GORAN TOMASEVIC, REUTER; An Israeli armoured personnel carrier passes Palestinian prisoners in the West Bank town of Jenin, where nobody knows the casualty toll.

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2002

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End of Document

## Letters from readers

Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)

May 1, 2002, Wednesday, Metro Edition

Copyright 2002 Star Tribune

**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 16A

**Length:** 1221 words

### **Body**

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#### Return to holy roots

I agreed with the first half of the Star Tribune's editorial on clergy sex abuse ("When in Rome / U.S. cardinals come up short," April 28).

But then it speculates that the reason the cardinals dragged their feet was because a zero-tolerance policy would decrease the already-dwindling number of priests.

The Star Tribune then suggests that the church should drop its requirement for celibacy and its ban on ordaining women, saying the church should follow the example of "other Christians in the catholic orbit."

I resent the paper's use of "catholic orbit." Christ established only one true church.

It is obvious how to increase the church's supply of good and holy priests; it just needs to install the programs and methods of successful seminaries.

\_ Phil Drietz, Delhi, Minn.

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#### Integrity trumps access

I commend Hubert H. (Buck) Humphrey for having served as an election judge this past year, having worked as both a judge and precinct chairperson for over 10 years. But I disagree with his support for the current election judge bill being considered by the Legislature ("Kiffmeyer should like election judge bill," April 27).

While it is critical to recruit more judges, it is my view \_ gleaned through years of voter contact and comment \_ that the integrity of the process is of utmost importance to the voters. Current state law addresses and attempts to ensure that. Have we so quickly forgotten the Florida debacle or often reported fixed elections in foreign countries?

\_ Rebecca Winegarden, Maple Grove.

#### Siding with a dictator

Apparently your distaste for Ariel Sharon, the democratically elected leader of Israel's national unity government, compels you to fawn over Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah, a dictator of a country with no religious freedom, civil or political rights, democratic elections, a free press or rights for women.

## Letters from readers

Perhaps you think President Bush should follow the orders of a dictator like Abdullah and rein in the actions of a democratic country merely attempting to defend itself. Perhaps you have forgotten that for 18 months the United States and Israel did everything but beg Yasser Arafat to halt the terrorists.

Perhaps you have overlooked Ehud Barak's courageous peace offer that was rejected by Arafat in 2000.

I don't recall Abdullah calling for an end to terrorism \_ or stopping the flow of Saudi funds for the terrorist groups \_ or encouraging Arafat to accept Barak's offer.

\_ Steven Haur, Burnsville.

No friend of peace

Saudi Crown Prince Abdullah may speak for the editorial writers of the Star Tribune, but he hardly speaks for your readers. Saudi Arabia supplied 15 of the 19 men who were responsible for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks.

Saudi money continues to flow unabated into the coffers of Hamas, Hezbollah and other Palestinian terrorists. Just last week the Saudis held a telethon to raise tens of millions of dollars for the families of suicide bombers, and now the Saudis have purchased millions of dollars of television air time to repair their deservedly poor image.

It's time for the Saudis to engage in at least a little introspection \_ come to think of it, not bad advice for your editorial writers.

\_ Ilan Sharon, Minnetonka.

Earth's senators

Though Earth Day has come and gone, let's give thanks to our state's two senators for their reliable leadership in protecting and conserving our nation's natural heritage.

Sens. Paul Wellstone and Mark Dayton both cast heroic votes to prevent drilling for oil in the sensitive wilderness of the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge ("Senators put Alaska drilling plan on ice," April 19).

Both recognized that drilling for oil in the refuge does little or nothing to reduce U.S. dependence on foreign oil or to address America's long-term energy needs.

The historic bipartisan vote was a major victory for those in favor of reducing our dependence on imported oil without harming our nation's natural treasures.

Several weeks ago, Minnesota's senators also voted in favor of increasing fuel efficiency standards in automobiles manufactured in the U.S. Though the bill failed, it would have been a large and realistic step toward reducing our nation's dependence upon imported oil.

Wellstone and Dayton have shown that they can be consistently relied upon to vote yes to conservation, yes to alternative fuels, yes to renewable energy and no to big oil and the special interests of big business.

We are one of only two states in the country that can boast two senators with perfect environmental scores from the nonpartisan League of Conservation Voters. Minnesotans care a great deal about preserving the environment, and Sens. Wellstone and Dayton represent our ethic with courage and conviction.

\_ Marty Broan, program manager, League of Conservation Voters, St. Paul.

Give him a doughnut!

Doug Grow's April 25 column ("Overdosing on doughnut hype?") sounded a bit grumpy. Next time, let him get one of those Krispy Kreme doughnuts, will you? Learn to share!

## Letters from readers

\_ Dan Thompson, Minneapolis.

## A bad move by MSHSL

The Minnesota State High School League recently recommended moving the Girls' State Volleyball Tournament to the Rochester Civic Center in 2003. Coaches, fans and student-athletes are stunned and disturbed about the recommendation by the MSHSL Board of Directors.

Although I am sure the people of Rochester would do a great job hosting the tournament, the issue goes beyond that.

The biggest issue is equal access \_ access for spectators and teams. Moving the tournament out of the metro area does not give the spectators easy access to view the tournament.

No matter how you look at it, having the tournament 90 miles south of the metro area is not going to be as convenient, nor is it going to attract as many spectators.

In terms of attendance, volleyball is the second largest tournament for girls. The volleyball tournament annually draws more than 20,000 spectators.

Moving the tournament from the Xcel Energy Center, one of the finest facilities in the country, to a less attractive venue that holds 5,000 spectators is a definite step down in prestige and status. No matter how it is framed, the move appears discriminatory to young women.

In terms of access, there is no comparison to that provided for the boys' tournaments and that provided for the girls' tournaments. All of the largest boys' tournaments are held in first-class facilities in the Twin Cities. Football is held at the Metrodome, boys' basketball will be held at the Target Center, boys' hockey and wrestling are held at the Xcel Center.

In sharp contrast, two of the largest tournaments for girls are being shipped out of the metro area. In addition to the volleyball tournament, the girls' hockey tourney is being moved to St. Cloud.

My hunch is that the decision to move the volleyball tournament was made without much consideration to the bigger picture of girls' sports in the state.

Good people can make poor decisions. This is a decision that should be reconsidered immediately.

I urge the board to review the governing values listed on the MSHSL Web site. The first value is "equity, fairness and justice."

\_ Stephanie Schleuder, president, American Volleyball Coaches Association, Minneapolis.

## Graphic

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CARTOON

**Load-Date:** May 1, 2002



**Israel won't 'surrender to blackmail': Sharon cuts U.S. visit short after suicide bomber kills 15**

Ottawa Citizen

May 8, 2002 Wednesday EARLY Edition

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**Section:** News; Pg. A1; News

**Length:** 1092 words

**Byline:** Matthew Kalman

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

## **Body**

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JERUSALEM -- A Palestinian suicide bomber carrying a bomb in a bag killed at least 15 people in a snooker club in central Israel yesterday, enraging Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, who cut short a visit to the United States.

The blast, which tore through the third floor of the building in Rishon Letzion south of Tel Aviv, was the first suicide attack in three weeks and raised questions about the effectiveness of an Israeli military campaign in the West Bank.

Mr. Sharon said his forces would press on and uproot "terrorism," declaring: "The battle continues."

"I say today Israel will not surrender to blackmail ... he who rises up to kill us, we will pre-empt it and kill him first," Mr. Sharon told a news conference before breaking off his visit to Washington and flying home.

The Ottawa Citizen; with files from Citizen News Services

Mr. Sharon said the bombing was "proof of the true intentions of those who lead the Palestinian Authority." The Palestinian Authority has condemned the attack, but Mr. Sharon has said its leaders, including Yasser Arafat, cannot be trusted.

"Israel will act the same as any democracy that protects itself. Israel will act like any other democracy which fights the forces of darkness. Israel will continue to uproot the terror infrastructure," he said.

He said the Israeli military offensive against militants in Palestinian towns and villages had made great strides in rooting out the terrorist infrastructure, but that the job clearly was not done.

"He who rises up to kill us, we will pre-empt and kill him first," he said.

Mr. Sharon, speaking first in Hebrew and then in English, said he was departing for Israel "with a heavy heart -- heavy with grief and heavy with rage."

He said it was "the rage of each and every Jew in the world."

The address was carried live on TV in Israel and the U.S.

Mr. Sharon said U.S. President George W. Bush had asked him "to express his dismay of the terrible massacre of innocent people -- children, women and youth on a night out whose only sin was being Jewish Israeli."

## Israel won't 'surrender to blackmail': Sharon cuts U.S. visit short after suicide bomber kills 15

In an apparent reference to the military onslaught against Palestinian towns of the last few weeks, which followed a wave of suicide bombings in Israel, Mr. Sharon said: "The operation has yielded tremendous achievements, but our work is not done. The battle continues and will continue until all those who believe that they can make gains through the use of terror will cease to exist."

Witnesses said the Sheffield snooker club was crowded when the bomber walked in and detonated a bomb packed with nails and metal shrapnel just after 11 p.m., minutes before Mr. Sharon began talks with President George W. Bush in Washington.

"The timing which the murderers chose to carry out this attack was carefully planned," said Israeli cabinet minister Eli Yishai, who was with Mr. Sharon at the White House.

It was the first terrorist attack on the sleepy suburban town, police said.

"They noticed a stranger. He had an odd expression. He walked three to four steps inside and detonated his explosives. There was no time to get away," a police spokesman told reporters at the scene.

"He entered all of a sudden into the hall and then he exploded," said Haim Cohen, a police commander.

Motti Monir, who was slightly wounded in the attack, said he was leaving the club just after 11 p.m. when there was a "huge explosion."

"I don't know how I got out of there," he said.

"The entire floor flew in the air. It looked like a terrible dream," witness Hanir Azulei said.

Witnesses said the explosion occurred on the third floor, causing the ceiling to collapse on dozens of people below. The club, on the top floor of a shopping and commercial centre, was a meeting place mainly for men, with snooker and billiard tables and slot machines.

Ambulance service spokesman Yerucham Mandola said parts of the targeted building had collapsed, trapping people underneath.

"There are bodies and perhaps injured people trapped under the rubble," said Mayor Meir Nitzan. "The emergency services are trying to get them out as quickly and carefully as possible."

Rescue workers sifted through the wreckage, collecting body parts and clearing away rubble. Strapped into stretchers, the bodies were lowered through the gaping hole of the shattered club by a firetruck crane to rescue workers below.

Young women and men cried as they looked up at the bombed-out building. The first floor held a furniture store called Baby World, advertised by a sign with a smiling curly-haired baby, and another child's furniture store called Pinocchio.

Nearby stood factories, car dealerships and a Greek dance club, and not far away, one of Israel's largest malls.

Al-Manar television station run by Hezbollah guerrillas in Lebanon said the militant Hamas group had claimed responsibility, although Hamas leaders in the Gaza Strip did not confirm or deny the report.

Israel blamed the blast on President Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, although the Authority issued a statement condemning the blast and vowing to act against those behind it.

Mr. Sharon is certain to face criticism from right-wing Israeli politicians that he wound down the West Bank offensive too quickly, without finishing the declared task of eliminating militants. He will now face pressure to hit back hard.

"We have withdrawn our forces too soon (from the West Bank) ... You cannot negotiate with terrorism. You have to uproot it. It's like a cancer," Public Security Minister Uzi Landau told reporters.

## Israel won't 'surrender to blackmail': Sharon cuts U.S. visit short after suicide bomber kills 15

Israeli forces have stopped at least one suicide bombing every day for the past week, security officials said, adding that two militants planning suicide attacks were arrested by troops during a raid on the West Bank city of Tulkarm yesterday.

David Baker, an official in Mr. Sharon's office, said that it was "clear that the Palestinian Authority has not given up the terror option and continues on its murderous path."

The Palestinian Authority vowed to punish those responsible, saying such attacks harmed the Palestinian cause and gave Mr. Sharon a pretext to hit back.

"The Palestinian leadership ... considers the parties which carried out the attacks as parties working against the interests of the Palestinian people," it said in a statement.

Mahmoud al-Zahar, a Hamas leader in Gaza, said the bombing showed the West Bank offensive had fuelled the Palestinian desire for revenge.

"The will of our people is stronger than the tanks. The Israelis have either to withdraw or continue to lose," Mr. al-Zahar, the Hamas leader, said.

## Graphic

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Photo: Barak Pachter, The Associated Press; An injured Israeli is led away by ambulance personnel near the destroyed pool hall in Rishon Letzion, Israel, where a suicide attack killed at least 15 and injured about 60, yesterday. Israel blamed the blast on Yasser Arafat's Palestinian Authority, although the Authority condemned the blast and vowed to act against those behind it.; Photo: Barak Pachter, The Associated Press; An Israeli woman is cared for by a police officer near the destroyed pool hall in Rishon Letzion. Mayor Meir Nitzan said he fears 'there are bodies and perhaps injured people trapped under the rubble.'

**Load-Date:** May 8, 2002

**SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD;  
ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S.-LED CAMPAIGN**

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

January 30, 2002 Wednesday Five Star Lift Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. A1; PROFILE; STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS; SIDEBAR STORY

**Length:** 1156 words

**Byline:** Philip Dine Post-Dispatch Washington Bureau

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

## **Body**

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### WAR ON TERROR

By his tough language and forceful call for further action, President George W. Bush raised the ante Tuesday night in the U.S.-led war on terrorism.

Rather than merely praising the success of the effort thus far or urging Americans to remain vigilant, Bush issued a stern warning that the war on terrorism is in its infancy, with grave dangers facing the civilized world.

Nor did he mince words in condemning specific countries -- Iran, Iraq and North Korea -- as dangerous, undemocratic and having aided the terrorist cause.

"States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world," Bush charged.

In so doing, said some analysts, he raised the possibility that after Afghanistan, the U.S.-led campaign against global terrorism may not shift to a smaller front, as many have suggested, but rather involve another major conflict.

"This was incredibly important, because those are the nations that will be the most difficult to resolve but that present the greatest problems," said Jack Spencer, military expert at the Heritage Foundation. "Certainly with Iraq, the president began laying the groundwork for some sort of action."

By naming Middle Eastern groups fighting Israel and by citing those three countries unconnected with the attacks of Sept. 11, Bush expanded the war on terrorism, said Ivo Daalder. He is a former National Security Council official and now a foreign policy expert at the Brookings Institution.

"He has significantly redefined the war on terrorism, which used to be a war against terrorism with a global reach, and now is a war that includes the terrorist underground - Hamas, Hezbollah. And, more importantly, it includes nations that are seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction: Iran, Iraq and North Korea," Daalder said.

"In fact, he made a virtual declaration of war against these countries. . . . He has basically declared that the United States cannot accept the status quo there, that their regimes will have to change or their weapons-of-mass-destruction capability will have to be eliminated.

## SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN

"This is not just a war against terrorism, it is a war against countries that have weapons of mass destruction - and that is a very big change," Daalder said.

Bush's address was full of tough applause lines that brought the U.S. political establishment to its feet, as he spoke of "terrorist parasites" or warned America's enemies, "You will not escape the justice of this nation."

"Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay," Bush said.

Yet, the audience for Bush's words on the campaign against terrorism was abroad as well as at home.

While he warned nations that may have terrorists operating within their borders that "if they do not act, America will," Bush's speech failed to reach out to other countries by offering U.S. cooperation on other issues beyond terrorism, Daalder said.

### Dangerous world

In choosing to either reassure Americans that they are safer than before or alerting them to grave dangers that remain, Bush depicted an America surrounded by individuals and groups intent on its downfall.

"Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs - set to go off without warning," the president said.

"Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears and show us the true scope of the task ahead," Bush said. "And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.

"Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on Sept. 11 were trained in Afghanistan's camps - and so were tens of thousands of others. . . . These enemies view the world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are."

Terrorist training camps may have been eliminated in Afghanistan, but they continue in at least a dozen countries, Bush said, in remote jungles, deserts and urban centers.

In response, Bush said, the United States must shut down terrorist camps and bring terrorists to justice. Equally important, he added, will be preventing terrorists and hostile regimes from obtaining or using chemical, biological or nuclear weapons.

And he was particularly blunt in addressing regimes in North Korea, Iran and Iraq, saying that while they "have been pretty quiet since Sept. 11 . . . , we know their true nature."

The speech was direct and strong, as it had to be, Spencer said.

"What struck me was the clarity of the message. His message was winning the war," Spencer said. "He was using this opportunity to refocus our attention on the war ahead of us."

### Left unsaid

Bush spoke toward the end of his speech about doubling the number of volunteers in the Peace Corps over the next five years, and addressed its efforts to "encourage development, education and opportunity in the Islamic world."

He also called for leading the world toward better values. "We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terrorism," Bush said.

## SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED CAMPAIGN

But the speech was short on U.S. cooperation in tackling issues critical to other nations, such as hunger, poor health care, illiteracy, pollution or massive debt.

"The first part of the speech is a very militaristic approach to the war on terrorism and does not embrace any conception about how we can ameliorate conditions around the world in which terrorism breeds," Daalder said.

"He's increasing the money for bombs, he's increasing the money for barriers to protect the borders, but he's doing nothing to increase the money for diplomacy."

Yet, Daalder called it significant that Bush spoke of the Peace Corps and a domestic freedom corps, because those represent concrete ways for citizens to get involved in the campaign against terrorism.

"He is asking the American people to volunteer their time at home and abroad. The question is, are we going to devote the resources that will be required to enable the volunteers to serve?"

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Special guests for Bush's State of the Union

President George W. Bush singled out five special guests by name:

- \* Hamid Karzai, interim leader of Afghanistan.
- \* Sima Samar, Afghanistan's women's affairs minister.
- \* Shannon Spann, widow of CIA officer Johnny Micheal Spann, slain in Afghanistan.
- \* Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones, flight attendants who thwarted a terrorist shoe-bombing.

Also seated among the special guests were three people with regional ties:

- \* The Most Rev. Wilton Gregory, Roman Catholic bishop of the Diocese of Belleville.
- \* Army Sgt. 1st Class Michael McElhiney of Kansas City, a Green Beret who lost an arm in Afghanistan.
- \* Anthony Williams, mayor of Washington and, from 1989-91, chief of the St. Louis Community Development Agency.

## Notes

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STATE OF THE UNION; Reporter Philip Dine: E-mail: [pdine@post-dispatch.com](mailto:pdine@post-dispatch.com) Phone: 202-298-6880

## Graphic

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PHOTO; THE ASSOCIATED PRESS Color Photos; (1) Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld gives a thumbs-up Tuesday as he arrives for the president's speech. With him (from left) are Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, Housing Secretary Mel Martinez and Sen. Patrick Leahy, D-Vt.; (2) Interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai is applauded Tuesday after being acknowledged by President George W. Bush during the State of the Union address. Clapping (from left) are Lynne Cheney, wife of Vice President Dick Cheney; Shannon Spann, widow of CIA agent Johnny Michael Spann, who was killed in Afghanistan; and the president's wife, Laura Bush.

SPEECH REDEFINES CONFLICT THAT LIES AHEAD; ANALYSTS SEE AN EXPANSION OF U.S. -LED  
CAMPAIGN

**Load-Date:** January 31, 2002

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**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

Copyright 2005 P.G. Publishing Co.

**Section:** EDITORIAL,

**Length:** 1278 words

**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

## *Double-up in Middle East game*

Australian Financial Review

October 22, 2005 Saturday

First Edition

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**Section:** PERSPECTIVE; International News; Pg. 27

**Length:** 1325 words

**Byline:** Report Tony Walker WASHINGTON Tony Walker is the AFR's international editor.

### **Body**

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There are other festering problems in the region that will command George Bush's attention.

When US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee this week, she received a subset of questions that point to what is an increasing preoccupation in Washington.

This is the extent to which the US is now involved on the ground in the Middle East in ways that go beyond the calculations of an administration that had anaesthetised itself with heady expectations of a quick victory in Iraq followed by a rose-petal transformation of Iraqi society.

The question now is not so much when the US might begin to stand down its forces in Iraq but whether its broader goals of bringing democracy to the entire Middle East mean that an expanded mission will draw it inevitably into a wider and much more protracted military role as it manages what it has wrought.

This is not so much mission creep as mission hop - potentially. The US is facing an extremely challenging situation in Iraq but it can't ignore other festering Middle East problems, all of which require careful management and, in bad case scenarios, might add to America's military burden.

These include an unstable situation in Syria; a bold challenge from Iran which, along with its Shiite co-religionists in Iraq, is emerging as the main beneficiary of the US removal of Saddam Hussein, apart from the Kurds; the Israel-Palestine conflict where a road map for peace has all but died; instability in Lebanon where the pro-Iranian Shiite ***Hezbollah***, or "party of God", is the most potent force; and dangers of Iraq instability spreading to the Gulf and beyond to places like Egypt.

It is not beyond comprehension that the Middle East map will look quite different when - and if - things settle down, just as it did after the defeat of the Ottoman Turks in World War I.

Prince Saud al-Faisal, the veteran Saudi Foreign Minister, warned on a visit to Washington of the potential disintegration of Iraq into separate Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish entities that would risk bringing "other countries in the region into the conflict".

President George Bush appeared to be preparing Americans for a longer commitment with his important speech two weeks ago to the National Endowment for Democracy in which he likened the struggle to the Cold War, saying "this is a difficult and long-term project, yet there's no alternative".

## Double-up in Middle East game

He accused al-Qaeda and its radical adherents across the Muslim world of being intent on establishing an Islamic caliphate "from Spain to Indonesia".

Bush has bet his presidency and legacy on his view that Iraq is the "central front" in the war on terrorism - a justification for continued American sacrifices in lives and treasure while ignoring the uncomfortable detail that this was far from the main pretext for going to war.

His decision to couch the US struggle in historical terms as a war against the rebirth of an Islamic caliphate has the effect of defining a war whose dimensions are almost certainly beyond an overstretched US ability to manage. This position also creates a potential awkwardness for a country like Australia whose position might be likened to that of an investor in a limited liability company of relatively modest intentions which then decides to take on a lot more risk.

This is potentially a highly significant moment in an evolving Middle East story, unless Bush's words are simply a marketing exercise and have no meaning.

Asked by senator Richard Lugar, the Foreign Relations Committee chairman, to explain what a broadening out of US goals might involve, Secretary of State Rice explained: "We have one vision of what the Middle East is going to look like. It's going to be a Middle East that is modernising, progressive; where women's rights are assured; where Islam finds its place alongside democracy; where there are stable and democratic governments where liberty is no longer denied to the people. And there is no doubt that is a long-term generational struggle."

She added: "We, indeed, have to win in Iraq, which becomes one of the pillars of a democratic, stable, prosperous Middle East in which the freedom deficit is not a cause for the rise of extremism."

These are, of course, desirable, lofty goals but are they realistic and what sacrifices might be required to achieve this version of utopia when it is not clear that America is even capable of ensuring that the lights stay on in Baghdad, a point made by the courtly Lugar when he asked Rice what benchmarks she might nominate for success in Iraq.

So, in seeking ways to justify an increasingly unpopular war the gambling Bush is effectively doubling up, which is one way to lose your shirt if the cards are against you. Bush's reassertion of his determination not to leave Iraq until "complete victory" is achieved has established a notional benchmark, but what does this really mean? How do you define "complete victory" - an end to the insurgency, a formal surrender by the al-Qaeda leadership in Iraq or simply when a US administration declares victory and ships out, leaving warring militias to tear each other apart?

Clearly, Bush has talked himself into a mindset that would make acceptance of a nuanced end to the American adventure in Iraq quite difficult to justify.

The New York Times this week quoted a senior Bush aide as explaining why the president had decided in his national endowment address to talk about a grander Middle East design.

"The president was concerned that we hadn't described Iraq to the American people for what it is - a struggle of ideologies that isn't going to end with one election, or one constitution, or even a string of elections," the official said.

In seeking to describe a grander purpose, Bush is clearly trying to find a formula that will overwhelm criticism that is becoming more persistent from the Democrats and members of his own party. He is, in effect, trying to buy time in the hope that political progress in Iraq overwhelms the security challenge.

Whatever Bush might say publicly, he must know that the solution does not lie in a military victory, since this is not in the cards, but in a political accommodation among disparate forces. Force-feeding that process is proving hugely challenging.

And it is not as though this White House, having dealt itself into the Middle East game as no other administration has done before, can ignore other elements of the picture.

## Double-up in Middle East game

Syria represents an immediate challenge, not just because Washington is at loggerheads with Damascus over its belief that the Syrians have been giving aid and comfort to Iraqi insurgents, but because of debate within the administration about whether the Bashar al-Assad regime should itself be subjected to "regime change" or simply "behaviour change" which is the White House's preferred form of words in recent days.

Pressures on Syria are set to increase, with the report of the UN investigator, Detlev Mehlis, a German prosecutor, who has found there was high-level Syrian and Lebanese involvement in the assassination in Beirut on February 14 of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

Mehlis's grim finding will increase pressure for a ratcheting up of sanctions, already in place, against the Damascus regime plus demands for action against the culprits. But the US and its allies also face the dilemma that undue pressure on Assad might risk an implosion in Syria with consequences for surrounding neighbourhoods, not least Lebanon which is in danger of sliding back into conflict.

The US also cannot ignore Iran which is insisting on pressing ahead with a uranium enrichment program and seems, if anything, to have been emboldened by the US presence - and difficulties - in Iraq. This is the reverse of what Bush administration hawks had in mind when they made the case for war.

This outcome belongs in a lengthening list of unintended consequences, including a continuing re-definition of America's Middle East policy itself.

## Graphic

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PHOTO: Hundreds of thousands of Lebanese demonstrating over the killing of former prime minister Rafik Hariri earlier this year. They were demanding an end to nearly three decades of Syrian military domination. Photo AFP

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2012

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## *On Baghdad Streets, Loyalty To Rebel Cleric Is Still Fierce*

The New York Times

October 4, 2004 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10; THE CONFLICT IN IRAQ: THE BATTLEGROUND

**Length:** 1218 words

**Byline:** By EDWARD WONG

**Dateline:** BAGHDAD, Iraq, Oct. 3

### **Body**

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On the groom's last night as a single man, a bachelor party on his front lawn kicked off with song and dance.

"We love you to death, Moktada," a pair of singers crooned in praise of Moktada al-Sadr, the fiery anti-American cleric who, though absent, overshadowed the groom. "We love you as much as there are leaves on a tree."

Out came one of the groom's best friends, waving his arms like a carnival barker. "Those who follow the Americans are dogs," he yelled. "We swear by Moktada that we won't let our machine guns stop!"

Loyalty to the Shiite cleric burns fierce here in northeastern Baghdad, and especially in Sadr City, a vast slum of 2.2 million people, despite frequent American raids and almost nightly airstrikes. The American military has stepped up its campaign to rout the Mahdi Army, Mr. Sadr's militia, on its home turf here, to drive him to the bargaining table. But it is often impossible to distinguish between civilians and fighters.

A reporter, photographer and interpreter with The New York Times recently spent nearly 24 hours being guided through the battleground streets -- and even to a guerrilla bachelor party -- by one of Mr. Sadr's midlevel aides. It became apparent that the Mahdi Army here is less a discrete military organization than a populist movement that includes everyone from doctors to policemen to tribal sheiks, and whose ranks swell with impoverished men willing to die.

The day began with a drive to the home of the Sadr aide, a slim, balding 35-year-old man who gave his name simply as Muhammad. Donkey carts plied the dusty streets, mounds of trash lined wide avenues and posters of chubby, black-turbaned Mr. Sadr were plastered across every block. Graffiti in English decorated some walls: "Vietnam Street -- We'll make your graves in this place."

Muhammad's home was tucked into a narrow alley in the Chewadar neighborhood. A reeking channel of open sewage ran along the street. A boy dashed around with a toy rifle propped on his shoulder like a rocket-propelled grenade launcher. Nearby, other children played soccer in dirt lots, and women in black robes peeked out from their doorways.

## On Baghdad Streets, Loyalty To Rebel Cleric Is Still Fierce

The home was typical of many in Sadr City: a two-story ocher building, with an extended family of 35 squeezed into 1,500 square feet. Muhammad's family moved here in 1962 from Amara, a southern city, before his birth. He is the second oldest of six brothers, many of whom are members of the Mahdi Army.

"If the Americans didn't try entering Sadr City with their tanks, I can guarantee you not a single bullet would be fired," Muhammad said over a lunch of lamb kebab, a framed portrait of Mr. Sadr on the wall behind him. "Everyone here is part of the resistance."

Muhammad and several of his brothers ate lunch sitting on rugs in the bare concrete living room. Later, one of the brothers, Kassim, a Mahdi commander, picked up an AK-47 and disassembled and assembled it in a couple of minutes. "Mahdi Army basics," he said.

"I fought against the Americans twice in Najaf," he said proudly. "The battle in August was very bloody. There were two armies -- one had much better technology, and there was no comparison. But we managed to stay for 26 days."

"We're willing to fight, and we won't let the Americans enter this city," he said, staring down the barrel of his rifle. That sentiment is widespread in Sadr City, where American patrols routinely encounter ambushes and roadside bombs.

In the afternoon, Muhammad drove his black sedan to a street that he said had been the target of an American airstrike three days earlier. Dozens of men from the neighborhood walked to one house and pointed out small indentations in flagstones in the outer courtyard. They said the craters had been made by shrapnel.

Looking in the house, Muhammad pointed to a pool of blood in a corner of the living room and to a family portrait on the wall. The parents and their three children were killed in the strike, he said.

"Everybody was asleep after midnight," a neighbor, Ahmed Faisal, 32, said. "The electricity went off, then the plane came after 1 a.m. It was very noisy."

Mr. Faisal emulated the sound of the plane firing, a jackhammer noise made by the cannons of an AC-130 gunship, which the Americans often deploy over Sadr City.

A senior military official said the strikes were not aimed at civilians, but there was no guarantee that civilian casualties could be avoided.

A half-dozen young men along the alley showed off gauze bandages over wounds on their arms and torsos that they said had resulted from the strike. They insisted they were not Mahdi Army fighters. But when asked whether they hoped Mr. Sadr would drive out the Americans, they said in unison, "God willing!"

Mr. Faisal said: "They're attacking people; they're capturing people. I won't stand idle."

Muhammad drove next to Imam Ali Hospital and visited several people he and the doctors said had been wounded in the airstrikes, including three women. The policemen here kissed Muhammad on the cheeks, though few other policemen were to be seen in the center of Sadr City. Posters of Mr. Sadr adorned the walls, including one of him with Hassan Nasrallah, secretary general of Hezbollah.

At another hospital, a construction worker screaming on a gurney in the emergency room said he had been wounded in an American attack. Blood streaked his face and clothes.

Muhammad drove to the site of the attack, on a wide street near an American base. A crowd had gathered several hundred feet from an incinerated pickup truck and a blockade of Humvees. When the Iraqis moved closer, American soldiers fired warning shots into the air.

## On Baghdad Streets, Loyalty To Rebel Cleric Is Still Fierce

A bystander named Hussein said a team of Mahdi fighters had lobbed mortars at the base, prompting the Americans to fire missiles back. Officials with the First Cavalry Division later said soldiers had fired a howitzer after dozens of mortar rounds had landed in the base.

Muhammad made a call on his cellphone as he drove away. "Three of the men have just been martyred," he said, his voice quavering. "I tried to evacuate them, but I couldn't."

After nightfall, Muhammad and his brothers loaded AK-47's and pistols into two cars and drove to the bachelor party, where they clapped to music and congratulated the groom. They returned home to one of the frequent three-hour blackouts. Neighbors, one of whom was a police captain, dropped in for tea.

"I supported the invasion at first, to get rid of Saddam, but when they put their flag up over the city of Basra, I knew it would turn into an occupation," the captain said, a Glock pistol tucked into his waistband.

At 1 a.m., Kassim, the militia commander, said he was going out to check on the sentries in the neighborhood. Two of the younger brothers escorted the foreign guests to the roof to sleep on thin mattresses. A full moon had risen, and sheep, satellite dishes and sleeping neighbors were visible on other roofs that spread out in every direction.

The sound of propellers from an unseen AC-130 gunship drifted from the sky above, and two fighter jets swooped through the air. Starting at 4:30 a.m., some people in the streets squeezed off rounds from their AK-47's. Those shots were met by a burst from the AC-130, after which the streets fell silent.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: A bloody handprint marked a house in Sadr City, a Baghdad slum, where neighbors said a family of five had been killed in an airstrike. (Photo by Lucian M. Read/World Picture News, for The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** October 4, 2004

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***Time to bring Iran in from cold: The west should start treating Iran like the superpower that it is - and allow it to possess nuclear weapons***

The Gazette (Montreal)  
September 18, 2005 Sunday  
Final Edition

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**Section:** INSIGHT; Pg. D8

**Length:** 1240 words

**Byline:** BRUCE ANDERSON, The Spectator

## **Body**

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From Washington to Tel Aviv, there are expressions of alarm and despondency, especially in Brussels. It looks as if European diplomacy has failed. The Iranians seem determined to press ahead with their nuclear weapons program. To judge by the newspapers, one would assume that this has come as a shock. But anyone involved with Iran policy who claims to be shocked is only pretending.

It is hard to think of a foreign-policy question on which there has been a greater divergence between the public version of events and the policy-makers' private thoughts. Over the past few months, I have discussed Iran in Washington, Paris, London and Tel Aviv. All my interlocutors were dismayed at the dangerous and destabilizing consequences of Iran becoming a nuclear power. Yet none of them could come up with a solution. They saw no harm in the Europeans trying to negotiate. But no one had any faith in the possibility of success.

Until the recent Iranian elections, some American neoconservatives thought that there were grounds for optimism. They believed that because of public alienation the regime was on the point of collapse. A couple of years ago I listened to former Pentagon adviser Richard Perle explaining why there was no point in talking to Mohammad Khatami, then Iranian president. He was like one of those now-forgotten final-phase Communist leaders in Eastern Europe, trying to persuade the West that he was a legitimate reformer when he was about to be swept into history's dustbin.

In Iran, it has not quite worked out like that. Not that Perle was alone. Hardly anyone predicted the outcome of the recent elections, and almost every commentator overestimated the strength of the Iranian liberal opposition. It appears to have been much smaller and much more Tehran-based than we had thought, or hoped.

There was a further problem. Suppose that the theocracy had imploded and been replaced by a more amenable regime. Iranian liberalism has no equivalent of Ayatollah Khomeini. In the absence of such a charismatic leader, the new, almost certainly weak, government would have been striving to consolidate its hold on public opinion. In such circumstances, is it likely that it would have abandoned the nuclear weapons program? Admittedly, one would rather that its leaders had their fingers on the nuclear trigger, instead of some mullah with a sublime faith in paradise. But Iran would still have been moving toward nuclear status.

If one spends five seconds trying to look at the world through Iranian eyes, it is easy to see why. Iranians know that they live in a dangerous neighbourhood. If the Chinese, Indians and Pakistanis have nuclear weapons, why not

Time to bring Iran in from cold: The west should start treating Iran like the superpower that it is - and allow it to possess nuclear weapons

them? They are more democratic than Pakistan, while their human-rights record is much better than China's. Then there are Russia, the United States - and Israel. As an intellectual exercise, try to find a justification which one in 100,000 Iranians might accept for Israel having nuclear weapons, but not Iran.

Iran is an ancient civilization. Its people have an exalted conception of their destiny. Like the Chinese, they complain that in recent times the rest of the world has not paid them the respect that they are due. The resulting insecurity makes them quick to take offence and to feel threatened. The nuclear degrading will encourage both reactions.

So what can the West do? Let us begin by dismissing any military fantasies. the United States could attack Iran, on one condition: If the Iranians were to behave so atrociously that 90 per cent of the American public demanded war and conscription, instantly. Short of that, the U.S. has neither the soldiers, the political will nor the geopolitical insanity for an invasion of Iran. That would mean the end of the Western Alliance, while the Middle East would go up in flames, as would Pakistan, not to mention the oil price and the world economy. Anyone who thinks that President George W. Bush would act in such a way must believe him to be the Michael Moore version, after several lobotomies.

Lesser military options are equally implausible. In 1981, the Israelis destroyed the Iraqi nuclear reactor, Osirak, and thank goodness for their chutzpah. But it was an easy target, standing out in the desert like Ozymandias's statue before its fall. There is no Osirak equivalent. We probably cannot be sure where all the vital equipment is located, and some of it will be in hardened silos which could not be destroyed by conventional weapons. A pre-emptive nuclear strike on Iran? We are back in Michael Moore-land.

That leaves sanctions. At one level, they would work, as they did in Iraq. The Iranian economy would suffer. The problem of poverty, already severe, would intensify. But would this undermine support for the mullahs? There are good reasons for skepticism. The mullahs would be able to appeal to nationalism and anti-Americanism. Their efforts would be reinforced by the Shia ethos, which encourages adherents to embrace suffering and martyrdom. Religion, national pride, xenophobia: it is a potent blend. The liberal minority would no doubt remain impervious. Would it cease to be impotent?

The mullahs would not be impotent. We would have done our worst. As sanctions sank their teeth, Iran would retaliate. More support for Hezbollah, more trouble-making in Iraq, stirring it up in some of the smaller Gulf states just across the road, hitting at Western interests wherever the opportunity presented itself; treat Iran as a pariah, and it will behave like one.

At this juncture, we should seek guidance from two of the golden rules of foreign policy. The first is to see the world as it is, not as we would wish it to be. The second, that if a course of action has no prospect of success, there is no point in persevering with it.

If we were to change tack, we would start with one advantage. Iran is not a fruitcake-ocracy like North Korea. It is a complex society. Its government's actions, though often unwelcome, are neither irrational nor unpredictable. Above all, it should be possible to talk to the Iranians. They are sophisticated. If we showed some willingness to understand their point of view, they might reciprocate by accepting that not all our disputes with them arise from black hatred.

They want to be taken seriously as a regional superpower. As they are one - with a population of almost 80 million - that should not overtax us. They seek reassurance that they are not about to be attacked: equally easy. They already have been helpful to the West over drug-smuggling through Afghanistan; they do not like drugs. We should build on that to encourage other forms of co-operation. We should also maximize trading links, on the assumption that growth would assist Iran's evolution while stagnation would retard it.

That leads to one short-term difficulty. We appear to be locked into the sanctions route. But when the Pakistanis were naughty boys over nukes, they were merely made to stand in the corner for 10 minutes. We needed them as allies, so expediency ruled. Let us be equally expedient with Iran.

Time to bring Iran in from cold: The west should start treating Iran like the superpower that it is - and allow it to possess nuclear weapons

Does this mean that in 10 years' time Iran will no longer be troublesome? That depends on what is meant by trouble; there is bound to be some. But we can be certain on one point. Within 10 years Iran will be a nuclear power. So do we want it stewing in poverty, isolation and hatred, or would we prefer it to be part of a framework of diplomacy and entente?

That question answers itself.

## Graphic

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Colour Photo: VAHID SALEMI, AP; Iranian women, one holding up the Quran, rallies in support of their country's nuclear program.

**Load-Date:** September 18, 2005

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**I'M IN THE DESERT!;**  
**RETURNING TO THE SYRIA OF HIS CHILDHOOD SUMMERS WAS TO BE A**  
**TRIP DOWN**

The Independent (London)

November 9, 2005, Wednesday

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**Section:** First Edition; FEATURES

**Length:** 1209 words

**Byline:** DOM JOLY

**Highlight:** Heat and dust: (clockwise from this page) in Apamea; Krak Des Chevaliers; and the ruins at Baalbeck and Palmyra

## **Body**

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Here's a dream scenario: someone rings you up out of the blue and asks whether you'd fancy going on a trip anywhere in the world for free. As you check the caller ID to see if it's a friend taking the piss, the person announces that you'll obviously be paid to do it. You can take a friend, oh and there'll be a camera crew coming along with you to record the trip for posterity and Sky One.

Unbelievably, it caused me some consternation. Some people might be worried about how they'd appear with a camera crew documenting their every tantrum and nose-pick. Not me. I gave up any idea of retaining dignity on TV the moment I donned my first squirrel outfit. My problem was more of a practical nature: where to go? Should I cruise the French Riviera in a Bentley? Maybe I should sail to an island in the South Seas?

I'd heard that Harry Enfield had also been offered one of these trips so I rang him up to find out what particular paradise destination he'd chosen, just so that we wouldn't clash. His unusual choice to retrace the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union forced me rethink my options. Maybe I should be doing something with a bit more worth? So I opted for a camping trip in the Axis of Evil. I grew up in the Lebanon and, at least twice a year, my family would set off on extraordinary road trips east into Syria " now prime Axis of Evil territory. My parents divorced in 1987 and I left Lebanon with my mother, never to return. Now I was going to go back and revisit my childhood haunts.

My friend Pete agreed to accompany me. He's an artist, living in the middle of Newfoundland with his wife and daughters. With temperatures at home starting to hit the minus 20s, he was over like a shot at the merest mention of some sunshine.

Three days later we were in Beirut. Beirut is an extraordinary mix of the old and the new. The old Holiday Inn still towers over the city, pock- marked with shell holes from the 1975-76 civil war. Right next to it is the fully refurbished Phoenicia Hotel where I used to go as a kid to get my hair cut. Two hundred metres down the road are the remains of the St George Hotel, a Sixties hot spot for the glitterati. It survived the civil war, but was shattered by the enormous car bomb in February that killed the ex-prime minister, Rafik Hariri.

After sampling some of the Lebanese capital's legendary nightlife, we drove out of Beirut over the Chouf mountains, through pine forests and past hillside Druze villages, just one of the myriad armed factions that have

## I'M IN THE DESERT!; RETURNING TO THE SYRIA OF HIS CHILDHOOD SUMMERS WAS TO BE A TRIP DOWN

waged war in Lebanon in the last 30 years. Our destination was the Bekaa valley, home of Hezbollah and, weirdly, the Lebanese wine industry. We got hideously drunk at a wine-tasting before moving on to Baalbeck, home of the most famous ruins in Lebanon. We wandered around the breathtaking remains of the Temples of Jupiter and Bacchus completely alone, save for one Japanese tourist who couldn't seem to stop laughing, so we assumed that he'd sampled the Bekaa valley's other main cash crop, hashish.

We didn't stay long, we were nervous about getting into Syria as the political situation was getting tense with the impending release of the Mehlis Report on the assassination of Hariri, in which it was widely assumed that the Syrians would be implicated. The border is a tricky one to cross at the best of times, let alone when accompanied by a camera crew. Fortunately for us, the Syrian Embassy in London had been more than helpful, and told us that the Ministry of Tourism had sent a man to the border to help with the formalities of getting through. As we drove into the Syrian part of the border, there he was. His name was Sham, and we nicknamed him 'Jimmy' after Jimmy Pursey, the lead singer of punk outfit Sham 69. Jimmy was indeed very helpful and we sailed through the border. We were about to say thank you and drive off when he dropped his bombshell. He was going to be accompanying us on our entire trip as a 'guide'. We thanked him for the kind offer but insisted that we didn't need one. Unfortunately, it wasn't an offer.

Jimmy and I did not hit it off. He immediately started to tell us where we'd be staying that night and what we were going to see. I tried to explain to him that I'd been to Syria many times and had a very clear idea of where we were going and where we would be staying. He had this really annoying habit of nodding in agreement and then ignoring everything that I'd just said. So started a series of weird drives where we'd try to lose him by driving incredibly fast. Then, just as we would be celebrating, he'd turn up and we never knew how he did it until we realised that the driver we'd hired for our crew vehicle was also in on the game and they were constantly calling each other on their mobiles.

Jimmy also had an annoying habit of taking what he called 'memory photos' " which must translate from the Arabic 'intelligence dossier photos'. Everywhere we went he snapped away. Say it was a restaurant " he would photograph the exterior, get a close-up of the name, get an interior and then insist that he get a photo of us at the table. We developed a sophisticated counter-espionage technique and told him that in England it was traditional to raise your glass when a photo is taken at a meal. Every night he would be forced to e-mail yet more photos of six people sitting at a table with wine glasses strategically placed in front of their faces. This became a standing joke and became even more bizarre when, at the end of the trip, Jamie, our cameraman, asked Jimmy to show him his snaps. Jimmy was not keen to do this but finally flicked through the memory card very quickly. Not so quickly that Jamie didn't spot the three snaps of several naked women in some sort of Jacuzzi. Jimmy was clearly having a better trip than we'd suspected.

Our trip continued and we clambered over the magnificent Crusader castle of Krak Des Chevaliers and wandered down the totally empty Roman boulevards of Apamea with no one but Jimmy following behind us like some love-struck puppy. It was quite extraordinary: in any other country, sites like this would be teeming with tourists and coaches and fast-food outlets.

Our final destination was Palmyra, an extraordinary ruined Roman town slap-bang in the middle of the Syrian desert. For poor Jimmy, the final straw was when we announced we were heading off into the desert proper to try to find the caves I used to explore as a kid. The plan, if we found them, was to camp there. Jimmy went nuts. We finally had the big confrontation that this sort of television requires; he even put his hand over the camera lens and told us to turn it off: documentary gold. Apparently the problem was that he had to report our whereabouts every evening to Damascus, and 'the middle of the desert' was not going to be good enough.

As a desperate bid to restrain us, Jimmy told us that it wasn't safe, that there were wolves and evil dwarves in the desert, but he could see that we were going to go anyway. We left him in Palmyra a broken man, and headed off into the middle of nowhere. All in all, it was a rather excellent adventure. And here's a tip for anyone planning subversive activity in the Axis of Evil: camp.

I'M IN THE DESERT!; RETURNING TO THE SYRIA OF HIS CHILDHOOD SUMMERS WAS TO BE A TRIP  
DOWN

Dom Joly's Excellent Adventure is on Sky One tomorrow at 9pm

**Load-Date:** November 9, 2005

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## *U.S. troops surround holy city*

LANCASTER NEW ERA (LANCASTER, PA.)

April 13, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

**Section:** A,

**Length:** 1280 words

**Byline:** LANCASTER NEW ERA

### **Body**

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By DENIS D. GRAY Associated Press Writer NAJAF, Iraq A 2,500-strong U.S. force, backed by tanks and artillery, pushed to the outskirts of the Shiite holy city of Najaf today for a showdown with a radical cleric who said he was prepared to die in his battle against the U.S.-led occupation. An American helicopter went down near Fallujah, and an insurgent said he hit it with a rocket-propelled grenade. There were no reported injuries to the crew, although a team securing the site later suffered unspecified casualties, a Marine commander said. At least 78 U.S. troops were killed and 561 were wounded in Iraq in the first 12 days of April, said Lt. Gen. Richard Cody, the deputy chief of staff for operations at the Pentagon. April is becoming the deadliest month since the Iraq war began in March 2003. Since then, at least 674 U.S. troops have died, according to the Pentagon. Gen. John Abizaid, the top commander of U.S. forces in the Middle East, said Monday he has asked Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld to adjust the U.S. troop rotation into and out of Iraq this spring so that U.S. commanders can have the use of perhaps 10,000 more soldiers than they otherwise would have. On the way to Najaf, the U.S. forces 80-vehicle convoy was ambushed Monday night by gunmen firing small arms and setting of roadside bombs north of the city. One soldier was killed and an American civilian contractor was wounded, officers in the convoy said.

#BC-IRAQ\_573.TXT#The top U.S. commander in Iraq, Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez, said their mission was to capture or kill radical Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. In an interview today with Al Manar, the Hezbollah television station in Lebanon, al-Sadr said he was not in direct negotiations with U.S. forces, and that he continued to demand the Americans withdraw from Najaf. I am only afraid of God, he said. I am ready to sacrifice myself for the Iraqi people. Units set up a cordon on approaches to the city, barring his al-Mahdi Army militiamen from leaving. Iraqi leaders launched hurried negotiations aimed at averting a U.S. assault on the city, site of the holiest Shiite site, the Imam Ali Shrine. The sons of Iraq's three grand ayatollahs including the most powerful one, Ali al-Husseini al-Sistani met al-Sadr Monday night in his Najaf office and assured him of their opposition to any U.S. strike. They agreed not to allow any hostile act against Sayyed Moqtada al-Sadr and the city of Najaf, said a person at the meeting, speaking on condition of anonymity. The delegation also was reportedly trying to work out a compromise to prevent a U.S. attack. Col. Dana J.H. Pittard, the commander of the force, said his troops were aware that a single shot in Najaf by U.S. soldiers could outrage Iraq's powerful Shiite majority. Look at this as the Shiite Vatican, Pittard said before the deployment. The grand ayatollahs older, moderate leaders with immense influence among Shiites have long kept the young, fiercely anti-American al-Sadr at arms length. The meeting reflected an eagerness to avoid bloodshed and al-Sadr's increasing influence. In a concession to American demands, al-Sadr ordered his militiamen out of police stations and government buildings in Najaf and the nearby cities of Karbala and Kufa. Police were back in their stations and on patrols, while al-Sadr black-garbed gunmen largely stayed out of sight. But the militia rebuffed a U.S. demand to disband. Earlier today, al-Sadr militiamen based in the main mosque in the nearby city of Kufa opened fire on a passing patrol of Spanish forces, prompting a short gunbattle. Overnight, a mortar was fired at the Spanish base between Kufa and Najaf, and Spanish forces repelled an attack on a nearby

## U.S. troops surround holy city

water distillation plant. Near Fallujah, a masked insurgent said he hit the U.S. helicopter with a rocket-propelled grenade, although Marine Lt. Col. Brennan Byrne said it was not known what caused the Sikorsky H-53 to go down. Troops removed those on board, and there is no indication the crew was injured, Byrne said. He was not certain how many were aboard. The team that secured the craft was ambushed by gunmen using small weapons, RPGs and mortars, and it suffered casualties, Byrne said, but he would not give details. Witnesses told The Associated Press that four U.S. soldiers were shot by insurgents at the site about 12 miles east of Fallujah in the village of Zawbaa. Another team later blew up the aircraft to prevent it from being looted, he said. While a cease-fire has kept Fallujah relatively calm for four days, the area between the besieged city and Baghdad has seen heavy clashes by insurgents and U.S. forces. An Apache helicopter was shot down Sunday in nearby Abu Ghraib, killing its two crewmembers. Before today's helicopter crash, a U.S. convoy was attacked near the same site, and two Humvees and a truck were burning, said witnesses, who also reported U.S. casualties. The U.S. military said about 70 Americans and 700 insurgents had been killed this month, the bloodiest since the fall of Baghdad a year ago with U.S.-led forces fighting on three fronts: against Sunni insurgents in Fallujah, Shiite militiamen in the south and gunmen in Baghdad and on its outskirts. More than 600 Iraqis have been killed in Fallujah since the siege began on April 5, said the head of the city hospital, Rafie al-Issawi. Most of the dead registered at hospitals and clinics were **women**, children and elderly, he said. In all, about 880 Iraqis have been killed in the violence, according to an AP count based on statements by Iraqi hospital officials, U.S. military statements and Iraqi police. Another toll from the weeks violence: more than 40 foreigners reportedly were taken hostage by insurgents, although a dozen had been released Sunday and Monday. Those still believed held included three Japanese and truck driver Thomas Hamill of Macon, Miss., whose captors had threatened to kill them. Four Italians working as private guards for DTS Security, a U.S. company, were reported missing in Iraq, the ANSA news agency quoted the Foreign Ministry as saying today. An Arab satellite TV network said the four were kidnapped by insurgents near Fallujah and showed video of them in a room surrounded by gunmen wearing Arab headscarves. Eight Ukrainian and Russian employees of a Russian energy company who were kidnaped in Baghdad were freed today, the Russian Foreign Ministry said. Seven Chinese were freed Monday after being held for a day, Chinas official news agency said. Two reportedly were injured. Two U.S. soldiers and seven employees of a U.S. contractor, including Hamill, were missing after an attack Friday on a convoy west of Baghdad, Sanchez said. The recent burst of violence has exposed weaknesses in Iraq's U.S.-trained security forces. A battalion of the Iraqi army refused to fight in Fallujah, Sanchez said. And some police defected to al-Sadr's forces, Abizaid said. In an effort to toughen the Iraqi forces, Abizaid said the U.S. military will reach out to former senior members of Saddam Hussein's disbanded army as a reversal in strategy. The military has tried to avoid relying on top officials from the ousted regime. Its ... very clear that we've got to get more senior Iraqis involved former military types involved in the security forces, he said. In the next couple of days, you'll see a large number of senior officers being appointed to key positions in the ministry of defense and the Iraqi joint staff and in Iraqi field commands."xT n Showdown centers on radical cleric. Another American copter is shot down. Top commander urges Rumsfeld to increase deployment by as many as 10,000 soldiers. DeEd

**Load-Date:** April 14, 2004



## *The good, the bag and the beautiful; FASHION*

Australian Financial Review

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First Edition

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**Byline:** David Meagher

### **Body**

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David Meagher looks at this year's It handbags and why \$150,000 won't be too much to pay for the right model.

Next year, when the French luxury goods company Hermes opens its new flagship store in Sydney - most likely to be around October - it will no doubt throw an A-list-studded party to celebrate the occasion. The real star of that soiree, however, will not be a celebrity in the traditional sense, but a highly sought after crocodile-skin Birkin bag with diamond fittings, flown in just for the opening.

While it might seem premature to talk about a handbag that won't be in the country for the better part of a year, the potential clientele for such a bag are accustomed to waiting. The waiting list for a standard Birkin bag - one without diamond-encrusted fittings - is six to nine months, depending on the availability of the skin chosen. Prices for the standard Birkin begin at \$8600 and go up to \$56,000, depending on the size of the bag and the type of skin.

The good news is that the crocodile and diamond number being flown in for the opening has not been allocated to someone on the waiting list and will be available to buy. The bad news is that it will cost in the vicinity of \$150,000, but is a bargain when you consider the waiting list for a crocodile-skin Birkin can be in years rather than months. And, according to Hermes, these bags can exceed several hundred thousand dollars, depending on the clasp/lock features.

In a fashion world where the latest must-have handbag earns the status of the It bag of the season as soon as the celebrity du jour totes one, the Hermes Birkin bag, named after the actress Jane Birkin, and the company's Kelly bag, named after the actress Grace Kelly, are the ne plus ultra of all It bags.

It bags are not just the most fashionable handbag of the season, they possess a certain type of coolness that makes them highly covetable and ensures that people will pay for the privilege of owning one. The Birkin, for example, is just as popular with Martha Stewart and society matrons as it is with young starlets such as Lindsay Lohan and with rappers' wives.

Such bags are also an increasingly necessary cash cow for luxury fashion houses. When Louis Vuitton introduced its Murakami bag - a reinvention of the brand's classic monogram print by the Japanese artist Takashi Murakami - demand was so great that the first orders never hit the shop floor: they were all presold. The Murakami bag helped Louis Vuitton's parent company, LVMH, defy the market at a tough time for retail spending. Sales of the bag reached \$US345 million, or roughly 10 per cent of the brand's revenue. The bag was so popular that a similarly styled coloured version of the monogram print remains a staple in the Louis Vuitton range.

## The good, the bag and the beautiful FASHION

If an It bag can be a hit bag and a stayer in the popularity stakes as well, then a designer has struck fashion gold. Chanel's signature quilted shoulder bag, known as the 2.55 after the date it was designed (February 1955) celebrated its 50th year of production this year. The bag has been reinterpreted over the years in such fabrics as denim and tweed and it has remained popular with fashionable women since it first appeared.

Exclusivity has a lot to do with It bag status. Such is the demand for Hermes Birkin bags, designed in 1984, that the waiting list in the United States is reportedly closed for the time being. Orders are placed only twice a year with the French factory and numbers have increased substantially in the last few years, according to Hermes Australia. To allay the impatience of some customers, Hermes tries to steer clients in the direction of less iconic bags, such as the new mini Kelly bags or the shoulder Birkins, for which orders can be more readily filled.

The Fendi Spy bag, which starts at \$2695, has a waiting list in Australia of six months. And if you wanted a Christian Dior Detective bag then you needed to be quick. Only a few of the large, structured bags made it to the Australian market and the demand for the bag - for which a crocodile version costs in excess of \$40,000 - far outweighed supply. A new, tweaked version of the Detective is in the pipeline for 2006.

The economic importance of handbags and accessories to fashion houses is relatively new. Not so long ago it was considered somewhat gauche for a designer to send models down a catwalk swinging handbags - it was a crass commercial distraction from the clothes. Look at a Paris or Milan fashion parade today and there will be as many handbags as there are outfits. In fact, for Louis Vuitton's summer collection show in 2004, the brand's designer, Marc Jacobs, sent 50 individual bags down the runway, one for each of the collection's 50 outfits.

In 2004, the chief executive of Christian Dior, Sidney Toledano, told the UK's Telegraph magazine that, "in 1994, only 3 per cent of Dior's business was in bags, shoes and leather goods. Today it is 50 per cent".

The importance of the accessories business for the bottom line may be one of the reasons that Gucci recently promoted its accessories designer, Frida Giannini, to the position of ready-to-wear designer. Giannini scored a big hit in the handbag wars last year, when she was accessories designer, with her Flora range of bags, which were based on a scarf print that was designed for Grace Kelly in 1966.

### THAT PHONEY BRAND NAME COULD COST YOU MORE THAN YOU BARGAINED FOR

Before you think about getting around the waiting list - or the price - by buying a fake It bag, think about this: US customs and Interpol last year warned consumers that counterfeit merchandise was being used to fund terrorist groups.

Ronald Noble, Interpol secretary-general, told the US House Committee on International Relations in 2003 that legal authorities were "seeing the connection in areas between terrorist financing and intellectual property crime [IPC]".

Even if you're not concerned about those connections, you should be aware that a fake bag could end up costing you a lot more than the real thing. Passing through French customs, for example, with a counterfeit bag in your possession could cost you a maximum fine of EUR300,000 (\$470,500) and up to three years in jail (or EUR500,000 and five years' jail if it is considered you are importing the goods for sale).

According to Noble's report, intellectual property crime, which includes everything from counterfeit handbags to fake DVDs, pharmaceuticals and car parts, is now dominated by criminal organisations because of the relatively low risk and comparatively high profit. Most terrorist groups, he says, do not take responsibility for the development and control of counterfeit production and distribution; rather they benefit indirectly from funds remitted to them from sympathisers and militants involved in IPC. The report specifically mentions groups such as the IRA, Hezbollah and al-Qaeda.

Intellectual property specialist Tan Loke Khoo, speaking at last year's International Herald Tribune luxury conference in Hong Kong, described the business of counterfeit goods as "flattery of the worst kind".

## The good, the bag and the beautiful FASHION

Louis Vuitton Australia chief executive Philip Corne says support from Australian customs and the federal police in helping fight this crime has increased in recent years "because they recognise where the money is going".

Louis Vuitton is one of the most knocked-off brands in the world. It has 40 full-time lawyers and 250 freelance investigators and will spend EUR15 million fighting counterfeiting this year.

## Graphic

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TWO PHOTOS: Clockwise from top: Chanel quilted shoulder bag, Hermes Kelly bag, Louis Vuitton, Hermes Birkin, and another from Louis Vuitton in centre. Clockwise from top; two Gucci Flora bags, two Fendi Spy bags and a coloured Louis Vuitton monogram bag.

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***Spreading the Word: Who's Who in the Arab Media***

The New York Times

February 6, 2005 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 5

**Length:** 1264 words

**Byline:** By HASSAN M. FATTAH

## **Body**

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HOW does the word spread?

In his State of the Union speech on Wednesday, President Bush made it clear that thanks to the Iraqi elections, the Middle East had officially changed and that democracy was on the agenda.

Well, not quite. Just as it must convey its message to American voters, the Bush administration still has to get through to the average Arab. That means communicating through the Arab news media, which has a place in the Arab living room, and which will filter and interpret the story, as it does with regional developments.

Most debate in the Arab world remains behind closed doors, but Arab satellite channels and newspapers have managed to bring some of it into the open. With a \$100 satellite setup, the average Arab citizen can now tune into at least three satellites, each carrying hundreds of channels. Most are simply official government channels that made the leap from broadcast to satellite, or entertainment channels that beam music videos and reruns of old Arab and Western shows. But a growing number are so-called independent news channels. Because they can originate anywhere, they are difficult to censor.

Ultimately, most seek to become pan-Arab in scope, though few do it well. And even the successful pan-Arab channels admit that their real focus is Saudi Arabia, the biggest and wealthiest consumer market in the region, where the advertising dollars are.

Then, of course, there's the Internet, with hundreds of Web sites offering everything from gossip to music. Most Arabs turn to the net for chatting and e-mailing, but a whole slew of news sites also seek to attract the Arab reader.

If you want to reach Arabs, here are some of the outlets you have to reach.

### Satellite Television

AL JAZEERA -- Financed in large part by the Qatar government, the controversial channel has been banned from operating in numerous Arab countries, including Saudi Arabia, of which it has been highly critical.

## Spreading the Word: Who's Who in the Arab Media

Politics is the lifeblood of this station. There is a lot of interactive programming with viewers phoning in, though the shows tend to be sensational and tend to encourage heated arguments more than thoughtful debate. Here, Western soldiers are called "occupiers" and suicide bombers "martyrs."

Al Jazeera's journalists have always fashioned themselves as defenders of Arab identity, but increasingly, the network also casts itself as a champion of Islamic values. It is planning to launch an English-language channel this year, ostensibly to reach Western audiences but more importantly to reach English-speaking Muslims in Asia and in the West.

AL ARABIYA -- The independent channel is the second-largest news satellite station in the Arab world, owned by the Middle East Broadcasting Center, one of the largest Arab media companies. The center is itself owned in large part by Prince Walid bin Talal, a Saudi billionaire.

Unsurprisingly, Al Arabiya is supportive of the Saudi government and is intended to be a less shrill competitor to Al Jazeera. Begun just weeks before the invasion of Iraq, it has higher production values and more tolerance toward the United States, referring to American troops in Iraq as part of "multinational forces."

AL ALAM -- The Iranian government sponsors this increasingly popular channel, which according to its Web site seeks to "build bridges among the Muslim world" and to offer an "answer to the Western cultural invasion" by covering Arab affairs. With news bureaus in Tehran, Beirut and Baghdad, it offers a raucous critique of the Iraq war, American policy and the Arab regimes. As rumors of an American attack on Iran grow, the station has taken an ever harder anti-American line.

AL EKHABARIYA -- Intended for a Saudi audience, this station is more a poor imitation of a local cable news outlet like Time Warner's NY1 than a pan-Arab broadcaster. It was begun early last year by the Saudi Ministry of Information as an alternative to Al Jazeera. It offers news and talk shows 24 hours a day in a dry tone that often sounds more like a lecture at a Saudi ministry.

AL HURRA -- This United States-backed news channel began broadcasting last spring, and has struggled to build a following. In many ways, Al Hurra tries to copy the format of news and talk shows on Al Arabiya and Al Jazeera. It offers high production values and Arab broadcasters dressed and coiffed like Westerners, but it is often dismissed as American propaganda.

RELIGIOUS CHANNELS -- Al Fajr, Al Anwar, Iqraa TV, Al Majd, Koran TV and Al Manar broadcast mainly out of Saudi Arabia and Lebanon and are primarily financed by governments and Islamic foundations. They focus on religious education and interpretation of the Koran, but they throw in a bit of politics. The first five are Sunni, and highly influential in places like Saudi Arabia and the Palestinian territories; Al Manar is broadcast by Hezbollah out of southern Lebanon. Most provide forums for callers to ask imams and scholars questions about marriage and family, prayer and whether American troops are legitimate targets for jihad. (Many have said yes.)

ROTANA, ZEN TV, LBC -- These highly profitable music channels are for young adults and teenagers, who make up about 60 percent of the population. These channels mix Arab popular music and Western pop and hip-hop. While mainline Arab singers like Amr Diab are featured, so is Usher, an American R.&B. singer, and so are provocatively dressed women.

### Newspapers

Like most of the world, Arabs watch television more than they read newspapers. Most papers tend to be local, with small circulations and limited advertising. Unlike satellite channels, these papers can be blocked at a government's

## Spreading the Word: Who's Who in the Arab Media

will, and often are. (To minimize problems, several pan-Arab newspapers publish out of Europe.) Still, their articles can be heavily influential.

AL SHARQ AL AWSAT -- The pan-Arab daily is one of the oldest and most influential in the region. Published by a private company, the Saudi Media Research Group, from offices in London and distributed in most Arab countries, the paper supports the Saudi government, and news on Saudi Arabia is featured prominently on the Page One. Even so, the paper maintains a measured tone; its green-tinted front page helps it stand out on newsstands.

AL HAYAT -- This decidedly Arab nationalist paper, the main rival to Al Sharq Al Awsat, is also published out of London; it is owned by Khalid bin Sultan bin Abdulaziz, a Saudi prince, and is distributed in most Arab countries. Most of its editors are Lebanese, and it is very popular in Lebanon. It is more critical of the Saudi government than its rival.

OKAZ -- Okaz is Saudi Arabia's most prominent daily. Although it is not a government-owned newspaper, the paper is largely regarded as a government mouthpiece and tends to set the daily agenda for the Saudi media.

AL AHRAM -- This Egyptian government-backed daily is regarded as the paper of record for Egypt, where it is sold. Its circulation may exceed that of all the pan-Arab papers combined. The paper has generally been supportive of democratic reforms, but wants the United States to mind its own business.

AL GHAD -- This new, independent newspaper is making waves in Jordan, taking on the established government-owned papers. Al Ghad is trying to cater to Jordan's young elite by writing about controversial issues -- like education and democratic reform -- of interest to Arab baby boomers. The paper strives for a balanced editorial page. For instance, it has published letters from the Israeli ambassador to Jordan, something other Arab newspapers are very rarely willing to do.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Today, there is greater diversity in the Arab news media. Far left, a Palestinian man reads about the Iraqi election

left, patrons at a Cairo coffee shop watch Al Arabiya's coverage. (Photo by Suhaib Salem/Reuters)

(Photo by Muhammed Muheisen/Associated Press)

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## *Mullahs on a nuclear mission*

The Australian

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**Byline:** Andrew Gilligan

### **Body**

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Iran is more of a threat than Iraq ever was, but the case for intervention is weak, argues Andrew Gilligan

LESS than a month after the US election, the White House started its campaign against Iran. George W. Bush began grumbling about rogue states in the Middle East, and London-based Iranian opposition groups received a lot of air-time with claims that Tehran was developing missiles capable of striking Europe, or US forces in Iraq.

Yet while we may be tempted to say that all the neo-cons have done is to change the "q" to an "n" in the name of the target, there are good reasons not to dismiss the latest American sabre-rattling.

This time there can be very little doubt Iran has weapons of mass destruction, chemical and probably biological, and that it wants to obtain a nuclear weapon.

In 2002, Tehran was forced to own up to enriching uranium -- an important prerequisite for the development of a nuke, at a secret plant named Nantaz. Not incontrovertible proof of anything; indeed, the Iranians said it was for civil use.

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But Iran has the Middle East's third-largest oil and gas reserves, and does not need nuclear electricity. Why, also, was Nantaz kept secret, in defiance of Iran's international treaty obligations, if its purpose was entirely peaceful?

Since that dramatic discovery, the UN's International Atomic Energy Agency has had several other unpleasant surprises in the Islamic Republic. Inspectors have been repeatedly misled, other secret facilities have not been declared, promises and undertakings have been broken, and the history of the past two years has been of constant Iranian brinkmanship.

Even as the Iranians agreed to suspend enrichment last month under the threat of referral to the UN Security Council, they insisted it would only be temporary.

An obscure substance, polonium 210, may become familiar to us in the next few months. Polonium 210 is an unstable element whose only real use is as an initiator for a nuclear weapon. The UN has discovered that it has been produced in Iran. (Tehran says it is for nuclear batteries to be used in the country's space program, which is not yet operational.)

## Mullahs on a nuclear mission

Buoyed by high oil revenues, Iran's nuclear program has seldom been so flush. The Israelis say Iran could have the bomb within a year. It is unlikely to be that early, but most experts agree that if the program continues, the mullahs will be nuclear within five years.

Politically, the picture is equally bleak. Iran is no Saddam-style tyranny, but the reform movement that gave such hope of a rapprochement with the West in the 1990s is at a desperately low ebb.

The reformist Mohammad Khatami remains Prime Minister, but has lost his struggle with the religious conservatives.

In this year's parliamentary elections, the hardliners had a quarter of the candidates -- and 87 of the sitting MPs -- disqualified for being too progressive. They have now embarked on what some call a modified China model. Petty social restrictions on things such as women's dress have been eased, to reduce pressure for change, but political repression remains as strong as ever.

Iran continues to sponsor terrorism, although not against the West. It was an Iranian-made arsenal that was found on the Karine A, the ship caught by Israel on a smuggling run, allegedly to the Palestinian Authority, possibly to Hezbollah. The arms had been loaded at an Iranian port.

Yet should all this mean that Iran is just Iraq with one letter changed? Absolutely not.

Except in the minds of the most hysterical hawks, a capability does not constitute a threat. A threat arises when there is capability plus intention. And there is no evidence that Iran has the intention to attack the West. Tehran's relative flaunting of its nuclear ambitions may even, in one sense, be reassuring: it suggests that the bomb is regarded as a deterrent, or perhaps even a bargaining chip, rather than as an offensive weapon.

Western officials accept there are no easy options for dealing with Iran. With or without a nuclear bomb, a full-scale Iraq-style invasion is impossible. Iran is twice the size, more mountainous, far better armed and with a government, however unpopular, that enjoys far greater legitimacy among its own people than Saddam's ever did.

Clandestine efforts to change the nature of the regime also seem unlikely to work. If Iran's reform movement could not manage it from within, the US is most unlikely to manage it from outside.

A bombing raid -- perhaps by Israel -- on Iran's nuclear facilities, before they are ready to produce a weapon, might sound like the easy option. It would be the least bad if negotiations fail, and we are determined that we cannot live with a nuclear Iran.

But if one weapons facility can be kept secret, so can others. Bombing could never hope to guarantee that all the nuclear sites had been destroyed and the entire program stopped. And it would risk killing all possible hope of reform and turning Iran into a genuine outlaw state, something it is not quite at the moment.

Washington-based Middle East analyst Ken Pollack says Iran's status as a fully-fledged US hate object is partly the result of an accident. Since the embassy hostage-taking in 1979, relations have not been warm, but there have been several attempts at rapprochement since.

And, by Pollack's account, Iran only ended up in Bush's "axis of evil" speech as little more than padding. Bush's speechwriters had come up with this great line, and needed a third country to make up an axis, he quotes one administration official as telling him.

Unlike Saddam, the Iranians do not have a recent history of grossly aggressive, reckless behaviour. They have never invaded another country or launched WMD against their own people. Despite ample capabilities, they have not been implicated in an act of terrorism against the West since 1996. Their decision to stop the practice back then, in response to a serious US warning, shows a most un-Saddam-like capacity to learn from their mistakes. The mullahs know that any attempt to pass WMD technology to terrorist groups would result in their annihilation.



## Mullahs on a nuclear mission

In an episode that deserves to be better known, Tehran even gave substantial support to the Afghanistan phase of Bush's war on terror. There was genuine sympathy, and spontaneous candlelit vigils, in the days after September 11, perhaps the only such demonstrations in the entire Muslim Middle East.

US transport aircraft were allowed to refuel at airfields inside Iran during the war against the Taliban, and Tehran weighed in to persuade the Northern Alliance the US was serious about overthrowing Mullah Omar's regime.

It is in Iraq where Iran has been most important. Tehran's conduct there has not been perfect. But it has ordered its various Iraqi proxies not to obstruct the reconstruction process. Iran, with its substantial influence with Iraqi Shias, can make the US occupation untenable if it chooses. It can massively boost the killing power of Iraq's Shia insurgents. It has not done so. This, as much as any other reason, is why, whatever the rhetoric, the US will have to be cautious about taking on the Iranians.

In discussions with journalists and British officials over the past six months, Iran has discreetly made it clear that if it should be attacked, it has the power to turn the mess in Iraq into a Lebanon-in-the-1980s-style calamity, and send a lot more coalition soldiers back home in boxes.

That is the main reason why the present policy of negotiation, coupled with threats from each side to make life difficult for the other, will probably continue for some time -- however tough the rhetoric from Washington.

Andrew Gilligan is diplomatic and defence editor of The Spectator

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## *Taking notes on terror*

National Post (f/k/a The Financial Post) (Canada)

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National Edition

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**Byline:** Michael Burrows, National Post

### **Body**

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While working in an intelligence liaison capacity in the late-1990s sometime after al-Qaeda blew up the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es-Salaam and before the realized nightmare of 9/11, I attended a course entitled "Understanding Islamic Fundamentalist Terror." The course wasn't for domestic consumption, but for a group of well-scrubbed male and female FBI agents who had flown in from various field offices scattered throughout the United States. It was the first course of its kind designed to familiarize representatives of a foreign intelligence body with the threat of Islamic terror. The course was the visionary brainchild of Israel's domestic security service, the Israel Security Agency (ISA) -- better known as "Shabach," the Hebrew acronym for Sherut Bitachon Clalli or General Security Service.

Co-operation between nations, it was argued, was necessary to combat the ever increasing threat of Islamic fundamentalist terror, and it has become the general consensus of all enlightened and democratic nations that no one intelligence service can defeat terrorism alone and unaided.

The reason I was attending this particular seminar was to simultaneously translate a lecture that was to be presented by a former member of a terror cell of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), whom I'll refer to as "Ahmad." Ahmad was not a prisoner, but a man who had decided that he had experienced enough of the dark side and could not in good conscience remain there.

Not much is written about PIJ. It lacks the well-oiled PR and media-savvy capability of most Palestinian organizations. Unlike HAMAS and the other Palestinian terror groups -- both secular and otherwise -- PIJ is very unambiguous about its stated aim, which is the creation of an Islamic Palestinian state and the destruction of Israel through attacks against Israeli military and civilian targets inside Israel and the Palestinian territories. Also unlike HAMAS, PIJ has no social or political role in the PA. Politics have no meaning to the followers of an Islamic nihilist ideology. PIJ is a small outfit based in Damascus and its financial backing comes from both Syria and Iran. It also maintains offices in Beirut, Tehran and Khartoum. PIJ is the pit-bull terrier of hard-core Islamic terror.

When Ahmad was ushered into the room, he was met with silence and even a little apprehension. He is a bull of a man and had a very imposing and palpable physical presence. I am not the easily intimidated type, but Ahmad was, simply stated, scary. Even these veteran FBI agents -- used to dealing with hard-core mobsters and their own home-grown Islamic terrorists -- were somewhat awestruck.

## Taking notes on terror

For about an hour I sat shoulder-to-shoulder facing the crowded room with a man who under other circumstances would see me blown to bits or beheaded in front of a cheap camcorder without a second thought. I wanted to do justice to Ahmad's lecture and translated his words as if they were my own. I found myself not only describing the selection, training and preparation of a suicide bomber, but also described in his words (but my own voice) how PIJ terrorists view us through their eyes. It was a terrible insight that I will never forget and a lesson to those who seek to offer a moral relativity to the actions of suicide terrorists.

For the record, PIJ mostly recruits from the university crowd and its followers are, for the most part, the educated product of the middle-class. A terrorist must possess more grey matter than desperation in his arsenal if he wants to be truly successful.

Ahmad avoided speaking in the first person and related how a young and impressionable Palestinian already subsisting on a diet of incitement, bigotry and violent rhetoric was easy prey for PIJ's talent-spotters. He conveyed all the aspects of life as a committed Islamist; from married life to how compartmentalized terrorist cells operate and select their targets. Attacks are directed by the leadership from the relative safety of their headquarters in Damascus, and the target is left to the discretion of the field commander. Cell commanders are often berated by the external leadership for not being "active" enough or conducting spectacular enough attacks. This is really a tribute to the diligent efforts of the ISA.

Ahmad spoke about how PIJ perfected the art of conducting double suicide attacks whereby the first suicide bomber approaches the target and detonates himself, and in the ensuing mayhem, the second detonates near the able-bodied and first-responders trying to attend to the maimed and wounded. Such an attack occurred on Jan. 22, 1995, when two consecutive bombs exploded at the Beit Lid junction near Netanya, killing 19 Israelis and wounding 69 others. In March of 1996, PIJ suicide bombers attacked the Dizengoff shopping mall during the Purim holiday when it was crowded with costume-attired children. In that attack, some 20 people were killed and over 75 injured. PIJ, Ahmad explained was, "hard-core."

Ahmad did not offer a view that followers of political correctness and multiculturalism-at-all-costs would consider consistent with their take on the roots of Islamic extremist terrorism. He declared unapologetically, "In our view, non-Muslims are insects, and it is quite within our rights as Muslims to rape, steal from, punish and kill non-Muslims as we deem fit." He described an insular existence that was motivated by a religious ideology so intolerant of anything not of itself, that no crime was too great in removing it from their vision of the world. The odd thing was, when he explained it, all you could understand on a certain level was how it all made sense.

PIJ's take on the world offered an exculpability greater than anything Noam Chomsky or his acolytes could dream up. Ahmad explained that they didn't need our ideological arguments to justify their Jihad. They are uninterested in our perceived culpability for their "plight" as many would have you otherwise believe. We are weak, meaningless targets for elimination regardless of how port or starboard we perceive ourselves to be on the political spectrum. To be a true PIJ (or HAMAS terrorist for that matter), you must first embrace the culture of non-Muslim xenophobia.

After the lecture there was a Q & A session, but it was short and desultory. Not because Ahmad's lecture failed to resonate, but due to the shock of the listeners. It was not the kind of thing you just walk away from unaffected. I had been given a unique opportunity that I shall never forget. I believe the same was true for the FBI agents who attended the course. I'm sure this experience influenced the thinking at the National Security Division of the FBI, the body tasked with combatting terrorism, and I credit them with recognizing early on the threat of Islamic terror and sincerely trying to combat it within the inadequate protocols and legislation that were in place prior to 9/11. I worked on several occasions with Ken Williams, the author of the now-famous memo written in July of 2001 that theorized followers of Osama Bin Laden were trying to infiltrate the U.S. civil aviation system. I believe that he was indicative of the quality of personnel at the FBI's field offices. Sadly, FBI headquarters was too many steps behind their field personnel.

Ahmad's lecture taught us that terrorism cannot be eradicated by hugs and goodwill or even explained by this grievance or that. It doesn't know, nor want to know, what steps we can offer to help their so-called plight. While it

## Taking notes on terror

can be argued that the West has made many foreign policy blunders, placing the blame for radical extremist terrorism solely and squarely on our shoulders is an exercise in self-delusion.

So many years later, I can't help but reach the conclusion that while the content of Ahmad's lecture was important for us in the counterterrorism business, the most relevant consumer was really the world's Muslim communities. How long will they tolerate PIJ, HAMAS, Hezbollah, al-Qaeda et al. being the spokespersons for their religion? I have an idea how Ahmad would answer the question and, in a way, by having the courage to turn his back on violent thought and deed, he already has.

## Graphic

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Graphic/Diagram: Gary Clement; Charicature of a terrorist giving a lecture.

**Load-Date:** September 1, 2005

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## **CHECHEN BUTCHER TARGETS BRITAIN**

Sunday Express

September 5, 2004

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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. 4 5

**Length:** 1402 words

**Byline:** EXCLUSIVE By Tim Shipman and Yvonne Ridley

### **Body**

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THE Chechen warlord behind the Russian school bloodbath plotted to kill Tony Blair - and is planning new atrocities on British soil.

Security sources have told the Sunday Express how Chechen fanatics, led by Shamil Basayev, targeted the Prime Minister for assassination during the Queen's Golden Jubilee in 2002 - a plot that could also have killed the Queen, Prince Charles and his sons William and Harry.

Now counter-terrorism chiefs have identified an international school in London as a "source for concern".

It is a likely target because of the number of wealthy Russian students who study there. The security chiefs also believe that the savage slaughter at Beslan - during which young girls were raped by their captors - is evidence that Basayev is now out of control and is a major threat to soft targets in the UK.

The "credible" threat to Mr Blair led to a massive increase in security before the royal celebrations in June 2002.

There were even reports that the Prime Minister was close to pulling out of events, which were attended by one million well-wishers.

The Chechen link has been secret until now. A successful bomb attack could have left hundreds dead.

One security source said: "The Chechens are the special forces of the terrorist world. They are a right bunch of bastards."

Details of the Chechens' determination to spread their conflict overseas came as Russian President Vladimir Putin paid his respects at the scene of the disaster, where the death toll has soared to 323.

In a televised address he vowed to continue the "all-out war" against the rebels.

Security sources are keen to dispel the idea that Basayev's suicide bomb army are simple freedom fighters.

They see Basayev as doubly dangerous because of his group's links with Islamist terrorists in Al Qaeda and the fanaticism of his nationalist cause.

A Chechen who has fought alongside the warlord told the Sunday Express:

"Basayev is a killing machine. Nothing more, nothing less.

## CHECHEN BUTCHER TARGETS BRITAIN

"He once said it was his ambition to form an Islamic state but what really makes him tick is a desire to kill the Russians at every opportunity."

A British counterterrorism officer said: "If this war spills into Europe then we have serious problems - because this is a totally different threat to the one Al Qaeda poses."

"Basayev seems to be out of control, judging from the siege, where boundaries were crossed. Even the most hardcore terrorists would balk at them."

He deliberately targeted children, and that is unforgivable.

"We are now trying to identify possible sites in Britain that he might target."

Obviously anything with Russian links will attract our attention and we have already identified one school which could be vulnerable if Basayev exports his terror."

Evidence that Chechen fanatics were planning to target Tony Blair was passed to MI6 in early 2002.

That led to cooperation with the former Soviet KGB secret police to hunt down terrorists in Chechnya.

British anti-terrorism experts also attended the scene of a previous Chechen massacre at a Moscow theatre in October 2002.

A security source with access to counter-terrorist intelligence, said:

"There has been a distinct and well articulated threat against the UK in Chechnya."

"There was at least one report I saw of a Chechen plot to target Blair on Jubilee day. There was certainly a scare. The details were sketchy, but they knew that would be a good time to do something. These are not just people dreaming of a homeland, they are key global terrorist figures."

"British forces in the Gulf during the initial phase of the fighting were finding Chechen bodies among the fanatics fighting alongside Saddam Hussein's troops. A number of the foreign fighters confronting our troops in Basra have turned out to be Chechens."

British security chiefs are also preparing a new warning for airport security chiefs that will highlight the potential danger posed by **female** suicide bombers who use Muslim dress to avoid detection. This follows the double blasts on Russian airliners by Chechen black widow terrorists last week.

The security source said: "This is not a new idea but it is worth remembering to be vigilant. It is a very sensitive area."

But failure to perform the necessary checks has probably led to disaster in this case, with terrorists able to use the burkha to smuggle explosives on to a plane."

The source said that Chechens were some of the last dedicated fighters to leave the Al Qaeda stronghold of Tora Bora during the war in Afghanistan.

Israeli intelligence sources have said that Basayev's rebels received funding from both Iran and Saudi Arabia.

Yossef Bodansky, director of the US Congress's Task Force on Terrorism and Unconventional Warfare, said: "Most of the Chechens were sent to **Hezbollah** bases in Lebanon, where they absorbed local tactics while sharing their expertise in anti-aircraft attacks, urban guerrilla tactics and the use of sophisticated explosives."

"Chechen mujahideen and Arab veterans of the war in Chechnya started assuming prominent roles in the fighting against Israel."

## CHECHEN BUTCHER TARGETS BRITAIN

Others were put under the personal command of Mohammed Abu Zubaidah, the number three commander in Al Qaeda, who also has links with Imad Mughniyah, the Iranian-backed terrorist on the FBI's most wanted list.

Intelligence analysts now say that less money is finding its way to Chechnya from the global Islamic terror movement, but that Islam has never been so important to the Chechen guerrillas.

Alexei Malashenko, a specialist on Islam at Moscow's Carnegie Centre, said: "Chechnya used to be on the periphery of the Islamic world. That's no longer true.

"Here's the paradox - they receive less money, they get less help, there are fewer Arabs, but the feeling that they are Muslims is stronger."

Speaking from his base near Moscow, a Chechen fighter who knows Basayev said: "Since 9/11 the flow of foreign cash and foreign fighters into Chechnya has virtually ceased. It's true they did have a great influence over the last five years, from the military point and Islamic perspective.

"Some of the Chechens have become more Islamic in their fight to gain independence and have put aside the secular approach." It is these changing attitudes that are seen as the biggest threat to Britain.

The new sense of Islamic solidarity has filled the ranks of fighters with men from other southern Russian republics.

Of the estimated 1,500-2,000 diehard rebels in the mountains of southern Chechnya, more than half are from neighbouring Dagestan.

There are also fighters from the Russian republics of KabardinoBalkaria and KarachayevoCherkessiya, as well as from the Central Asian nation of Tajikistan.

Basayev, known for his hands-on approach, is not thought to have been near the school in Beslan.

One of his most trusted field commanders, Magomet Yevloyev, who operated under the call-sign "Magas", is believed to have led the attack. Last night it was not known if Magas was among the dead or captured, or had escaped with a handful of others.

Basayev rose to prominence when Russian forces invaded Chechnya at the end of 1994.

Two experiences marked him during the war and made him the most hardened and cut-throat of all of the Chechen fighters.

Russian planes bombed his home village of Vedeno, killing 11 members of his family.

And in June 1995 he won notoriety round the world for leading what should have been a suicidal mission on Russian territory.

With 200 Chechen fighters he drove north and ended up taking thousands of hostages in the town of Budyonnovsk. After a failed Russian assault on the hospital where the hostages were held, Basayev used his audacious nature and charm to negotiate a safe passage back to Chechnya. Last night Ahmed Zakayev, the Chechen leader once ordered out of Britain - and then sheltered by actress Vanessa Redgrave before he was granted political asylum to stay - condemned Basayev but warned about Russia's role.

Calling the school attack "appalling", he said: "No way could anyone justify such a monstrous act, as was the response of the Russian special forces who made it impossible to try to negotiate the release of the children without bloodshed.

"Basayev is a terrorist who gives Putin the oxygen he needs to demonise Chechnya."

An indication of how jittery American officials have become was shown last night when three terminals at Los Angeles airport were shut down after a torch exploded at a security station.

## CHECHEN BUTCHER TARGETS BRITAIN

**Load-Date:** September 7, 2004

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## *What Set Loose the Voice of the People*

The New York Times

March 27, 2005 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 1; The World: Baghdad and Beirut

**Length:** 1314 words

**Byline:** By DEXTER FILKINS

**Dateline:** BEIRUT, Lebanon

### **Body**

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IN memory, the two scenes are linked by their silence. Last week in downtown Beirut, Lebanese by the hundreds filed past the tomb of Rafik Hariri, the fallen national leader, each pausing to offer some unspoken tribute. The only audible sound was a murmured prayer for the dead.

In Baghdad two months before, Iraqis in similar numbers had waited in line outside a high school to cast their ballots. Mortar shells were exploding in the distance, yet hardly anyone uttered a sound.

Amid such overwhelming displays of popular will, it seemed that words were hardly necessary.

Only weeks apart and a few hundred miles away, the popular demonstrations in Lebanon and Iraq offer themselves up for such comparisons. Their proximity suggests a connection, possibly one of cause and effect, like the revolutions that swept Eastern Europe in 1989. As went Berlin, Prague and Bucharest; so goes Baghdad, Beirut and Cairo.

President Bush has asserted as much, arguing that the toppling of Saddam Hussein and the holding of elections in Iraq set loose the democratic idea and sent the tyrannies reeling. From a distance, Lebanon looks like a domino.

Up close, though, it seems like something far more complex. For a correspondent who has spent much of the past two years inside Iraq, arriving in the seaside capital of Beirut is a bracing and abrupt experience. For all the glories of election day, Iraq is still a grim and deadly place, where the traumas of the past 30 years are imprinted in the permanent frowns of ordinary Iraqis. Lebanon, by contrast, seems Iraq's sunny, breezy cousin, where young men arrive at demonstrations wearing blazers and hair gel, and the women high heels and navel rings. When the protest is finished, they drive off together in their BMW's.

How could Iraq have inspired this?

Chibli Mallat, a Beirut lawyer and opposition leader, has an answer. He believes that for years, Iraq stood as both a positive and malevolent symbol to others in the Middle East. Saddam Hussein's survival following the Persian Gulf war in 1991, Mr. Mallat said, froze the status quo in the region for more than a decade. The Iraqi dictator's prolific human rights abuses had the perverse effect of making every other unelected leader in the Middle East look tame by comparison. The result, he said, was political stasis.

## What Set Loose the Voice of the People

"Saddam's survival created an atmosphere where people literally got away with murder," Mr. Mallat said. "His removal became a precondition for change in the region."

When the Americans finally returned to topple Mr. Hussein two years ago, and, more important, when millions of Iraqis risked their lives to cast ballots in January, the country emerged as a symbol for change across the region.

"Suddenly, there was a demand for democracy," Mr. Mallat said.

MR. MALLAT'S view, compelling though it is, is a minority one in Lebanon. Most Lebanese will tell you that Iraq had nothing to do with the popular upheaval now gripping the country, and not just because they opposed the American invasion of their Arab neighbor. Unlike Iraq, Lebanon has been a functioning democracy since 1990, when the civil war, which killed 100,000 people, finally came to an end. Lebanon's press is vibrant, with newspapers and television stations largely free to criticize the government in Arabic, English and French. While Iraq still requires billions of dollars to repair its crumbling public works, Lebanon, thanks in no small way to Mr. Hariri's efforts, has largely rebuilt itself.

Indeed, it is no accident that the main slogan of the Lebanese opposition is not "Democracy," but "Sovereignty, Independence and Freedom." The goal is to expel Syrian forces, who have been in Lebanon for 30 years.

At least to an outsider, the main difference between Iraq and Lebanon seems not just Iraq's inexperience with democracy, but its all too dreadful experience with terror. In Iraq, political discourse often seems stunted, if less by a lack of practice than by the lingering shadow of Mr. Hussein. In Lebanon, with some exceptions -- like the subject of Syria and its Lebanese client, President Emile Lahoud -- most citizens are well accustomed to speaking their minds. In the last few weeks, most of the remaining taboos have fallen away.

"We want the truth," said Naila Shukry, a biology student at Arab University in Beirut. "Someone has murdered our leader, and we want to know who is responsible."

The more extensive experience with democracy has allowed the Lebanese to develop a discourse that seems far more nuanced and sophisticated than the one practiced by their counterparts in Iraq, where people are still testing the rudiments of debate. In Iraq, elections began the democratic process; here, it has already been many years in the making.

When Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, the leader of the militant Hezbollah organization, addressed a rally of his supporters in downtown Beirut earlier this month, he stood in front of a Lebanese flag rather than the group's trademark banner, green and yellow with a fist and a Kalashnikov rifle. The change, seen on television, prompted a good deal of chatter in Lebanon's political classes about Mr. Nasrallah's intentions. Whatever he meant, such a political moment is inconceivable in Iraq today.

"Here we already have a democracy," said Mustafa Salha, a 40-year-old worker in a plastic factory who had come to visit Mr. Hariri's tomb. "Iraq didn't have anything to do with that."

Indeed, the goal of those taking to the streets in Lebanon has not so much been the beginning of democracy, but rather a better democracy than what they already have. The way to get that, most Lebanese seem to agree, is to expel the Syrian forces and by so doing end that country's overweening influence here. The Lebanese have tolerated that presence for years, buying into the notion that the Syrians brought them stability in exchange for their putting up with Syrian power to veto most important political decisions.

As their democracy matured, more and more Lebanese came to regard the Syrian presence as a rotten bargain. Last September, when the Syrian government engineered the extension of Mr. Lahoud's term, the discontent became acute.

Enter the government of the United States. In an echo of the ambivalence many Iraqis feel about the American presence in their country, many Lebanese are skeptical of American intentions. Not least among their reasons is what they regard as the acquiescence of the United States to the continuation of Syria's military presence here in 1990, in exchange for Syria's joining the coalition that was then being built to oust Mr. Hussein from Kuwait.

## What Set Loose the Voice of the People

"The Syrians had a mandate from the United States" to keep their troops in Lebanon, said a former Lebanese minister who spoke on the condition of anonymity.

For many Lebanese, what made significant change possible in Lebanon was not the elections in Iraq, but the events of Sept. 11, 2001, which prompted the Bush administration to re-examine its reluctance to challenge the Syrian regime, as well as other Arab dictatorships that had backed terrorist groups. When the Lebanese began calling for a Syrian withdrawal, the Syrian government had to defy not just the Lebanese people, but the United States as well.

For that reason, more than a few Lebanese believe, President Bush's demands are proving decisive in driving the Syrians out. "This enthusiasm for democracy may not happen again," said Khalil Karam, professor of international relations at University of St. Joseph here, speaking of American foreign policy. "Without it, we could not stop Syria."

Back at Mr. Hariri's tomb, Mr. Salha, the factory worker, offered his own grudging invitation, if only to ensure that his homeland finally frees itself of Syrian domination.

"We are not against Bush," Mr. Salha said. "If he wants to make us safe and free, that's great. Let him do it."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: In Beirut, a protester wears a message for Syria. (Photo by Kevin Frayer/Associated Press)(pg. 1)

Democracy is not new to Lebanon, but challenging Syria's presence is. A huge rally called for the truth about the assassination of the former prime minister, Rafik Hariri, which many attribute to Syria. (Photo by Lynsey Addario for The New York Times)(pg. 5)

**Load-Date:** March 27, 2005

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## *Iraq takes key step to self-rule*

Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

July 14, 2003, Monday

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**Section:** WORLD; Pg. 01

**Length:** 1376 words

**Byline:** By Scott Peterson Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline:** BAGHDAD AND NAJAF, IRAQ

**Highlight:** Sunday a new Iraqi governing council held its inaugural meeting in Baghdad.

### **Body**

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After more than three months of American and British occupation, Iraqis Sunday began taking their first steps at self-rule, through a US-approved "governing council" meant to serve as the seed of democracy in Iraq.

Despite widespread Iraqi concerns that the council would be limited to an advisory, rubber-stamp role for continued American rule, the 25 members - including leaders of seven main former opposition groups - Sunday made clear that they expect to exercise executive authority, as promised by L. Paul Bremer, the US administrator of Iraq.

"Legitimacy" was a word on the lips of many delegates, aware that Iraq's US-backed political process will stand or fall on whether it is perceived as "made in Iraq."

With as many as two dozen attacks against US forces each day, and the daily dimming of Iraqi expectations for the post-Saddam era, US and Iraqi players alike say the new council is a needed step.

The fact that key senior Shiite Muslim leaders nodded their acceptance at the eleventh hour - if only to speed the end of US occupation - is likely to help ease popular fears that the new body is packed with American puppets.

Delegates insisted in a joint statement, read by prominent Shiite cleric Mohamed Bahr al-Uloum, that the council is "an expression of the Iraqi national will," while acknowledging that their "responsibilities cannot be underestimated."

"There are defining moments in history, and today, for Iraq, is definitely one of them," the UN chief in Iraq, Sergio Vieira de Mello, told the council. "Freedom, dignity and security must from now on be taken for granted by all Iraqis."

Shiites, who make up more than 60 percent of the population, hold more than half of the new council seats. The senior clerics' decision to participate points to a calculation that they can better achieve their ends by engaging in the political process than by fighting it from outside.

"This is the best way for the Americans to leave Iraq," said the black-turbaned Ayatollah Mohammed Bakr al-Hakim, the head of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI), in an interview in the southern holy city of Najaf. "If it fails, it will be a very serious problem."

## Iraq takes key step to self-rule

Keeping Shiite leaders "under the tent" has been a primary aim of the US-led Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA), as it aims toward eventual creation of a new sovereign, democratic Iraqi government.

Already, this governing council has the power to appoint and dismiss interim ministers, draft the budget, and orchestrate the creation of a new constitution. It will also help deflect blame from US occupiers, officials say, for continued lack of steady electricity, water and law and order. It will also emphasize, by creating an Iraqi face of government, that sabotage and attacks against coalition forces are attacks on Iraqis themselves.

"This is all about the Iraqis taking control," says CPA spokesman Charles Heatly. "They have a very significant role to play."

While the CPA retains final authority in Iraq, Bremer has made clear that he hopes to intervene rarely. Architects of the process suggest a system that resembles a constitutional monarchy, in which the sovereign simply signs off on decisions.

Still, some clerics are calling for an immediate expulsion of US troops from Iraq, and in Friday prayers derided US efforts.

"The Americans will not establish a just government," young cleric Muqtada al-Sadr said in a brief interview, following Friday prayers for thousands of faithful at the Kufa mosque, near the holy city of Najaf. Mr. al-Sadr is the son of Mohammed Sadiq al-Sadr, one of Iraq's most prominent Shiite clerics, who was killed by Baathists in 1999.

John Sawers, the senior British representative in Iraq, said Sunday that al-Sadr's group is not widely supported. "This is not a perfect process," says Mr. Sawers. "The politics of this country have been completely destroyed by Saddam Hussein. It's going to take time for new parties to form, for political leaders to connect with the Iraqi people.

"Every member of this council believes that together, this council is fully representative of the Iraqi people," adds Sawers.

Among those believers is Ayatollah Hakkim's brother, Abdulaziz al-Hakkim, who sits on the council. Hakkim also has the support of Grand Ayatollah Ali Sistani, Iraq's preeminent religious leader. In his own Friday sermon, Hakkim put an end to speculation about the Shiite view of the council, saying that it should play a "big role," but must also "have an Iraqi identity and be an Iraqi reality."

"The patience of people is coming to an end, and if that happens, we'll face an explosion," the ayatollah told his followers in Najaf. It is "not correct" for the council to simply advise occupation forces, and "if Iraqis see the council does not represent them, they have a right to resist and reject it."

The council, which includes three women, list reads like a Who's Who of the Iraqi opposition. Longtime Kurdish opponents of the regime, Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani have seats, along with veterans in opposition politics Iyad Alawi, of the Iraqi National Accord, and Ahmed Chalabi, head of the Iraqi National Congress and a Pentagon favorite. Former foreign minister Adnan Pachachi has a seat, along with head of the maternity hospital in Diwaniya, Dr. Raja Habib al-Khuzai.

Not one Iraqi who was asked to join the council refused. Grassroots "name your leader" consultations with hundreds of educated Iraqis, held under the provisional authority's auspices, at times turned up matching nominees - some of whom now sit on the council.

Widely popular was Judge Dara Noor Alzin, a member of the court of appeal who declared Saddam Hussein's land confiscation edict unconstitutional, and served eight months in prison before being released in a general amnesty last October.

Perhaps one surprise is the prominent role played by exiles. From the platform Sunday, Mr. Chalabi thanked President Bush and the US congress for "helping us liberate ourselves from the Saddam regime." The comment sparked an outburst by two Iraqis in the audience, who chanted "Long live Bush!" in Arabic. That view is not so

## Iraq takes key step to self-rule

widespread on the streets of Iraq, where many Iraqis have yet to see any positive improvement in their lives except the freedom of speech - since the fall of the regime.

The council represents a victory for exile groups, which only a month ago seemed to have been marginalized in the process. More than half the delegates were exiles once, a fact that raises questions among Iraqis about how out of touch they may be with Iraqi problems.

INC spokesman Intifad Qanbar notes, however, that "this was a totalitarian state in which there was no political activity, and people were executed for saying their views. So it is very natural to have people working abroad, in exile, to promote the cause of their country," he says.

The new council's first act was to declare April 9 a holiday marking the downfall of Saddam Hussein.

## Iraq's Governing Council

Ahmed Chalabi, founder of Iraqi National Congress, Shiite

Abdelaziz al-Hakim, a leader of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution, Shiite

Ibrahim al-Jaafari, Dawa Islamic Party, Shiite

Nasir al-Chadirsch, National Democratic Party, Sunni

Jalal Talabani, Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, Sunni Kurd

Massoud Barzani, Kurdistan Democratic Party, Sunni Kurd

Iyad Alawi, leader of the Iraqi National Accord, Shiite

Ahmed al-Barak, human rights activist, Shiite

Adnan Pachachi, former foreign minister, Sunni

Aquila al-Hashimi, **female**, foreign affairs expert, Shiite

Raja Habib al-Khuzai, **female**, maternity hospital director in south, Shiite

Hamid Majid Moussa, Communist Party, Shiite

Mohammed Bahr al-Uloum, cleric from Najaf, Shiite

Ghazi Mashal Ajil al-Yawer, northern tribal chief, Sunni

Mohsen Abdel Hamid, Iraqi Islamic Party, Sunni

Samir Shakir Mahmoud, Sunni

Mahmoud Othman, Sunni Kurd

Salaheddine Bahaaeddin, Kurdistan Islamic Union, Sunni Kurd

Younadem Kana, Assyrian Christian

Mouwafak al-Rabii, Shiite

Dara Noor Alzin, judge

Sondul Chapouk, **female**, Turkoman

## Iraq takes key step to self-rule

Wael Abdul Latif, Basra governor, Shiite

Abdel-Karim Mahoud al-Mohammedawi, member of Iraqi political party **Hezbollah**, Shiite

Abdel-Zahraa Othman Mohammed, Dawa Party, Shiite

- Associated Press

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**Load-Date:** July 13, 2003

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## *Abraham's children chat*

The Toronto Star  
October 18, 2003 Saturday  
Ontario Edition

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**Section:** RELIGION; Pg. L16

**Length:** 1294 words

**Highlight:** Over bagels and samosas, the Canadian Association of Jews and Muslims seeks common ground The group strives to improve relations between these two religious groups in Toronto, by Ron Csillag

### **Body**

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Amicable small talk. Queries about work, kids, vacations. More chit-chat. Laughter. And food. Plenty of food. Middle East delicacies like hummus and baba ghanouj are sampled with spicy samosas and mounds of bagels. Food works. It's the great connector.

The bonhomie is undeniable and the lack of tension discernible among the 17 Muslims and Jews who gather this night at a Toronto Reform synagogue for one of their monthly meetings aimed at exploring each other's faith and finding common ground in their little corner of this overheated planet.

It's not a forced cordiality. Voices are sincere, well-modulated. Even the occasional joke is thrown in. Coming to blows, even verbal ones, is unthinkable.

Small steps for the children of Abraham, yet big ones at the same time.

No one on this night at least brings up terrorism, or Israel and the Palestinian conflict, although that has a presence of its own (referred to internally as "the elephant in the room.") And no one mentions the Qur'-an's vexing approach to Jews - describing them in strongly disparaging terms one minute and extolling them as fellow believers the next - or that the holy text forbids Muslims from befriending Jews ( and Christians, too).

While those and other sticking points aren't swept under the rug, they aren't dwelled on either. Rather, the Canadian Association of Jews and Muslims acts on the maxim "think globally, act locally." It focuses on improving relations between the two groups here in Toronto, home to about 350,000 Muslims and 175,000 Jews, by first establishing mutual trust and a comfort level, and then learning about each other's religions, rituals and place in the world. The two sides also plan to join forces on domestic issues.

For example, in August, the group wrote to Prime Minister Jean Chretien protesting the detention of 19 Pakistani Muslim Canadians on suspicion they might pose a threat to national security.

"We're trying to build bridges of understanding so that even if you disagree vehemently, you'll still see the other person as a person," explains the group's Jewish co-chair, Barbara Landau, a psychologist and mediator who specializes in conflict resolution.

"The idea is to listen as though the other person might be right."



## Abraham's children chat

The dialogue was founded in 1996 by two colleagues in Ontario's civil service, Jack Stevens, an Iraqi Jew, and Shahid Akhtar, a Pakistani Muslim.

"We noticed there was interaction between Christians and Jews, and there were multifaith groups, but nothing between Muslims and Jews," says Akhtar.

It lay dormant for a while, but the Sept. 11, 2001, terrorist attacks rekindled the effort, this time as an attempt to defuse the anti-Muslim backlash. Just three days after the attacks, the group read a joint message at a Toronto City Hall rally affirming the ideals uniting them as Canadians, including valuing human life, mutual respect and co-existence.

There's no official membership. About 100 regulars are on the roster, evenly divided between Jews and Muslims, the latter comprising both Sunnis and Shi'as mainly from Pakistan, India and East Africa. There are very few Arabs, and no Palestinians.

"That's not deliberate," insists Landau, who helps run a separate Jewish-Palestinian dialogue.

"We are here to learn about each other as well as from each other," pronounces Akhtar this night in the boardroom of Temple Emanu-El, before introducing the guest speaker, Parveen Ali, a London, England-based lawyer and academic who talks about the role of women in Islam. She begins with the traditional Muslim greeting "Salaam Alekum," meaning peace be unto you - the same as the Hebrew "Shalom Alecheim."

The floor is then turned over to Rabbi Edward Elkin, spiritual leader of Toronto's First Narayever Congregation, who expounds on the role of women in Judaism.

Participants nod at the similarities and agree that in the broad spectrum of both religions, cases can be made for women's full equality as well as for their status as second-class citizens.

"The more orthodox you get, the less legitimate everything else is," observes Landau.

The group has hosted an interfaith Passover seder and a Rosh Hashanah dinner, and is planning a joint Ramadan-Chanukah celebration.

The interaction isn't limited to exploring each others' religious traditions. There have been a number of joint initiatives:

The Canadian Jewish Congress supported Muslims on two occasions when municipal officials, citing zoning laws, tried to stop construction of mosques in East York and Mississauga. Both projects were eventually given the green light.

Earlier this year, Canada's Pakistani community created a journalism scholarship in memory of Daniel Pearl, the Jewish reporter for the Wall Street Journal beheaded by Muslim extremists in Pakistan last year.

The Islamic Society of North America (Canada) joined the Jewish congress in supporting the provincial government's controversial tax credit for parents of children in faith-based schools.

In February, Canadian Jewish Congress and the Islamic Council of Imams-Canada called on the federal government to exempt ritual slaughter of meats from proposed animal-cruelty legislation.

And in 2001 Canadian Muslims and Jews came together to urge Ottawa to deny public funding to a group that sought to outlaw the circumcision of baby boys.

A Jewish-Islamic study circle sponsored jointly by the University of Toronto and Beth Tzedec Congregation is in its second year.

But what about the really heavy lifting: Israel, the status of Jerusalem, racial profiling, terrorism in the name of Islam, even whether to allow the Arab TV network Al-Jazeera into Canada?

## Abraham's children chat

"Of course it comes up," says Akhtar. "It comes up all the time. We make it a point to talk about the difficult questions. But when we do, we do it in a most respectful manner, in a way we assume the other person could be right," he says, adding, with a chuckle, "We never come to blows."

Landau says her expertise in conflict resolution comes in handy.

"People who aren't listened to, escalate. When they are listened to, the rage dissipates. And when their stereotypical expectations aren't met, they move to curiosity.

"There's an old Jewish saying: 'God gave us two ears and one mouth.' We should listen twice as much as we should speak," she says.

But relations are sometimes strained.

The Jewish congress was dismayed when, in 2001, the Islamic congress gave a "media excellence award" to a local newspaper that supports Hamas and Hezbollah.

"We would welcome greater public acknowledgment (from Canadian Muslims) that terrorism is a real and present danger," says the Jewish congress' Manuel Prutschi, citing the two communities' divergent views on federal anti-terrorism legislation and racial profiling.

Another sore point is anti-Semitism. Jewish officials say that in Canada today, it emanates mainly from Muslim circles.

"We will pursue good and better relations with the Muslim community," says Prutschi, "but we won't hesitate to expose and fight anti-Semitism."

Farzana Hassan Shahid, a Muslim from Pakistan who's been in Canada 19 years, was moved to join the dialogue because she saw something welcoming among Jews.

"They appreciate the sanctity of life," says Shahid, who's president of the Ontario chapter of Muslims Against Terrorism, founded in Calgary in 1999. "They're very sincere in their efforts to promote peace and understanding. We need those in our community who are not convinced to see that."

For local interfaith activist Fredelle Brief, the dialogue comes down to "the issue of democracy in a time of terror. If we take away the civil rights of some, we take them away for all. And that's not something that's on the public's agenda."

Ron Csillag is a Toronto writer specializing in religion. He can be reached at csillag @ rogers.com.

## Graphic

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PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY JO-ANN DODDS

**Load-Date:** October 18, 2003

## 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

## **Turkish Town's Despair Breeds Terrorists, Residents Fear**

The New York Times

November 27, 2003 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 3

**Length:** 1228 words

**Byline:** By FRANK BRUNI

**Dateline:** BINGOL, Turkey, Nov. 25

### **Body**

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One of the men believed to be behind the Istanbul bombings of the past two weeks was just a toddler when his father was killed in political violence here. According to acquaintances, the boy grew up with a hurt and a confusion that never went away.

One of the other men implicated in the suicide bombings watched his mother fall sick and die when he, too, was just a boy. He came to live with his aunt here, said a family friend, and remained with her even after his father remarried and had more children with a new wife.

Those painful personal circumstances may tell part of the story of how the men ended up on the path they apparently chose.

But many local residents suggested that there was another, larger factor: Bingol itself. Whatever sorrows the men had were nourished in this devoutly Muslim, predominantly Kurdish, utterly remote town in eastern Turkey.

It is a desolate and desperate place where good jobs are almost nonexistent, money is scarce, a sense of oppression pervades people's lives and extreme ideologies, religious and otherwise, sometimes provide a purpose and succor that young men find nowhere else.

Some residents even say the government feeds extreme fervor among Turks who are prepared to repress local Kurds.

"These people have no identity, no personality," Servet Beki, the mayor's secretary, said in an interview. "On the one side, there is poverty. On the other side, there can be a very serious religious pressure. It can make people easily manipulated."

At least two of the suicide bombers who struck Istanbul last week were reared and spent much of their lives in and around Bingol, Turkish law-enforcement officials said.

They were Mesut Cabuk, 29, and Gokhan Elaltuntas, 22, who were positively identified by officials as the drivers of trucks that exploded outside two Istanbul synagogues. Mr. Cabuk was the motherless boy.

## Turkish Town's Despair Breeds Terrorists, Residents Fear

A third man from Bingol, Azad Ekinci, 27, has been accused of helping to plan those attacks and, some investigators said, may have been one of the suicide bombers who later struck British targets in Istanbul. He is the man who never knew his father.

Some local officials and investigators have said these men, identified by the authorities as Turks, spent time in Pakistan and had strong connections to Turkish Hezbollah, a militant Islamic group that thrived here, though not so much in recent years as a decade ago.

To the extent that the group still exists, most local residents at least publicly denounce it, and they also denounced the Istanbul bombings. Since those attacks, residents have shunned the families of the men who were implicated in them, and they have pushed reporters away from Mr. Elaltuntas's freshly dug grave.

But some residents have also acknowledged that Bingol, with its economic hopelessness and history of factional violence, may be as potent a cradle for terrorists as any other.

"I was not surprised that they came from Bingol," said Ferhat Ozdaglar, an unemployed 24-year-old.

Isolated by the mountains that surround it, Bingol has about 70,000 people, Mr. Beki said, although its crude concrete buildings look like they can accommodate only half that number.

Unemployment here fluctuates between 70 and 80 percent, local officials and residents said. Bingol has no real industry, and many people here survive on summer jobs in Istanbul and money sent by relatives in Germany.

The Kurds here lived for decades under the iron grip of the Turkish military, which stamped out expressions of Kurdish culture and battled Kurdish militants. Although that war is more or less over, the military still maintains checkpoints on the narrow roads to and from Bingol.

Many residents said the Turkish government, in the past, actually encouraged and aided Islamic extremists in the area, because those radicals were fighting Kurds.

There was fighting as well between right-wing Turkish nationalists and people with left-wing beliefs, and Mr. Beki said Mr. Ekinci's father belonged to the latter group.

But the precise ways in which all of that left a stamp on Mr. Ekinci, Mr. Cabuk and Mr. Elaltuntas remain murky. Many residents either claimed not to know them or gave contradictory accounts about what they were like.

In interviews this week, relatives of Mr. Elaltuntas insisted that he was not affiliated with any militant or radical groups, describing him as a conventionally devout, gentle man who must have been duped into whatever he did.

"When we would go hunting and shoot birds, he would hesitate to cut off their heads," said Ramaran Elaltuntas, a cousin. "He was that soft."

But those relatives had a curious reaction when, on several instances Monday, they ran into local police officers. They turned their backs on the officers or waved them away, as if angry at them.

Residents of Bingol with relatives who have been pulled into Islamic extremism often blame the government. Many people here say they have been manipulated and mistreated by their own country and have seldom enjoyed much control over their lives.

Those grievances deepened after a devastating earthquake hit Bingol in May, killing more than 170 people in the area. Residents complain that the government was slow and stinting in its assistance.

"There is a special attitude toward Bingol," said Halis Tasan, a businessman here. "People here are left alone, pushed back, and some people look to religion to rescue them."

The Muslims in Bingol are conservative. Mosques are jammed at prayer time. All but a few women wear head scarves, and many older women cover themselves in black from head to toe.



## Turkish Town's Despair Breeds Terrorists, Residents Fear

The dawn-to-dusk Ramadan fast is taken so seriously here that residents cautioned one visitor not even to chew gum in public, because it would infuriate people.

Residents say they abhor Islamic extremism, which betrays the religion's commitment to peace. But it does exist here, and several residents said Mr. Ekinici embraced it.

Ahmet Kara, who knew him, said that in recent years, Mr. Ekinici had grown his beard long, donned a white religious robe and voiced anger at Israel and the United States. Mr. Kara described him as lonely and resentful.

"Children who lose their fathers early, in our society, feel oppressed, discriminated against," Mr. Kara said. "He was a walking bomb."

Mr. Elaltuntas's relatives said he had become friendly with Mr. Ekinici in recent years. Last year Mr. Elaltuntas's father and Mr. Ekinici's brother opened an Internet cafe here. Mr. Elaltuntas worked there until about six months ago, when Mr. Ekinici persuaded him to move to Istanbul to try to establish a cellular telephone business there, Mr. Elaltuntas's relatives said.

The family's neighborhood fits Bingol's forlorn tone. Amid a mass of rudimentary four-story apartment buildings is a dusty lot, strewn with debris, where residents use stone pits walled with corrugated tin to bake bread. Outside a mosque nearby, a bony cow grazed Tuesday on a pile of garbage.

The family's business interests had not bought them anything better, and Mr. Elaltuntas's relatives suggested that such a life might help explain the kind of death he met.

"Look at this," said an uncle, Vahit Besgul, as he drove on Monday afternoon through the outskirts of Bingol, on the way to his nephew's grave. He was pointing to shanties and refuse on the side of the road.

"If people had education, if they had money, then they would not become the tools of others," he said.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: A mosque in the desolate town of Bingol, Turkey, where at least two of the suicide bombers who recently struck in Istanbul grew up. Jobs are scarce and militant groups have recruited converts in the town in the past. At left, a boy sits by the shoes of worshipers in the mosque. (Photographs by Lynsey Addario/Corbis, for The New York Times) Map of Turkey highlighting Bingol: Bingol has been racked by poverty and factional violence.

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2003

**FRIENDLY AND FRENETIC;**  
**WESTERN MAIL THEATRE CRITIC DAVID ADAMS VISITED IRAN TO STUDY**  
**THE**

Western Mail

March 10, 2003, Monday

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**Section:** FEATURES; Pg. 10; Newspaper

**Length:** 1309 words

**Byline:** DAVID ADAMS

## **Body**

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My attitude to theatre is that it is a way for a culture to express itself and a means by which we outside can be helped to understand another culture.

That so many plays in the Fajr Festival in Tehran were about escape, about marriage and divorce, about equality, about drugs, drunkenness, about ancient rituals and customs, about fate, suggested that these were the debates that are concerning this great nation, its faith and its isolation, making it seem out of synch in a world of materialism and global communications.

In some ways, Tehran epitomises the contradictions and problems.

Neither our credit cards nor our mobile phones function here: there is plastic and a mobile network, but restricted to Iran.

Now the world's sixth largest city, Tehran is badly polluted and the beautiful Alborz mountains that loom majestically behind the northern suburbs can only really be seen on a smog-free Friday - the Islam holy day, when there is little traffic.

Cars, buses and motorbikes seem to have no rules to obey and never ever stop for pedestrians crossing the road; there is no precedence at junctions, buses travel in either direction down the streets and bikes routinely mount pavements to avoid stopping (the basic rule of the road is not to stop for anything). Negotiating the city is a free-for-all and it's best to close your eyes if you're in a taxi.

Beautiful Farsi calligraphy sits alongside adverts for computers. Pastry-shops and tea-houses butt up against internet cafes. The amazing Grand Bazaar is a heady mix of Persian carpets, cheap clothes, turquoise jewellery, electrical goods, vibrantly-coloured spices, car parts and toiletries.

Throughout the city, each street specialises in different items: a leather-bag street, a porcelain-bathroom street, a shoe street, a no-idea-what-they-are-but-theylook-interesting street, all lined with traders making tea on little fires or stoves. Colourful and grimy, crowded and noisy, friendly and frenetic, Tehran may not be typically Persian - this vast country, sandwiched between Iraq and Afghanistan, stretches from the cold Caspian to the sunny Gulf - but it is an extraordinary experience and in its strangeness and Western-Islamic juxtapositions an apposite symbol of the culture today.

## FRIENDLY AND FRENETIC; WESTERN MAIL THEATRE CRITIC DAVID ADAMS VISITED IRAN TO STUDY THE

Several of us - my International Theatre Institute committee colleagues included representatives of South Korea, Denmark, Poland, Russia, Germany, Bangladesh and Sweden - were privileged to visit family homes, friends of friends from the Iranian diaspora, and we shared our experiences of a people unbelievably hospitable, friendly and open - and invariably committed to Islam.

While I wanted to know how they watched satellite TV without any visible satellite dish (police cars tour to look for the illegal tell-tale signs), how they made such fluffy saffron rice and mouthwatering sweets (I returned with first-hand recipes), how they learned to speak such fluent English (more American than English, in accent and vocabulary), what they felt about the Iraq crisis and so on, they also wanted to know much about us.

To my Iran colleagues in the ITI and the national Dramatic Arts Centre (part of the Ministry of Culture and Islamic Guidance: their version of the Welsh Arts Council, but more pro-active), Wales was known as part of the UK but with its own assembly, language and cultural heritage.

We discussed the mutual traditions of storytelling and music and how both Wales and Iran had only relatively recently created a theatre practice, and I came away with a package of ideas developed by both sides that I hope will result in Welsh theatre companies collaborating and exchanging with Iranian ones and, crucially, exploiting the strengths of Welsh community-theatre experience.

To others I met socially, Wales was not quite so familiar: "Wales? Isn't that in Scotland?" was but one variation on the familiar theme and a run-through of famous Welsh personalities and a map of the UK on a paper napkin was inevitably necessary.

That I knew Iranians in Cardiff and that Iranian theatre had come to Aberystwyth and Cardiff last year was of no great surprise: what was, was that while they knew little about Wales, most people here in Wales knew just as little about this vast, crucially important Middle East country.

When a nation has a rich living heritage stretching back more than 2,500 years, it cannot understand why the rest of the world only thinks it is important when it comes to oil or war.

# David Adams, Western Mail theatre critic and director of the Wales Centre of the International Theatre Institute, visited Tehran as a guest of the Iranian ITI and Iranian Dramatic Arts Centre. His trip was supported by Wales Arts International.

The need to build bridges with the WestTHE more hawkish members of the United States military establishment are understood to be pushing for Iran to be the next element of the "Axis of Evil" to be taken on once Iraq has been dealt with.

As with Iraq, defence experts are worried that Iran will soon be equipped with weapons of mass destruction.

Back in 2000 the Pentagon predicted that Iran will be able to produce nuclear weapons by 2005.

It is well known that the state possesses a chemical weapons arsenal which was created shortly after Iraq began attacking its troops with poison gas in the 1980s.

Charges are also made against the Iranian authorities that, in the words of the US State Department, it is the world's "most active state sponsor of terrorism". In particular, it is accused of supporting the Shi'ite Muslim political and military group known as "The Party of God" or Hezbollah.

Its members are partners of the government in Lebanon, from where they have fought against Israeli troops.

However, the Iranian regime has made steps towards rebuilding bridges with the West in recent years, and attempts to link it to Al-Qaeda have floundered.

## FRIENDLY AND FRENETIC; WESTERN MAIL THEATRE CRITIC DAVID ADAMS VISITED IRAN TO STUDY THE

The population of 66 million is predominantly Shi'ite Muslim while the Taliban in Afghanistan followed the radical Sunni branch of the faith. Iran consistently opposed the Taliban regime and in 1998 directly supported attempts to overthrow it, following the massacre of visiting Iranian officials.

Culturally, most Iranians do not have much in common with their 23 million Iraqi neighbours. The people of Iran do not consider themselves Arab, but Persian.

Although a majority of Iraqis are also Shi'ite, Iran has little regard for the secular dictatorship led by Saddam Hussein, himself a Sunni. The Iran-Iraq war, which raged through most of the 1980s, cost up to a million lives.

Today Iran is funding the Shi'ite Badr Brigade which has already entered Iraq, determined to play an influential role in the overthrow of the government and establish itself as a power broker.

A powerful argument against labelling Iran as a state in need of "regime change" is the fact that it is a democracy, albeit a limited one in which torture and the death penalty are regularly used.

Popular support for greater civil liberties was resoundingly manifested in the 2001 election when reformist President Mohammed Khatami was elected. While still seeking to keep Islam at the heart of the nation's identity, many believe he hopes to strengthen relationships with the West.

A major motivation for this is the poverty in which half the population are locked. If Iran is to get the massive investment it desperately needs, it must shed its pariah image.

On Saturday hundreds of Iranian women publicly celebrated International Women's Day by demanding equal rights to men.

Women are still required to be covered up in public, but the fact that the demonstration was permitted to take place in front of the world's media was a gesture that further liberalising reforms may be possible.

This year the first female police officers have begun training. Women can also vote, hold public office and study abroad.

## Graphic

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OPPRESSED: Women in Iran have to conform to strict dress codes and cannot work or travel abroad without a husband's permission, but they enjoy greater freedoms than in many other Middle Eastern countries

**Load-Date:** March 11, 2003

***A NATION CHALLENGED: THE LIAISON; She Spoke for Taliban And Now  
Pays a Price***

The New York Times  
November 27, 2001 Tuesday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section B; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1216 words

**Byline:** By ALESSANDRA STANLEY

## **Body**

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Until Sept. 11, the most vocal advocate in the United States for the Taliban was a woman.

She is Laili Helms, 38, who seems an incongruous champion for other reasons as well: An Afghan-American whose grandfathers were both ministers under the deposed king, Mohammad Zahir Shah, Ms. Helms is married to a nephew of a former C.I.A. director, Richard Helms.

Since the Taliban took power in Afghanistan in 1996, Ms. Helms has acted as their unofficial liaison to the West, publicly defending their policies and, she said in a recent interview, privately urging them to steer a more moderate course. Before the Sept. 11 attacks in the United States, her support of the Taliban was startling to some, but nobody described it as treasonous.

That has changed. For almost three months, Ms. Helms has lived under siege in her suburban house in Bergen County, N. J.

After the attacks, she was told she could no longer coach her son's soccer team, and she has received threats and hate mail. Most follow the lines of a letter to the editor published in The Star-Ledger of Newark last month. "While she enjoys the good life in Bergen County, she supports the Taliban regime and its oppression of the Afghan people," one reader wrote. "She should hop on a plane, don a veil, and enjoy!"

She did, up to a point. In early November, Ms. Helms flew to Peshawar, Pakistan, to work for three weeks as a consultant for ABC News, helping its reporters contact Taliban supporters in Pakistan.

While there, she said, she made one final effort to improve relations between Taliban moderates and the United States government. The day before eight imprisoned aid workers were freed, she reached Zalmay Khalilzad, the Afghan-American in charge of Afghanistan on the National Security Council, and suggested that the United States view their imminent release as a sign of good will by the Taliban.

When the Taliban fled Kabul they took the aid workers with them and locked them up in another town, where opposition soldiers freed them, according to the aid workers.

Ms. Helms said she was never a paid consultant for the Taliban.

## A NATION CHALLENGED: THE LIAISON She Spoke for Taliban And Now Pays a Price

"The Taliban were basically peasants with pitchforks and they were very bad at explaining themselves," she said. "The State Department was very bad at understanding, and I saw my role as helping the two sides communicate." She added, "Obviously, I failed."

Some acquaintances, particularly American officials, paint her as an apologist. One official said that conversations with Ms. Helms were like "seeing documentary footage of Axis Sally or Tokyo Rose."

But journalists who have worked with her in Afghanistan in the past describe her as well connected, well informed and reasonable.

So did Milt Bearden, who was the C.I.A.'s station chief in Peshawar in the 1980's when the United States was supplying the mujahedeen, the tribal fighters who were fighting the Soviet-backed government. "We forget that her association with the Taliban began at a time when even the United States saw them as a welcome change," he said. "I saw hers as an impassioned freelance involvement."

Ms. Helms does not deny that the Taliban conducted an oppressive regime, particularly for women. But as she has in the past, she still maintains that some reports exaggerate the ill treatment, or fail to put it in a broader context.

"Why would I support people who chop off hands, don't let women go to school?" she argued during a 1999 television debate on the NBC show, Dateline. "Why would I do that? Because there's nothing else in Afghanistan." In that debate, she was pitted against Zohra Rasekh, a doctor who wrote a scathing report on the dire state of women's health under the Taliban.

Ms. Helms said she personally had no difficulty speaking her mind to Taliban leaders, though she was always careful not to make direct eye contact with her male counterparts. She also covered her head.

"You do not flaunt your femininity, but you can be very strong in your arguments," she said. "It would have been harder for me to be a man than a woman. With a woman, their ego is intact no matter how hard an argument you drive."

Some feminists describe Ms. Helms as a collaborator. Others say she did what she could to help Afghan women.

"She was trying to clarify for them what was going on at the United Nations and what human and women's rights are," said Angela E. V. King, assistant secretary general and special adviser on gender issues and advancement of women. "I would go through her when I wanted to explain why they had to change their minds."

Ms. King cited as an example a 1998 Taliban edict requiring even foreign aid workers who were women to travel with a husband or male relative. "She was quite helpful in that regard," Ms. King said, noting that the edict was not severely enforced in parts of the country.

"I don't think she was always aware of everything that was going on there. Sometimes I would get reports the press didn't have and when I told her about them she was shocked."

Ms. Helms was born in Kabul into a wealthy upper-class family, but her family left for Paris and then, when she was 3, for New Jersey. They returned to Afghanistan when she was 9, then back to New Jersey when she was a teenager. She attended Fairleigh Dickinson University in New Jersey.

At 22, she became executive director of Friends of Afghanistan, an association of Afghan expatriates and Americans opposed to the Soviet occupation. In 1988, she and her husband moved to Peshawar as aid workers.

She got her first chance to see post-Soviet Afghanistan in 1992, three years after Soviet troops withdrew and while civil war still reigned.

"I went in a burka to Kabul by bus, with my gardener," she recalled. "Hezbollah gunmen stared at me and followed us to his family's house and I was terrified. They ordered me to lift my burka, then they apologized. They explained they thought I was a man because my feet were so big."

## A NATION CHALLENGED: THE LIAISON She Spoke for Taliban And Now Pays a Price

Ms. Helms said that the brutality and chaos she witnessed in Kabul, which was then under the control of rebel commander Ahmed Shah Massoud, prompted her to welcome the Taliban, who imposed order along with Islamic law.

She first met one of their leaders in 1996, at a conference of rival Afghan groups in a Senate meeting room that was organized by Hank Brown, a former Republican senator from Colorado.

She views the Northern Alliance as corrupt and thuggish, warning that many of its leaders once sided with the Russians. "The only option for keeping the country together is to bring in the king with a peacekeeping force," she said

She said she tried to persuade the more moderate Taliban leaders to prevent the destruction of Buddhist temples last spring. Long before that, she said, she tried to explain that they had to turn over Osama bin Laden. To this day, she argues that the Taliban were not in league with him but that their leader, Mullah Muhammad Omar, was too proud and primitive to break tribal rules of hospitality or surrender to American demands.

"Everyone I talked to in the Taliban wanted to hand him over," she said. "But Omar is an Afghan hillbilly who deals with the world at a tribal level, and the United States never really went down to his level."

She sighed. "It doesn't matter now, the Taliban doesn't exist anymore," she said. "We are at a different stage of Afghan history."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: Laili Helms, who was an advocate of the Taliban before the Sept. 11 attacks, at her home in New Jersey. She still maintains that some reports exaggerate the ill treatment the Taliban doled out. (Norman Y. Lono for The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** November 27, 2001

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End of Document

## *Victory and prosperity*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

January 30, 2002, Wednesday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

Copyright 2002 Times Publishing Company

**Section:** NATIONAL; STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS; Pg. 1A

**Length:** 1217 words

**Byline:** SARA FRITZ

**Dateline:** WASHINGTON

### **Body**

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With conflict in Afghanistan winding down, President Bush warned Tuesday night that the United States' attention is turning to terrorists elsewhere in the world and governments - including North Korea, Iran and Iraq - that make up "an axis of evil" threatening world peace.

"Our war on terrorism is only beginning," he declared in his first State of the Union speech. "The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons."

Bush appeared to be rejecting the cautious advice that caused his father, President George Bush, to end the Persian Gulf War in 1991 without invading Iraq.

BUSH

"We cannot stop short," he said. "If we stopped now - leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked - our sense of security would be false and temporary."

Then, having rallied his audience with martial themes, Bush vowed to revive the American economy with "the same spirit of cooperation we have applied to our war on terrorism." To do this, he pledged to pursue a long list of domestic programs that have been mainstays of his administration, including lower taxes, better schools, reliable energy and quality health care.

In his 48-minute speech, Bush said the focus of his domestic programs is to stimulate employment. "My economic security plan," he said, "can be summed up in one word: jobs."

The only genuinely new element of his domestic agenda was premised on volunteerism: the creation of a civilian defense corps and an appeal to every American to commit two years - 4,000 hours - over their lives to community service. The idea is similar to his father's "thousand points of light."

Increased volunteerism, he argued, is the natural result of the struggle that the United States has embarked upon since the Sept. 11 attacks.

"For too long our culture has said, 'If it feels good, do it,' " the president said. "Now America is embracing a new ethic and a new creed: 'Let's roll.' In the sacrifice of soldiers, the fierce brotherhood of firefighters, and the bravery



## Victory and prosperity

and generosity of ordinary citizens, we have glimpsed what a new culture of responsibility could look like. We want to be a nation that serves goals larger than self."

Without mentioning the name of terrorist leader Osama bin Laden, who has eluded American troops, Bush recounted how American forces - at an estimated cost of \$ 1-billion a week - had joined with allied troops to vanquish the Taliban regime and bin Laden's al-Qaida network in Afghanistan.

Inside the Afghan caves that once served as home to the al-Qaida leadership, Bush said, Americans found evidence of "the depth of the hatred" that the terrorists harbor against the United States. This included diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities and detailed descriptions of landmarks around the world.

Bush said the United States now knows "tens of thousands" of terrorists trained in Afghanistan and spread throughout the world. "A terrorist underworld, including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad and Jaish-i-Mohammed, operates in remote jungles and deserts and hides in the centers of large cities," he said.

The president said the United States and its allies must prevent governments that sponsor terror from spreading their weapons of mass destruction. He listed three countries: North Korea, Iran and Iraq.

North Korea, he said, "is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction while starving its citizens." Iran "aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom." And he cited Iraq for plotting to develop anthrax, nerve gas and nuclear weapons for more than a decade.

"States like these, and their terrorists allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world," Bush said. "They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic."

To pursue this policy, Bush said he is requesting the largest increase, about \$ 50-billion, in defense spending since the Reagan administration. As a result, his budget for the 2002 fiscal year will show the first deficit since 1997.

The world is changing, Bush said, and old rivalries are being replaced by new alliances. He noted that the United States is working with Russia, China and India, and praised the leadership of Pakistan for expelling terrorists.

"We have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace," said Bush, who was interrupted by applause more than 70 times. "All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated and live free from poverty and violence. No people on earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police."

While the president did not mention the collapse of energy giant Enron Corp., whose executives donated heavily to his presidential campaign, he sought to distance himself from it by urging U.S. corporate executives to be more accountable. He also called on Congress to enact new safeguards for 401(k) and pension plans. Such safeguards might have prevented Enron employees from losing their savings, which were heavily invested in company stock.

Although Bush did not dwell on domestic issues, he emphasized the importance of making last year's tax cuts permanent. Democrats have suggested the continued tax cut would increase the deficit and make it harder to enact expensive changes in social programs, such as Medicare and Social Security.

"Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small and some thought it was too big," the president recalled. "But when those checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right."

Bush's new volunteer effort, which he called USA Freedom Corps, would expand the government's existing volunteer programs. The administration hopes to increase the Peace Corps from 7,000 to 15,000 volunteers, and recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers to AmeriCorps and Senior Corps. In addition, Bush would create a new civilian defense corps to assist in homeland security and public health.

## Victory and prosperity

With a greater than 80 percent approval rating that has flourished on a rush of wartime patriotism, Bush delivered his speech with confidence and determination. And he took time to introduce a number of people, Afghans and Americans, who have played a part in the drama over the past four months.

These included interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai; Shannon Spann, the widow of CIA officer Johnny Micheal Spann; Christina Jones and Hermis Moutardier, flight attendants credited with thwarting the alleged shoe bomber; and Afghan Women's Affairs Minister Sima Samar.

## ON TERRORISM

"Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun."

## ON SECURITY

"While the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high: whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay it."

## ON THE ECONOMY

"When America works, America prospers; so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs."

## Graphic

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PHOTO, Associated Press, (3); PHOTO, Agence France-Presse (AFP); President George W. Bush gives his first State of the Union address.; Vice President Dick Cheney and House Speaker Dennis Hastert greet President Bush before his State of the Union speech. ; Interim Afghan leader Hamid Karzai, seated next to first lady Laura Bush, is applauded after being acknowledged in the president's speech.; President George W. Bush gives his first State of the Union address. (ran SS edition)

**Load-Date:** January 30, 2002

## *Sharon's Risks - and Why He Took Them*

New York Sun (Archive)

June 2, 2003 Monday

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**Section:** EDITORIAL & OPINION; Pg. 6

**Length:** 1239 words

**Byline:** By FIAMMA NIRENSTEIN

### **Body**

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Whenever someone anxiously asks, "How will the road map work? Is there a chance of peace?" the response is often, "Why don't you ask about the daily lives of the people who live in Israel?" Other people ask, with just as much concern, "How are things going? With all that terrorism, do people feel safe taking the bus in Jerusalem? "

These worried questions capture the contours of Israeli reality better than formal diplomatic language does. Even if there already were a Palestinian state, even if a thousand treaties had been signed, if tomorrow we still had three terrorist attacks over the course of 12 hours, as happened the other day, could we really call that peace?

I find this formality, this faith in diplomacy, a little optimistic. Actions speak louder than words. The final test of all peace processes comes in the guise of that person with a slightly bulky jacket who wants to get on the bus or stroll into the supermarket and blow himself - or herself - up. This figure is historic, constant, and omnipresent.

Since the U.N. vote in November 1947, the women and children of Israel have been killed in their homes or on the street or in the fields, and yet Israel has been treated by its neighbors as a pariah, a criminal, an assassin. Terror has been the chosen means by which to deny Israel its right to exist.

Yasser Arafat's men have used the borders as launch pads for terrorist attacks, and the global indifference to such acts has been horrifying. Even today it's outrageous for any upright person to imagine that Mr. Arafat was greeted with a red carpet at the United Nations in 1974, not long after the massacre of the Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972, and that so many terrorist attacks were justified and even celebrated by the politicians of the world until September 11.

It is just as hard to believe that even now, when the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade has caught up with Hamas in the amount of Israeli blood it has shed, some still draw distinctions between "extremists" who want to block the peace process, and the "moderate Palestinian leadership."

So it is difficult to believe that the end of terrorism could ever come to pass. It was difficult to believe even after the Palestinians officially recognized Israel in 1988, and difficult to believe even during the peace process, when the end of terrorism was proclaimed with great rhetorical gusto. And yet peace will only be achieved with the end of terrorism.

The new Palestinian prime minister, Abu Mazen, hasn't exactly inspired confidence in a new era, since he doesn't seem to be taking any concrete steps. So far, he has only made the same empty promises that we've heard so

## Sharon's Risks - and Why He Took Them

many times before. He's not putting the terrorists in jail. We haven't heard a word from him about the textbooks that teach children to revere shahids, martyrs, as role models.

Nor has he addressed the fact that the Palestinians have plastered their houses, streets and stores with photographs of suicide bombers, that they sing songs about them and exalt them in the newspapers and on television. As long as this continues, there will never be a political forum as powerful as a popular culture that celebrates genocidal martyrdom, the murder of the Jews. It is also shocking that the leaders of Hamas, even in these heady times of the road map, are still able to grant interviews where they say the only road map for a Jew is the one that leads to the cemetery.

And yet we still have to make an effort. September 11 and the ensuing war against terrorism make this peace process different from all the ones written before, including Oslo. In geopolitical terms, this one is a whole other story: It is the apex of President Bush's discourse of June 24, 2002, in which he outlined his strategic plan: that democratization equals an end to terrorism. It is not just a price Israel must pay. Indeed, we have to make sure Israel doesn't pay a price, while still respecting Mr. Bush's strategic goal.

Mr. Bush and Abu Mazen have an enormous responsibility on their hands, and it is not to pursue the same ambition of President Clinton, who wanted to cure the most cancerous conflict in the world. This is different. This is about proving in the field the belief that the democratization of the Arab world is the central means of fighting extremism and terror, and thereby achieving peace - or almost peace - with the West.

Prime Minister Sharon didn't say yes to Mr. Bush because he's a coward, or because he's afraid of losing the economic support of America. On the contrary, it suits his adventurous nature to be at the epicenter of a global situation. And as a military man he well understands that because he represents the West, it's up to him to set the terms. Mr. Bush has won two consecutive wars, in Afghanistan and in Iraq. Here, on the ground, Israel is facing an exhausted enemy. The conditions are in Israel's favor.

If Abu Mazen makes peace with Israel, he'll find himself - willingly or unwillingly - breaking ranks with those who preach hatred of Jews and Americans, shattering the Islamic front that Mr. Arafat always flirted with, and contending with the defeat of the historic "No" bloc, Arabs who refused to recognize the state of Israel. The entire Middle East will change.

Natan Sharansky, who knows a few things about dictatorships, says their most precious weapon is hatred and incitement. On this front, the Bush plan is still a great experiment. If Mr. Arafat's dictatorship really does fall, we could see a rapid decline in hatred, incitement, and terror. Indeed, the signs coming from Syria, Iran, and the leader of Hamas, Sheik Yassin, indicate that none wants to be left out of the game.

Still, if the Syrians want to be part of the road map, someone should remind them that to do so, they'd have to recognize Israel. Iran, too, needs to renounce terrorism, and someone should tell the ayatollahs that they should stop financing and training Hezbollah, the A-Team of terror, right about now. And someone should whisper to Abu Mazen that even he, sooner or later, will have to realize that the right of return is exactly what he'll have to renounce in order to convince the world of his good faith and the fact that his old Arafat-crony heart now beats for the existence of the state of Israel.

Can we really trust this lot? No. But we have to try, and so we have to muster our forces against our enemies as well as our interlocutors. We can't turn our backs and let things happen without harnessing the power of skeptical yet active public opinion. Mr. Bush has to know that he has his work cut out for him in Akaba and Sharm al Sheik. He has to have the cult of terrorist worship removed from the schools and the television and the city walls. He has to make sure significant arrests are made. He has to convince Abu Mazen to abandon the right of return. He has to open an era of verbal decency in which anti-Semitic obscenities and murderers vanish. He has to make it clear to Abu Mazen that he can talk for 100 hours with Hamas, but until he stops arming them, he won't be trusted.

And what should Mr. Bush tell Mr. Sharon? Not much. Mr. Sharon is carrying out the June 24 plan as if he had written it himself. He may be the general who occupied the territories and founded dozens of settlements, but he'll dismantle Yamit without a fuss when he thinks it will no longer put Israel's security at risk.

## Sharon's Risks - and Why He Took Them

Translated from the Italian by Rachel Donadio.

**Load-Date:** May 11, 2004

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## **BURST OF ATTACKS FROM PALESTINIANS CAUSES 14 DEATHS**

The New York Times

August 5, 2002 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1256 words

**Byline:** By JOHN KIFNER

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Monday, Aug. 5

### **Body**

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A powerful bomb ripped apart an Israeli commuter bus in northern Galilee early Sunday morning, igniting a fireball that left 9 people dead and wounded 45, beginning a burst of widespread Palestinian violence that defied Israel's tough crackdown.

"There were mangled bodies everywhere," said Nissem Hozeh, a firefighter.

The bombing, at the beginning of the workweek here, was the first in a series of five attacks that included a shootout near the Damascus Gate in Jerusalem's Old City that left three people dead, two ambushes that wounded seven Israelis and an ambush before dawn this morning on a car south of Nablus in the West Bank. The Israeli Army said a married couple were killed and two passengers were wounded in that raid.

In the gun battle, a man described by the police as a 19-year-old Palestinian fired on an Israeli telephone company repair truck, killing a security guard. The attacker and an Arab bystander were shot and killed by Israeli border police. Page A7.

The bus attack was quickly condemned by President Bush, and the Israeli government said it would pursue the bombers "without mercy."

After at least 25 Israelis were killed in a string of attacks six weeks ago, an Israeli offensive had some success cutting down on violence. But the relative calm has vanished despite tight controls and curfews in seven West Bank Palestinian cities.

In a new tactic aimed at deterring suicide bombers, the Israeli Army on Sunday blew up nine houses of the families of past bombers around Nablus, Jenin and Hebron. Two other houses had been destroyed earlier in the weekend.

The search for militants and bomb factories that began after the Hebrew University bombing on Wednesday continued, with elite soldiers of the paratroopers and Golani Brigade combing the twisted, covered alleys of Nablus's casbah. At least 50 Palestinians have been taken into custody in the Nablus action, and the army is keeping tight control, including curfews, over six other Palestinian cities and their surrounding villages.

Palestinians told Reuters that Israeli forces raided the West Bank village of Burka early on Monday. Two Palestinian men were shot dead in the clash.

## BURST OF ATTACKS FROM PALESTINIANS CAUSES 14 DEATHS

The Palestinian attacks have intensified since the airstrike by Israel in Gaza on July 23 that killed Sheik Salah Shehada, the leader of the military wing of Hamas. In the strike, a one-ton bomb hit a densely populated Gaza residential neighborhood, killing 14 Palestinians besides Sheik Shehada, including 9 children. The bomb in a cafeteria at Hebrew University here killed 7 people, 5 of them American, and wounded scores. Hamas claimed responsibility for the attack.

Hamas also claimed responsibility for the bus bombing on Sunday, calling it a "further riposte to the killing of our leader," Sheik Shehada, in a statement to the Beirut television station of the Lebanese Hezbollah.

Israeli officials, however, continued to blame the increasingly marginalized Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat -- isolated by Israeli troops surrounding his ruined compound and criticized for failure and corruption by many Palestinians -- for the actions of Hamas, his rival for power.

"The Palestinian Authority continues to pour terror into Israel," David Baker, a spokesman for Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's office said. "Israel is waging a battle to eradicate terror and make the streets of Israel safe for its citizens. Israel will fight Palestinian terror with a fervor. There is no other choice."

Mr. Sharon called off planned meetings with a few newly appointed Palestinian leaders whom the Americans consider to be reformers. Mr. Sharon's spokesman, Raanan Gissin, suggested there was little to talk about with a Palestinian leadership that continued to harbor and support terrorist activity. Another government spokesman, Avi Pazner, said Israel would pursue the bus bombers "without mercy."

For its part, the Palestinian Authority issued a statement condemning the bus bombing, but it added that Israel's "mass detentions, repressive measures and home demolitions" were responsible for the cycle of violence.

President Bush reacted angrily to the bombing on Sunday, telling reporters before a morning round of golf near his family retreat in Maine: "There are a few killers who want to stop the peace process that we have started. We must not let them.

"For the sake of humanity, for the sake of the Palestinians who suffer, for the sake of the Israelis who are under attack, we must stop the terror," Mr. Bush said, wagging the finger of his right hand. "I call upon all nations to do everything they can to stop these terrorist killings."

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell said on Saturday that he planned to meet with Palestinian leaders in Washington this week. Three senior Palestinian officials, including Saeb Erekat, the chief Palestinian negotiator, are expected to take part in talks Monday and Tuesday in Washington.

The Israeli police said they suspected that a suicide bomber blew up the bus on Sunday, a belief reinforced by a reference in the Hamas statement to the involvement of an unnamed "martyr." But they were also looking into reports of two young women of Arab appearance getting off the bus shortly before it exploded.

The blast tore through the center of the bright green Egged Bus No. 361 at about 8:50 a.m. near the town of Safed, carrying a load of workday commuters and soldiers returning to their bases from weekend leave.

The explosion ripped much of the roof off, broke windows and twisted the seats inside. Some of the victims had to be cut out of the twisted metal, and pieces of burned flesh were hurled into shrubs and trees. The bus was traveling through a bucolic mountain area where many Israelis go to vacation, hike or make pilgrimages to nearby Mt. Meron to the tomb of Rabbi Simeon Bar Yohai, a second century Torah sage who is an important figure in Jewish mysticism.

"There was a lot of screaming, horrible screaming inside the bus," said Avraham Freed, who owns a restaurant nearby and rushed to help. "I saw one person on the ground next to the bus -- bodies, parts of bodies, people jumping through windows."

## BURST OF ATTACKS FROM PALESTINIANS CAUSES 14 DEATHS

Hanan Sofer, one of the first ambulance officials to arrive, said: "The bus was burning, mainly at the back, and the roof had been blown off. Some of the wounded were strewn along the road, and others were trapped inside the burning bus and were screaming for help.

"Along with firefighters who arrived at the scene, we began to extract the wounded from the bus," Mr. Sofer said. "Most of them were suffering from severe burns and there was lots of blood flowing. I have been working in the field for 22 years and have never seen such an atrocious scene."

Witnesses described a huge explosion, followed by burned and bloody soldiers staggering out of the bus.

Other attacks on Sunday, in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, left one Palestinian man dead and seven people wounded.

Three Israeli settlers were injured near Ramallah, one seriously, when a roadside bomb went off beside their vehicle and shots were fired. Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades claimed responsibility.

In another incident in the West Bank, four people were injured, one seriously, when their bus was fired on as it traveled between settlements near Tulkarm. The attack was claimed by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine.

In the Gaza Strip, a Palestinian frogman, wearing a wetsuit and carrying hand grenades and a Kalashnikov assault rifle in a waterproof bag, was shot dead by Israeli soldiers as he swam up to the beachfront of a Jewish settlement.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: DAY OF VIOLENCE -- A bus was bombed during the Sunday morning rush hour near Safed, in northern Israel. Witnesses described a huge fireball, and bodies and debris were spread for yards. At left, Israeli medics carried an injured Palestinian man after a gunman attacked in East Jerusalem yesterday, killing a security guard before he and an Arab bystander were shot dead by Israeli border police. (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times); (Agence France-Presse)(pg. A1); Aryeh Shankar, an Israeli soldier, was comforted by his aunt yesterday in Safed. Mr. Shankar is one of 45 people wounded in a bus bombing. (Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)(pg. A7) Map of Israel highlights Safed: A bomb destroyed a commuter bus near Safed on Sunday. (pg. A7)

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



## *Israel attacks security complex*

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

April 2, 2002 Tuesday,

Metro Edition

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### **The Atlanta Journal-Constitution**

**Section:** News;

**Length:** 1070 words

**Byline:** LARRY KAPLOW

### **Body**

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Ramallah, West Bank --- The Israeli army expanded and intensified its massive offensive into the West Bank early today, attacking Palestinian security headquarters near Ramallah and sending tanks and troops back into parts of the biblical city of Bethlehem.

Israeli helicopters fired machine guns, and soldiers took control of the Aida refugee camp near Bethlehem, news reports said.

Also this morning, Israeli forces attacked the headquarters of the Palestinian Preventive Security Force outside Ramallah, firing tank shells and machine guns, Palestinian officials said. Palestinian security chief Jibril Rajoub had given orders to the 400 men inside to resist, they said.

Cox Washington Bureau

With its military sweep of Palestinian cities and camps, Israel is hunting down hundreds of suspected militants and terrorists, including some of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's top lieutenants. Some have taken refuge with Arafat in his headquarters in Ramallah. At least 200 Palestinians are holed up in the sprawling hilltop headquarters of the Palestinian Preventive Security Force.

Amid the Israeli show of force, a suicide bomber detonated himself in a car on the outskirts of a Jewish neighborhood in Jerusalem on Monday, killing himself and a 19-year-old policeman who went to check the car, police said.

The Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, linked to Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed responsibility and identified the bomber as Rami Muhammed Hussein al-Shouani, 22, from the Deheishe refugee camp, near Bethlehem.

The bombing was the sixth in six days and gave Israeli officials fresh cause to defend their military drive. The suicide bombings have killed 40 Israelis.

Palestinian officials say at least 25 Palestinians have been killed since the Israeli incursion started Friday. Nearly all have been men in their 20s and 30s. At Ramallah Hospital, doctors pulled open the metal doors of the morgue to

## Israel attacks security complex

display bloodied bodies of the young men, wrapped in sheets, and said they had not been allowed to transport them out for burial.

Israel says the deaths are justified.

"We are defending our homes. We have no other place. We are going to defend our homes with all our strength," Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said Monday.

Palestinians counter that the offensive is punishing thousands of civilians, subjecting them to curfews, gunfire, home searches and shortages of food and utilities. They have called for international intervention to force an Israeli withdrawal.

"There is total destruction, total state terror against the Palestinians," Palestinian negotiator Saeb Erekat told The Associated Press.

Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told MSNBC the Israeli occupation is temporary.

"We are in the territories for three or four weeks. We don't intend to occupy the places," Peres said, adding that Israel does not intend to dismantle the Palestinian Authority or harm Arafat.

In Washington, President Bush repeated demands for Arafat to denounce the violence against Israelis. "There will never be peace so long as there is terror, and all of us must fight terror," Bush said.

He also called for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to maintain a "pathway" to peace --- to keep open the prospects that Israel might make concessions to the Palestinians if they stop attacking Israelis.

International pressure has increased for an Israeli withdrawal, especially as world leaders worry that Arafat could be wounded or killed in gunbattles with Israeli troops just outside the doors of his Ramallah headquarters, where he has been trapped since Friday.

The most intense fighting Monday was on the streets of Ramallah, where the offensive, dubbed Operation Protective Wall, began four days ago. Gunfire and explosions could be heard during the night Monday.

Armored vehicles are stationed throughout the city of 150,000, once known for its chic stores and lively nightlife. Troops have been conducting door-to-door searches for weapons and armed Palestinians.

For hours, Israeli troops and armored vehicles blasted away parts of a stone office building from which Palestinian gunmen were firing. Israeli news media reported eight soldiers were wounded, one seriously.

The army fired at the building with dozens of bursts from a rapid-fire anti-aircraft weapon that echoed throughout the mostly empty streets.

The fighting stopped briefly to allow the evacuation of Palestinian medical relief workers in an office that came under Israeli fire. They were searched and released.

Before dawn Monday, tanks rumbled into the city of Bethlehem and stopped several hundred yards short of the Church of the Nativity, built on the spot believed to be the birthplace of Jesus. The tanks and troops pulled back to the edge of the city later in the day, but not before an Israeli soldier was shot and killed by a Palestinian shooter.

In Beit Jalla, a village near Bethlehem retaken by Israel, eight international activists were injured when they approached an Israeli tank and troops fired shots at the ground near them, according to wire services.

The army expelled a CBS television news crew from Ramallah and warned other foreign journalists that they should not be in what Israel has designated a closed military zone.

As Israeli frustration built, Cabinet minister Meir Sheetrit said he was "fed up" with international criticism and that Israel should stop paying attention.

## Israel attacks security complex

Others suggested Israel may be intensifying the fight in an attempt to hasten its conclusion.

"The [army's ] principal enemy in this war is not the armed Palestinian men, but time," wrote Israeli newspaper analyst Nachum Barnea. "Every additional day of occupation, every additional day of pictures of tanks opposite women and children increases the international pressure on the government."

Unnerved by a security lapse the day before that allowed dozens of activists to enter Arafat's headquarters, the army tightened access to the Ramallah area. According to Israeli newspapers, tanks and troops close to Arafat's doorstep repeatedly called on loudspeakers for him to hand over wanted men. Tank engines and stun grenades are reportedly keeping the Palestinian leader from sleeping.

As Israeli forces pushed deeper into the West Bank, Palestinian militants were reportedly killing Palestinians suspected of collaborating with Israel. At least 10 were killed by fellow Palestinians. --- Information from news services was used in this article. ME:metro version longer

## Graphic

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Photo:

An Israeli army reservist waiting for his unit to be called up kisses his children goodbye Monday on the outskirts of Bethlehem. / LEFTERIS PITARAKIS / Associated Press Photo:

An Israeli soldier wearing a prayer shawl prays at a Bethlehem checkpoint between Jerusalem and the West Bank city Monday. / ZOOM 77 / Associated Press Map:

### VIOLENCE SPREADS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The past five weeks have been marked by escalating violence in the Middle East. The death toll stands at 1,272 on the Palestinian side and 415 on the Israeli side during the 18-month period that began with Ariel Sharon's controversial visit to the Temple Mount compound in September 2000.

Haifa: A Palestinian suicide bomber killed 14 Israelis at a restaurant Sunday.

Tulkarem: Five Israeli tanks and a bulldozer moved in Monday; Palestinians killed seven Palestinians for alleged collaboration with Israel.

Qalqilyah: Israel seized the town Sunday; door-to-door searches were carried out Monday

Rafah: A Palestinian boy was killed Monday by Israeli soldiers as he played near the market.

Golan Heights: Israeli troops and warplanes engaged Hezbollah guerrillas Sunday.

Ramallah: Israel attacked on Friday and has confined Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat (left) to his headquarters.

Bethlehem: Israeli forces entered before dawn Monday and then withdrew, but remained massed on the northern edge of the city; Palestinians killed an alleged collaborator.

Al-Khader: Israeli forces moved in Monday.

Beit Jalla: Israeli forces moved in Monday and imposed a curfew.

Efrat: A Palestinian suicide bomber wounded four Israeli medics Sunday; six Palestinians were killed in clashes with Israeli soldiers.

Sources: Associated Press, CNN, Atlanta Journal-Constitution files

Research by WAYNE SNOW / Staff

Map of Middle East with inset map of area of detail.

CHUCK BLEVINS / Staff

## Israel attacks security complex

**Load-Date:** April 2, 2002

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**BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines;  
Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band**

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

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Home Edition

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**The Atlanta  
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**Section:** News;; Series

**Length:** 1131 words

**Byline:** GEORGE EDMONSON

**Series:** BACKGROUNDER

**Body**

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Washington ---The Philippines is one of the latest targets in the U.S. war on terror.

American troops began arriving this month to train and assist local forces in the hunt for the Abu Sayyaf, a guerrilla group operating in the southern Philippines and suspected of links to the al-Qaida terrorist network.

Anthropologist Thomas McKenna has been studying the separatist movement in the Philippines for more than 20 years and is the author of "Muslim Rulers and Rebels: Everyday Politics and Armed Separatism in the Southern Philippines." A consultant with SRI Consulting Business Intelligence, he discussed the issues by phone from Menlo Park, Calif. Here is an edited account:

Q: What is Abu Sayyaf and how did it get started?

AJC

A: There's been a Muslim separatist movement in the southern Philippines since about 1968. Until 1995, there were two main separatist rebel groups: the Moro National Liberation Front --- "Moro" is a word for Philippine Muslims --- and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. They're virtually identical. They're headquartered in different parts of the southern Philippines.

In 1995, a group came on the scene called the Abu Sayyaf, which in Arabic means "Sword of the Father." They were headquartered on the island of Basilan and in Zamboanga City. They used kidnapping, execution, they targeted Christian civilians, which is something that neither of the other groups had done. This had always been a fight against the government, not a fight against Christians. They used Islamic extremist rhetoric that was not used at all by the other groups.

## BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

It's very much sort of a loose-cannon group. When they kidnapped a group of people, one of the demands was the release of the people being held for the World Trade Center bombing in 1993. This was extraordinary, unprecedented.

They don't have any significant popular support. Their activities, their tactics have been condemned by the two other groups. In fact, for a while the Muslims I know in the southern Philippines actually thought that these were agents provocateurs, set up by the government to make the Philippine Muslims rebellion look bad.

Q: Do Philippine officials know who belongs to Abu Sayyaf? How large is it compared to the other two separatist groups?

A: The other groups go up and down. But they probably averaged, over the last 10 years, 15,000 men under arms each.

For Abu Sayyaf, the estimates are rather wild. In their beginning, they probably never had more than a couple of hundred members. They then grew after they made a couple of really big hauls of very large ransom payments, millions of dollars. They used that money to hire young men. There are a lot of unemployed, very poor young men in these outlying regions where they operate. They got probably as many as 1,000 fighters.

We know that since they've been bottled up on this one island and their money's running out, a lot of the fighters have left. I would imagine that they're in the hundreds.

It's pretty well established that the founder was this fellow named Abdurajak Janjalani. He grew up poor in the city and got some education. He belonged to the MLNF for a while. There are various stories about how he was influenced. But he did apparently go to Egypt and came under the influence of a radical cleric there.

There were also some reports that there was actually an Arab missionary in Zamboanga City that strongly influenced Abu Sayyaf, and that this person was tied to al-Qaida. I don't know that that's true. It seems plausible to me.

Janjalani was killed in 1998 in a clash with the national police. His brother is still one of the commanders. His name is Khadaffy Janjalani, actually named after [Libyan leader] Moammar Gadhafi. There are many, many young men of that age in the Philippines named after Moammar Gadhafi, who was quite supportive of the separatist movement, but also of peace agreements.

And then there are a couple of other fellows with these noms de guerre. There's this fellow named Commander Robot, a wonderful Philippine-style nickname because he got shot one time and the bullet didn't penetrate, so he's "Robot."

And that's really all we know about them. They have satellite phones, cellphones, and they occasionally call in to a radio station in Zamboanga City.

Q: The Philippines is predominantly a Christian country, right?

A: It's about 95 percent Christian. It's the only majority-Christian country in Southeast Asia.

Q: Is Abu Sayyaf's view of Islam similar to that of the Taliban?

A: It's hard to say. In general, in the Philippines, Islamic practice has been completely dissimilar to what you see in Afghanistan. That's because of regional cultural differences. In Southeast Asia, women have much higher status, people are more easygoing; punishments and practice have been much less severe than the versions you find in parts of the Middle East. So, if in fact they are serious about this rhetoric, again it is quite, quite atypical from anything you actually find on the ground in any actual Muslim community in the Philippines.

Q: Some Philippine citizens have expressed concern about U.S. troops coming in. What do you think the likely impact of that will be on the country and the separatist groups?

## BACKGROUND: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

A: In general, Filipinos have generally positive attitudes toward the United States and fairly positive memories of the first 50 years of the 20th century [when the Philippines were an American possession]. That goes just as strongly for Philippine Muslims.

In fact, some older Philippine Muslims feel they were better treated under the Americans than they were under the Philippine government.

Given that, the mere fact of U.S. troops on the ground will not set Philippine Muslims off. For Filipinos in general, there will be some nationalist sentiment that says, "We don't want Americans here. They've got to get out."

Philippine Muslims, I think, will be a bit more nuanced: "Well, let's wait and see what happens. Gee, it might be better having American troops running after these guys than Philippine military troops."

Q: Is there something about the islands in the south that makes it easy for people to hide?

A: The interior of Basilan and these other islands is very heavily forested. This is rain forest, and much of the year it's very muddy and very hard to get around.

Just to give you an example, there was a famous Muslim bandit in the 1950s called Kamlun.

He tied down thousands of Philippine army soldiers for more than five years.

The only reason they did get him was that he got tired of running after five years and surrendered.

### BEHIND THE NEWS

The AJC explores national and international topics in Backgrounders. Recent Backgrounders have addressed:

- \* Hamas and **Hezbollah**

- \* Congress' return to work

- \* The dirty bomb

These and other Backgrounders from previous editions are available on: [ajc.com](http://ajc.com)

## Graphic

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Map: TRACKING ABU SAYYAF

Fueled by ransom money and staffed by hired fighters, Muslim rebels operate out of south Philippines. American troops are being deployed to assist Philippine soldiers. Muslim separatist organizations have been operating in the Philippines for decades, but the relatively new Abu Sayyaf, with its alleged ties to international terror, has attacked civilians as well as the government. (Map of the Philippines; inset map provides detail and shows cities where Abu Sayyaf group operates.) Source: Jane's / New York Times; Photo: A Philippine National Police Special Forces member guards alleged Abu Sayyaf members brought to Manila from outlying islands in December to face trial. One expert estimates that the group's fighters number "in the hundreds." / BULLIT MARQUEZ / Associated Press

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

BACKGROUNDER: ABU SAYYAF: Terror war targets Philippines ; Kidnappings mark tiny separatist band

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## Letters

Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

September 29, 2001, Saturday

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**Section:** Opine; Pg. A-7

**Length:** 1324 words

### **Body**

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More than ever, community needs your support

The New Mexican's thoughtful editorial on the September 11th Fund and on the need for Santa Feans to remember that community needs will demand support now more than ever was right on-target.

It's virtually certain that community-based social services, health and education programs will lose millions of federal dollars.

As we write checks to support the relief efforts in New York and Washington, we need to think of those outpourings of aid as above and beyond our support for our own communities. Otherwise the long-term effects of this act of terrorism will reverberate to communities throughout our country -- including Santa Fe.

As a collaboration of the New York Community Trust (New York City's community foundation) and United Way of New York City, the September 11th Fund provides a model for how we can work together, not just in crisis, but also on a daily basis.

In this spirit, we urge people to appeal to what unites us, not that which divides us -- and to remember that needs for education, social services, the hungry, the homeless and the aged will continue to command our united support.

Billie Blair

president

Santa Fe Community Foundation

Ron Stevens

executive director

United Way of Santa Fe County

via e-mail

15 years later

Fifteen years ago, I interviewed National Security Council consultant Michael Ledeen about a "myth" -- terrorism as a response to social/political injustice: "This suggests terrorism is justified; we can't combat it until we eliminate its

## Letters

alleged root cause." Were Americans at risk? "America never responds unless attacked violently, directly. We'll wait until the terrorist equivalent of Pearl Harbor (selected bombing, hijacking), scream bloody murder about our unprepared government, then demand results."

"Let the politicians hear your voice," Ledeen counseled. Having watched the World Trade Center burn, will we -- finally -- let them hear?

Erika Holzer

Santa Fe

via e-mail

New York view

A friend of ours, a New Yorker, was just coming out of a subway stop near the World Trade Center when the second tower collapsed. This is what she wrote us that night: "When we were crawling out of the subway tunnel, people were cursing the politicians. Anti-Bush was strong on the streets."

Robert Graybill

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Discerning difference

We must distinguish between realizing the pain our own country has caused and justifying the horrific actions of the terrorists, for which no justification is conceivable. My prayer is that our military response will be effective, appropriate and fair. May we emerge from this tragedy united, strong and determined to avoid any national actions that cause the tragic death of innocent men, women and children.

Diane Dennedy-Frank

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Time to intervene

As a Jew who supported Israel during its creation, I am deeply disturbed by its unfolding history. Israel was born of unprecedented human tragedy but, in its development, has created another human tragedy. Palestinian suicide fanaticism is building with Israeli assassinations and retaliations. Arafat's weak control is dangerously giving way to growing popular support of the radical Hamas and Hezbollah factions. Soon the extremists will be in the driver's seat. The United States now must lead third-party intervention to preclude the escalation of a culture of retaliation-by-any-means building in the Arab world.

Fred Bender

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Crime, punishment

As an eighth-grade student at the Santa Fe Girls School, my class and I have been talking about the recent terrorist attack on the World Trade Center Twin Towers. We are the most powerful nation in the world. Are we really going to stoop so low as to bomb a country with thousands of already oppressed women, men and children? If we do

## Letters

this, we have sunk to the level the terrorists wanted us to sink to and we have committed the same crime as they have -- and should have the same punishment, by that logic. This is not a war. This is murder.

Natasha Schneider

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Oil, not freedom

I hear people discussing what civil liberties they'd be willing to give up for the sake of fighting terrorism. Rather than our cherished freedoms, why not sacrifice a little oil consumption? Reducing our dependence on that oil would reduce the need for our presence in the region and our tendency to support oppressive, undemocratic governments there. Potential terrorists would then have much less fodder for their movements.

Pamela Homer

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Terrorism is target

We now have worldwide support in a fight against terrorism. We risk losing this deserved support if we resort to full-scale war against Afghanistan. I would like to compare this with the violent attacks against abortion clinics and doctors committed by extreme right-wing religious fanatics. They are indeed an atrocity, and those who engage in such violence should be brought to justice. However, we do not view these attacks as acts of war by the Catholic Church and consider bombing the Vatican in retaliation. By this same token, we should indeed target those responsible for acts of terrorism and leave the innocent Muslim people out of it.

Carolyn Lee

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Sikhs not Muslims

Sikhs wear a turban as a symbol of freedom, democracy and the dignity of all humans. Understanding Sikhism (can) prevent harassment to a community which is not only as innocent as the those who died on the altar of freedom in the acts of terrorism but have themselves fought terrorism, genocide and attacks on human freedom for four centuries in northern India.

Paula A. Reid

Espanola

via e-mail

True 'superpower'

After securing cooperation from Pakistan and other neighboring countries, our bombers should forcefully invade Afghan airspace and drop our first weapon on every Afghan citizen: food. The next wave of attack should be water; after the third and fourth waves of airstrikes (clothing and medical supplies), the country will surely be on its knees and ready for our final assault: paratroopers. Doctors, nurses, farmers, teachers, plumbers, electricians and carpenters will be air-dropped into remote regions to rebuild a country torn by years of civil war and strife. Other

## Letters

innocent citizens across the globe may have to be treated the same way -- but no terrorist is going to have any reason to attack a country that has truly earned the term of "superpower."

Jim Norton

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Words of wisdom

I would like to offer these words of wisdom, written by man who spent his life attempting to place a mantle of peace on this nation before he, too, became a victim of hate -- the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.: "Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time; the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to oppression and violence. Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love."

Anne E. Beckett

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Lifestyle under siege?

What will empower the people of the Earth so they no longer desire our destruction? The long-term repercussions to Americans may not be a military siege but a curtailing of our opulent lifestyle. Establishing this commonality among all peoples is a tremendous undertaking that can only begin in this generation through the wisdom we've gained from this terrible day.

Rosemary Zibart

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Thanks to Delgado

I would like to thank Mayor Delgado for his compassionate and patriotic words at the Plaza. He spoke of keeping those you love close to you and of being vigilant in the defense of our country. He also prayed for peace but correctly pointed out that an evil such as terrorism must be defeated and not negotiated into passivity. It was a very moving experience, and I felt proud to be an American living in beautiful Santa Fe. I, for one, will be flying the Stars

and Stripes at my home from now on.

William F. Miller

Santa Fe

via e-mail

**Load-Date:** October 1, 2001

**World Briefing Middle East: Lebanon: Militiamen And Families Back From  
Israel**

The New York Times  
September 5, 2003 Friday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 5; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

**Length:** 108 words

**Byline:** Reuters

## **Body**

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Forty-nine Lebanese who fled with Israeli troops as they pulled out of South Lebanon in May 2000 returned home.

Two United Nations vehicles drove the returnees to Naqura, where the Lebanese Army arrested eight men suspected of serving in the pro-Israel South Lebanon Army. The rest, all women and children, were released. The S.L.A. crumbled when Israeli troops withdrew rapidly under pressure from Hezbollah guerrillas, ending 22 years of occupation. More than 6,000 Lebanese left with them, fearing reprisals, but Lebanese courts have imposed relatively light sentences on former militia members. More than half of those who fled have come back.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

**Load-Date:** September 5, 2003

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## *A bitter taste for vengeance*

Sunday Times (London)

April 7, 2002, Sunday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

**Section:** Features

**Length:** 2904 words

**Byline:** Marie Colvin in Ramallah

### **Body**

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Behind its campaign to crush militant Palestinian factions, Israel has embarked upon a brutal conflict that has escalated into all-out war. As the death toll mounts, Marie Colvin reports from Ramallah on the human impact of the political posturing.

Soraida Abu Gharbieh probably died because she believed that Israeli soldiers would not shoot civilians. She was born in America and had idealistic views. But as her husband drove her around the corner to her father's house, she was shot in the head and killed. When he pried their 10-month-old son from her arms, the baby was chuckling. He thought it was a game.

Last week Soraida was buried in a mass grave in the car park of Ramallah hospital. The city was under curfew, her family could not retrieve her body and the mortuary was overflowing with the dead. Soraida's husband remembers the last word that she spoke - his name, Murad - as she keeled forward, her body around the chubby boy in her lap.

The family's crime was to be frightened. When Israeli tanks began shelling buildings on the first night of the incursion nine days ago, Soraida thought they should go to her father's house because it was larger and lower down the hill.

"We were sleeping when we heard the explosions," Murad said. "The drive to my father-in-law's is only 200 metres. The soldiers began shooting at the car and I stopped. They were five metres away. Then came a rain of bullets."

Murad was hit in the shoulder and neck; he remembers the soldiers walked up to the car, looked in and laughed.

He struggled out, carrying tiny Muhsin, then fell and began screaming for help. Neighbours who tried to reach him were raked with gunfire. Farhan Saleh, his father-in-law, finally dragged him into the house. They found Soraida the next day, slumped in the front seat.

The silver Renault Clio is still there, its windows shattered by bullets, dried blood staining the steering wheel and her seat. "She was the smartest of my children," said Saleh, who brought his family back to Ramallah after 24 years in America because he was afraid of the crime and drugs in Washington DC. "And she thought her baby was the smartest, best baby in the whole world."

The Abu Gharbieh family was not alone in mourning last week. By Friday night 27 people had been killed in the city. Buried in the car park next to Soraida was Wadeed Safran, a grandmother in her fifties.

### A bitter taste for vengeance

She had been shot dead by an Israeli sniper as she walked from Ramallah hospital on her cane. She had broken the curfew because the cast on her leg had become too painful to bear. "She was nothing, nothing, no danger to the Israelis," said Dr Ahmed Haleem.

Across the West Bank there were similar stories of heartbreak and despair as Israeli forces rolled into all the cities they had withdrawn from in the mid 1990s - Ramallah, Qalqilya, Jenin, Bethlehem, Nablus and finally Hebron.

In Bethlehem, the siege of the Church of the Nativity entered its fifth day yesterday as an estimated 200 Palestinian fighters continued to seek refuge in the ancient building. The stand-off began on Tuesday as Israeli soldiers chased local militia men into Manger Square. By Tuesday afternoon, panicked and exhausted, the Palestinians shot the lock off a door of the church and in so doing dragged the Arab-Israeli fighting into one of the most sacred shrines of Christianity, the birthplace of Christ.

The cloister was quickly surrounded by Israeli tanks and snipers, ensnaring not only the resistance fighters but also the monks and nuns of the three religious orders who live and work inside the compound.

The religious community suffered its first victim at dawn on Thursday when Samir Salman, a Palestinian Christian, walked into the open from his nearby house to ring the church bells, as he had done for 30 years. He was shot dead and his body was left where he fell, in the middle of Manger Square.

More violence followed when the Israeli artillery reportedly struck a metal gate to the rear of the basilica. Convinced that an Israeli offensive was imminent, a few Palestinian militiamen tried to break out of the basilica but a heavy gun battle ensued, sending a clear message to those remaining inside that there would be no escape, only surrender.

The Pope sent a fax appealing for those trapped inside to trust in prayer. Israel pledged not to storm the church, but those inside were still not safe. Yesterday morning Father Ibrahim Faltas, the church's Franciscan superior, was shot at as he tried to open a window. Food ran low. "We haven't got much left," said Sister Lisetta Vingi, 69, a Roman Catholic nun. "We try to give a piece of bread to everyone. But we won't be able to hold out much longer."

Elsewhere across the region the casualties mounted as Israel continued its occupation of every West Bank city except Jericho. In Jenin, tanks and armoured personnel carriers tried to enter the narrow alleys of the refugee camp on Friday night, protected by Apache helicopters. A local journalist filming the incursion was shot dead; residents said ambulances were prevented from entering the area so nobody knew how many were killed or wounded. Other reports said that the town's Al-Razi hospital was hit by gunfire and vital supplies of water and oxygen had been damaged.

If the Israeli offensive was designed to wear down the will and capability of local fighters, then it has had little success so far. In the face of mounting opposition, Palestinians have learnt new tactics of resistance. When Israeli soldiers tried to enter the house of a wanted man in Jenin, Islamic militants lying in wait exploded a bomb in the house. Wounded Israeli soldiers were ferried out by helicopter. Residents of the nearby refugee camps are also said to have been equipped with explosive belts and hand grenades, with one Palestinian woman blowing herself up yesterday when Israeli troops approached her door.

In Nablus, an Israeli tank appeared to have been targeted by a home-made bomb, while fierce street fighting led to the death of at least a dozen militants as support for the fighters mounted.

In the words of one resident: "I am 32, but I'm more radical than Arafat. My nephew is 15 and more radical than me. We are all with the resistance now. What choice do we have?"

Another Palestinian fighter said that many had been inspired by Arafat's telephone interviews from his besieged compound in Ramallah. "We have seen that Abu Amar (the familiar name that Palestinians use for Arafat) is standing steadfast. We are standing steadfast for this reason. We don't need orders."

He added that the divided militia factions had now combined - gunmen from Fatah, Hamas and Islamic Jihad (see panel) were fighting side by side.

## A bitter taste for vengeance

WHETHER he intended it or not, the military operation launched by Ariel Sharon, the Israeli prime minister, has progressed from an incursion into all-out war.

Demonstrators poured into the streets of Arab capitals. Thousands protested in Jordan and Egypt, the two countries that have ties with Israel.

"Sharon's actions are threatening the whole region," said Marwan Muasher, the Jordanian foreign minister, who headed for Washington with a letter of appeal for President George W Bush from King Abdullah. Even Israelis, largely supportive of Sharon's operation, began to wonder if he had an exit strategy.

By Thursday the Americans had begun to rethink their hands-off approach. A week after the tanks had rolled into Ramallah, Bush announced that he was sending Colin Powell, his secretary of state, to the Middle East.

Bush criticised Arafat, saying the desperate situation that the Palestinian leader found himself in "was of his own creation", but for the first time he demanded that the Israelis make political concessions, anathema to Sharon, who has insisted that there must be a ceasefire before any peace negotiations can resume.

The Israeli leader has refused to listen to western diplomats, who believe no ceasefire can be brokered unless Arafat can offer his people political gains.

Arafat, despite the criticism, was heartened by the Bush speech. "He told me that he understood Bush is under heavy pressure," said a senior adviser trapped in the compound. "Contrary to news reports, Arafat thought the Bush speech was very positive."

He said Arafat had focused on the concrete issues in the speech: Bush's request for the Israelis to withdraw from the West Bank cities, stop the expansion of Jewish settlements in the occupied Palestinian territories and seek a solution that would see the creation of a Palestinian state alongside Israel.

Bush repeated his demands yesterday, calling on Israel to "withdraw without delay" from Palestinian territory. Sharon responded by saying Israel was aware of the Americans' wish for a quick end to the military offensive. In a statement, his office said: "Israel will make every effort to accelerate Operation Defensive Wall."

Israel has shown little inclination to bow to American pressure. On Friday Israeli soldiers fired on journalists who were trying to report on the arrival of General Anthony Zinni, the American envoy, in Ramallah. Sharon also refused to allow Zinni to meet a delegation of senior Palestinians, appointed to follow up his meeting with Arafat. Palestinians feared that Powell's predicted arrival towards the end of this week would be too late, with the Israelis stepping up their action before the diplomatic mission arrives. A repeated call by Powell yesterday that Israel should begin an immediate withdrawal appeared to have fallen on deaf ears.

"The partial pullback will not take place this week," said one Israeli military source. "We are not driving a speedboat that can be easily diverted. We are like a big ship which takes some time to turn around."

Others suspect more sinister motives. Along with destroying the "infrastructure of terror", Sharon's army has been busy systematically dismantling the Palestinian Authority civilian infrastructure built up since the mid-1990s. Such a wholesale operation will take time. Shaul Mofaz, the Israeli chief of staff, said last week that his army needed "four full weeks to complete the operation, and four more weeks to establish security".

Late on Tuesday, tanks and helicopters began shelling the headquarters of the Preventive Security Force, the Palestinian MI5, on the edge of the industrial zone. If the aim of the Israelis was to catch terrorists, it was a bizarre choice of targets. The PSF, armed and trained by the US Central Intelligence Agency, was the only force carrying out the Israeli demands and arresting known militants, often to the anger of the local population.

Other Israeli attacks in Ramallah struck directly at government buildings. During a brief curfew on Friday, Naim Abu Hummus, the Palestinian education minister, visited the shattered remains of his former headquarters.



### A bitter taste for vengeance

Israeli soldiers had gone from room to room destroying as they went. "At each room, they threw me in first," said the caretaker. "I was their human shield, even though I told them there is nobody here."

Smashed computers and ceiling tiles littered the floors alongside trampled pages of high school results. The ministry safe hung open, scorched by blast marks. The ministry accountant said 40,000 shekels (Pounds 5,800) was missing.

"I am sick," Abu Hummus said. "Our education ministry is sacred to us. If they want to search, I understand. But this is not the way to search. What can I tell our future generation about peace when they see this?"

Across a square, the building of the Palestinian Legislative Council was a similar scene of destruction. Both departments had been set up with millions of dollars from Europe, Japan and the World Bank. By the time the troops withdraw there may well be no government left to run the West Bank.

Sharon's plan may be to weaken or remove Arafat and return to the situation a decade ago when an Israeli military administration ran the occupied territories. No Palestinian, however critical of Arafat, thought this could succeed, but now many are wondering whether Sharon may have gone too far down the line to stop.

EVEN as the heavy fighting subsided, Palestinian families were struggling to come to terms with what had befallen them.

Near the Greek Orthodox church in central Ramallah, the Ziadi family was yesterday still holding a vigil for Majd, their 19-year-old son, taken by Israeli soldiers on Tuesday night with his father and the other men of the building, rounded up as house-to-house searches continued.

"The soldiers came and started shouting, 'You are Hamas, you are Hamas'," recalled a neighbour. "We told them, 'No, we are Christian', but they would not listen."

Mohamed Ziadi, Majd's father, was also taken but later released. Forty-eight years old and bespectacled, he was still in shock yesterday. The Israelis forced everyone from their building, then separated the men from the women and children. All the men were made to walk to the Israeli headquarters, their hands on their heads, in front of a tank that herded them through the streets.

When they were blindfolded and taken by bus to a nearby settlement for questioning, the soldiers' behaviour turned sadistic. "One soldier called a friend in Tel Aviv on his mobile phone and said: 'Listen to this.'"

"He held out the phone and began to beat one of us. The man screamed in pain. Then the soldier came back to his mobile phone and asked his friend, 'Did you hear that?' He was laughing."

Ziadi was kicked in the stomach and beaten. After questioning, he was released and walked three miles back to his house in the rain. Majd is still missing.

The family insists he is no militant; his room, now littered with the clothes and debris of smashed wardrobes from the Israeli search, seems to bear this out. There are no pictures of the martyrs that normally adorn the walls of militants.

AS Powell prepares for his tour of surrounding Arab countries, rallying support to drive a peace plan forward, such tales of Israeli brutality will do little to aid America's cause. Well-meaning missions and verbal posturing do not count for much in a region where the common language is violence.

As one normally moderate Israeli put it last week: "We gave these guys all the chances in the world to live in peace with us. They rejected every possible proposal, one after another, and started a war against us. They asked for a war and they got a war, so they should not complain now." It is one of the many tragedies of the past fortnight that such views are no longer the exception.

## A bitter taste for vengeance

Additional reporting: Uzi Mahnaimi, Tel Aviv; Tony Allen-Mills, Washington; Peter Conradi and Tom Walker, London

## THE PALESTINIAN MILITANTS

## HAMAS

Founded in 1987 during the early days of the first Palestinian uprising, this Islamic resistance movement was centred on the mosques of Gaza, where funding from Saudi Arabia enabled it to provide welfare services for the local population. It later gave rise to a more militant faction whose long term goal is the destruction of Israel and the creation of an Islamic state. It was a Hamas attack on a hotel in Netanya two weeks ago that prompted the recent incursions, but the group now enjoys even greater popularity among the Palestinian population than Arafat's own party.

## PALESTINIAN ISLAMIC JIHAD

Although sharing much of the ideology of Hamas, Islamic Jihad is even more militant in its aims, pressing for the immediate overthrow of Israel. Following the assassination of the group's former leader, Dr Fathi Shikaki, by Mossad agents in 1995, it experienced a brief decline but the second intifada has given it fresh impetus and attacks have been stepped up with funding from Iran. Although its hardline approach is only supported by a minority of Palestinians centred on Gaza, its small size and independence make it a difficult group for Arafat to control.

**HEZBOLLAH**

A fundamentalist Shiite organisation that was established in 1982 in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Although primarily concentrating on military targets across the Israeli border, it carried out the bombing of the Israeli embassy in Buenos Aires in 1992, causing hundreds of casualties and it is also said to have helped arm Palestinians by smuggling weapons through Jordan. Although attacks were scaled down following the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon two years ago, cross-border fighting increased in the past week, fuelling concerns that **Hezbollah** is preparing for a wider war in the Middle East with backing from Iran.

## AL-AQSA MARTYRS BRIGADES

A new group directly linked to Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement through its Tanzim military wing, the brigades are behind the majority of recent shootings and suicide attacks against Israelis. Well-equipped and ruthless in its tactics, its aims are purely secular, hoping to pressure Israel into greater concessions over the creation of a Palestinian state. Tanzim's leader, Marwan Baghouti, tops Sharon's most wanted list.

## PFLP

The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine was once the prime organisation linked to hijackings and terror attacks against Jewish targets around the world, but its secular Marxist ideals led to dwindling support during recent uprisings. However, it was responsible for the assassination of the Israeli tourist minister last October, after its own leader was killed by an Israeli missile attack on Ramallah. Its followers have recently carried out a number of suicide bombings.

## Graphic

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Focus

**Load-Date:** April 8, 2002

A bitter taste for vengeance

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End of Document

## **No Headline In Original**

INTELLIGENCER JOURNAL (LANCASTER, PA.)

January 30, 2004, Friday

Copyright 2004 Lancaster Newspapers, Inc.

**Section:** A,

**Length:** 467 words

**Byline:** HUSSEIN DAKROUB

### **Body**

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Thousands greet freed Lebanese prisoners BEIRUT, Lebanon Lebanese prisoners released by Israel returned home Thursday to a heroes welcome by tens of thousands of flag-waving people, from Hezbollah guerrilla comrades to veiled women who showered them in rice and rose petals. Israel also freed about 400 Palestinians to the West Bank and Gaza Strip as part of the German-brokered deal with Hezbollah. Delighted relatives greeted the Palestinians and expressed thanks to the Lebanese militant group. In return, Israel received the bodies of three of its soldiers and won the release of a kidnapped Israeli businessman. Israelis held a memorial service for the three dead, but whisked away Elhanan Tannenbaum, who was kidnapped while reportedly engaged in a shady business deal, for interrogation. At a mass rally in Beirut that Hezbollah staged to welcome the freed Arabs, the groups leader warned it would kidnap more Israelis to use as bargaining chips if necessary to secure the release of Lebanese prisoners. Turning to a huge poster of a guerrilla ambush in which the three Israeli soldiers were captured, Sheik Hassan Nasrallah declared: This is a choice. At the memorial service at Ben Gurion Airport near Tel Aviv where the three caskets were covered with Israeli flags and a woman sang mournfully Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon warned against more kidnappings. The complex swap carried out in two stages in Germany and in the Palestinian territories following months of arduous negotiations went ahead despite Thursdays bombing of a Jerusalem bus that killed 11 people, including the attacker.

#ISRAELPRISONERSJ30#The prisoner exchange boosts the regional standing of Hezbollah because of its success in freeing Palestinian prisoners and in extracting concessions from Israel. The United States lists Hezbollah as a terrorist group. The swap also sets the stage for a second phase in which Israel hopes to recover its most famous MIA, air force navigator Ron Arad, and the Arab side seeks the release of more prominent prisoners in Israel. Israels keen interest in Arad is tempered by its fear that further engaging the Lebanese militia could encourage kidnappings and bolster the radical brand of Islam espoused by Hezbollah and its Iranian patrons. Israel will not allow any enemy or terror group to turn kidnapping and ransom into a system, Sharon said. There are means we have not yet used. If, heaven forbid, the circumstances are changed, we will not hesitate to use them. But no threats could dampen the celebration in Beirut, where fireworks lit the night sky and the government greeted the returning men with a red carpet, a brass band and an honor guard. Tens of thousands of people lined the airport highway for several miles and packed the Hezbollah rally in south Beirut.

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

**Vegetarians are not fair game**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

July 8, 2001 Sunday

FINAL EDITION

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**Section:** EDITORIAL / OP-ED,; Letter

**Length:** 150 words

**Body**

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In his column of June 13, Doug Camilli endorses certain phrases employed by Anthony Bourdain, such as "Vegetarians, and their Hezbollah-like splinter faction, the vegans" and "Vegetarians are the enemy of everything good and decent in the human spirit."

These quotations would seem both absurd and patently offensive if directed at any other group, Jews or women, for example, and would rightly have citizens angrily banging on the doors of The Gazette.  
The Gazette

Vegans and vegetarians may make up a small portion of the population, but that does not mean that they can be freely made the target of ignorant jibes for the sake of filling up column inches.

Accuse me of political correctness if you will, but the use of this quotation indicates an appalling degree of bigotry toward a group that exists, for the most part, because of a wish to be kind toward animals.

Sylvan Korvus

Montreal

**Load-Date:** July 8, 2001

## *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

## *International Briefs*

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

December 15, 2005 Thursday

Copyright 2005 Woodward Communications, Inc.

**Section:** National/World; Pg. a6

**Length:** 1445 words

**Byline:** ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Dateline:** BOGOTA, Colombia

### **Body**

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#### Navy ends search for 3 sailors

The U.S. Navy called off its search Wednesday for three sailors whose helicopter crashed into the Pacific Ocean off Colombia during anti-drug operations the day before.

The SH-60B Seahawk helicopter went down early Tuesday while flying within sight of the frigate USS DeWert, which was its floating base, said Bill Austin, spokesman for the U.S. Naval Station at Mayport, Fla., the crew's home port.

The search ended Tuesday night, and the crew members' names were not released, the Navy said in a statement. The crew members were assigned to the Helicopter Anti-Submarine Squadron Light 48, the U.S. Navy said in a statement.

#### Fuel depot explosion under investigation

LONDON - Police are talking to a tanker driver who might have accidentally ignited a fuel depot explosion that darkened skies across Britain and affected more than 20,000 workers, fire investigators said Wednesday.

Investigators say the fire still appeared to be accidental but they were looking into several possible causes, including a tanker driver whose engine may have ignited fumes at the Buncefield depot in Hemel Hempstead, northwest of London, early Sunday.

"We're speaking to this driver," Hertfordshire Police Assistant Chief Constable Simon Parr said as firefighters continued to battle one of the remaining blazes at the depot.

#### Airstrikes kill 4 Palestinian militants

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - Israeli missiles fired from the air ripped apart two cars in the Gaza Strip on Wednesday, killing four Palestinian militants and wounding five other people, including the spokesman for Islamic Jihad, the military and Palestinians said.

The Israeli military said the first airstrike targeted operatives from the small Popular Resistance Committees who were on their way to carry out an attack against Israel. The vehicle was loaded with explosives, it added.

## International Briefs

The military would not say where it believed the car was headed, but it was struck near Karni, Gaza's main cargo passage with Israel, a site of past attacks.

After nightfall, a missile fired at a car in Gaza City wounded Islamic Jihad spokesman Khader Habib, group official Omar Shallah said, pledging to continue the struggle against Israel.

Habib was taken to a safe house for treatment and was in stable condition, Islamic Jihad officials said.

The Israeli military had no immediate comment.

Lebanese mourn anti-Syrian editor

BEIRUT, Lebanon - Tens of thousands of flag-waving Lebanese - both Christian and Muslim - poured into the streets Wednesday to mourn an anti-Syrian critic slain in a car bombing, marching behind his coffin and blaming Damascus for his death.

Some shouted "Syria out!" as they marched in memory of Gibran Tueni, a relentless anti-Syrian lawmaker and leading newspaper editor, and a general strike called in his honor shut down many banks, businesses and schools.

Hundreds of Lebanese troops and police took up positions in a central square - the site where on March 14 about 1 million people heard Tueni call for the withdrawal of Syrian forces from Lebanon.

"Everyone who takes to the street is saying 'Enough killing,'" said fellow legislator Ghenwa Jalloul.

"We are here to say no matter how many of us they kill, there will always be others to speak out," said 23-year-old Hiyam Dayekh, a Muslim student in blue jeans and a black T-shirt. "We are not afraid."

Tueni was killed Monday by a car bomb as he was being driven to work through an industrial suburb of Beirut - the fourth anti-Syrian figure slain since a series of bombings began Feb. 14 with the assassination of former Prime Minister Rafik Hariri.

A previously unknown group has claimed responsibility for the blast that killed Tueni and two of his bodyguards, and wounded 30 other people. Colleagues and political allies have blamed Syria, which has denied involvement.

Anti-Syrian groups here are counting on public anger at Tueni's killing to push for ridding the government of remnants of the Syrian era in Lebanon - including intelligence operatives - and to close ranks over internal political divisions and confront the government in Damascus.

But their choices are limited. The anti-Syrian groups are divided and, although they hold a majority in Parliament and Cabinet and control the police, they have not been able to stop the bombing campaign that has been killing their leaders one by one.

Pro-Syrian President Emile Lahoud has rejected their calls to resign after Syria withdrew its army from Lebanon in April, and efforts to remove him have been stymied by disagreements.

Syria has already been accused of involvement in Hariri's murder, although Damascus denies this. A U.N. investigative team said it had evidence that Syrian and Lebanese intelligence played a role in the killing and said Syria has been slow to cooperate in the probe.

Wednesday's protest and funeral was by far the largest gathering since the massive March 14 rally to demand Syria give up its hold on Lebanon, at the peak of the drive to end Syria's influence.

Police, who wouldn't give their names because of the political sensitivity of the protests, put the crowd estimate at more than 100,000 people. But some other witnesses - and police speaking in an unofficial capacity - said they thought it could be twice that number.

## International Briefs

In Tueni's parliamentary district of Ashrafieh, several thousand people marched behind his coffin and coffins of his bodyguards, wrapped in the national flag of red and white stripes with a green cedar tree. Some marchers carried olive branches.

The pallbearers rocked the coffin, a traditional sign of deep grief, as they walked slowly along several miles of streets lined with mourners. The procession passed through Gibran Tueni Square, named after his grandfather, who founded the An-Nahar newspaper in 1933.

Some people lit fireworks and others applauded as the marchers passed. Others climbed lampposts to get a better view. At An-Nahar's offices, a giant portrait of Tueni hung on the side of the building. Thousands of men, women and children waved Lebanese flags and held Tueni's picture, or those of Hariri and another An-Nahar journalist killed in a June bombing.

Many shouted slogans against Lahoud and Syrian President Bashar Assad.

"It is shameful not to take part," said Imad Abu Shaqra, 44, who added he did not belong to any political group. "To lose a symbol like Gibran is a lot, not only for us but for future generations. ... We are not ready to continue to be the victims."

Anti-Syrian sentiment was running high in the crowd. Shouts of "Syria out" mixed with patriotic music and the national anthem.

Asked who was behind Tueni's killing, Dayekh, the university student, replied: "Do you need to ask this question? It's 100 percent the Syrians."

Several thousands more gathered at Nejme Square outside the Parliament and the St. George Eastern Orthodox Cathedral, applauding and blowing whistles as the coffins made their way through the crowd.

Prime Minister Fuad Saniora and former presidents, politicians and dignitaries filed into the church, its bells tolling. Those inside broke into applause as Tueni's father, An-Nahar publisher Ghassan Tueni, called for "no to revenge, no to hatred and no to bloodletting."

He urged Muslims and Christians to unite, saying: "Let us bury with Gibran all the hatred."

Tueni's daughter, Nayla, borrowed from her father's call in March on Muslims and Christians to stay united to serve Lebanon. "An-Nahar will not die. Lebanon will not die. Freedom will not die. This is the pledge of loyalty to Gibran."

While pictures from the funeral were shown on CNN and other international broadcasters, Syrian state television ignored it.

In a special session of parliament, even Tueni's political opponents paid tribute. The leader of the Hezbollah bloc, Mohammed Raad, said Tueni was a man of "courageous word and uncompromising position."

Tueni's uncle, Telecommunications Minister Marwan Hamadeh, lashed out at Syrian intelligence services, implicitly blaming them for a string of political assassinations during the 1975-90 civil war. "How can we continue silence or in covering up the criminals?" he said.

Legislative ally Akram Shehayeb told the assembly: "The equation is clear. He who gives orders is in Damascus. The executioner is here in Beirut."

The general strike also was also observed in the southern provincial capital of Sidon and in the mountains of central Lebanon. But in eastern Lebanon, where pro-Syrian groups are dominant, it was ignored.

Meanwhile, seven Israeli warplanes flew over southern, central and northern Lebanon on reconnaissance flights Wednesday, the Lebanese army command said. Lebanon and the United Nations have frequently criticized Israel for the flights.

International Briefs

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

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## 1.1. THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

DEFENSE and SECURITY (Russia)

March 16, 2005, Wednesday

Copyright 2005 Agency WPS

**Section:** TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

**Length:** 1579 words

**Byline:** Valeria Sycheva

**Highlight:** SECURITY

### **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



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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

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

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End of Document

**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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**Section:** NEWS; Pg. A7

**Length:** 1286 words

**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.'"

I

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.

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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

## *What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?*

The New York Times  
April 13, 2003 Sunday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 11

**Length:** 1466 words

**Byline:** By Gary Rosen; Gary Rosen is the managing editor of Commentary.

### **Body**

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#### TERROR AND LIBERALISM

By Paul Berman.

214 pp. New York:

W. W. Norton & Company. \$21.

IN the final chapter of his book "A Tale of Two Utopias" (1996), Paul Berman laid out the rival historical claims of Francis Fukuyama and Andre Glucksmann, big thinkers with very different notions of what the cold war's end would bring. Fukuyama, the optimistic American, looked forward, in his famous thesis about "the end of history," to the slow, sure spread of liberal democracy. Glucksmann, a Frenchman and chastened ex-Maoist, saw dark, even monstrous possibilities ahead in the likely reaction to the free world's triumph. Berman himself split the difference: "Since I am a critic and not a philosopher, I see no reason not to say that both messages seem true enough."

Though more of a gloomy Glucksmannite these days -- who isn't? -- Berman has not given up on the idea of a globe-sweeping democratic revolution. What has changed, as his new book attests, is his frame of mind. No longer content to sit back and watch the world-historical drama unfold on its own, he has exchanged his critic's pen -- employed with distinction over the years in the pages of this review and at magazines like The New Yorker, The New Republic and Dissent (where he sits on the editorial board) -- for the more personal, engaged style of an advocate.

In the raging debate over what to do about Islamism and Iraq, Berman has been that rarest of creatures, a banner-waving liberal interventionist, eager to see the United States stand, as he writes here, "for the freedom of others." "Terror and Liberalism" is his manifesto -- an eloquent, strangely quixotic, frustratingly uneven effort to chart a course between right-wing "realists," with their cold calculations of national interest, and left-wing "anti-imperialists," who recoil at their country's every international move. Neoconservatives occupy a similar ideological terrain, but, as Berman himself notes, his approach is too "drippy" for membership in that camp. Call his position Wolfowitz for lefties, or (to borrow an apt Woody Allen quip) a severe case of Dissentary.

Berman is reluctant to describe the present crisis as a "clash of civilizations." Samuel Huntington (who popularized the phrase) may have been prescient when he noticed, a decade ago, that "bloody borders" marked every point of contact between Muslim and non-Muslim peoples, but Islam itself, in Berman's view, explains only part of the

## What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?

problem. The Middle East's tyrants, terrorists and raving ayatollahs owe their nastiest qualities less to their own traditions, he believes, than to ours. They are, in a word, totalitarians.

Though hardly alone since Sept. 11 in making this claim, Berman is one of the few commentators who haven't used the label simply as an epithet. He wants us to see Osama bin Laden and Saddam Hussein -- not to mention such affiliated villains as the Taliban, Hezbollah and Hamas -- in a new light, as heirs to a mode of thought handed down by the Bolsheviks, fascists and Nazis, and anticipated in the words and deeds of Saint-Just, Dostoyevsky's Ivan Karamazov and an assortment of bomb-throwing anarchists. Left or right, Berman argues, liberalism's sworn foes have always shared the same ideal -- "submission," "the one, instead of the many," "the total state, the total doctrine, the total movement" -- and, upon encountering intransigent reality, have always brought in their wake the same bloody result: "a cult of death."

Does the totalitarian shoe fit? Berman makes a compelling case, particularly with regard to the Islamists, who have obligingly practiced the "politics of slaughter" everywhere they have appeared. From Khomeini's "human wave" attacks in the Iran-Iraq war, to the devastation wrought by the Algerian and Sudanese civil wars, to the suicide missions of "holy martyrs" in the Middle East, the United States and elsewhere, the toll in human lives has been in the millions -- mass death on a scale that would have made Hitler or Stalin proud. As for doctrine, Berman offers a long, subtle exegesis of the work of Sayyid Qutb (1906-66), the chief ideologist of the Islamist movement. Qutb emerges as a thinker of sinister depths, convinced that the modern West, and those Muslim societies influenced by it, suffer from a "hideous schizophrenia," brought on by the separation of civil and religious authority. Qutb's solution to the anomie and alienation? Jihad by an Islamic "vanguard" to restore what should never have been sundered.

Against this ominous backdrop, Berman rightly cheers the American rout of the Taliban, seeing it as a promising start to the sort of idealistic, antitotalitarian war that he hopes Washington will continue to wage. In Afghanistan, he writes, "the scenes of victory were plainly scenes of liberation" -- women flocking to schools, men shedding their "hated beards," movies and music back in the public square -- and the country found itself with a leader who was neither a warlord nor a mullah but, wonder of wonders, a "man with

democratic aspirations." For this, and against a chorus of liberal critics, Berman gives due credit to President Bush, but he worries (with good reason) about the limits of the administration's plans for securing Afghanistan's fragile achievement. Looking ahead, he takes Bush to task for failing to make democracy the centerpiece of his case for what Berman matter-of-factly calls "the next stage of the war, in Iraq."

That war is now a fact, of course, as Berman recognized it might be while writing his book. The great virtue of his account is to lay bare just what sort of evil the United States has chosen to confront. As he shows, Baath ideology is a noxious totalitarian brew -- a mix of mystical pan-Arabism, Soviet-style economic and political principles, and violent anti-Semitism, with a cult of the leader thrown in for good measure. Nor can anyone doubt Saddam Hussein's character. His rule in Iraq has been, as Berman observes, "irrational, paranoid, murderous, grandiose and demagogic," replete with serial atrocities and aggressions.

Still, Berman's treatment of the Iraq question is disappointing. Part of the problem is simply a failure to address this hottest of hot-button issues in anything like the necessary detail. "Terror and Liberalism" was conceived, as Berman tells us, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks of Sept. 11, and it reflects that origin, focusing intently -- and effectively -- on the nature of the Islamist threat. To this rich analysis, Berman has appended a few relatively brief sections dealing with Saddam Hussein and Baathism. They feel like an afterthought.

Berman devotes little attention to the wide-ranging debate about Iraq that absorbed so much ink and air time in the months leading up to the conflict. Indeed, though he concluded that war was justified, he rejects, with a wave of his hand, the primary arguments advanced for it. The grounds offered by President Bush, he writes, "looked dishonest"; they were "either unconvincing (the argument that Saddam was conspiring with Al Qaeda) or convincing but less than supremely urgent (the problem of Saddam's weapons program)." Instead, for Berman, the real rationale for "going after Saddam" was "Wilsonian, in a militant version." As he wrote in *Slate* after completing his book: "If disarmament is the goal, there is no reason we shouldn't keep up a pressure short of invasion. I would favor an

## What Would Woodrow Wilson Do?

invasion for a larger purpose, though, which is this: to begin a rollback of the several tendencies and political movements that add up to Muslim totalitarianism."

In this peculiar point of view there is something at once admirable and perverse. Berman undoubtedly stands on the side of the angels when he decries the foreign policy cynics of both parties. The United States can and should do far more to spark liberalization and democratic reform abroad, for reasons not just of high principle but of self-interest. He is right, too, to insist that the need for such a campaign is nowhere clearer than in our relations with the sundry despotisms of the Islamic world.

But the wish to bring liberty to Baghdad -- or Tehran or Riyadh -- is not, in itself, reason enough to take up arms. As any card-carrying member of the American left might be expected to know, war is an ugly business, an answer only to the gravest of threats. Berman saw no such threat in Iraq. He advocated toppling Saddam Hussein not to destroy his fearsome weapons but, more grandly, to repudiate his vicious regime. This sort of idealistic posturing may save Berman from being branded a Bushie, but it makes him seem unserious, even reckless. Much as we might detest totalitarian dragons, we gird ourselves to slay them, as the president has argued, only when they're on the loose and breathing deadly fire.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Drawing (Boris Kulikov)

**Load-Date:** April 13, 2003

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**Film & Music: Film: The banality of murder: Beirut is being shaken by a new film that tracks down the killers - not the victims - of the notorious massacre of Palestinian refugees by Lebanese gunmen**

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

November 4, 2005

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**Section:** Guardian Film and Music Pages, Pg. 8

**Length:** 1400 words

**Byline:** Rory McCarthy

## **Body**

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There is a large district in southern Beirut, not far from the airport, where the streets overflow with people and where ugly, cramped apartment blocks rise high above the snarled traffic. Once it was infamous as a kidnappers' redoubt, and even today the Islamic militia Hezbollah still holds sway: the party's yellow flags hang from lamp-posts next to portraits of dead guerrilla fighters.

Around one corner, just past the old airport road and halfway between a mosque and a church, is a grand, old house of the sort that once covered the city but have since largely disappeared. Behind its brick walls and tall black-metal gates, trees shade a large garden and an elegant, two-storey whitewashed house. It is the family home of Lokman Slim, a Lebanese writer and publisher, and his German wife Monika Borgmann, a journalist; they have turned the ground floor into a centre for research into the history of Lebanon's brutal civil war. There is little else like it in Beirut, for this was a war the government would rather its people forgot.

Slim and Borgmann set out to challenge that official amnesia. For their first project they have spent the past four years producing a film that strikes through the taboos of postwar Lebanon, where the war often goes unmentioned only 15 years since it ended. Lebanon was locked in a civil war from 1975 to 1990 between dozens of rival militias that were backed in shifting alliances with foreign governments. The Palestine Liberation Organisation, which was by then based in the refugee camps of Beirut and southern Lebanon, soon became involved in the long-running tensions between the Lebanese Muslims and the Maronite community. The rival groups fought against each other and then among themselves, and when the war ended, 15 years later, at least 100,000 were dead and another 100,000 seriously injured.

While others have focused on the victims of the years of killing, the couple hunted down the killers. In their 98-minute documentary they interview six Maronite Christian militiamen who describe in sometimes appalling detail how and why they took part in the infamous killing spree at the Sabra and Chatila Palestinian refugee camps in September 1982, one of the most controversial moments of the war.

The film, *Massacre*, is simply done and gives a rare insight into the banality of murder. It won the Fipresci award when it made its debut at the Berlin film festival this year and is slowly being released across Europe.



Film & Music: Film: The banality of murder: Beirut is being shaken by a new film that tracks down the killers - not the victims - of the notorious massacre of P....

"It is as important to talk to the victimisers as to the victims if you want the real truth of what happened during the massacre," says Borgmann. "It is really on two levels: first, reconstructing the truth and second, better understanding the phenomenon of violence."

The Palestinian refugee camps were attacked at the height of the Lebanese civil war on September 16 1982, by gunmen from Christian Maronite militias. For the next 48 hours they tore through the camps, which are on the southern edge of Beirut, in an indiscriminate wave of killing of the most horrifying kind. At least 2,000 people died, among them women and children. The Maronite gunmen were allies of the Israeli army, who were then occupying Beirut, and Israeli soldiers were deployed near the camp at the time of the attack. The gunmen claimed they were looking for members of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, whom they blamed for the assassination two days earlier of Bachir Gemayel, the newly elected Lebanese president. An Israeli inquiry later found that Ariel Sharon, then defence minister, bore indirect responsibility for the attack on the camps, and he was forced to resign.

In 2001, Slim and Borgmann set out to find Lebanese who had taken part in the killings. They soon found five men and started meeting them to explain their project. But then the Lebanese security forces discovered what the couple were trying to do. The five men were arrested and later fined, and Slim and Borgmann were taken in for interrogation. Security agents insisted the five had been lying and trying to deceive the couple. It was clear the authorities - who had, several years previously, ensured there would be no formal inquiry into the killings - didn't want the film to be made.

"It collapsed and we had to start again from zero," says Borgmann. The couple found six more men and set out again to talk to them and convince them to take part in the film. They told no one of their plans. "We lived a double life. We were really working underground," she says. In the end, all agreed to talk and each spent several hours in front of the camera. Their identities have been protected: dark shadows cover their faces and the couple have made sure that the men's tattoos, which are singled out for frequent close-ups in the film, have since been removed or altered.

Their intent was to question the men, but to stop short of judging them. "It is a kind of empathy, participative empathy that we used while being convinced that we are not an inquiry commission," says Slim. "We are not doing the work which should have been done by an inquiry commission." "They are human beings, not devils who fell from the sky," adds Borgmann.

An amnesty law means these men and the thousands of others who fought during the war have simply got on with their lives. There has been no process of investigation, no opening of the files, no truth and reconciliation commission. Some believe Lebanon's fragile, deeply sectarian society may not even be ready for it.

In the film it is the precision of the men's accounts that strikes you as most shocking, together with some of the initial orders given. "Young and old, babes in arms, show no mercy. That was our slogan," says one at the start. Some of the six describe in detail the training they received from the Israelis. One still has his Israeli-made uniform. There is the occasional lighter moment: an incongruous burst of song, for instance, and the story one man tells of how he and his fellow fighters were taken to Israel, sent to a nudist beach and ordered by a naked female Israeli officer to strip for training. But soon the film grows darker and darker as the men grow more and more confident in describing the crimes they committed and their astonishingly limited emotional reaction. The camera studies their body language.

"That was a good war, that was," says one. "After a while, killing gets to be like playing a game of marbles," says another. They are given black and white photographs taken by the first journalists on the scene. They are horrific: images of arms and legs barely recognisable as corpses. In one of the most choking moments, one of the six turns over picture after picture of these dead bodies and then stops at a photograph of two dead horses. He pauses for an age and finally says: "Why kill the horses?" Now you begin to understand how deeply the men have dissociated themselves from the reality of their crimes. Some have not even talked before in such detail about the killings they perpetrated. Astonishingly, not one of the six has asked to see the film since it was finished.

Film & Music: Film: The banality of murder: Beirut is being shaken by a new film that tracks down the killers - not the victims - of the notorious massacre of P....

Only one seems touched by guilt, and his muted account is almost more powerful than the vivid descriptions of the others. "I may be just sitting here but I'm boiling up inside," he says. "I still suffer from the battle I'm fighting with myself. We never asked why we did it."

The film offers no resolution. The interviewers do not even ask the men if they feel they deserve to be punished, and instead, the movie ends with ever more detailed and appalling descriptions. Although no violence of any kind is shown, it is still challenging to watch; when the film was first shown in public in Lebanon on last month at a Beirut theatre, at least one person walked out. Others were deeply troubled. In a discussion between the audience and the couple afterwards, there was praise, though some were clearly shocked. One woman described the six as "bastards" and asked calmly: "How did you manage to have a level of calm so as not to commit physical violence against these men?" Another asked why there was not another voice in the film that questioned the twisted values of the six militiamen.

"We took a more radical way," Borgmann replies. "This was a terrible massacre. I don't see the spectator is going to come out with a comfortable feeling. The film is less about giving answers and more about asking questions."

**Load-Date:** November 4, 2005

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## *Elmasry's interview started firestorm*

The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)

October 30, 2004 Saturday Final Edition

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**Section:** FRONT; Pg. A11; EXCERPT

**Length:** 1357 words

### **Body**

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Mohamed Elmasry, national president of the Waterloo-based Canadian Islamic Congress, sparked an outcry from Jewish and Muslim groups for comments made on The Michael Coren Show, on the Crossroads Television System, on October 19.

The topic of the talk show was What Is a Terrorist?

In addition to host Coren and guest Elmasry, participants included Irfan Syed, a Muslim lawyer, Peter Merrifield, who was identified as a terrorism and security consultant, and Adam Aptowitzer, Ontario chairman of B'nai Brith's Institute for International Affairs.

Critics denounced Elmasry's remarks and called for his resignation. On Wednesday, the congress issued an apology by Elmasry who also offered to resign as president. Board members refused to accept Elmasry's resignation.

Record staff

Many Record readers may not have seen the episode on which the controversial remarks were made.

Here are some excerpts of what Coren, Elmasry and other guest panelists said on the show.

Some of the verbal sparring, where it's difficult to decipher what was said by whom, is identified by the term (CROSSTALK). BREAK is a period of time that may or may not include commercials.

\*

ELMASRY: My definition (of terrorism), for what it's worth, is that any act committed by a group or individual or a state against totally innocent civilians. And totally we have to really put underneath that big red line. Using, use of violence against totally innocent civilians. So this means these civilians should not be military. They should not be a spy. They should not be civilians helping a military.

COREN: And the purposeful target, not the accidental hurting of those people, but the direct targeting of those people.

ELMASRY: Yes. Yes.

BREAK

COREN: Let's go to pre-occupation of the West Bank.

## Elmasry's interview started firestorm

ELMASRY: No, but let me give an example, one example from European history. If you look, actually, in the resistance of the French against the Germans, they did the same thing. They blow up bridges. They did kidnap people, they assassinate people.

COREN: Who?

ELMASRY: The French. They assassinated soldiers and their collaborators, and French. French civilians. (CROSSTALK)

COREN: But Mohammed, I think that's a rather tenuous argument. I mean I know a little about the war and the French resistance and the lack of it, sadly, but . . . I can't remember of one case where the French resistance, the Maquis or even their allies, communist or Gaulist or nationalist, would go into a school where German children were and kill them all.

ELMASRY: That's why we're saying that totally innocent people.

COREN: OK.

ELMASRY: . . . and totally innocent people, obviously, is the children. But they are not innocent if they are part of a population which is a total population of Israel is part of the army. (CROSSTALK) From 18 on, they are part of the soldiers, even if they have civilian clothes.

COREN: So if Israeli children are killed, that is a valid use of military force by Palestinians?

ELMASRY: No, they are not valid.

COREN: So what are you saying?

ELMASRY: I'm saying that it has to be totally innocent, OK? Totally innocent are the children, obviously, OK? But they are not innocent if the army (inaudible) in civilian clothes, OK?

COREN: What about women?

ELMASRY: The same, if they are women in the army.

COREN: Anyone over the age of 18 in Israel is a valid target.

ELMASRY: Anybody above 18 is a part of the Israeli army.

COREN: Everyone in Israel and anyone and everyone in Israel, irrespective of gender, over the age of 18 is a valid target?

ELMASRY: Yes . . .

BREAK

ELMASRY: . . . I would like to wake up one day and there is no terror either by a state.

COREN: You mean you'd like to win.

ELMASRY: No, I would like actually for the conflict to stop, for the aggressor (which Elmasry identified as Israel, earlier in the program) to stop the aggression, OK? So this means that, for example, when you look at any conflict, there is an aggressor and their victims.

COREN: Not as simplistic as that, I think.

ELMASRY: It is actually . . . You don't have to have a Ph.D. in political science to identify that in the Israeli West Bank, occupied West Bank and Gaza, the Israelis, for the 37 years, are the occupying power. So the resistance is

## Elmasry's interview started firestorm

the same as the French resistance. Use low-tech. You don't have helicopter phantoms, and they do whatever they want. They make mistakes; they make mistakes, yes, and we have to condemn it.

COREN: I've got to tell you I think you've just dug a very large hole for yourself there. I am not unsympathetic, and I do believe that Israel uses way too much force and I believe that Palestinians are blanketed with the term "terrorist," which is very unfair, but what you've said there, I believe, is very dangerous talk. There's a massive difference.

SYED: I wouldn't be so definitive as saying that everybody over 18 is a legitimate target. I mean obviously that goes too far. I mean even according to our faith belief, you have to distinguish between combatants and non-combatants. That includes women, children, the elderly and all that.

ELMASRY: Everybody above 18 is a combatant.

BREAK

COREN: I, in fact, don't know a Palestinian in this country who would agree with you that every Israeli over the age of 18 is a legitimate target. I've never met someone who has said that.

ELMASRY: Let's explain the situation. For example the Taba (Egypt) suicide bombing the last two weeks now. OK. These people actually targeting people who they don't know. The composition of these people they don't know. And this is a terror, a terrorist act.

(CROSSTALK)

COREN: They do know. They're families on holiday . . . religious holiday.

ELMASRY: No, no. They don't know.

COREN: Yes they do.

ELMASRY: They know the composition in general. But they don't know actually if they are 100 per cent Israeli. They are children there. (CROSSTALK) This is a terrorist act.

APTOWITZER: Because they might be Egyptian and not Israeli?

ELMASRY: No, no, no. Because, because actually the composition of the situation is much different from going to a bus stop where Israeli in uniform and some also in civilian clothes, but they are soldiers on leave. OK? Israel has a popular army. They have a draft.

UNIDENTIFIED: Why?

ELMASRY: I don't know why because they want to keep their (CROSSTALK)

COREN: . . . and Syria and the entire Arab world keeps threatening them for goodness sake . . . We're back in a few moments on the Michael Coren Show. Don't you dare go away. I don't think you will, actually. See you in a few moments.

BREAK

ELMASRY: We've been actually doing an anti-Islam in the Canadian media for the last seven years.

COREN: Yes, I know and often it's incredible nonsense.

ELMASRY: Which we actually try to instruct Canadian Muslims. You give me the owner of a newspaper today in Canada and I tell you how many Muslim terrorist words were used frequently for the (unintelligible) a month. Canwest (Global Communications Corp.), it has its own league, OK, because of the ownership. The rest are different. Now when you have professional journalists, they have a duty, a social duty, to protect the readers from a

## Elmasry's interview started firestorm

negative stereotype. So you have between a word "terrorist" and you have also "freedom fighter." In between, there is a spectrum who are, for example, Afghan men. You have rebels, you have militants, you have etc. etc. Now, in my thinking I don't want you to actually put anything which is different from the facts you're presenting to your readers or your viewers. A terrorist act is a terrorist act. Taba has been a terrorist act. OK? Even if you don't know who has actually done it. And you said well in that case Hamas took the responsibility or Islamic Jihad took the responsibility because this is their name. Hamas or Hezbollah.

COREN: Is a suicide bombing on a bus in Israel an attack of terrorism?

ELMASRY: Yes. Yes. OK. And then after that, Hamas is an Islamic group. The only thing that we're actually objecting in the study is that when you put this back to back. Because this is actually a political use of language. The National Post is actually consciously using the word terrorist, because they're putting a political spin.

COREN: I don't necessarily disagree with you . . .

BREAK

## Graphic

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Photo: MOHAMED ELMASRY, PRESIDENT OF THE CANADIAN ISLAMIC CONGRESS

**Load-Date:** October 30, 2004

## *Old kamikazes not suicidal*

The Toronto Star  
October 3, 2004 Sunday

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**Section:** BUSINESS; Pg. F02

**Length:** 1418 words

**Byline:** Bruce Wallace, Special to the Star

**Dateline:** CHIRAN, Japan

### **Body**

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These are the dusky days of old age that kamikaze pilots like Shigeyoshi Hamazono were not supposed to see.

Three times during the final months of World War II, Japanese officers sent Hamazono off to die, ordering him to crash-dive a single-engine plane stuffed with bombs into an American warship.

Bad weather aborted the first mission, an oil leak the second. On his final attempt, in April 1945, he encountered three American pilots over the sea off Okinawa.

In the ensuing dogfight, Hamazono was burned and took shrapnel in his shoulder, but his plane limped home.

You could call him the luckiest man in Japan, though he didn't see it that way at the time.

"I was, of course, ready to die," says Hamazono, who has aged into a bent but dignified 81-year-old.

Fate allowed him to see his hair turn wispy and gray. And fate made him part of one of history's strangest and most exclusive brotherhoods: "kamikaze survivors."

Most were still waiting for orders to fly when Japan surrendered to the Allies in September 1945. A few others were spared because they did not reach their intended targets - a failure Hamazono found intolerable at the time.

He was on standby to fly a fourth mission when Japan capitulated. Denied the opportunity to redeem his honour, he felt disgraced.

"I wished I had died," he says.

In the post-war years, a traumatized nation treated the kamikaze survivors like pariahs. But in the last decade, their reputation has recovered.

Publishers clamour for memoirs. Scholars pick over their backgrounds in search of an explanation for their willingness to die for a lost cause. Japanese nationalists buff and shine their memory like medals.

"Kamikaze" has ceased to be a slur in Japan. If the Japanese still can't agree on whether the pilots were victims or heroes, brainwashed conscripts or volunteers, they are at least prepared to honour their spirit of sacrifice.

## Old kamikazes not suicidal

But the emergence of suicide bombers in the Middle East and elsewhere is complicating matters.

The survivors bitterly resent the world's appropriation of the term - which means "divine wind" and was originally coined to describe the unexpected typhoons that saved 13th-century Japan from invading Mongol ships - as shorthand for suicide bombers of every stripe.

There are the "Al Qaeda kamikazes" who flew passenger planes into office towers; "Palestinian kamikazes" who blow up pizza parlours filled with teenagers in Jerusalem; "female Chechen kamikazes" willing to detonate explosive girdles in the middle of school gymnasiums crammed with children.

Japan's originals are insulted to be mentioned in the same breath as suicide-bomb "martyrs."

"When I hear the comparison, I feel so sorry for my friends who died, because our mission was totally different from suicide bombers," Hamazono says as he strolls through the Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots in Chiran, a former air base on the southern Japanese island of Kyushu.

The kamikazes attacked military targets, he says, but "the main purpose of a suicide bomber is to kill as many innocent civilians as they can."

That, he says, "is just murder."

The distinction is made by other survivors of the Tokkotai, or Special Attack Force, conventionally known as the kamikaze.

Some survivors say they were motivated solely by patriotism - love of country - not religious hatred or revenge.

And many point out that - while Islamist suicide bombers expect a place in paradise - the Shinto religion offers no reward of life after death.

Yet their arguments can't prevent those who use suicide tactics today from claiming Japanese kamikazes as an inspiration.

Naoto Amaki, Japan's former ambassador to Lebanon, recalls delivering a polite lecture to Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, leader of the Shiite Islamist militia Hezbollah, in 2001.

Amaki says he told Nasrallah that Japan's experience was a lesson in the ultimate futility of violence.

Not so, replied the sheik.

"He told me: 'We learned how to do suicide missions from the kamikazes.' Nasrallah said the Shiites all commend the Japanese samurai spirit."

Amaki says the analogy is faulty.

"We Japanese are not a religious people; we just obey instructions" he says. But the Arab world is looking for support wherever they can get it, so they seek out every excuse to legitimize their actions."

Takeo Tagata agrees.

"We did what we did for military purposes," says Tagata, 88, a kamikaze instructor who was ordered to fly a mission the day before Japan surrendered.

"No matter what supreme ideas they talk about, suicide bombers are just killing innocent civilians, people who don't have anything to do with their war."



## Old kamikazes not suicidal

Not all the pilots were eager to die for the emperor, says Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney of the University of Wisconsin, an anthropologist who has studied the private letters of the 1,000 or so kamikazes conscripted from the ranks of university graduates.

Her research reveals them to be a well-educated group, steeped in the works of German romantics and Karl Marx, among others, and traumatized by having to choose between self and country.

"These men were not volunteers and they did not commit suicide for the emperor," she says. "Their country was in a state of total war, and after agonizing over their situation, many felt they had no choice but to go."

Many kamikaze survivors echo that sense of surrendering to inevitability.

"It was desperation that made us do it," says Hideo Den, an 81-year-old survivor.

"We believed our actions would please our parents because it was honourable," says 77-year-old Iwao Miura. "That's all."

Hamazono says that, although pilots were asked to "volunteer," they really had no choice.

Of 100 or so in his naval squadron who were asked to volunteer, all but three agreed, he recalls, spreading out photographs of himself that show a handsome young man in pilot's gear.

"The other three got beaten up."

Then, in April 1945, with U.S. forces massing in Okinawa for an invasion of the main Japanese islands, Hamazono was tapped a third time.

Before his third mission, he made a last phone call to his brother, who showed up at the heavily guarded Chiran air base soon afterward bearing a sticky-rice cake.

"The rice cake was from my mother," Hamazono recalls. "I didn't want to eat it, but my brother forced me to. And when I unwrapped the leaf holding it, I could see the fingerprint of my mother on the rice cake.

"Seeing her fingerprint shocked me. And I thought: 'If I don't die now, it will bring shame on my parents.' That's when I realized: 'I have to die.'"

His eyes glisten in the telling.

"Sad, isn't it?" he says quietly, shuffling the photos in front of him.

A sense of wasted lives is missing at public memorials to the kamikazes, places like Chiran's museum and Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine, which make it their business to bestow posthumous heroism on the kamikazes.

At the Chiran museum, a mural depicting a dead Japanese pilot being lifted from his watery grave by six angelic women greets the tens of thousands of annual visitors.

The museum's displays include reproductions of kamikaze pilots' last letters home, all expressing joy at being able to die for the emperor - and all written under a censor's eye.

Their wills are posted alongside photos of smiling young men in flight gear, the captions urging visitors to note the "beauty in the laughing faces."

The letters recall the grainy farewell videos made by departing suicide bombers in the Middle East, posed in front of flags, explosive belts already wired.

Even after 60 years to reflect, many survivors still aren't quite sure what pushed them into the cockpit during those last months of the war.

## Old kamikazes not suicidal

"The emperor was everything then, a god, divine," explains Den, who has spent his adult life in politics and is a socialist member of Japan's Upper House. Only the country's surrender prevented his suicide mission.

Post-war Japan offered little consolation to the survivors.

In the blackened ruin of their country, civilians saw the few thousand kamikazes in their midst as uncomfortable reminders of Japan's folly, the ultimate caricature of the Japanese warrior as zealot.

Kamikazes were regarded as having flown on emotional autopilot. They died, it was said, "like dogs."

Yet, says Hamazono: "I still don't think it was a mistake. I'm proud that I flew as a kamikaze. And I'm glad I came back. We did what we did out of a love for our parents, for the nation.

"Just like suicide bombers," he continues, dropping his defences for a moment, "we did it out of love for something."

Los Angeles Times

'We Japanese are not a religious people; we just obey instructions'

## Graphic

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SHIZUO KAMBAYASHI AP With the emperor's chrysanthemum seal seen in the background, a Japanese World War II veteran dressed in his imperial air force uniform pays homage to dead comrades at Tokyo's Yasukuni shrine.

**Load-Date:** October 3, 2004

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**Abbas orders forces to prevent attacks against Israel**

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

January 18, 2005 Tuesday

Copyright 2005 Woodward Communications, Inc.

**Section:** National/World; Pg. a5

**Length:** 172 words

**Byline:** ASSOCIATED PRESS

**Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank

**Body**

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Palestinian leader Mahmoud Abbas, under growing pressure to rein in militants, ordered his security forces Monday to prevent attacks on Israel and investigate a deadly shooting of Israeli civilians last week.

But Palestinian security officials were short on details about possible actions against armed groups, and a spokesman for Hamas said his extremist group would continue attacks.

The order by Abbas, approved by his Cabinet, was the Palestinian leadership's first step against militants since six Israelis were slain Thursday at the Karni crossing between Israel and the Gaza Strip.

While Israel's government cautiously welcomed the announcement, it remained unclear how far Abbas was willing to go. He has insisted he will use persuasion, not force, to get militants to halt violence.

Meanwhile, Israeli warplanes twice bombed suspected Hezbollah targets along the border in southern Lebanon on Monday, wounding two women, after guerrillas blew up an Israeli bulldozer in a disputed area near the frontier, Lebanese officials said.

**Load-Date:** January 18, 2005

## 1.5 THREE, FOUR, ACE[]

What the Papers Say. Part A (Russia)

March 14, 2005, Monday

Copyright 2005 Agency WPS

**Length:** 1578 words

**Byline:** Valeria Sycheva

### **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, 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. 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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## **Israeli Army Splits With Poles On How to Govern Territories; THE SITUATION**

The Forward

October 31, 2003

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**Section:** News; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1546 words

**Byline:** Chemi Shalev

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM

### **Body**

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With fears growing that Israeli-Palestinian relations are reaching a dangerous stalemate, a power struggle has erupted within the Israeli security establishment over the conduct of Israel's war against terrorism.

Israel's military brass is pressing for an easing of some recent restrictions on the Palestinian population, arguing that the restrictions on movement and economic hardships are "increasing hatred" toward Israel and strengthening extremist groups like Hamas, according to a senior military source. The army's demand has brought the chief of staff, Lieutenant General Moshe Ya'alon, into an unprecedented confrontation with both Defense Minister Shaul Mofaz and the head of the Shin Bet General Security Services, Avi Dichter, who insist any lifting of restrictions would allow increased terrorism.

Lending urgency to the debate is the pending formation of a new Palestinian government under the prime minister-designate, Ahmed Qurei, also known as Abu Ala. While most Israeli decision-makers give Qurei slim odds of success in the post, many are equally fearful of the consequences of his failure, warning of a possible meltdown of the Palestinian Authority and the collapse of the Palestinian territories into chaos. Senior military sources warn against Israel's showing Qurei the same "stinginess" that they say contributed to the failure of his predecessor, Mahmoud Abbas.

Ya'alon and his top officers argue that the tough economic measures and severe restrictions of movement imposed on the Palestinians following the October 4 suicide bombing in Haifa, in which 21 people were killed, are fueling extremism and support for terrorism on the Palestinian street, dooming Qurei's admittedly slim chances of success. Mofaz and Dichter counter that the risk of increased terrorism is too great to lift restrictions.

At the same time, Mofaz is secretly pressing Prime Minister Sharon to launch a new initiative of his own, under which Israel would offer to resume transferring territories to Palestinian control, in exchange for a Palestinian pledge to fight terrorism.

Sharon's office has acknowledged to reporters that the prime minister has convened a series of internal government discussions aimed at "examining the situation" and "offering new ideas" on advancing the peace process.

Critics dismiss Sharon's newfound interest in the peace process as a political gambit aimed at deflecting international and local attention from a recent spate of controversial decisions by his government. In recent weeks the government decided to retroactively legalize "illegal outposts" and build new housing in the territories, enhance

## Israeli Army Splits With Poles On How to Govern Territories THE SITUATION

funding for Jewish settlements and push ahead with construction of the so-called separation fence along its most expansive lines, which include the town of Ariel, deep inside the West Bank. Both the fence and the settlement construction brought rebukes from the Bush administration this week.

Adding to the pressure on Sharon to produce an initiative is the spurt of diplomatic activities outside the coalition, particularly the hotly disputed Geneva Understandings masterminded by the dovish former justice minister Yossi Beilin. While the government has been dismissive of Beilin's initiative, it has countered it with a steady barrage of criticism and diplomatic countermeasures, suggesting that concerns are higher than officials acknowledge. Foreign Minister Silvan Shalom ordered an unofficial but strongly worded Israeli *démarche* to be submitted to the Swiss authorities, who partly funded Beilin's talks with the Palestinians. Shalom also charged at a Cabinet meeting that France and Belgium were offering \$7 million to finance a public-relations campaign aimed at winning Israeli public support for the understandings. Beilin's aides retorted, "in our dreams."

Still, Beilin's initiative appears to have started a trend. Within Sharon's coalition, the Shinui party, divided over the Beilin initiative and stung by internal critics who say it is part of a "government of paralysis," is said to be devising its own diplomatic initiative. The details have yet to be made public. Meanwhile, well-placed sources say that Labor Party leader Shimon Peres has held clandestine talks with Qurei, aimed at reviving the so-called "Peres-Abu Ala plan" first formulated at the end of 2001. That plan called for an interim Palestinian state to be established within eight weeks on territory comprising 42% of the West Bank, in the areas designated as "A" and "B" - partly or fully Palestinian-controlled - under the Oslo accords. Both sides were supposed to aim to reach a permanent agreement within one year.

According to knowledgeable sources, Peres is trying to convince Qurei to extend the short timetable mandated in their original plan, in order to make it more palatable to Sharon. If he succeeds, Peres will then try to persuade Sharon to adopt the amended agreement and form a new national unity government. Alternatively, if Sharon refuses, Peres will launch an all-out political campaign against the Likud government, accusing it of "squandering a chance" to achieve peace.

Western diplomatic sources who maintain close contacts with the Palestinian prime minister say that despite his public statements of support for the U.S.-backed road map to peace, Qurei is actively seeking a way around the road map's requirement that the Palestinians first dismantle the so-called infrastructure of terrorist organizations. The sources maintain that Abu Ala is seeking a package deal that would promise the Palestinians immediate and tangible achievements, such as the limited state envisaged in the Peres-Abu Ala plan or even a "Gaza First" scenario.

A senior military source told the Forward this week that Qurei's first step is to try to achieve a new and comprehensive cease-fire with the militant Palestinian groups, including Hamas, and to then demand from Israel a reciprocal halt to all military actions. Israeli intelligence, the source said, believes that Hamas is indeed interested in securing a lull in the fighting and is therefore conducting a dialogue with Qurei and that the main obstacle was and remains Yasser Arafat. The source maintained that Qurei is a wily and sometimes ruthless politician who may be better suited to "neutralize" Arafat than his luckless predecessor, Abbas.

The senior military source said that Qurei's chances of success would be greatly influenced by the outcome of the American campaign against terrorists in Iraq. The source said that a veritable "conglomerate of terrorism," including Al Qaeda, Iran and Hezbollah, has joined Saddam loyalists in an all-out effort to combat U.S. forces in Iraq. The terrorists' aim is to sway American public opinion to press for a complete U.S. withdrawal. That, the source said, would be seen by the Palestinians as a victory for extremism and would probably create even more turbulence in the occupied territories.

Thus, while Sharon is said to be content to await news of Arafat's failing health before making any real move, there is growing concern in the army that time is running out and that Israel must act now to try to preserve Qurei's new government. In private conversations, Ya'alon and other top officers have voiced worries that the Israeli public may be losing some of its vaunted fortitude - as well as its confidence in the army's abilities.



## Israeli Army Splits With Poles On How to Govern Territories THE SITUATION

A top military source told the Forward that the Haifa suicide bombing, though not the bloodiest terrorist attack since the start of the intifada, had a devastating effect on Israeli public opinion, deepening a national mood of gloom and despair.

The military itself has come under unusually sharp criticism lately. On one hand, it faces accusations both at home and abroad of causing needless civilian casualties in airborne strikes against the Palestinians. On the other hand, mainstream critics charge that command errors were at fault in a series of recent successful ambushes of Israeli units, in the West Bank and in the Gaza settlement of Netzarim, in which seven Israeli soldiers were killed.

The harshest criticism, however, is over policy, not execution. The Netzarim incident, which left two unarmed **female** soldiers dead, has revived a long-standing debate over the wisdom and necessity of maintaining the isolated Jewish settlement in the middle of Gaza. Despite recurring calls to abandon the settlement unilaterally, however, both Sharon and the army expressed adamant opposition, claiming that such a withdrawal would be construed as a "triumph for terror."

Finally, it should be noted that while the political and bureaucratic tug-of-war about the next move toward the Palestinians is gathering steam, there are those who believe that the momentous events will come from another quarter altogether: the ongoing investigation of Sharon's alleged involvement in campaign finance abuse. Sharon was interrogated by the police this week, and according to well-placed sources, "the evidence against him is mounting."

A police recommendation to prosecute Sharon, or even just one of his sons, would throw the Israeli political system into mayhem, with Sharon having to fight for his own political life. The situation with the Palestinians, no matter how critical, would then take a backseat and await its turn.

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

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## *Defining Hamas: Roots in Charity and Branches of Violence*

The New York Times  
June 16, 2003 Monday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Length:** 1496 words

**Byline:** By IAN FISHER

**Dateline:** GAZA, June 15

### **Body**

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To most Israelis, Hamas is a terrorist group and little more, the core of Palestinian hatred that explodes against Israeli civilians who are innocently shopping or riding on buses. When talk of any peace accord nears, Hamas advocates the ideological extreme: no compromise on a Palestinian state, based on Islam, that stretches from the Mediterranean east to the Jordan River. It talks often of driving all Jews from the land.

But to a Palestinian brother and sister here who are raising the four children of another brother who was killed in a construction accident in 1997, Hamas is a very practically minded savior. It pays for the children's school, transportation, clothing, even food.

"I am so happy Hamas is taking care of them," said the brother, Abu Shaher Safdi, 26, a tailor. "There is no way I could afford it now."

Since Hamas was founded in 1987 during the first Palestinian uprising, these have been the group's pillars: religion, charity and the fight against Israel. It is zealous on all three fronts, and that makes it a difficult foe, not easy to "deal harshly with," as President Bush urged today. Hamas itself, the Arabic acronym for Islamic Resistance Movement, means "zeal" or "bravery."

The difficulty, many experts say, is the acceptance of Hamas by ordinary Palestinians, an acceptance that has grown over 32 months of renewed violence here, allowing Hamas to rival more mainstream political groups like Yasir Arafat's Fatah movement.

There is no agreement among Palestinians on suicide bombing, and many do not want an Islamic state either. But still Hamas has gained currency as a serious alternative to Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority: better organized, less corrupt and more effective against what they see as Israeli aggression.

"Hamas is not some dark, shadowy organization in a corner," said Magnus Ranstorp, a Hamas expert at the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. "They are part of Palestinian society."

But many Palestinians are also exhausted by this conflict. The question now is whether Hamas, itself under much pressure here and in strongholds like Syria and Lebanon, is prepared to act on that and to agree to a cease-fire against Israel that would make room for the new peace plan pushed by the Bush administration.

## Defining Hamas: Roots in Charity and Branches of Violence

For several days, this looked unlikely: Following the killing a week ago of five Israeli soldiers by Hamas, which had just rejected the peace plan, Israel tried to kill a top Hamas leader, Dr. Abdel Aziz Rantisi.

Hamas struck back with a suicide bombing in which 17 Israelis were killed. After that, Israel and Hamas vowed all-out war. In a storm of bombs, bullets and missiles, about 60 Israelis and Palestinians died.

But this weekend, both sides crept back from the edge. As American monitors arrived and the Bush administration ratcheted up pressure on Arab governments to help rein in Hamas, Israel proposed halting its strikes on Hamas to allow the Palestinian Authority to renew cease-fire talks with the group.

Hamas, which had pulled out of the talks a week and a half ago, said it was ready to begin negotiations again. Today it met with an Egyptian delegation, and on Monday it may meet with the new Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas.

What Hamas is willing to accept is not likely to please Israel's hard-line prime minister, Ariel Sharon. Mr. Rantisi, recovering from wounds, said today that Hamas would halt suicide bombings inside Israel, but with conditions that included a halt to actions directed against Hamas. He said the group would not, however, stop its attacks on Israeli soldiers or Jewish settlers in the West Bank and Gaza.

"We have an initiative," Mr. Rantisi said in an interview with an Arab journalist working for The New York Times. "We will avoid attacking Israeli civilians as long as Israelis stop killing our children, our women and stop destroying our houses."

Whether Hamas is actually willing to honor a cease-fire that might give the peace plan a chance goes to the very heart of what Hamas is.

Many Israelis believe that Hamas would scuttle any peace plan. Its commitment to military action, suicide attacks and to one Palestinian state on land that includes Israel, they argue, makes it impossible for the group to accept one state for Israelis, one for Palestinians. In 1997, it was added to the American list of terrorist organizations.

But Dr. Ziad Abu Amr, the Palestinian minister of culture in charge of negotiations with Hamas, said today that he believed that was a misreading of Hamas's roots. He noted that Hamas rose from the Muslim Brotherhood, which he said compromised and worked within mainstream politics while adhering to its long-term goals.

"Let's remember the history of Hamas and the history of its mother organization," he said. "Violence is a tactic. We had flare-ups, and we had periods of attacks and counterattacks. But they can refrain from these suicide attacks and other attacks if there is an alternative."

The roots of Hamas begin in the person of Sheik Ahmed Yassin, who was active in Muslim Brotherhood politics in Gaza and established a social welfare group.

In 1987, when Palestinians rose up against the Israeli military occupation, he founded Hamas.

The group's popularity stemmed in part from the absence of the P.L.O., whose leaders were exiled in 1982. Some experts contend that Israel encouraged the development of Hamas indirectly as a way to weaken Mr. Arafat's Fatah party.

"The intention at the time was to try to stop the increasing power of Fatah," said Yohanan Tzoref of the International Policy Institute for Counter-Terrorism in Israel.

From demonstrations against Israeli soldiers, the resistance grew more severe: Hamas members kidnapped and killed Israeli soldiers, engaged in battles with P.L.O. members and turned to suicide bombing as a tactic.

Mr. Arafat began a campaign to rein in Hamas, and had some success, but then Hamas became more active during the second Palestinian uprising, which began in 2000. Since then, Hamas has carried out wave after wave of suicide attacks, gaining much support among ordinary Palestinians as the group most willing to resist Israel.

## Defining Hamas: Roots in Charity and Branches of Violence

But in these three years, the lives of Palestinians have gotten much worse. This has led to some rethinking by many Palestinians about the wisdom of suicide attacks.

"The suicide attacks have been very, very damaging to us," said Dr. Haider Abdel-Shafi, once a top P.L.O. negotiator. "They deprived us of the sympathy of the world."

Still, Dr. Shafi said he believed that Hamas had developed organizationally to the point that it could replace the Palestinian Authority, though he added that most Palestinians could not, in the end, subscribe to its militant doctrine.

"At least they are more consistent in their attitude," he said. "They are more organized than the authority. They have to be looked at as an alternative."

Dr. Shafi and Dr. Abu Amr said the important thing in these next delicate days of the peace efforts would be to assure Hamas that it would have a role in any new Palestinian order. Then, they said, Hamas could be persuaded to renounce violence.

The problem in this for many Israelis is that they believe such a renunciation would probably be only a pause on the way to Hamas's ultimate goal.

Dr. Ranstorp said that the group believed that history would eventually reward it with a Palestinian, Islamic state on all the land that is now Israel.

"When I interviewed over 100 Hamas activists and all leadership, I was quite astonished because everyone told me that an Islamic state would begin about the years 2022 or 2023," he said. "I asked them, 'What are the conditions?' They said: 'Life after Yasir Arafat. Islamic revolution in Jordan and Egypt. Time and demography are on our side.' "

## CHRONOLOGY

### Important Dates in Hamas History

1987 -- Hamas, an acronym for the Islamic Resistance Movement, is founded by Muslim Brotherhood members during the first intifada, or uprising, against the Israeli military presence in the West Bank and Gaza.

1988-92 -- Period known as the "war of knives." Hamas members kill members of the Palestine Liberation Organization, as well as several Israeli soldiers.

1989 -- Israel arrests Hamas's spiritual leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

1991-92 -- Hamas kidnaps several Israeli soldiers, leading to expulsion of several leaders to Lebanon. Contact with **Hezbollah** increases Hamas's knowledge of explosives.

1996 -- Israelis kill Yihye Ayash, Hamas leader known as "the Engineer." Hamas responds with spate of suicide bombings that help elect a Likud prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who promises to fight terror groups. Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, begins a major crackdown on Hamas leadership.

1997 -- Sheik Yassin is released from prison.

2000 -- Second intifada begins. Support for Hamas grows, especially in Gaza, based on its willingness to fight Israel.

2001 -- Clashes between Palestinian Authority and Hamas.

## Defining Hamas: Roots in Charity and Branches of Violence

2003 -- Of nearly 100 suicide attacks since 2000, Hamas has carried out the greatest number.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

### Graphic

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Photo: In Gaza City yesterday, children played beneath graffiti espousing support for Hamas, which has come under increasing fire for its suicide attacks. (Tyler Hicks/The New York Times)

**Load-Date:** June 16, 2003

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**Turning back the clock in the Muslim world: U.S. actions in Iraq threaten to undo, not remake, the region**

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

June 13, 2004 Sunday Final Edition

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**Section:** Insight; Pg. D8

**Length:** 1445 words

**Byline:** ROBIN WRIGHT

## **Body**

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On a warm spring day in 1983, I stood across from what had been the seven-storey U.S. embassy in Beirut and watched as rescuers picked through tons of mangled steel, torn concrete and glass shards - the rubble left by the first Muslim suicide bomber to strike a U.S. target. Tenderly, rescuers put bits of bodies - more than 60 were killed in the lunchtime bombing - in small blue plastic bags.

Over the past quarter-century, I've covered the rage of the Islamic world, witnessing much of it up close, losing friends who became victims to its extremist wings and watching its furies swell. But I've never been scared until now.

The stakes in Iraq - for which the Abu Ghraib prison has tragically become the metaphor - are not just the future of a fragile oil-rich country or America's credibility in the world, even among close allies. The issues are not simply whether the Pentagon has systemic problems or whether U.S. Defence Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld, the Pentagon brass or even the administration of U.S. President George W. Bush can survive the pictures.

Washington Post

And the costs are not merely the billions from the U.S. treasury to foot the Iraq bills today or the danger that Mideast oil becomes a political weapon during tumultuous days down the road.

The stakes are instead how the final phase of the Modern Era plays out. That 500-year period, marked by the age of exploration, the creation of nations and the Enlightenment that unleashed ideologies designed to empower the individual, faces its last great challenge in the 50 disparate countries that constitute the Islamic world - ruled by the last bloc of authoritarian monarchs, dictators and leaders-for-life.

The Iraq war was supposed to produce a new model for democratic transformation, a catalyst after which the United States and its allies could launch an ambitious initiative for regional change.

But now, whatever America's good intentions might have been, that historic moment might be lost for a long time to come.

Over the past dozen years many factors favoured transformation in the world's most volatile region. The buzz among students at Tehran University, editorial writers in Beirut and Amman, the leading human-rights activist in Cairo, a feminist leader in Rabat, intellectuals in Lahore and teenage girls in Jakarta has increasingly been about democratic reforms and how to achieve them. New public voices, daring publications, occasionally defiant protests in widely diverse locales gave shape to an energetic, if somewhat disjointed, trend.

Turning back the clock in the Muslim world: U.S. actions in Iraq threaten to undo, not remake, the region

Thanks to satellite dishes, shortwave radios and the Internet, Muslims have longingly watched societies from South Africa to Chile to the former Soviet republics shed odious ideologies and repressive regimes. Many haven't wanted to be left behind; they've wanted much of what we've wanted for them.

And despite the initial flirtation with fiery versions of political Islam after they emerged a quarter-century ago, Muslims of vastly diverse cultures and languages, in areas stretching from North Africa through the Arab heartland into Asia, ended up rejecting the ideas propagated by Iran's "mullahcracy" in the 1980s and the Taliban's intolerant theocracy in the Afghanistan of the 1990s.

The recent patterns of regional change - education, a new middle class and a demographic bulge heavily favouring the young generation - have pointed societies in another direction. In the end, the quest for genuine freedoms either left many militant movements on the margins or forced them to join the mainstream.

In a globalizing world, Muslims are also increasingly conscious of common ground with the West, often more so than Americans are. How many Americans realize that Islam embraces the teaching and prophets of Judaism and Christianity as part of a single religious tradition?

That common history is reflected when Muslim friends send me Christmas cards with quotations about the Virgin Mary and the birth of Jesus - from the Koran. Allah is not a different god, only the Arabic word for the same god, like Yehovah, or Elohim in Hebrew. To that point, many Muslims are as appalled by the grisly beheading of Nick Berg as Americans are ashamed of the cruel inhumanity and apparent debauchery at Abu Ghraib.

The bottom line: The primary battle for the majority of Muslims has not been with us. Their jihad - or struggle, as the word is accurately translated - has been against their own autocratic governments.

A surprisingly small minority of extremists, from Lebanon's Hezbollah to Osama bin Laden's Al-Qa'ida, have gone after Americans most often because they were seen as the prop for corrupt and immoral regimes, or the U.S. deployed troops on their land to achieve suspect objectives.

Yet I am scared because the foundation for the region's democratic transformation has steadily eroded over the past year. Whether the U.S.-led occupation was wise or well-handled, the way it unfolded in Iraq has profoundly disappointed many Muslims, both near and far from Iraq's borders. The accumulation of events threatens to undo rather than remake the region, in turn delaying or diverting the course of the Modern Era's final phase.

The occupation of Iraq has affirmed the worst fears of the Islamic world, reinforcing distaste for America and what it represents, and spawning wild conspiracy theories about the motives of the West.

Many Muslims now see the American intervention as a devastating betrayal, starkly reflected by the Red Cross's recent conclusion that 70 to 90 per cent of all Iraqis who were "deprived of their liberty" - by the world champion of democracy - "were arrested by mistake." Others in the region react with fury to the symbolism of a naked Arab male on a concrete floor tethered to a female American soldier looking down with uninterested arrogance on her prisoner at Abu Ghraib.

"Beyond those frolicking soldiers, there is a certain cavalier attitude toward Arabs and Muslims that has created a sense that Arabs are guilty until proven otherwise," reflected Hisham Melham, a Washington correspondent for al-Arabiya television. So while America's ambitious postwar initiative to promote democracy in the "greater Middle East" - which includes such imaginative proposals as training 100,000 female teachers to instruct and empower girls by closing the gender gap - will probably still make its debut, it's unlikely to generate much traction anytime soon.

For now, America's ways have been discredited for many beyond America's borders. The reaction in some quarters is already ridicule. In the end, the most enduring impact of Iraq and the travesty at Abu Ghraib might be to set back the course of the Modern Era for years, even a generation or more.

With emotions so raw and expectations unquenched, I am now anxious about what will fill the vacuum. Disillusioned by what they see as the failure of the world's superpower to provide protections, Muslim societies in search of

Turning back the clock in the Muslim world: U.S. actions in Iraq threaten to undo, not remake, the region

change might turn inward for sustenance and direction. There are few alternatives. Their own governments - several of them America's allies - have banned, imprisoned or exiled genuine opposition.

And that might not only widen the gap with the West, it could also spur an intense clash of civilizations, a prospect I had until very recently rejected. With the shared quest for empowerment, I thought it could be avoided.

But what I fear most is that frustration over Iraq and disgust with Abu Ghraib will give common cause and a rallying cry to far-flung Muslim societies. Until now, Al-Qa'ida - with its global reach - has been the exception. Most Islamic groups have had local causes and operated at home or very nearby. And they've always been a distinct minority.

The worst-case scenario is that the Cold War of the 20th century is followed in the early 21st century by a very warm one, with no front lines, unpredictable offensives and a type of weaponry from which we're not yet sure how to protect ourselves. This time, the majority could become involved, either by empathizing, sympathizing or actively participating in a cause they see as righting a wrong against them.

The unintended consequence of the Iraq experience could well produce a third generation of militants - a cadre that didn't fight against the Soviets in Afghanistan in the 1980s or train in bin Laden's camps in the 1990s - who will launch a conflict whose tactics, targets and goals will be even more amorphous. Their conflict will be more than an intensified or expanded war on terrorism. And, I fear, we'll be groping for a long time to figure out how to counter it - and how to get back to finishing that final chapter of the Modern Era.

## Graphic

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Color Photo: RAJ PATIDAR, REUTERS; An Indian Shiite shouts anti-U.S. slogans in Bhopal. U.S. moves in Iraq have breathed new life into Muslim hardliners.

**Load-Date:** June 13, 2004

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## *War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere*

The New York Times

April 11, 2004 Sunday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section 4; Column 1; Week in Review Desk; Pg. 1; The World: Roadblock

**Length:** 1376 words

**Byline:** By JEFFREY GETTLEMAN

**Dateline:** Baghdad, Iraq

### **Body**

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JUST the other day, on the outskirts of town, clouds of black smoke boiled up from the highway. A fuel truck was on fire, engulfed in flames.

Another day in Baghdad. Another hit on a military convoy.

But when a photographer and I stepped out of our car to take pictures, it was clear we were stepping into another Iraq.

Insurgents flooded onto the roadway, masks over their faces, machine guns in their hands. They began to fire at approaching Humvees. The neighborhood around us scattered into a mosaic of panic. Women slammed gates behind them. Cars shot gravel from their tires as they raced away. And we were just 20 minutes outside the city center in a place that up until the last few days was as safe as any.

In Kufa, a palm-lined town on the Euphrates, bearded Shiite militiamen who swear their allegiance to a rebel cleric are driving around in police cars. American officials had just bought those police cars. American soldiers had just trained the policemen who had been riding in them.

In the Khadamiya neighborhood, one of the prettiest spots in Baghdad, men passed out grenades where just days ago children sat under umbrellas, licking ice cream. It was stunning how natural it looked, how quickly armed men seemed the norm, how nobody seemed to bat an eye, even though the heart of Baghdad now looked like the heart of Kabul.

The atmosphere in Iraq has completely changed. In just a week, a fading guerrilla war has exploded into a popular uprising. "Six months of work is completely gone," said a State Department official working in southern Iraq. "There is nothing to show for it."

It was as if the clock had been set back to the early days of occupation. Again tanks are blasting apart targets in Baghdad neighborhoods. Cities like Falluja and Ramadi are under siege or, more accurately, re-siege.

But there is a difference. Back then, last April, when I was a reporter embedded with the United States Army, Iraq seemed as if it was slowly coming under control. Now, after three months on my current stint here, that nascent sense of order is collapsing into chaos.

## War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere

This past week, a photographer (yes, the same one) and I headed to Ramadi, 50 miles west of Baghdad and the scene of a fierce battle that claimed the lives of 12 marines. The trip was supposed to take two hours. We had to take back roads.

The fields glowed green with rice, the palm trees swayed, and children splashed in rivers. We saw women in the doorways of mud huts squinting at us. We saw a slice of life in Iraq that was quiet and simple.

But just as I was admiring the scenery, a minivan zoomed in front of our car and blocked the road. A dozen gunmen with scarves tied over their faces jumped out. Some had heavy machine guns. Some had rocket-propelled grenades. We were surrounded. "Out! Out!" the men shouted. We were in a bulletproof car. Or allegedly bulletproof. Who really knew? The insurgents banged on the inch-thick glass with the tips of their Kalashnikovs. I didn't want to open my door.

But with the fatigue of one who is thoroughly defeated, I got out. I stood in the dust and watched the men level their guns at my chest. I thought about my mother. I was hoping it wouldn't hurt.

The translator and driver, usually so cool, even joking, under fire, looked terrified. One insurgent swung the safety off his gun, making a very deliberate metallic sound I hope never to hear again, and unloaded half a clip into the sky.

"Move!" he shouted.

We stepped over the hot brass bullet casings that had just been spat into the dirt and got into the minivan. We had no options. We had driven into the heart of the Sunni resistance, into a little town between Baghdad and Ramadi completely overrun by mujahedeen fighters, right now one of the most anti-American places on the planet. We later learned that we had arrived just at the time of an attack.

Our captors were not sure if we were journalists or spies. Eventually, they satisfied themselves that they could trust us. The critical moment came when a man with aviator sunglasses brought us a bowl of water.

"Drink," he said.

My mouth was so parched from fear that no sip ever tasted so wet.

"Now," he said, "you are our friends."

Later someone told me that if you are offered water -- or tea, or anything in such a situation -- take it. The gesture means you are a guest. And hospitality in the Arab world can spell the difference between making it out of a sticky situation or not. The man with the aviator sunglasses wasn't just giving me water. He was giving me life.

Eventually, we were allowed to drive away from the village. As we left, the insurgents launched an attack on the marines. Rockets flashed. The insurgents cheered. The last we saw of them their fists were in the air.

And I was left with the question: Why now?

Why did the Shiites, who had been patient for a year, suddenly pour into the streets to kill Americans? Why are at least some Shiite and Sunni groups, who used to be rivals, now cooperating? How did the slaughter and mutilation of four American civilians in Falluja set off a chain reaction that reverberated beyond the Sunni Triangle and jolted the entire country?

I punched out an e-mail message to Kenneth W. Stein, a Middle East historian at Emory University, who suggested in response that the killing of four American contract workers in Falluja on March 31, and the macabre celebration afterward made extreme violence possible and even invigorating.

"These examples whip up emotions, show to the public just how successful the struggle is against the foreigner, the occupier, the alien," Mr. Stein wrote. "Pack mentality can overcome reason and propriety."

## War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere

But before Falluja two things happened -- clear in retrospect -- that helped unravel what little hope was here.

The first was hundreds of miles away. On March 22, in the Gaza Strip, Israeli forces assassinated Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the leader of Hamas and a hero to Palestinians. Outraged Arabs hit the streets in Baghdad and other Middle Eastern capitals. Many Americans in Iraq braced for reprisals.

A few days after Sheik Yassin was killed, American authorities shut down the Hawza newspaper, the mouthpiece of Moktada al-Sadr, a radical Shiite cleric. The paper had been accused of printing lies. But closing it only played into Mr. Sadr's hand, fueling huge protests by his followers.

Then Falluja happened. The group that took responsibility said it was avenging Sheik Yassin.

The sheik's ghost returned to Iraq once more, on April 2, when Mr. Sadr announced that he was opening the Iraqi chapters of Hezbollah and Hamas, pro-Palestinian groups responsible for attacks on Israel.

The next day American authorities announced arrest warrants for several of Mr. Sadr's followers. His was soon to follow. Last Sunday, Iraq erupted. Mr. Sadr ordered his followers to take over government offices in Shiite areas across the country. In just days, the fighting pulled in thousands of people who weren't fighters before, and who took on a new identity. Until then, the insurgency had been a mysterious force behind a red and white checkered scarf. It had no uniform, no ideology, no face.

But Mr. Sadr provided that. Posters of him are everywhere now, even in Sunni strongholds like Falluja, something unthinkable before this crisis.

Mr. Sadr is only 31 years old. In the world of holy men, he is considered a religious lightweight. Compared with Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani, the more moderate Shiite cleric whose decrees carry the force of law, Mr. Sadr's voice is just a suggestion.

But Mr. Sadr seemed to tap into a Shiite backlash percolating for some time.

Many Shiites have suffered the same humiliations as the Sunnis. They complain about soldiers bursting into their homes and harassing them at checkpoints, and all the other grievances experienced by those living under an occupation by foreigners from thousands of miles away. And as the anniversary of Baghdad's fall approached, the Shiites, who greeted American tanks with roses one year ago, had little to celebrate.

"When I wake up, I know this day is going to be a little worse than the last one," said Haider al-Kabi, a 29-year-old laborer from Najaf who said he was joining the resistance. "I got sick of it."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photos: Outside Falluja last week, Sunni Muslim insurgents celebrating after setting vehicles on fire. They had just attacked an American military convoy. (Photo by Karim Sahim/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images)(pg. 1)

A follower of Moktada al-Sadr. (Photo by Patrick Baz/Agence France-Presse -- Getty Images)(pg. 4)

**Load-Date:** April 11, 2004

## War's Full Fury Is Suddenly Everywhere

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## *Naming the Evildoers*

The New York Times

September 29, 2002 Sunday

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**Section:** Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 12

**Length:** 1532 words

**Byline:** By Judith Miller; Judith Miller is a senior writer for The Times and an author, with Stephen Engelberg and William J. Broad, of "Germs: Biological Weapons and America's Secret War."

## **Body**

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### MILITANT ISLAM REACHES AMERICA

By Daniel Pipes.

309 pp. New York: W.W. Norton. \$25.95.

THE often bitter debate that raged among academics and national security analysts over whether militant Islam -- or "Islamism," as it became known -- threatened the United States presumably should have ended on 9/11. President Bush's warning to movements and nations that they were either with us or against us implied a worldwide campaign not just against Al Qaeda and the Taliban, but also against other Islamist groups that aimed to replace their own governments with Islamic states, that is, states ruled by Shariah, or Islamic law, as the Islamists defined it.

Bush's words alarmed many militant Islamic groups within the United States. Having denounced American policies and values before 9/11, and encouraged fellow Muslims to donate money to "charities" that financed terrorism abroad, they rushed to condemn the attacks, calling themselves patriots and stressing that Islam stood for peace. But even though Attorney General John Ashcroft asked for and received extraordinary investigative powers of questionable constitutionality, most of these militants need not have worried. The administration has resisted defining militant Islam as the enemy, particularly at home. Bush has been vague about the identity of America's enemies. They were not militant Muslims, nor Islamists who espoused violence, but generic "evildoers," "parasites," those "motivated by hate."

This vagueness is at the heart of the problem Daniel Pipes identifies in "Militant Islam Reaches America," a collection of essays he has written over the past decade. A scholar of the Middle East as well as a habitual polemicist, Pipes argues, in effect, that by failing to identify and target Islamism itself, particularly Islamism within America, the administration misses the point. Since the aim of all Islamists is to install autocratic, anti-Western theocracies in their quasi-secular countries, it does not matter whether they espouse peaceful or violent methods. Democracy for them is simply another means to an end. Once in power, he warns, Islamists would reject democracy, oppose other theological and intellectual views, restrict rights for women and religious minorities, ruin the economies of their countries and oppose Israel, world Jewry, the United States and the West.

In this harsh assessment, Pipes is supported by the miserable record of the militant Islamic regimes in Iran and Sudan, and formerly in Afghanistan -- the only places where Islamism has triumphed. He quotes Ali Belhadj, a leader of the Islamic Salvation Front in Algeria, which was poised to win elections in 1992: "When we are in power,

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there will be no more elections because God will be ruling." Such blunt statements encouraged Algeria's middle class to permit the army to cancel elections and accept harsh military rule, which continues to this day. An estimated 100,000 Algerians have been killed so far in the struggle.

Pipes is careful to distinguish between Islam, the faith practiced by over a billion Muslims, and Islamism, which he calls a 20th-century totalitarian ideology. He argues persuasively that scholars and officials should emphasize the differences -- that "the great majority" of Muslims disagree with the premises of militant Islam; that the United States should seek neither a "clash of civilizations" (a notion he rejects) nor a confrontation with Islam itself.

He also disagrees with many scholars and commentators -- Fouad Ajami, Olivier Roy and this reviewer, among others -- who have argued that the militant Islamic trend represented by Osama bin Laden has crested, at least in most Arab lands. On the contrary, he says, Islamism has been "on the ascendant for a full quarter-century," and is becoming ever more so.

Pipes often highlights similarities between the structure and methods of the Islamist groups and those of the fascists and Communists. While he cautions against seeing them as equivalent, his message seems to be that the new Islamic man should be combated with tactics similar to those employed during the cold war. He ignores the cost of America's obsession with Communism -- the perilous flirtation with nuclear annihilation, the violation of civil rights and liberties at home, the often mindless embrace abroad of any movement, however corrupt or autocratic -- including militant Islamist groups -- if it agreed to join the United States in its fight against the Soviet Union.

Complicit in Islamism's rise, Pipes argues, are the moderate Muslims, who have been silenced by the radicals with a combination of carrots and sticks. He cites not only the financial support that Saudi Arabia and others have provided to the militants, but also the Islamists' intimidation and murder of several of their most articulate critics. But surely the roots of modern Muslim passivity run deeper. Pipes pays too little attention to this key issue, which is a pity, since he argues that supporting moderate Islamic voices is critical to Islamism's defeat.

Close analysis, however, is not Pipes's goal. Unless we focus the war against terror on Islamism, and especially on the Islamists in the United States, he insists, the militants will triumph. Efforts by the two previous administrations to distinguish between "good" and "bad" Islamists -- though understandable given Washington's fear of offending Muslims in general -- were, in his view, self-defeating. He argues persuasively that Washington, in effect, ignored, and even courted, Islamic groups that knowingly fostered terrorism abroad, as long as they remained peaceful within the United States.

Pipes is at his best on the attack. He convincingly demonstrates that militants have gained legitimacy with the help of "bad advice" given to the United States government by Islamically correct scholars. In another essay he maintains that Islamism is not caused by poverty, citing Saudi Arabia, and he also shows how the Nation of Islam under Louis Farrakhan has fueled anti-Semitism among black Americans.

Still another essay deplores the extent to which some of the nation's most prominent -- or most vocal -- Islamic groups have defended and endorsed violence against Israeli civilians and used American freedoms to promote the Islamist agenda within the United States. But such sentiments are constitutionally protected speech and should not be confused with support for terrorism, a distinction that Pipes sometimes seems to blur. At the same time, his discussion of the extent to which Islamic groups have defended, and even praised, the criminal escapades of Jamil Al-Amin, better known to Americans over 50 as H. Rap Brown, should give readers concern. So, too, should his description of the government's inept, if ultimately successful, investigation of a Hezbollah cell in North Carolina.

Blunt and passionate, Pipes's book is occasionally inconsistent, and its policy recommendations sometimes appear ill considered. He endorses ethnic profiling -- "if it is true that most Muslims are not Islamists, it is no less true that all Islamists are Muslims" -- but he fails to discuss its potential dangers. And though he claims to respect Islam and its adherents, he finds that in the war on terror, "all Muslims, unfortunately, are suspect."

Pipes's intemperate tone can be forgiven because for over a decade now he has been one of the few scholars who have bravely warned of the Islamist threat, and he was often ridiculed for his alarm. Nevertheless, his prescriptions for what he calls the world's most dangerous movement barely mention the need to defend America's secularism,

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or the extent to which secular laws, values and traditions are under attack not only by militant Muslims but also by the Bush administration and its allies on the Christian right.

And Pipes devotes scant attention to Israel and the way in which Islamists have been able to capitalize on the outrage so many Muslims feel about what is happening to the Palestinians. While he is correct in arguing that a solution to the Palestinian-Israeli dispute would not destroy Islamism or deflect Islamists' animosity toward Jews, it is worth noting that Hamas, Islamic Jihad and Palestinian Islamist groups were deeply disconcerted by the 1993 Oslo peace accords between the Palestinians and Israelis. Islamism does not exist in a political vacuum.

In this book, Pipes provides what he believes are pragmatic ways to deter and contain Islam's militant trend -- like revising our immigration laws and watching our borders more closely -- while not alienating mainstream Muslims. But he cannot avoid raising the question of whether the problem of Islamism is inherent in Islam itself -- a profound issue on which this book does not dwell. The unpleasant fact is that no Muslim societies offer their people rule of law, economic development and active civil participation. Those that come closest, like Turkey and Malaysia, are the ones that have often brutally enforced secularism. While this is not Pipes's subject, even he cannot resist observing that the "hard work of adjusting Islam to the contemporary world has yet really to begin." Why that should be so remains to be explored.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Drawing (Peter Blegvad)

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

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## **ABBAS DECLARES VICTORY IN VOTE BY PALESTINIANS**

The New York Times

January 10, 2005 Monday

Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 6; Foreign Desk; Pg. 1; THE PALESTINIAN ELECTION: THE VOTE

**Length:** 1319 words

**Byline:** By STEVEN ERLANGER

**Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank, Jan. 9

### **Body**

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Mahmoud Abbas, who opposes continuing violence against Israel, declared victory Sunday night in the election for president of the Palestinian Authority after two surveys of voters leaving the polls showed him winning by a large margin.

"We offer this victory to the soul of the brother martyr Yasir Arafat and to our people, to our martyrs and to 11,000 prisoners" in Israeli jails, Mr. Abbas, 69, told his supporters here.

Honking horns, waving flags and firing gunshots into the air, supporters celebrated an expected victory. The strong margin, if it is borne out in final results, should help give the quiet, cerebral Mr. Abbas the ability to remake and reinvigorate the Palestinian Authority and to try to put an end to violence.

Based on the voter surveys, released moments after the polls closed at 9 p.m., Mr. Abbas is expected to win election to a five-year term with about 65 percent of the vote, more than 40 percentage points ahead of his nearest challenger in a field of seven. Official results are not expected until Monday.

In Washington, President Bush welcomed the victory of Mr. Abbas, calling it "a historic day for the Palestinian people and the people of the Middle East," as administration officials prepared to increase the tempo of their involvement in the region while cautioning that Israel and the Palestinians must both take concrete steps to capitalize on the election of the new president. [Page A7.]

It was the first presidential election in nine years, made necessary after the death of Mr. Arafat on Nov. 11. The voting was judged by international observers to be generally free and fair, with little interference from Israel, which eased travel curbs on Palestinians and largely halted military activity in the territories.

But there was concern about a turnout that was lower than expected on a chilly but sunny winter's day, and Palestinian election officials decided to keep the polls open two hours longer than originally planned. The election officials first said that Israeli restrictions at checkpoints and confusion at Jerusalem polling stations were the reasons for the extension. But the announcement came after reports of low turnout in some cities, including Ramallah, where election workers at one polling place, Al Qarami School, said that only 30 percent of those registered had voted by 4:30 p.m. The officials then acknowledged that they wanted more people to vote, because only 30 percent of the 1.8 million or so eligible voters had cast their ballots by noon.



## ABBAS DECLARES VICTORY IN VOTE BY PALESTINIANS

The officials also declared during the late afternoon that voters who faced travel difficulties because of security restrictions, and so could not make it to their home polling places to cast their ballots, as was originally required, would be able to vote at any polling place by showing an identity card.

The voting was extended last month for municipal elections and in 1996, too, when the last presidential vote was held. Then, as now, the radical Islamic groups Hamas and Islamic Jihad called on their followers to boycott the vote.

One of the voter surveys estimated turnout at about 65 percent, but actual figures will not be available until Monday. In partial municipal elections last month in 26 towns and villages, turnout was 81 percent.

Mr. Abbas, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization and the candidate of the main Palestinian faction, Fatah, faced little real competition. His main challenger was an independent, Mustafa Barghouti, 50, a medical doctor and a human-rights campaigner.

Mr. Abbas was looking for a sizable popular mandate to provide him the legitimacy and authority to make difficult internal reforms, to reorganize Palestinian security services and to negotiate with Israel.

Despite their boycott call, Hamas spokesmen made it clear on Sunday that they would work with an elected president. Mahmoud Zahar, a Hamas leader in Gaza, told reporters that Hamas could have run its own candidate if it had really wanted to undermine Mr. Abbas. "Our view is not to undermine," he said, but he insisted that armed resistance to Israel would continue, despite Mr. Abbas's call for a cease-fire.

Mr. Abbas, known as Abu Mazen, called the election a source of pride for Palestinians as he voted in Ramallah. "This process is taking place in a marvelous fashion and is an illustration of how the Palestinian people aspire to democracy," he said. He urged women in particular to exercise their right to vote.

Dr. Barghouti, while noting some voting irregularities, including complaints that the ink put on voters' thumbs to prevent fraud could be washed off, also praised the election. "I felt my dream is coming true," he said. "This is a great step for the Palestinian people, a good test of our institutions and proof to the world that we can establish an independent state." He called the election "free, and I hope fair."

Ekram Quraan, a graphics designer monitoring the vote at a school, called the day historic. "For us, it happens once in a lifetime" she said.

Waleed Obeidallah, a Palestinian-American, said: "This is milestone in our lives, and hopefully the peace process will be reignited. Israelis always say that they have no partner for peace, and now we are electing a president, and there are no excuses anymore."

Hanan Ashrawi, a member of the Palestinian legislature, spoke of a new process of democracy to hold leaders accountable. But she was most struck by the context. "This is a unique case of a people under occupation being asked to hold free and fair elections when they themselves are not free," she said. "I think it's unique in history. But this is a nation adamant to vote. It's an important internal test, and I think it's a turning point."

Michel Rocard, leader of the largest group of international observers, from the European Union, said there were few problems with the election despite Dr. Barghouti's complaints. There were some difficulties for voters in East Jerusalem, where Israel required Palestinians to vote in post offices, as if they were casting absentee ballots, given Israel's claim to sovereignty over East Jerusalem. Senators Joseph R. Biden Jr., Democrat of Delaware, and John E. Sununu, Republican of New Hampshire, led a delegation from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Mr. Biden said the election was "an important statement for the Palestinians and their pride and maturity, and it can change the world's attitudes toward the Palestinians after the death of Arafat."

Javier Solana, the European Union's foreign policy chief, said: "It has been a very good day. The moment is historic." He promised further European aid.

## ABBAS DECLARES VICTORY IN VOTE BY PALESTINIANS

Israeli officials have made it clear in recent days that they support Mr. Abbas and that Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and his top ministers would like to meet with him as soon as possible. Israeli officials say they are willing to release more Palestinian prisoners and talk to Mr. Abbas about a more permanent easing of security measures.

The Israeli defense minister, Shaul Mofaz, said last week that he was willing to give a newly elected Palestinian leadership responsibility for security in Gaza and the major cities of the West Bank.

But Israel also wants Mr. Abbas to move quickly to reorganize his security services and to crack down in a serious and committed way on Palestinian militants attacking Israel and its civilians, as the Palestinians have promised to do in the first stage of the plan known as the road map for peace. The Israelis have promised to stop new settlement activity.

In a possible sign of solidarity with Palestinians opposed to the vote, the Lebanese group Hezbollah detonated a bomb under an Israeli jeep on Sunday along Israel's northern border, killing an Israeli officer. Israel responded with artillery fire and an airstrike and was investigating reports that an officer with the United Nations monitoring force was killed.

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## Graphic

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Photos: Mahmoud Abbas, above, appeared to be the winner in yesterday's election for president of the Palestinian Authority. In Gaza, below, election workers tallied votes at a polling place. Final results are expected today. (Photos by Top, Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)

above, Yuri Cortez/Agence France-Presse--Getty Images)(pg. A1)

Election workers in Ramallah kept warm with a heater yesterday at a polling place where turnout was light.

A carload of Palestinians in Ramallah celebrated the likely victory of Mahmoud Abbas last night. (Photographs by Ruth Fremson/The New York Times)(pg. A7)

**Load-Date:** January 10, 2005

## *The Everything Explainer*

The New York Times  
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**Section:** Section 7; Column 1; Book Review Desk; Pg. 8

**Length:** 1446 words

**Byline:** By Samantha Power; Samantha Power is the author of " 'A Problem From Hell': America and the Age of Genocide," winner of the 2003 Pulitzer Prize for general nonfiction.

### **Body**

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#### HEGEMONY OR SURVIVAL

America's Quest for Global Dominance.

By Noam Chomsky.

278 pp. New York:

Metropolitan Books/

Henry Holt & Company. \$22.

SINCE Sept. 11, 2001, Americans have been heard to exclaim -- with varying degrees of shame, bewilderment and indignation -- "Why do they hate us?" The response tends to fall between two extremes. Bush administration officials say, in essence, they hate us for who we are. As President Bush has put it, "They hate progress, and freedom, and choice, and culture, and music, and laughter, and women, and Christians, and Jews and all Muslims who reject their distorted doctrines." At the opposite end stands the M.I.T. professor Noam Chomsky. "Why do they hate us?" Chomsky asks in "Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance." "Because of you and your associates, Mr. Bush, and what you have done."

Revered and reviled, Noam Chomsky is a global phenomenon. Indeed, if book sales are any standard to go by, he may be the most widely read American voice on foreign policy on the planet today. With the United States increasingly suspect around the world -- a recent Gallup poll found that 55 percent of citizens in Britain thought the United States "posed a threat to peace," while a June BBC survey found that 60 percent of Indonesians, 71 percent of Jordanians and even 25 percent of Canadians viewed the United States as a greater threat than Al Qaeda -- the appetite for Chomsky's polemics is only increasing. It is but one testament to America's diminished standing that his most recent book,

"9-11," a slight collection of interviews (largely conducted via e-mail), was published in 26 countries and translated into 23 languages, finding its way onto best-seller lists in the United States, Canada, Germany, India, Italy, Japan and New Zealand. And at home, as mainstream dissent dissipated in the wake of 9/11, a new generation of disgruntled critics has turned to Chomsky for guidance.

"Hegemony or Survival" is a raging and often meandering assault on United States foreign policy and the elites who shape it. Drawing upon case after historical case of violent meddling (Iran, Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, Kosovo,

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etc.), Chomsky argues that the Bush administration's war on terrorism builds upon a long tradition of foreign interventions carried out in the name of "liberation" or "counterterror," of special interests run amok and of disdain for international institutions that dare to challenge American hegemony. "It is only natural," he writes, "that state policy should seek to construct a world system open to U.S. economic penetration and political control, tolerating no rivals or threats."

Chomsky finds the Bush administration new in only two ways: the crassness of its motives is far more transparent, and it is now playing for far higher stakes. "Over the years, tactics have been refined and modified," Chomsky writes, "progressively ratcheting up the means of violence and driving our endangered species closer to the edge of catastrophe." Unless American statesmen stop ranking hegemony above survival, he says, our 100,000-year-old experiment in human life may well be doomed.

For Chomsky, the world is divided into oppressor and oppressed. America, the prime oppressor, can do no right, while the sins of those categorized as oppressed receive scant mention. Because he deems American foreign policy inherently violent and expansionist, he is unconcerned with the motives behind particular policies, or the ethics of particular individuals in government. And since he considers the United States the leading terrorist state, little distinguishes American air strikes in Serbia undertaken at night with high-precision weaponry from World Trade Center attacks timed to maximize the number of office workers who have just sat down with their morning coffee.

It is inconceivable, in Chomsky's view, that American power could be harnessed for good. Thus, the billions of dollars in foreign aid earmarked each year for disaster relief, schools, famine prevention, AIDS treatment, etc. -- and the interventions in Kosovo and East Timor -- have to be explained away. The Kosovo and Timor operations' prime achievement, he writes, was to establish the norm of resort to force without Security Council authorization. On this both the Kosovars and the Timorese, whose welfare Chomsky has heroically championed over the years, would strongly disagree.

"Survival or Hegemony" is not easy to read. Chomsky's glib and caustic tone is distracting. He relies heavily upon quotations, but rarely identifies the speaker or writer. The endnotes supply more frustration. Bill Clinton's humanitarian rationale for the Kosovo war was ridiculed "by leading military and political analysts" in Israel, we are told, but the citation leads only to an earlier book by Chomsky himself. When he agrees with a claim, Chomsky introduces it with the word "uncontroversially" or credits it to "distinguished authorities." Those who don't share his viewpoint don't simply disagree; they are the "prevailing intellectual culture" or the "educated classes." This is a thinker far too accustomed to preaching to an uncritical choir.

Often he meets official falsehoods with exaggerations of his own. President Clinton, he says, "was flying Al Qaeda and Hezbollah operatives to Bosnia to support the U.S. side in the ongoing wars." And "radical Islamists" have taken over in Kosovo, leading to a "Taliban phenomenon." These are far-fetched claims that he doesn't adequately back up.

But for all that is wrong with "Hegemony or Survival," reading Chomsky today is sobering and instructive for two reasons. First, his critiques have come to influence and reflect mainstream opinion elsewhere in the world; and second, the radicalism of the Bush administration has laid bare many of the structural defects in American foreign policy, defects that Chomsky has long assailed.

Much blood was shed in the last century by United States forces or proxies in the name of righteous ends. Because every state justifies its wars on the grounds of self-defense or altruism, Chomsky is correct that any "profession of noble intent is predictable, and therefore carries no information." He is also right to object to the historical amnesia that American statesmen bring to their dealings with other states. He seethes at the hypocrisy of Donald Rumsfeld, Paul Wolfowitz and Colin Powell, who invoked Saddam Hussein's 1988 gassing attacks in order to help justify the recent war, but who did not see fit to explain why the Reagan administration (which they served as senior officials) doubled its aid to Hussein's regime after learning of the gassings.

Chomsky also denounces the dependence of foreign policy elites on special interests. With African agriculture ravaged by American farm subsidies, with Israeli settlements unchallenged by Washington's elites and with

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campaign contributors to both parties landing mammoth paybacks in overseas contracts, it is certainly well past time to sound the alarm.

And it is essential to demand, as Chomsky does, that a country with the might of the United States stop being so selective in applying its principles. We will not allow our sovereignty to be infringed by international treaty commitments in the areas of human rights or even arms control, but we demand that others should. We rebuff the complaints of foreigners about the 650 people who remain holed up in Guantanamo kennels, denied access to lawyers and family members, with not even their names released. Yet we expect others to take heed of our protests about due process. We have "official enemies" -- those whose police abuses, arms shipments and electoral thefts we eagerly expose (Zimbabwe, Burma, North Korea, Iran). But the sins of our allies in the war on terror (Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Israel, Pakistan, Russia, Uzbekistan) are met with "intentional ignorance." Although he is typically thin on prescriptions, Chomsky offers "one simple way to reduce the threat of terror: stop participating in it."

Chomsky is wrong to think that individuals within the American government are not thinking seriously about the costs of alliances with repressive regimes; he is also wrong to suggest that it would be easy to get the balance right between liberty and security, or democracy and equality -- or to figure out what the hell to do about Pakistan. But he is right to demand that officials in Washington devote themselves more zealously to strengthening international institutions, curbing arms flows and advancing human rights. "It is easy to dismiss the world as 'irrelevant,' or consumed by 'paranoid anti-Americanism,' " he writes, "but perhaps not wise."

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## Graphic

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Drawing (Drawing by Henrik Drescher)

**Load-Date:** January 4, 2004

## *The DIY terror threat*

Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

August 23, 2003 Saturday

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**Section:** NEWS AND FEATURES; News Review; Pg. 28

**Length:** 1437 words

**Byline:** Marian Wilkinson

### **Body**

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The United States confronts a threat of its own making in Iraq and the only way out appears to be via the United Nations, writes Marian Wilkinson.

GENERAL John Abizaid arrived at the Pentagon two days after the horrific bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad. Standing shoulder to shoulder with the United States Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, Abizaid pronounced that Iraq was now "at the centre of the global war of terrorism".

The senior commander for all US forces in the region, Abizaid warned that terrorism was the "No. 1 security threat" in Iraq and his forces were scrambling to come to grips with it. Terrorist cells were becoming firmly established in Baghdad, he said, having successfully moved from isolated strongholds in the north and west of the country.

Asked if these cells were Saddam Hussein loyalists, foreign jihadists from Syria and Saudi Arabia or the al-Qaeda-affiliated Ansar al-Islam, Abizaid agreed all were active. "It's not good for us when they get established in an urban area, as you can well appreciate," he said.

Jessica Stern, a Harvard University terrorist expert, put it more bluntly: "[The] bombing of the United Nations headquarters in Baghdad was the latest evidence that America has taken a country that was not a terrorist threat and turned it into one."

Less than three months ago, President George Bush, in a Top Gun performance, landed in a US Navy fighter jet on the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln returning from the Iraq war, thanked the crew for their successful mission and declared major combat operations in Iraq over.

The same day, his vice-president, Dick Cheney, told a cheering audience in Washington: "A Iraqi government that is of the people, by the people and for the people will serve as a dramatic and an inspiring example to other nations in the Middle East."

A short time later, Bush released his much-heralded road map for peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Today Iraq is rapidly becoming an inspiring example for terrorists throughout the Arab world who want to kill Americans and challenge the US occupation of an Arab Muslim country. A previously unknown group calling itself the "Armed Vanguard of a Second Muhammad Army" this week issued a statement to Al Arabiya satellite television claiming responsibility for the deadly attack on the UN headquarters in Baghdad that killed at

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least 23 people, including the respected head of mission, Sergio Vieira de Mello.

Within hours of the Baghdad blast, Bush's Middle East road map was also under threat when a suicide bomber blew up a Jerusalem bus packed with men, women and children, killing 20. The attack, claimed by Hamas, marked the end of the fragile ceasefire, beginning another cycle of violence as the Israeli army retaliated by assassinating one of the founders of Hamas.

FOR nearly two years since the September 11, 2001 attacks, Bush has won the overwhelming support from the majority of Americans for his handling of national security. Backed by this support, he launched the pre-emptive war in Iraq in the face of opposition from the UN Security Council and the Arab world.

Now, both at home and abroad, the Bush Doctrine is under fire, fuelled by the growing security crisis in postwar Iraq. Both Democrats and Republicans in Congress are calling for hearings on the security crisis in Iraq and the failure of the White House to build more international support to help steer Iraq towards self-government.

Two leading members of the US Senate Foreign Relations committee wrote to Bush this week urging him to broaden the role of the UN in an attempt to get a "genuine international effort" in postwar Iraq, including more troops and police from other countries.

"We're in a catch-22 moment," said Rick Barton, from the US Centre for Strategic and International Studies, who recently helped write an independent report for the Pentagon on postwar Iraq. "We're really at that very delicate point where the more security presence we have, the less secure things are."

His report warned the Pentagon it had until September to turn around the security crisis in Iraq. "We've really got to engage the Iraqis and hope they will expand their ownership. And it's not really just the Iraqi police or reconstituted Iraqi military; it's got to be the Iraqi body politic," he told the Herald.

Barton eerily echoes de Mello's last report to UN Security Council. "[Iraqis] want to see themselves back at the helm of their country," de Mello warned four weeks before his brutal death, "They also want to see the arrival of security and of the rule and law."

After the bitter divisions in the Security Council over the war in Iraq, the White House insisted that the UN role should be severely limited, giving it no power in the political transition. This made de Mello's job "a difficult balancing act", as he put it.

Postwar Iraq is effectively run by the small US-led Coalition Provisional Authority headed Paul Bremer and dominated by Americans, Britons and a few Australians. The military occupation force also remains dominated by US and British troops with limited support from a host of small US allies.

Both de Mello and the UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, made strenuous efforts to work with the coalition and supported the hand-picked Iraqi Governing Council appointed by Bremer, even though it is dominated by US-backed exiles. The targeting of the UN and the killing of de Mello are reopening the question of how much the UN can support the US strategy in Iraq.

THE back-to-back bombings in Baghdad and Jerusalem have shaken the aura of confident certainty that surrounded Bush. The cracks in Washington are having a ripple effect.

In New York, simmering tensions at the UN over Iraq and the Middle East erupted. In an extraordinary outburst, the Israeli ambassador to the UN attacked Syria, which is this month's acting president of the UN Security Council. He accused Syria of sponsoring terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and possibly complicity in the Baghdad bombing.

"Syria [is] the country from which most probably the truck that blew up the UN compound in Baghdad came," the clearly furious ambassador, Dan Gillerman, told UN reporters in New York. "Syria the perpetrator, the harbourer and the headquarters of Hezbollah, Hamas, Islamic Jihad and countless other terror organisations is with one hand drafting a presidential statement condemning the bombing in Iraq and with the other hand drafting instructions to

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terrorist organisations to carry out horrible bombings and suicide mission such as the one that was carried in Jerusalem."

At UN headquarters in New York, the US Secretary of State, Colin Powell, tried to assure both the UN and the US public that Bush would not shift policy either on Iraq or the Middle East road map.

"The end of the road map is a cliff that both sides will fall off," he said, "so we have to understand the consequences of the end of the road map."

But at the same time, the Israelis were launching a retaliatory attack on Hamas. "Unfortunately at the moment the only road we see is a road in Jerusalem with the bodies of little babies and children," said Gillerman.

Inside the Security Council, the US strategy in Iraq was also under fire from Russia, Germany and France. Bush had sent Powell to New York looking for a new UN resolution that would encourage its allies to send more troops to Iraq. But the French ambassador, Michel Duclos, said bluntly it was time for the US to rethink its occupation and hand over to the UN. The US would not get more international troops in Iraq without giving up some political power.

"Iraq, unfortunately, has become a theatre of operations for terrorists," said Duclos. "To emerge from this trap laid for us by the terrorists, we must give back to the Iraqis their responsibility and their sovereignty." Only the UN, he said pointedly, had the legitimacy, the impartiality and the expertise to do this.

Until now, Bush has stood firmly against the Security Council and his congressional opponents on Iraq. Immediately after the Baghdad bombing he insisted that "Iraq is on an irreversible course towards self-government and peace and America and our friends in the United Nations will stand with the Iraqi people as they reclaim their nation and their future".

For Bush, handing over power in Iraq to the UN would be a stunning backdown. It would also give control over his most important foreign-policy crisis to a body he does not trust.

But as next year's presidential election gets closer, Bush is acutely aware that if Iraq remains a terrorist battleground, not only will its future be at stake, so will his own.

## Graphic

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ILLUS: Donald Rumsfeld, left, and John Abizaid at a Pentagon briefing. Photo: Reuters/Kevin Lamarque

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## *A Sept. 11 Survivor Is Hurt as Man Dies In Jerusalem Attack*

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**Byline:** By JAMES BENNET

**Dateline:** JERUSALEM, Jan. 27

### **Body**

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Mark Sokolow escaped without injury from the second tower of the World Trade Center during the attack on Sept. 11.

Today he was walking with his family in the scarred central shopping district here when a Palestinian bomber set off an explosion that resounded throughout Jerusalem, killing herself and an 81-year-old man and wounding 113, most of them slightly.

"I was a lot luckier last time," Mr. Sokolow, a 43-year-old lawyer from Woodmere, N.Y., said as he recovered in a hospital here from shrapnel wounds to his face and leg. "This one involved my whole family."

After a frantic search for his wife and two of his daughters, he learned at the hospital that most of their wounds were also slight, though one girl, Jamie, 12, had shrapnel in her right eye. She was likely to retain her sight, doctors said.

The blast scattered burning body parts across Jaffa Road and sent a cloud of swirling dust and circling pigeons into the air, witnesses said. The attack was steps from where a Palestinian gunman raked the area with semiautomatic gunfire on Tuesday, killing two and wounding 20 before being shot dead by the police. If the bomber in the attack today intended to die, she would be the first **female** suicide bomber to strike in Israel since such attacks began here in 1994, the police said.

Minutes after the explosion, Ariel Ohayon, 30, sobbed, "Where's my wife?" as he searched through the pandemonium of wounded people, broken glass and shouting police officers. "My wife disappeared, and I don't know where she is." A rescue worker directed him to a nearby hospital, Bikur Holim.

As Jerusalem's police chief, Mickey Levy, visited the scene he suffered a heart attack. He was able to walk with assistance to Bikur Holim, where he underwent surgery. He was likely to make a full recovery within days, the police said.

Of the 113 wounded, the police said, 2 were wounded seriously and 5 moderately. The dead man was identified as Pinhas Toktaly, a seventh-generation resident of Jerusalem who was returning from an art class.

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No group immediately claimed responsibility for the attack, and the bomber was not identified. "We're just not sure whether she was a suicide bomber or a terrorist planting the bomb," said Superintendent Gil Kleiman, a police spokesman. "We're going to be very careful before we come out with something like this."

Palestine suicide attackers have disguised themselves as soldiers and in one case as an Orthodox Jew. Women have been accomplices in such attacks, the police say, but Israeli soldiers and police officers generally do not scrutinize Palestinian women the way they do the men.

In Lebanon, the television station of the violent group Hezbollah identified the bomber as a student from Al Najah University in the West Bank city of Nablus. In student elections at Al Najah in November, violent Islamic groups like Hamas overwhelmed the Fatah faction of Yasir Arafat, 60 percent to 34 percent.

The last suicide bombing took place on Friday in Tel Aviv. The bomber, a man who has not been identified, killed himself and wounded two dozen people. That night, Israel retaliated with an F-16 attack on a Palestinian administrative compound in Tulkarm in the West Bank.

Mr. Arafat's Palestinian Authority condemned the bombing today and called on the United States to return its envoy, Anthony C. Zinni, to the region without delay. But the Bush administration, which is weighing possible sanctions against the Palestinian Authority, has put General Zinni's return on hold, saying Mr. Arafat has done too little to fight terrorism.

At the scene of the destruction today, Jerusalem's mayor, Ehud Olmert, blamed Mr. Arafat for the bombing.

"He is directly, individually and specifically responsible," he said, accusing him of "inspiring the atmosphere" for terrorism.

Palestinian officials say Mr. Arafat lacks the political strength to suppress violence while Israeli forces operate in their territory and Palestinians see little hope of progress in negotiations. The Israeli government says that it must enter Palestinian territory to safeguard its own citizens and that it will not negotiate while violence continues.

Since a cease-fire collapsed two weeks ago, violence has increased, and both sides have backtracked from tentative steps to restore confidence. In Bethlehem today, Palestinians stormed a prison and secured the freedom of nine militants jailed by Mr. Arafat's security services, Palestinian officials said. The demonstrators asserted that Palestinian security could not protect the prisoners in the event of an Israeli raid.

In the West Bank city of Ramallah, where he is confined by Israeli forces, Mr. Arafat told a group of Palestinian intellectuals that the Israeli siege was intended to force him to make concessions. He said the attempt would fail. "I wish to die a martyr for Jerusalem," he added.

The attack took place just below Jaffa Road's intersection with King George Street. In 16 months of conflict, that area had already been the scene of eight bombings or shootings that killed 28, besides the attackers.

At about 12:15 this afternoon, First Sgt. Vladimir Fishman of the Jerusalem police was on patrol on Jaffa Road, part of the increased police presence in the area. As he passed behind a truck, the bomb exploded across the street, near a Lotto kiosk outside the shoe store of Freiman & Bein.

"The whole area was scorched," Sergeant Fishman said, describing what he saw when he ran from behind the truck. "And I saw a body with a leg missing. There was also a head, which did not belong to that body." The body, he said, "was in flames."

Sergeant Fishman, 39, said he carried two wounded people to ambulances before noticing that shrapnel had struck him in the right ankle.

Some store owners on the block had just replaced windows broken in the gunfire attack on Tuesday, only to see them shattered again today. "This is life?" asked one shopkeeper, Edmund Barocher. "This is a way to live?"

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The blast threw him into the air inside his shoe store, Mr. Barocher said, but he not venture out to see the destruction. "Who's got the strength anymore?" he asked.

Across from the shoe shop, Kami Malkan, 37, said his own store was "full of flesh -- it's unbelievable."

Boaz Sabbagh, 29, said he and his fiancée, Moriah Levy, 18, had been thrown by the bomb's concussion into the kiosk where he sells snacks and cigarettes. The kiosk has been his family's business for 40 years, but Mr. Sabbagh said he was through. "Business was down 70 percent, anyway," he said. "There's no point in continuing."

Down the street, the blast knocked plaster from the ceiling of the music store managed by Yossi Tzah, 31. "It's the main street of Jerusalem," he said. "Imagine this in the main street of Washington or New York. If this scenario was in the United States, the Arabs after 24 hours wouldn't be alive or would be in custody. We have too much patience in this country."

That music store played a role in a suicide bombing in August that killed 15 around the corner at the Sbarro pizzeria. The bomb was hidden in a guitar case bought at the store, according to the police, Mr. Tzah said.

Freiman & Bein, the shoe store, is a Jerusalem institution. With a carousel for children and a broad inventory, it continued to draw customers as the area became more dangerous. The Sokolow family from Woodmere, on Long Island, paid it a visit as part of a shopping expedition on the last day of a visit to the eldest daughter, who is studying here for a year. They had just walked out of the store when the bomb went off.

"I heard a loud whooshing noise and then a bang," Mr. Sokolow said. "I found myself running to the left, I think down the road. A number of people were pulling me out of the road to safety."

Mr. Sokolow, who once worked on the 38th floor of the second tower of the World Trade Center, said that originally only he and his wife, Rina, had planned to visit. They decided to bring their two daughters after the attack in New York. "I felt it was more important, more meaningful that we do this, come here and spend time in Israel," he said.

"I think it's important that people come here," he said. "I want to emphasize maybe they should stay away from places that are targets."

<http://www.nytimes.com>

## Graphic

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Photo: An Israeli was carried to an ambulance in Jerusalem yesterday after a bomber killed herself and a passerby. (Rina Castelnovo for the New York Times)(pg. A5)

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

## **THE POWER of ONE - IRAQ: AFTER THE FALL**

The Weekend Australian

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**Section:** FEATURES-TYPE- FEATURE-COLUMN- INQUIRER; Pg. 21

**Length:** 1541 words

**Byline:** Greg Sheridan

### **Body**

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As North Korea raises the stakes over its nuclear program, the US must decide how far to spread its all-powerful wings. Foreign editor Greg Sheridan reports

THE eagle is soaring. The bald eagle of American power is aloft, high above the humble earth, and everything it sees is splendid. For as it soars and swoops it sees victory, power, opportunity.

Where will it land next? On North Korea's nuclear reactor at Yongbyon? On Damascus, capital of Syria, apparently applying for associate membership of the axis of evil? On Iran, still the chief sponsor of terror and meddling darkly in Iraq? Or on the irksome French, whom Secretary of State Colin Powell this week told us will suffer consequences for their fickleness as allies and their self-interested obstruction at the UN? Or perhaps on the Israel-Palestinian peace process, surely ripe for intervention, for new energy?

MATP

But as the eagle swoops in search of new victories, some of the old successes look troublesome. Nearer to the earth, the view is disconcerting. The drug lords are back in business in Afghanistan. The Shiite mobs are raging in Iraq. And North Korea on closer inspection is newly dangerous.

Never in the history of the human race has a single nation been so powerful as the US is today. Its defence spending is as great as the next dozen nations combined. Its huge share of the global economy keeps growing.

Yet as the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks showed, that power is no guarantor of security. Transforming power into security is the animating quest of US foreign policy.

The stunning victory in Iraq has immensely strengthened hawkish, sharp-tongued Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his cerebral deputy Paul Wolfowitz, intellectual leader of the Bush administration's neo-conservatives. It has strengthened, too, Vice-President Dick Cheney, a long-time hawk, especially on Iraq, while it has somewhat weakened the nearest thing the administration has to a dove, the pragmatic Powell.

It has also, paradoxically, probably weakened the policy influence of the professional soldiers. It was Rumsfeld's judgment -- that a smaller, lighter, more mobile force, digitalised and networked, could do the job in Iraq -- rather than the view of the generals, which favoured vast traditional firepower and huge numbers of heavy forces, that was vindicated.

## THE POWER of ONE - IRAQ : AFTER THE FALL

Now, with victory barely celebrated, the Bush administration must confront a bevy of pressing new foreign policy problems: North Korea's nuclear program; Syria's sponsorship of international terrorists, especially Hezbollah, and its evil dealings with the fallen regime of Saddam Hussein; and securing a decent and sustainable outcome in Iraq.

This has been a mixed week for the most urgent of all these problems, North Korea. US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia Jim Kelly held talks with North Korean and Chinese counterparts in Beijing.

The North Koreans resorted once more to bellicose threats, telling Kelly not only do they have nuclear weapons but they may be building more and will use or sell them depending on US actions. The talks finished a day early amid recriminations, but still with the prospect of further discussions, which in itself is a small victory.

Earlier this week The Australian revealed that hawks within the Pentagon had come up with contingency plans to bomb the Yongbyon reactor if the North Koreans started reprocessing spent nuclear fuel rods. Reprocessing could give them enough plutonium for six weapons in six months.

The Bush administration has not taken any decision to take the military option but it exists as part of the negotiating atmosphere.

Nonetheless Washington is looking for a deal, offering "more for more" -- that is, more aid and security guarantees for North Korea in exchange for a verifiable, irreversible end to its nuclear program. Bush spokesmen and the President have said they believe a diplomatic solution is possible.

Inquirer got a run-down on the administration's approach to these critical issues in a long discussion with Deputy Secretary of State Rich Armitage. "North Korea is clearly a worry. We do fear that if their nuclear program continues they will sell nuclear weapons," he says. "But we have no intention of invading Korea. The President has determined that diplomacy has time to work."

One of Armitage's many attractive qualities is that he talks straight. He admits problems, doesn't try to pretend everything's perfect. For example, the Bush administration has been criticised for the way the postwar situation has developed in Afghanistan. Armitage agrees the picture is not all roses.

"Afghanistan is mixed. Women are much more empowered, 3 million refugees have returned, millions of children are back in school. Three-quarters of the country would be green [for good security] on a map," he says.

But he faces up to the problem: "The question of drugs is severe. Production is up to its old levels. It's an economic problem. It's so lucrative local war lords get involved in it."

So will the US do any better in Iraq; will it stay the course?

"After investing our blood and treasure like this, it would be foolish to turn away," he says. "Iraq is not Afghanistan. They do have oil and that's going to be a source of revenue. I believe democracy is coming to Iraq and I don't think Islam is hostile to democracy."

Armitage believes a lot of the prewar anti-Americanism is evaporating as Iraqis celebrate being rid of Hussein but, rarely for anyone in government, he acknowledges fault in the administration's advocacy. "Could we have chosen better words, presented our case better? Undoubtedly."

And he zeroes in on a key difference between Bush and Bill Clinton: "I don't want to be critical of our predecessors but a lot of problems were left to languish. President Bush came to office to do something, not just to occupy the office."

Armitage here provides a central insight into Bush's foreign policy. Clinton managed problems, especially strategic ones; Bush's inclination is to act decisively, to confront and solve problems. It's useful to define Bush's foreign policy in part by its contrast with that of his predecessor.

## THE POWER of ONE - IRAQ : AFTER THE FALL

Clinton supported missile defence but did nothing about it, Bush negotiated the end of the treaty that bound the US not to deploy missile defence and has funded its deployment. Clinton signed the Kyoto Agreement on Climate Control, though he never presented it to the Senate for ratification. Bush explicitly rejected it.

Clinton was cautious, always alive to the cost of action. Bush's team, especially Wolfowitz, emphasise the costs of inaction.

Clinton spoke in a language of values but often avoided moral judgments. Bush bluntly declared, at West Point in June last year: "Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or impolite to speak the language of right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities."

Clinton was at home with international process but the process never seemed to produce an outcome. Bush does not recognise a supervising legitimacy in international institutions that do not have democratic accountability.

One weakness of Bush is that while he is an effective domestic politician, he has difficulty speaking to international opinion. Partly as a result, international assessments of Bush foreign policy underestimate the President.

As Richard Brookhiser demonstrates in an Atlantic Monthly essay, Bush is an intelligent, worldly and thoughtful man, qualities well shielded by his mangling of syntax and the folksy Texan style he cultivates. It is Bush, not his advisers, who makes the ultimate decisions -- and his instincts are hawkish. Bush's Christian faith (like Tony Blair's), his moral judgments, tempered by the caution of a successful politician, are a significant factor in US foreign policy.

Armitage confirms that the potential supply of weapons of mass destruction to terrorists is the most important issue today. This reinforces the ongoing centrality of September 11 to US foreign policy.

A year later the White House released its National Security Strategy. It contained two elements that have become central: a determination by the US to remain decisively No1 militarily; and a willingness to use pre-emption to combat terrorists and rogue states that cannot be deterred. Armitage is adamant that pre-emption does not always mean military action.

He is full of praise for Australia's role in Iraq, saying: "Australia stands tall in the world today." He also says the US and Australia "couldn't be tighter, we're joined at the hip".

The US alliance furnishes a great deal of extra security for Australia. It is a good thing in a naughty world. But it does not mean we share every judgment Washington makes.

In South-East Asia, the swiftness of the Iraq campaign has meant little significant regional reaction, while the US is intimately involved in helping South-East Asian nations wage their own war against terrorism.

The kangaroo cannot leap as high as the eagle flies but, closer to the ground, it sees things the eagle might miss. Harnessing Washington's esteem, which is of inestimable value but not uncomplicated, to serve our national interests is a high order challenge for Canberra.

**Load-Date:** April 25, 2003

***Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night raid on a suspected Palestinian terrorist***

The Guardian (London)

February 15, 2002

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**Section:** Guardian Features Pages, Pg. 5

**Length:** 1346 words

**Byline:** John Kampfner, Dominic Allan

## **Body**

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Four jeeps drive down a narrow alley, headlights turned off. It is 2am in the back streets of a small town in the West Bank. A team of commandos armed with semi-automatics and grenades jump out and take up positions around a whitewashed house. The commander, Mordechai, rings the buzzer. "Come and open the door immediately," his second-in-command shouts in Arabic. "Who is it?" a woman replies. "Your house will be destroyed if you don't open the door."

Another night, another raid deep inside enemy territory. We are with Sayeret Golani, the elite of Israel's elite forces. These people honed their skills in Lebanon in the 80s and 90s, fighting the Hezbollah. When Israel withdrew, the army disbanded many of its specialist units, thinking they were no longer needed. But since the second intifada, attitudes have changed. The specialists are very much back in demand.

Sayeret Golani are on a special mission - to snatch Nasser Zakarna, a Hamas operative who has already served three terms in Israeli jails. He is wanted alive for interrogation. Intelligence reports said Zakarna would be at home that night, armed. Women and children would be with him.

"The people we are after are ticking bombs. We don't stop until we get them," says "Chico", the commander of the Golani brigade. His full name is withheld for security reasons.

The inner workings of Israel's military machine have been a closely guarded secret, and we have been granted a rare glimpse inside. How do they gather intelligence? Who do they identify as targets? When and how do they go for them? And, most importantly, how do they determine when to arrest and when to kill?

"We prefer - or we are forced - to kill someone only when four conditions are met," Major-General Gyora Eiland, head of military planning of the Israeli armed forces, tells us. He reveals the list of criteria: "Number one: when there is no way to arrest someone. Number two: when the target is important enough. Number three: when we believe we can guarantee very few civilian casualties. And number four: when we believe there is no way that we can delay or postpone this operation."

Eighteen months into the second intifada, Israel's armed forces are locked in the psychology of permanent combat. There are any number of views on Ariel Sharon and the political big picture, and considerable doubts about the

Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night ra....

long-term strategy (or the absence of one). But when it comes to short-term military exigencies, there is a conspicuous consensus: a determination to arrest or assassinate every Palestinian deemed a terrorist threat.

Often it's a matter of only a few miles and a few hours between the terrorist cell - the engineer, organiser, suicide bomber - and the targeted Israeli town. This is what the Israelis call the ticking bomb, and time is always running out.

The Israelis have several ways of isolating and taking out Palestinian targets. Each has its advantages, as well as its logistical and political problems. But in all cases, the generals are clear that Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza are now considered indispensable for operations. The advantage of having the access routes and forward positions easily outweighs the disadvantage of having to deploy soldiers to protect the settlers.

The most conventional method is to encircle Palestinian towns. Then there are ambush operations - with a shoot-to-kill policy when a suicide attack is deemed to be imminent. But many Palestinian fighters are hard to reach, concealing themselves deep inside their communities. This leaves assaults from the air - either from F-16 fighter jets, or Apache combat helicopters - a far more controversial measure. These sorties low over Palestinian towns are the ultimate demonstration of Israeli military might.

The helicopter pilots are trained to "detach" themselves emotionally from their targets. One tells us that even the most experienced are given information about targets on a need-to-know basis. "We don't know who is the target or what the target is," says Hagai, a deputy squadron leader. "We get only the coordinates." Concern over human rights prosecutions in international courts weighs heavily on them.

The constraints on the military have loosened since September 11, but they still exist. "Political consequences are part of the game," says Eiland. "Many times an operation can turn out to be a complete failure if it doesn't take into account the political aspects. Sometimes a military action can be very successful on a specific date and it can be a complete mistake if you carry it out a few days later" - ie after the arrival of a foreign statesman, or a new initiative by the Palestinian leadership.

This is the dilemma: do military operations slow down the cycle of violence, or cause more bloodshed? But the commanders are not thinking in these terms. For the moment, it is a matter only of getting to the next ticking bomb.

Gathering information from aerial surveillance, listening devices, through interrogation of prisoners and from numerous collaborators, the security services claim they are foiling 70-80% of planned attacks. That still leaves many that get through.

"Intelligence is our most important tool," says Gidon Ezra, former number two in Shin Bet, the domestic intelligence agency. He gives an example of the stalking of a particular terrorist: "You have to know where he will be to be able to arrest him. Then you understand that you can't arrest him, you can't reach him because he lives in the middle of Bethlehem. So you decide to kill him. You have to know how to reach him on his own." The planning is meticulous. "You have this information that he has got pigeons he has to feed. Now he goes to feed his pigeons . . . a helicopter hits him and kills him."

Another ticking bomb is Zakarna. Israeli intelligence has information that he has been using his house as a weapons factory. The arms cache is then moved to a different location in Qabatiya. After days of training and classroom briefings, the commandos of Sayeret Golani are ready. Every last detail has been practised. The unit has even used a cardboard model of Zakarna's house, detailing every room. Chico finishes his pep talk. "Anyone who panics is wrecking our mission. The moment you start shooting, and people get hurt, your brain shrinks and the decisions you make are wrong. Now it's only luck that we need."

It is after 1am. The commandos set off from their base near the West Bank town of Jenin. They crack jokes about their jeep to take their minds off the tension. As they reach the narrow winding streets of Qabatiya, they are relieved that nobody has yet spotted them.



Inside story: Capture or kill: In a rare glimpse inside the Israeli military machine, John Kampfner and Dominic Allan join an elite commando squad in a night ra....

When they arrive at the target, they follow the drill. They ring the bell, once, twice; they whisper into each other's radios. Mordechai, the commander, gives the order to fire on the door with a shotgun to break through. The dog they brought with them starts yelping. They are shot at from a neighbouring house. Pinned against the white concrete wall at the front of the house, they return fire. Mordechai instructs his explosives expert to blow the door. It is at this point that Zakarna decides to bring his family out.

The women and children file out, their faces a mixture of dread and contempt. The men are ordered to kneel on the pavement. Their hands are tied while the house is searched for weapons. Zakarna and two brothers are led into the jeeps. The soldiers shut the women back inside the house. Zakarna is taken to an Israeli prison. His brothers are later released.

On one level, this was a textbook operation in a very difficult location. Perhaps it averted another suicide bombing. Who knows? But what, we ask Chico, about the next one, and the one after that? At what point will the army chiefs believe their work is done?

"I hope for an end, but to give you a practical answer, I don't think that in the near future we will see a happy end," Chico says. "I think for the time being we are not ready for that."

Israel Undercover, directed by Dominic Allan and presented by John Kampfner, is on BBC2 on Sunday at 7.15pm.

**Load-Date:** February 15, 2002

## *Ex-Aide to bin Laden Describes Terror Campaign Aimed at U.S.*

The New York Times  
February 7, 2001 Wednesday  
Late Edition - Final

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**Section:** Section A; Column 1; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

**Length:** 1391 words

**Byline:** By BENJAMIN WEISER

### **Body**

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A secret government witness emerged yesterday to tell a hushed federal courtroom in Manhattan how he helped the Saudi exile Osama bin Laden move money and arms to terrorist groups in Africa and the Middle East as part of a conspiracy aimed at the United States.

The witness, Jamal Ahmed Al-Fadl, was the first person called in the trial of four men charged with participating in a terrorism conspiracy led by Mr. bin Laden, which prosecutors say included the 1998 bombings of the American Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania. The blasts killed 224 people and wounded thousands.

Mr. Al-Fadl's identity has been a closely kept secret during the government's long investigation of Mr. bin Laden, when he was referred to in court papers only as CS-1, for confidential source.

Underscoring the potential danger to the witness, the judge, Leonard B. Sand of Federal District Court in Manhattan, ordered a group of illustrators seated in the heavily guarded courtroom not to sketch Mr. Al-Fadl.

After a full day of testimony yesterday by Mr. Al-Fadl, only the barest personal details had been revealed about him. He said he was born in 1963 in the Sudanese town of Rufa'a, which is south of Khartoum. He came to the United States in 1986 on a student visa, spending two years in this country, much of that time in Brooklyn. After that, he said, he went to Afghanistan to fight the Soviet Union. Later, he went to work for Mr. bin Laden, and stayed with him until 1996.

On Monday, a prosecutor said that Mr. Al-Fadl had stolen money from Mr. bin Laden, been caught and escaped. "And in an attempt to save himself and his family," the prosecutor said, "he approached the American government and offered to provide information."

For the last five years, Mr. Al-Fadl has been under the protection of the United States government in an undisclosed location after pleading guilty to a terrorism charge in a secret proceeding in federal court in Manhattan.

Mr. Al-Fadl's testimony did not deal with the embassy bombings, which occurred two years after he left the group. But prosecutors are expected to use his account of the early years of Mr. bin Laden's group to show how the terrorism conspiracy evolved.

## Ex-Aide to bin Laden Describes Terror Campaign Aimed at U.S.

During his testimony yesterday, Mr. Al-Fadl was asked by a prosecutor to identify one defendant. Mr. Al-Fadl, wearing a white skullcap, open-necked shirt and blue jeans, stood and pointed at Wadih El-Hage, whom prosecutors have described as Mr. bin Laden's personal secretary and close confidant.

Mr. El-Hage had no visible reaction to Mr. Al-Fadl's identification of him.

Mr. Al-Fadl told the jury he had worked closely with Mr. bin Laden in Khartoum, and helped manage his payroll. That gave him access to files on each member of Mr. bin Laden's group, which showed their salaries and aliases. He also described Mr. bin Laden's global banking network, naming institutions in Sudan, Malaysia, Britain, Hong Kong and Dubai where Mr. bin Laden and his group kept money.

He also gave a detailed account of Mr. bin Laden's agricultural, construction, transportation and investment companies in Sudan, which prosecutors have said are fronts for his terrorist activities.

It was clear by the end of the day that Mr. Al-Fadl's testimony forms the basis of many of the prosecution's allegations that Mr. bin Laden engaged in a global conspiracy aimed at the United States and other Western targets, and which acted as a kind of umbrella organization for other terrorist groups.

Mr. Al-Fadl said that after American troops went to Somalia in 1993, Mr. bin Laden told several dozen people at a meeting: " 'The snake is America and we have to stop them. We have to cut the head and stop them, what they are doing now in the Horn of Africa.' "

Mr. Al-Fadl described disputes within Mr. bin Laden's group, Al Qaeda, about the number of Egyptians among its leaders and the disparity in pay among the group's members. He described the roots of Mr. bin Laden's enmity toward the United States for its role in Somalia, and the group's cooperation with other terrorist organizations, like the Iranian-backed Hezbollah.

Mr. Al-Fadl said Mr. bin Laden sent fighters to Chechnya at a cost of about \$1,500 per person, paid through a local relief organization. Mr. Al-Fadl said he carried money on behalf of Mr. bin Laden to leaders of other jihad groups, including \$100,000 to one in Eritrea.

When traveling on false passports, Mr. Al-Fadl said, he was instructed to play down his Muslim appearance. He said he was told to shave his beard, wear Western clothes, and carry cigarettes, which were forbidden in Al Qaeda, and cologne to suggest that he was interested in women. If he was stopped, he said, he was told to be polite and "don't talk about religion, jihad, about anything belonging to Islam law or Islamic study."

Mr. Al-Fadl's journey into a position of confidence with Mr. bin Laden and his group had its roots, by his account, in Brooklyn, where he worked at the Al Farooq Mosque on Atlantic Avenue, helping to raise money and recruit fighters for the American-backed mujahedeen in the war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan in the 1980's.

At the time, Mr. Al-Fadl said, he worked closely with Mustafa Shalabi, an Egyptian who ran the recruiting office. Mr. Shalabi disappeared from the Brooklyn office in 1991 and was later found to have been killed, a case that remains unsolved.

During his two years in the United States, Mr. Al-Fadl said, he moved to Atlanta and North Carolina before returning to New York. He then went to Peshawar, Pakistan, he said, after Mr. Shalabi told him he should go to Afghanistan "to help the brothers over there."

Mr. Al-Fadl, under questioning by the prosecutor, Patrick J. Fitzgerald, offered an intimate look at a network of guest houses and military training camps used by Mr. bin Laden's group. He said he joined Mr. bin Laden's group around 1990.

He said he took the oath of allegiance, called bayat, to Al Qaeda.

"I swear and I signed," Mr. Al-Fadl said, adding that he was the third person to sign the contract that made him a member of the group.

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Mr. Al-Fadl said he began to take on broad responsibilities for Mr. bin Laden, and was present at a meeting in Peshawar where Sudanese officials visited Mr. bin Laden and promised to help his group if it moved to Sudan. Mr. Al-Fadl was sent to Khartoum on a kind of scouting mission.

After Mr. bin Laden moved his group to Sudan in 1991, Mr. Al-Fadl testified, its activities were greatly aided by Sudanese intelligence and by other officials.

Mr. bin Laden first worked out of an office in a building in Khartoum, Mr. Al-Fadl said. A secretary sat at the door, and Mr. bin Laden was in the next office on the left, he added.

Mr. Al-Fadl said that he helped Mr. bin Laden pay the employees of his companies and Al Qaeda, whose members received monthly checks of several hundred dollars, and that he was sent out to buy five farms in Sudan for the group to use as training camps.

He said one farm had cost \$250,000 and another \$180,000.

Mr. Al-Fadl described several arms shipments, including Al Qaeda's smuggling of Kalishnikov rifles into Egypt from Sudan on two separate occasions that involved about 50 camels each. He also recalled a midnight shipment of four large crates of weapons and explosives to an Islamic group in Yemen, carried on a boat owned by Al Qaeda and accomplished with the help of a Sudanese intelligence officer.

Mr. Al-Fadl said Mr. bin Laden was surrounded by a group of associates who participated on a ruling council and ran various committees on military, business and religious matters.

He said Mr. bin Laden and his associates, citing the American participation in the Persian Gulf war, began to issue fatwahs, or religious opinions, to his group, which sanctioned actions against American interests.

" 'We can't let the American Army in our area,' " Mr. Al-Fadl quoted Mr. bin Laden as saying. " 'We have to do something. We have to fight them.' "

He quoted one of Mr. bin Laden's advisers, Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, who offered a religious justification for the killing of innocent civilians.

" 'If you kill him, you don't have to worry about that,' " Mr. Al-Fadl quoted Mr. Salim as saying. " 'If he is a good person, he go to paradise, and if he is a bad person, he go to hell.' "

Mr. Salim is in custody in New York City and is awaiting a future trial.

<http://www.nytimes.com>

**Load-Date:** February 7, 2001

## *U.S. Israel policy not to blame*

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

February 03, 2002, Sunday

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**Section:** PERSPECTIVE; LETTERS; Pg. 2D; LETTER

**Length:** 1383 words

### **Body**

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Re: The Sept. 11 attacks have left us behaving in un-American ways, by Bill Maxwell, Jan. 13.

In his column, Bill Maxwell referred positively to a new course on terrorism offered at the University of Florida. As course instructor and supervisor, respectively, we appreciate his endorsement of the course. However, we are concerned that the placement of the paragraph may mislead readers about the content of the course.

Specifically, Maxwell's complimentary remarks follow immediately his assertion that U.S. support for Israel and Israel's policies toward the Palestinians, which provoke enormous anger in the Muslim and Arab world, are chiefly responsible for the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11. Maxwell's references to the course in the next paragraph seem to imply that the course supports his argument.

#### LETTERS

While we recognize that the Israeli/Palestinian conflict is a source of much frustration and anger in the Arab and Muslim world, we do not believe that U.S. support for Israel caused the Sept. 11 attacks.

Arab and Muslim leaders have too often attempted to divert attention from their own social, political and religious malfeasance by exploiting the Israeli/Palestinian conflict. In the same manner, these leaders invoke alleged Israeli misdeeds and American support to justify various acts of terrorism, Iraq's 1991 invasion of Kuwait and the failure of Arab and Muslim states to develop legitimate and acceptable forms of social, political, economic and religious forms of governance.

Israel is not responsible for these developments, and the problems of the Arab world would remain had Israel never existed. Indeed, Israel is not solely responsible for the terrible condition of Palestinians. That responsibility is shared by Egypt and Jordan, which occupied the Gaza Strip and the West Bank, respectively, for almost 20 years, as well as the British who played both Jews and Arabs against each other during the Mandatory Period. They also have legitimate grievances against all the Arab and Muslim states (except Jordan) that have used the plight of the Palestinians for political gain but have refused to grant them political rights and citizenship.

While we respect him as a courageous journalist, we would not want anyone to imagine that we share his views about the sources of the butchery on Sept. 11. Blaming Israel, directly or indirectly, ignores history and belies the terrorists' own words.

Adam L. Silverman, instructor, and

Kenneth D. Wald, professor,

U.S. Israel policy not to blame

Department of Political Science,

University of Florida, Gainesville

Militant Islam's threat

Re: Not all militant Islamic groups are out to get Americans, by Susan Taylor Martin, Jan. 27.

I unequivocally agree with Steven Emerson's statement that "militant Islamic fundamentalism is a phenomenon that seeks to impose its sovereignty around the world."

It does not matter if it is al-Qaida, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad or Hamas - they are all terrorist organizations that directly or indirectly threaten the United States.

Some of them are now busy with their own priorities but, ultimately, they will turn on the United States. After the Sept. 11 terrorist attack, many of them paraded in the streets, danced and distributed sweets to celebrate the "victory" over the United States.

Morton Wygodski, St. Petersburg

An equal offense

There you go again. Now you print the inaccurate opinions of Susan Taylor Martin as a column in addition to the anti-Semitic bellicosity of Bill Maxwell. Do you not realize that "militant groups" such as Hamas murdering Jewish children and women is tantamount to al-Qaida's murdering Americans?

Michael Andrew Zimmer,

St. Petersburg

Get the point: don't forget

Re: Detainees deserve dignity and protection of Geneva Conventions by Robyn Blumner and Don Wright's cartoon, Jan. 27.

Robyn Blumner should place a loved one's image in Wright's cartoon of a man in the World Trade Center, Sept. 11, with a plane coming directly at him, on the phone asking to be connected to a civil libertarian.

Since "we" don't get the point - the detainees shown stripped of their dignity, shaved heads (against their religion) and in shackled - Robyn must have forgotten that it's against their religion to kill. She forgot that they are "detained" so they don't repeat Sept. 11. She forgot that, if freed, they will probably kill more people before their beloved hair grows out. Did she forget the many heartbreaking images we've seen since Sept. 11? The image of the terrorists shackled, shaved and on their knees is not exactly what I imagined; I'd rather see the hurt and pain of losing a loved one in their eyes permanently. And did she forget the way they treat their own women? Eighty-seven percent of the American people have not forgotten Sept. 11, get the point!

Brenda Allen, Seminole

Unreasonable concern

The media's concern for the detainees at Guantanamo Bay is far out of proportion to the actual problem. If you would take time to examine the conditions for inmates in single-cell isolation in any state medium- or maximum-security correctional facility, you will find that by comparison, the detainees are having a nice walk in the park.

Since the Chinese are part of our coalition, we could turn these thugs over to them. Look at their record with us during the Korean War. There were 8,176 of our soldiers that are still carried as missing. Most of them were killed by the Chinese before they could become prisoners of war, and no one cared. Of the 6,856 GIs that were lucky

U.S. Israel policy not to blame

enough to be POWs, 2,438 (36 percent) died in captivity, and still no one cared. If the Chinese took the detainees, the problem for us would disappear, so would the detainees. I'm sure your writers would care if this were the case.

Why is it that the liberal civil liberties crowd seems to show more concern for our enemy than they have for our own troops?

(Source for this data: Office for the Secretary of Defense. Data released on Jan. 10, 2000.)

Frank Thoubboron, Belleair

Pretzel logic

Re: Editorial cartoon by Pat Oliphant, Jan. 27.

With all due respect to President George W. Bush, it may be easier to leave the piece of pretzel lodged in his throat. It may be the president's best defense. With that, he will be unable to cough up the truth, as well as the hundreds of thousands of dollars which the Enron Corp. contributed to his campaigns (gubernatorial and presidential). Pretzel, anyone?

JoAnn Lee Frank, Clearwater

There's no comparison

Re: Enron brings drama to hearing room, by Mary McGrory, Jan. 27.

Not so fast, Mary!

Your column demonstrates that the desire of the left-leaning editorial media to tar the Bush administration and excuse the Clinton era has gone a step too far.

After a bland reminiscence of Sam Ervin, your attempt to equate Enron with Watergate was both incorrect and inappropriate. As we all know, Watergate was a conspiracy stemming from executive branch hubris. Enron is no such thing. The White House certainly didn't cause the Enron collapse at all. Moreover, the executive branch acted morally despite of the large contributions from Enron to the political parties. The attempt to tie Watergate and Enron together just doesn't hold water. The facade of nostalgia for yesteryear can't cover the inappropriateness of the comparison.

The final comparison in the column in which the quotation from Sen. Cleland regarding the meaning of "is" is used to compare the Enron problem with the Clinton era crime of perjury is also completely off base. The fact that President Clinton lied to a federal court is certainly a failure far greater as regards a threat to our democracy than the bankruptcy of a large company that didn't receive government support after major campaign contributions and in which there is no indication of inappropriate government action, much less criminality.

Sorry Mary, this one just won't fly.

John J. Christman, Terra Verde

We'll miss you, Peggy

The line was a block long at the Paramount Theatre on Broadway in New York City. We were waiting to see and hear Peggy Lee.

Her style was unique and the phrasing perfect as she seemed to sing directly to you, in almost a whisper. Get Out of Here and Get Me Some Money, Too brought us to our feet, yelling for encores. And Fever? That really made our mercury rise.

Peggy, we'll miss you, but I'm afraid "That's all there is."

U.S. Israel policy not to blame

Sheila G. Brill, St. Petersburg

**Load-Date:** February 11, 2002

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End of Document



**14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS;**  
**THERE'RE MANY UNKNOWN IN 2-WEEK-OLD WAR, HERE ARE SOME**  
**ANSWERS**  
**14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS**

Philadelphia Daily News

APRIL 2, 2003 Wednesday 4STAR EDITION

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**Section:** LOCAL; Pg. 03

**Length:** 3007 words

**Byline:** WILLIAM BUNCH [bunchw@phillynews.com](mailto:bunchw@phillynews.com)

## **Body**

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FOURTEEN DAYS.

The war in Iraq is two weeks old today, and the bloody conflict is in that "fog of war" stage where there are far more questions than answers. But the Daily News is taking a whack at answering 14 of those questions - one for every day of the war so far.

It's starting to look that way, isn't it? Let's review the facts.

Since March 16, when the United States launched a cruise missile barrage at a compound where Saddam and possibly his two sons were believed to be staying, he's given two addresses on Iraqi TV. Both, however, were on videotape, and although he mentioned the date and fighting in Umm Qsar, some CIA analysts still thought he might have recorded them ahead of time.

Yesterday, tongues started wagging when officials announced that Saddam would give a live address - and then his information minister delivered the statement instead. Imagine the reaction here if we turned on the TV expecting to see President Bush from the Oval Office - but got Ari Fleischer instead.

However, there could be perfectly good reasons for an alive and well Saddam to be camera-shy. He almost never went on live TV before the war started. And he certainly doesn't want to give U.S. spies a possible GPS location for the next cruise missile attack.

Before the war started, Saddam divided Iraq into four zones run by his closest allies and henchmen. The most important one, which includes both Baghdad and Saddam's hometown of Tikrit, is run by his son and heir apparent, Qusai. Saddam's cousin, Ali Hassan Al-Majid, better known to the world as "Chemical Ali," is running the south, where pockets of resistance remain in Basra and elsewhere.

## 14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS; THERE'RE MANY UNKNOWNNS IN 2-WEEK-OLD WAR, HERE ARE SOME ANSWERS 14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS

Why would Saddam's cronies fight on if their boss is dead or injured? Why wouldn't they? The United States said before the war that Qusai, his brother Odai, "Chemical Ali" and several others are war criminals who would face trial and a possible death sentence after the government is toppled.

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The U.S. military issued formal guidelines yesterday authorizing troops in Iraq to detain civilians who "interfere with mission accomplishment" and hold them for up to 30 days. What's more, field commanders have authorized troops at checkpoints to fire if they feel it necessary.

There've been no successful suicide attacks since Saturday, but between nine and 13 unarmed Iraqis - some of them children under 5 - have been killed at checkpoints. That's been a huge public relations disaster for the United States.

Apparently not. If you want proof, consider that van carrying Iraqi women and children that was shot out at the checkpoint near Najaf.

A Washington Post reporter who was at the scene reported 10 killed and another victim near death - a number verified yesterday by a Knight Ridder reporter. Yet the Pentagon still lists the death toll at seven.

There's also good reason to believe that the American death toll is higher than the 46 names identified as of last night. There may be a justifiable purpose in that, though - the Pentagon claims it often needs considerable time to notify relatives. Said Pentagon spokeswoman Victoria Clarke: "We release the numbers and the information that we have."

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Frankly, though, after all the angst unleashed by the conflict in Iraq, the idea of an imminent war against one or two of its neighbors as well is a little, well, mind-boggling.

Our money is on Jordan, another Iraqi neighbor. Many folks there are angry that the America-friendly monarchy has allowed U.S. warplanes to fly over their country and even allowed several hundred troops to be based there. Thousands have protested in the streets of Amman.

Wedge between Iraq and Israel, with a majority of its own population Palestinian, Jordan is highly sensitive to shifts in the regional balance of power. There is also seething resentment in Egypt and in Saudi Arabia, but its repressive pro-U.S. monarchy bans all protests.

Not yet, but if he were a Major League Baseball manager he might be keeping a spare suitcase packed. Yesterday, Rumsfeld became the secretary of defensiveness in an extraordinary press briefing at the Pentagon where reporters questioned his war plan.

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President Bush, a loyalty freak, is standing firmly behind Rumsfeld. But if there are any major U.S. setbacks before the next wave of troops arrives, Rumsfeld could become the war's first casualty inside the Beltway.

In public, the career military man is playing the part of the good soldier - speaking strongly and sometimes eloquently on behalf of the Bush agenda.

But privately, it's clear that Powell and others in the State Department are increasingly peeved over the way the war is being conducted and the long-term implications for America's standing in the world. And it's even clearer that Powell, a Vietnam veteran, has little respect for neo-conservative thinkers like Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, who urge war but didn't serve in the military.

Powell said recently that the price of war is "paid not by intellectuals but by wonderful young Americans who serve their country and believe in the cause for which they are serving."

Nobody knows for sure, although Jessica Lynch, the former POW rescued last night, had been held in Nasiriyah, right near where she had been captured.

The Geneva Convention requires the Red Cross access to prisoners. Although the Red Cross is holding talks with Iraqi authorities, Baghdad so far has failed to give the organization access to the POWs.

"At this point we have not found any weapons of mass destruction," Brig. Gen. Vincent Brooks said yesterday. "We'll continue looking for it very patiently."

They may be patient, but with each passing day the failure to find chemical or biological weapons becomes a major embarrassment for the Bush administration - because that was the main alleged reason for all this in the first place.

No! Now that the euphoria of the initial "shock and awe" attacks is over, Wall Street investors are buying or selling on every new development or rumor in a war that's going to be around for weeks - and most probably months. When added to evidence of a new U.S. economic slowdown, the smart money is sitting on the sidelines for now.

Hint: It's not Geraldo Rivera. Many thousands of Americans numbed by either the repetition or blatant jingoism of CNN and Fox News Channel are turning to the British media, thanks to the marvel of the Internet.

Although the U.K. is one of our few major allies in the war, British journalists still seem to take a more nuanced view of what's happening than the American "embeds."

Some good sites?

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FOURTEEN DAYS.

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### 1. Is Saddam Hussein dead or seriously wounded?

It's starting to look that way, isn't it? Let's review the facts.

Since March 16, when the United States launched a cruise missile barrage at a compound where Saddam and possibly his two sons were believed to be staying, he's given two addresses on Iraqi TV. Both, however, were on videotape, and although he mentioned the date and fighting in Umm Qsar, some CIA analysts still thought he might have recorded them ahead of time.

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However, there could be perfectly good reasons for an alive and well Saddam to be camera-shy. He almost never went on live TV before the war started. And he certainly doesn't want to give U.S. spies a possible GPS location for the next cruise missile attack.

### 2. If Saddam isn't running Iraq, who is?

Before the war started, Saddam divided Iraq into four zones run by his closest allies and henchmen. The most important one, which includes both Baghdad and Saddam's hometown of Tikrit, is run by his son and heir apparent, Qusai. Saddam's cousin, Ali Hassan Al-Majid, better known to the world as "Chemical Ali," is running the south, where pockets of resistance remain in Basra and elsewhere.

Why would Saddam's cronies fight on if their boss is dead or injured? Why wouldn't they? The United States said before the war that Qusai, his brother Odai, "Chemical Ali" and several others are war criminals who would face trial and a possible death sentence after the government is toppled.

### 3. When will the real Battle of Baghdad begin?

It all depends on what you mean by the real Battle of Baghdad. By some definitions, it started last night as U.S. forces clashed with the Republican Guard near Kerbala. While Kerbala is still more than 50 miles from the center of Baghdad (almost as far away as Reading is from Philadelphia), it is considered a strategic gateway to the city.

### 4. Have the "rules of engagement" for dealing with the enemy changed since the beginning of the war?

Officially, no. But Saturday's suicide car bombing that killed four U.S. soldiers has clearly changed the way that soldiers are now dealing with civilian Iraqis, who were once viewed as potential friendly allies in overthrowing Saddam.

The U.S. military issued formal guidelines yesterday authorizing troops in Iraq to detain civilians who "interfere with mission accomplishment" and hold them for up to 30 days. What's more, field commanders have authorized troops at checkpoints to fire if they feel it necessary.

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Apparently not. If you want proof, consider that van carrying Iraqi women and children that was shot out at the checkpoint near Najaf.

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Iran, if you believe a high-ranking U.S. official - John Bolton, undersecretary of state for arms control. Bolton said earlier this week that blocking Iran - which borders Iraq - from building nuclear weapons would become "an extremely high priority" after the war.

Then there's Syria, another Iraqi neighbor. Bolton said it has extensive stockpiles of sarin and VX nerve agent, and also is pursuing biological weapons. Nine days after the Sept. 11 attacks, the Project for a New American Century - the same clique of influential neo-conservatives that wanted an invasion of Iraq back in 1998 - wrote a letter calling for "appropriate measures of retaliation" against Iran and Syria if they refused to cut their ties to Hezbollah, a terrorist group.

Frankly, though, after all the angst unleashed by the conflict in Iraq, the idea of an imminent war against one or two of its neighbors as well is a little, well, mind-boggling.

### 7. What will be the first Arab government - besides Iraq's - to collapse?

Our money is on Jordan, another Iraqi neighbor. Many folks there are angry that the America-friendly monarchy has allowed U.S. warplanes to fly over their country and even allowed several hundred troops to be based there. Thousands have protested in the streets of Amman.

Wedged between Iraq and Israel, with a majority of its own population Palestinian, Jordan is highly sensitive to shifts in the regional balance of power. There is also seething resentment in Egypt and in Saudi Arabia, but its repressive pro-U.S. monarchy bans all protests.

### 8. Should Donald Rumsfeld tender his resignation?

Not yet, but if he were a Major League Baseball manager he might be keeping a spare suitcase packed. Yesterday, Rumsfeld became the secretary of defensiveness in an extraordinary press briefing at the Pentagon where reporters questioned his war plan.

Even some field commanders in Iraqi are telling reporters that Rumsfeld launched the war in Iraq with far too few ground troops and a mistaken belief that a barrage of cruise missiles and a few Special Forces ops would cause the Baghdad regime to collapse, possibly within days.

President Bush, a loyalty freak, is standing firmly behind Rumsfeld. But if there are any major U.S. setbacks before the next wave of troops arrives, Rumsfeld could become the war's first casualty inside the Beltway.

### 9. What does Colin Powell think of all this?

In public, the career military man is playing the part of the good soldier - speaking strongly and sometimes eloquently on behalf of the Bush agenda.

But privately, it's clear that Powell and others in the State Department are increasingly peeved over the way the war is being conducted and the long-term implications for America's standing in the world. And it's even clearer that Powell, a Vietnam veteran, has little respect for neo-conservative thinkers like Deputy Defense Secretary Paul Wolfowitz, who urge war but didn't serve in the military.

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Powell said recently that the price of war is "paid not by intellectuals but by wonderful young Americans who serve their country and believe in the cause for which they are serving."

### 10. Where are the American POWs?

Nobody knows for sure, although Jessica Lynch, the former POW rescued last night, had been held in Nasiriyah, right near where she had been captured.

The Geneva Convention requires the Red Cross access to prisoners. Although the Red Cross is holding talks with Iraqi authorities, Baghdad so far has failed to give the organization access to the POWs.

### 11. So where are all those chemical and biological weapons?

"At this point we have not found any weapons of mass destruction," Brig. Gen. Vincent Brooks said yesterday. "We'll continue looking for it very patiently."

They may be patient, but with each passing day the failure to find chemical or biological weapons becomes a major embarrassment for the Bush administration - because that was the main alleged reason for all this in the first place.

### 12. Is this a good time to put my life savings into the stock market?

No! Now that the euphoria of the initial "shock and awe" attacks is over, Wall Street investors are buying or selling on every new development or rumor in a war that's going to be around for weeks - and most probably months. When added to evidence of a new U.S. economic slowdown, the smart money is sitting on the sidelines for now.

### 13. Who's doing the best job of covering the war?

Hint: It's not Geraldo Rivera. Many thousands of Americans numbed by either the repetition or blatant jingoism of CNN and Fox News Channel are turning to the British media, thanks to the marvel of the Internet.

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### 14. So, are we winning the war?

Yes, on the battlefield. Despite many unanticipated problems, the U.S. war effort has been remarkable in the speed that soldiers have neared Baghdad while suffering - by historical standards - extremely low casualties. But this is the age of the Internet and satellite TV, so war is also waged on the streets of public opinion. Here, the U.S. has taken some serious blows - mainly over the deaths of Iraqi civilians. And the outcome in this war is much more in doubt. \*

## Notes

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EAGLES DAY AFTER

## Graphic

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14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS; THERE'RE MANY UNKNOWNNS IN 2-WEEK-OLD WAR, HERE ARE SOME  
ANSWERS 14 DAYS, 14 QUESTIONS

PHOTO;

Marines Honor Guards raise flag from casket of 1st Lt. Therrel S. Childers - first U.S. combat casualty in the war - yesterday in Powell Wyo.; Saddam; Journalists take cover as Irish Guards' 7th Armor Brigade responds to machine gun fire on the road from Basra.; Rumsfeld; The war continues to draw mroe troops.; Iraqi weeps over the bodies of his family, his wife, six children, two brothers and both parents were killed in Al Hillah.

Iraqi weeps over bodies of his family - his wife, six children, two brothers and both parents were killed in Al Hillah.

Photos: Associated Press

Rumsfeld

Journalists take cover as Irish Guards' 7th Armour Brigade responds to machine gun fire on the road from Basra.

MARIO TAMA, Getty Images

Associated Press

Honor Guard holds flag at casket of Marine 1st Lt. Therrel S. Childers - first combat casualty of Iraqi war - yesterday in Powell Wyo.

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

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End of Document

*Woman's suicide attack;  
news from Britain and around the world*

THE BRISTOL POST

January 28, 2002

GREATER BRISTOL

Copyright 2002 Bristol United Press

**Section:** News, Pg.4

**Length:** 172 words

## **Body**

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A STUDENT became the first Palestinian woman to carry out a suicide bombing as she killed herself yesterday, along with an elderly Israeli man and wounding others.

Israeli police said last night they were still trying to determine whether the bomb exploded prematurely.

In Lebanon, the Al-Manar TV station, run by the militant Hezbollah movement, said the bomber was Shinaz Amuri, a female student.

Israel said Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat was ultimately responsible for the bombing, adding that it was prepared to respond to the third major attack in an Israeli city in the past week.

The bomb killed an 81-year-old Israeli man. Victims were sprawled in the street, shop windows were blown out and one store caught fire.

More than 100 were treated on the spot or taken to hospitals, though most suffered only from shock.

A Palestinian crowd stormed a prison in Bethlehem and freed seven prisoners belonging to Hamas and Islamic Jihad, the two groups that have carried out past suicide bombings, Palestinian security officials said.

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



## *Un Should Condemn Syrians*

Derby Evening Telegraph

October 16, 2003

default

Copyright 2003 Derby Evening Telegraph

**Section:** Features; General; Letters; Pg. 4

**Length:** 181 words

### **Body**

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The hypocrisy of the Arab world never fails to amaze me. Palestinian terrorists massacre innocent women and children, yet criticise the Israelis when they retaliate.

The Palestinians have a chance of peace but, instead of reining in the terrorists, the Palestinian authority chooses not to.

They give free rein to the killers of Hamas, Hezbollah and others to sow the seeds of hatred in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

Now, after an Israeli attack on terrorist training camps in Syria, the Syrian government has asked the United Nations to condemn the raid.

Israel had every right to attack these camps. The UN should be condemning the Syrians, who, for years, have sponsored terrorism.

George Bush declared war on terrorism no matter where and that is just what Israel is doing. Far from condemning Israel, it should be applauded for its fight against these murderers of the innocents.

Chris Cartlidge, Harrington Avenue, Borrowash.

To air your views on this and other topics visit the [www.nepnicheweb.co.uk/cgi-bin/thisisderbyshireubb/cgi-bin/ultimatebb.cgi](http://www.nepnicheweb.co.uk/cgi-bin/thisisderbyshireubb/cgi-bin/ultimatebb.cgi) >Derbyshire Bulletin Board

**Load-Date:** October 17, 2003

## *Deportations more cause for concern than strippers*

The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia)

December 11, 2004 Saturday

Final Edition

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**Section:** EDITORIAL; Pg. C6

**Length:** 172 words

**Byline:** Elizabeth Bligh, Vancouver Sun

### **Body**

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Re: Opposition continues to assail Sgro in House, Dec. 10

In all the articles about Judy Sgro and the scandals at Citizenship and Immigration Canada, there has been little or no mention of far worse abuses of power by this department.

Haleh Sabha has been deported back to Iran, where she was promptly arrested. She had come to Canada after having been imprisoned in Iran for campaigning for women's rights.

How is it possible that the public only learned of her plight when it was too late? Why are we deporting any women to Iran after what happened to Canadian journalist Zahra Kazemi, who was beaten to death for taking photographs in Iran?

On top of that, seven men, who were engaged in fighting Hezbollah, have been ordered deported back to Lebanon, where they will certainly be in deadly danger.

Why is the immigration department not following its own policies of refusing to send people back to countries where they will be in danger? Isn't this a far greater reason for Sgro to be forced to resign?

Elizabeth Bligh

North Vancouver

**Load-Date:** December 11, 2004

## MONDAY UPDATE

Dayton Daily News (Ohio)  
July 2, 2001 Monday CITY EDITION

Copyright 2001 Dayton Newspapers, Inc.

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

**Length:** 194 words

### **Body**

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McClure Road project funds to be sought

Warren and Turtlecreek Twp. officials say they have a plan to fix a deadly hill. Story, 1B.

Jazz fest cut short when skies open

Increasingly heavy showers forced organizers to bring the Women in Jazz concert to an early end. Story, 1B.

Motorist thwarts chainsaw caper

A driver saw two men steal chainsaws from Hine's hardware store in Vandalia. The onlooker phoned the police and followed the pair until police could catch them. Story, 1B.

Strongest link is ex-wife of 'Weakest' exec

NBC will allow Julie Harmon to keep the \$92,000 she won on Weakest Link even though she is the ex-wife of an executive on the show. Story, 6C.

New NOW chief to fight court appointments

Kim A. Gandy wants to preserve abortion rights and send 'George W. Bush to Texas.' Story, 5A.

Israel hits Syrian radar posts

Israeli attack wounds three people and prompts Hezbollah response. Story, 7A.

African dust may hurt Americans

Dust from African deserts traveling across the Atlantic Ocean could carry germs and fungi to America. Story, 8A.

Politicians vow to save Ulster pact

A Northern Ireland administration may be in jeopardy after its leader resigned. Story, 7A.

**Load-Date:** July 3, 2001

## MONDAY UPDATE

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## LETTERS: YOUR VIEWS

Coventry Evening Telegraph

April 20, 2004, Tuesday

Copyright 2004 Coventry Newspapers Limited

**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 Sipowitz 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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## Unhealthy bedfellows

The Weekend Australian

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**Section:** FEATURES; Weekend Inquirer; Pg. 24

**Length:** 1652 words

**Byline:** Joshua Kurlantzick

### **Body**

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Radical Islamic groups have replaced communist governments as partners for the hard Left in western democracies, writes Joshua Kurlantzick

THE Manhattan lawyer Lynne Stewart has been wedded to activist causes since the 1960s, defending a long train of leftists who have had run-ins with the law. A grandmotherly woman with a wide, jowly pink face and graying hair in a bowl cut, she has represented anti-war demonstrators, ageing yuppies and Black Panthers.

When Stewart arrived at a US federal prison hospital in Minnesota in May 2000, however, she met a client from a very different milieu. In the visiting room, Stewart sat across from sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the infamous blind Egyptian cleric imprisoned for life in 1995 for inciting the 1993 World Trade Centre attack and plotting to blow up the FBI's office in Manhattan, as well as the UN and the Holland and Lincoln tunnels linking New York City with New Jersey.

MATP

Though they are roughly the same age, Abdel Rahman seems to have missed out on many of the famously tolerant ideals associated with Stewart's generation of activists. He has called for the slaughter of Jews, and for women to have little public role in society. Yet, with Abdel Rahman, Stewart allegedly took a step beyond mere legal advice. Videotapes allegedly show that Stewart loudly spoke nonsense words while her client, under the din, instructed a man travelling with Stewart and posing as a translator to execute a new terrorist plot. For this, Stewart has been charged with providing material support for terrorism, since the dangerous sheikh is forbidden from contacting his followers.

At the trial, an Egyptian reporter for Reuters testified that he had received a call from Stewart relaying a message from Abdel Rahman to his followers that they should break their ceasefire with another Islamist group. Allegations of complicity by her with known terrorists left Stewart nonplussed. "We hit it off," she gushed to The Washington Post about her interactions with the sheikh. "He's really an incredible person." Stewart has denied any wrongdoing and says she followed ethical rules. A verdict in the trial is expected soon.

Such seemingly improbable partnerships are the subject of David Horowitz's new book, *Unholy Alliance: Radical Islam and the American Left*. Calling this alliance the "Hitler-Stalin pact of our times", he warns of its potential impact, especially in undermining the war on terror.

Horowitz, the founder of the online magazine FrontPage and a former radical leftist, is at his best in documenting the intellectual connections between these strange bedfellows. He shows, for instance, how the anti-American

## Unhealthy bedfellows

pronouncements of Noam Chomsky have become increasingly indistinguishable from those of the fire-breathing clerics who appear on Arab satellite TV stations.

Horowitz points to the participation of militant Muslims in some of the most publicised antiwar rallies and also provides useful historical context for this unlikely romance. Over the past century, he argues, the radical Left in Europe and the US has come to define itself as a movement against, rather than a movement for. Primarily, of course, its target has been the US, no matter what the US has stood for.

When the US declared war on terror, it was time, once again, for the Left to lionise whomever America opposed. That radical Islamists hold social and cultural values diametrically opposed to those of American leftists is not, Horowitz maintains, as big a problem for either party as it might appear. Today's radicals tend to pay tribute not to al-Qa'ida but to groups such as Hamas, whose extensive social-service network can be invoked to soften the horrors perpetrated by its terror cells. (Interestingly, though, few if any of today's leftists have decamped for Tehran or Taliban-controlled Afghanistan.) For their part, the prophets of radical Islam have not only borrowed from the Left in recent decades, they have learned to appeal to leftist sympathies. The Arab media now constantly condemn the US for victimising the Third World and supporting tyrants.

Horowitz's Unholy Alliance is among the first serious examinations of this troubling and relatively new relationship.

But he scents what is decidedly new in the developments he describes. A decade ago, a red-green (green being the colour of Islam) alliance would have seemed astounding. On campuses in Europe and the US, women's groups usually avoided Islamist organisations, which often held highly misogynistic beliefs. The primary concerns of hard-leftist groups tended to be labour rights and poverty. Few had ties to any Muslim organisations.

One powerful catalyst that changed all this was the birth of the anti-globalisation movement. The real and imagined evils of globalisation have breathed new life into the international Left, especially among the young. But radicals have not rested content with protesting the policies they dislike. They also sought villains, and they have found familiar ones: the US and the Jews. Despite the youth of many anti-globalisation activists, they have drawn upon and updated venerable tropes of traditional anti-Semitism and anti-Americanism. The Rockefellers and Rothschilds have disappeared as international bogeymen, replaced by theories of Jewish and American intrigue at the World Trade Organisation and other supranational economic agencies.

That such images should have found a ready audience in the Muslim world is no surprise. But their dissemination depended on yet another recent development: the internet. Before the advent of today's computer technology, the hard Left in Europe and the US would have had no idea how to seek out Islamist sympathisers. A generation ago, it would have been necessary for the two groups to occupy the same physical space -- an unlikely prospect. Since the 1990s, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of web homepages created by both radical Muslims and anti-globalisation activists.

In early 2003, several British left-wing parties -- Marxists, socialists, Labour radicals -- came together with Islamist groups, including the local branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, to create a joint steering committee. Its co-chairmen (to give something of its flavour) were Andrew Murray of the British Communist Party and Muhammad Asalm Ijaz of the London Council of Mosques. On the Continent, at roughly the same time, similar alliances were cemented between Islamist organisations and leftist parties such as France's Trotskyist Workers' Struggle.

These links were quickly put to use. Throughout 2003 and 2004, Islamists and anti-globalisation activists in Europe have held a number of joint protests, marches, and conferences. In France, several anti-globalisation groups helped to lead marches protesting the Government's order that headscarves could not be worn in public schools. Islamists and anti-globalisation activists have other pan-European activities planned for 2005.

More worrisome is the fact that the leftist-Islamist partnership has converted its co-operation into votes. In 2004 elections for local offices across Europe and for seats in the European Parliament, Islamic groups worked with leftists on joint lists or helped promote Left candidates in Belgium, Britain and France. The electoral advantages of this united front can only grow as immigration and high birthrates add to Europe's already sizable Muslim population.

## Unhealthy bedfellows

Horowitz also singles out International ANSWER (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism), a New York-based group founded by former US attorney-general and long-time radical agitator Ramsey Clark (who has also represented the blind sheikh). ANSWER, Horowitz shows, traffics in the same anti-American and anti-Semitic vitriol as the most hateful Islamists.

In December 2003, the group helped to convene the second annual Cairo Conference, an anti-US hate fest attended by a variety of Islamists, including Osama Hamdan, a top leader of Hamas. ANSWER has also given a seat on its steering committee to the Muslim Students Association. This group presents itself as a benign advocate for Muslim college students. But as Jonathan Dowd-Gailey has recently documented in the Middle East Quarterly, the MSA has funnelled money to the Holy Land Foundation and other charities accused of funding Hamas and **Hezbollah**. MSA leaders have called for the death of all Jews and have spread pro-Taliban propaganda. The group advises its members that their "long-term goal" should be "to Islamicise the politics of their respective universities".

The partnership between Islamists and the international Left poses its most immediate threat to Jews. As Horowitz rightly worries, the anti-Semitic propaganda spread by the red-green alliance stokes violence against Jewish communities and makes Israel an ever more vilified object of rage. Ultimately, too, Islamists may turn some part of the anti-globalisation movement towards violence.

Indeed, many older members of the hard Left have never forsworn such tools. As Stewart told The New York Times there is nothing wrong with using "directed violence" against "the institutions which perpetuate capitalism".

In the longer term, the ideas propagated by the hard Left-Islamist alliance could also seep into the wider political culture, poisoning the mainstream Left and otherwise sane liberals. Praise for suicide bombers, Horowitz notes, can already be heard at times from members of Europe's socialist establishment. In France, Belgium and Great Britain, some parties of the moderate Left have tried to co-opt Muslim groups while sidestepping their extreme rhetoric, hoping thereby to bolster the parties' credibility with dissatisfied radical voters.

\*

Joshua Kurlantzick is the foreign editor of The New Republic. This is an edited excerpt of a longer article which appeared in the December 2004 issue of Commentary.

## LINKS

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

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**Load-Date:** January 7, 2005

## *Middle of the road map*

Australian Financial Review

December 3, 2004 Friday

First Edition

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**Section:** NEWS; Features; Pg. 72

**Length:** 1555 words

**Byline:** Ben Potter. Ben Potter travelled to Israel as a guest of the Israeli foreign ministry and the Australia-Israel Jewish Affairs Council.

### **Body**

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Palestinians and Israelis are hopeful they can grab a new opportunity to resolve their differences but when it comes to Middle East politics, history has shown nothing is straightforward or simple, writes Ben Potter.

In the month after the death of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, progress towards a post-Arafat political landscape in the Holy Land had seemed surreally smooth. But this week, Israeli-Palestinian politics resumed its unpredictable pattern. Marwan Barghouti a Palestinian militant serving five life sentences in an Israeli prison for murder reversed an earlier decision not to contest elections for the chairmanship of the Palestinian Authority, casting a cloud over the prospects of moderate Fatah candidate Mahmoud Abbas. Meanwhile, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon dissolved his Likud Party's coalition with the Shinui Party after it voted against the budget, and turned to the opposition Labour Party to form a national unity government.

Barghouti's candidacy is a challenge to the Israeli government which says releasing the murderer of four Israelis is not on and the West, both of which favour Abbas. It also endangers hopes for a smooth transition to a new Palestinian leadership and a renewal of the peace process. Sharon's political problems are a reminder of the fragility of his hold on power. But he knows Labour the second biggest party after Likud supports his policy of building the security fence and disengaging from the Palestinian territories, and is unlikely to bring the government down over the budget.

"If we topple him it's an election and there's no disengagement," says Labour whip Isaac Herzog, the son of former Israeli president Chaim Herzog. "We have to weigh the national interest."

Bipartisan support for the fence and disengagement reflects a change in Israeli psychology after the bitter experience of the intifada. Israelis are hopeful but coolly realistic about the prospects for peace after the death of the man they accuse of abandoning the Camp David peace talks of 2000 to seek a better deal by violence and terrorism.

Palestinians also see renewed hope and are wasting no time in moving on from Arafat. Two Saturdays ago in the evening, barely a week after Arafat's funeral, his gravesite in his compound in the West Bank town of Ramallah was deserted apart from half-a-dozen armed guards and nine Australian journalists and diplomats, who outnumbered Palestinian civilians three to one. At the time, the streets of Ramallah teemed with people. "You won't see people at his grave," says Ehud Ya'ari, a leading Israeli commentator on Middle East affairs.

## Middle of the road map

The message from Palestinian Legislative Council members Hanan Ashrawi and Hassan Khureishe and Foreign Minister Nabil Shaath is that the supreme powers of Arafat as head of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, its dominant Fatah movement and the PA are being divided among several people.

"It's the end of the era of larger-than-life individuals," Ashrawi says. "He is being replaced by such mundane things as functioning, efficient institutions and the rule of law. It's not so dramatic but for us we want to move on to nation building."

"We are not going to fall apart. There is not going to be a civil war. We are not a collection of tribes."

Before nation building comes elections, on January 9 for the chairmanship of the PA and later next year for the Palestinian Legislative Council. For the elections to produce legitimate leaders, Palestinians say, they need freedom of movement in the West Bank and Gaza, a relaxation of the Israeli military presence and freedom for the Palestinians of East Jerusalem to vote.

This is in both sides' interests, Ashrawi adds. "When people live in relative ease and are able to live and think and have political distance, then they can think more rationally and elect more moderate people. So we hope there'll be a mutual cessation of hostilities."

Support from the international community, including election observers, money and help with security, is also needed, says Shaath. "If we have free and successful elections, we'll bring on a new generation of leaders and we'll produce a new order interested in peace and democracy and progress," he adds. "The big majority of Palestinians believe it's time to get back to the peace process and that the suicide bombings need to stop."

If only it were that easy, say Israelis. After the bitterness of the past four years, which have brought the deaths of more than 1000 Israelis in Palestinian attacks and more than 3000 Palestinians as a result of Israel's reprisals, words will have to be matched by deeds if Israel is to make the sorts of concessions sought by Palestinians and much of the outside world.

The Sharon government is willing, even eager, to go along with the view that Arafat's death presents a "window of opportunity" to end the conflict and give peaceful co-existence a chance. The government is keen to talk peace again if acceptable new Palestinian leaders emerge. But it sees Iran, with its nuclear ambitions and dedication to the destruction of Israel, and Iraq as its real threats, and is taking out insurance by going ahead with the security fence which has sharply reduced suicide bombings and its policy of disengagement.

"We have a lot of sympathy for what's going on in the Palestinian camps but there's a limit," says Isaac Herzog. "We can not justify the suffering we have seen or the phenomenon of suicide bombings. The real tragedy, the result of this war, [is that it] has led to another generation of Palestinians willing to do acts of terror. They brought this suffering on themselves."

Barghouti's candidacy is a spanner in the works. One of the new generation of leaders, he supported the Oslo peace process, negotiated a short-lived truce with Hamas from his prison cell during Abbas's brief and turbulent prime ministership under Arafat last year, and is reportedly committed to a negotiated peace. But he also turned to violence during the intifada, and he became the second most popular Palestinian leader after Arafat after his arrest for murder.

Barghouti is the only Palestinian leader with "real authority", says Ehud Ya'ari. But it would be near impossible for any Israeli government to convince its people of the wisdom of negotiating with Barghouti if he were elected. The question is how much support he can get without Fatah's endorsement. "We want a president who is free, not a president who is in jail," says Khureishe.

Still, there is movement. The Israeli government views the arrangements for Arafat's funeral for which some travel restrictions were lifted and Israeli soldiers melted into the background and allowed Palestinian security forces to carry arms again as a success. It is willing to consider similar concessions to give the elections every chance of

## Middle of the road map

succeeding too, including increased freedom of movement and allowing Palestinians in East Jerusalem to vote "absentee".

What Israelis on all sides of politics are not willing to do is compromise their own hard-won security. Nor are they willing to meet Palestinian demands to leapfrog the first two stages of the road map for peace and go straight to final status talks on contentious issues such as shared sovereignty over East Jerusalem and refugees' right of return.

First, they will require the new PA leadership likely but not certain to be led by Abbas (also known as Abu Mazen) as chairman and current prime minister Ahmed Qureia (Abu Ala) to end the incitement to hatred of, and violence against, Jews in the official PA media and education system. Itamar Marcus, director of Palestinian Media Watch in Jerusalem, recounts dozens of cases of incitement. They include a children's soccer tournament named after the perpetrator of the 2002 Passover massacre in which 31 Israelis were killed, a summer camp named after the first **female** suicide bomber, newspaper reports insinuating that Israelis caused Arafat's death and roof-raising sermons by religious leaders describing Jews as "parasitic worms" and quoting out-of-context Koranic exhortations to kill Jews.

This culture makes many Israelis pessimistic about the prospects for peace in the short term. "To talk about free and fair elections and a new openness is bogus," says Arnold Roth, an Israeli high-tech entrepreneur and lawyer from Melbourne whose 15-year-old daughter was killed by a suicide bomber three years ago. "I think it's inevitable there'll be peace because of the essential goodness of the people but there are big things to overcome." These include not just the education system and media but the "hopelessly corrupt" old guard leadership.

Another fear is that the Iranian-backed **Hezbollah** terrorist movement has not only taken over southern Lebanon but is forming closer links with Hamas, the indigenous Palestinian terrorist group based in Gaza.

Ehud Ya'ari says Hamas has more popular support than the old guard concedes, and pointing to a suicide bombing attempt on the Gaza border a day earlier predicts any commitment to a ceasefire will be tactical. He doubts Abbas can bring groups willing to resort to violence under his control, as Egypt's legendary leader Anwar Sadat did in the 1970s before making peace with Israel: "Can he do it? If he does have some grains of the courage and skills of Sadat, we have not seen it. I hope I am wrong."

## Graphic

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PHOTO: Fadwa Barghouti (centre) has registered her husband Marwan (background) to run for power. Photo: REUTERS

**Load-Date:** April 5, 2012

## *Eats meets west*

South China Morning Post

April 28, 2005

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**Section:** Pg. 5

**Length:** 1410 words

**Byline:** He's eaten insects, cobra and almost anything else on offer. Now, culinary doyen Anthony Bourdain tackles Chinese cuisine with Susan Jung

### **Body**

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"DID YOU HEAR? He's single," whispers woman after woman at a packed dinner at JW's California in the JW Marriott. They're giggling over a tall, skinny, tough-talking, chain-smoking, heavy drinking, party-hearty former heroin addict. Anthony Bourdain also happens to be a best-selling writer, suave television presenter and amusing public speaker. And he's a respected chef.

Bourdain, executive chef of Brasserie Les Halles in New York, is author of several books, including Kitchen Confidential - Adventures in the Culinary Underbelly, his breakthrough tell-all of a chef's life, and the star of A Cook's Tour: In Search of the Perfect Meal, his series on the Discovery Travel & Living television channel.

The women would probably have been even more giddy and breathless if they'd heard him speaking before the dinner. "There's a connection between sex and food," he says. "With both, you undergo the same physiological changes. If a person doesn't like food, he or she is not going to like sex."

Anybody who's watched Bourdain's TV show and witnessed his enthusiasm when he tastes something delicious might well be consumed with jealousy over whom he bestows his affections.

And what could the lucky lady expect for a seduction meal? "Well, it would be breakfast," he says. "But it's so easy. You feed someone champagne and caviar and then you sleep with them - that's kind of tacky."

What you should do, Bourdain says, is make them breakfast afterwards. "You've had what you wanted, presumably. If you like them, it's a selfless act, a random act of kindness. There's clearly nothing in it for you. I think it's a nice thing, to wake up in the morning and say, 'I'm going to make you an omelette.' "

But what if she's a vegetarian or a vegan? "I've met some cute vegetarians. That's all I'm saying on that subject." (In Kitchen Confidential, Bourdain writes: "Vegetarians and their Hezbollah-like splinter-faction, the vegans, are a persistent irritant to any chef worth a damn.")

That Bourdain would woo a lover with something as simple as an omelette seems appropriate for a man so passionate about rustic peasant dishes of tripe, bone marrow and other, cheaper cuts of meat, and who's known for tasting everything from insects to a beating cobra's heart. His curiosity and anti-snob attitude about food is enthusiastically received by the audience of 140 guests at JW's California on Monday. They cheer when, after sampling a simple bowl of congee with pig's blood, he says: "That's good, I love it. I want it for breakfast."



## Eats meets west

They laugh when, later on, he says: "The same engine that drove the French to have a great culinary culture is in many ways the same engine that drove the Chinese culinary culture. The first person to eat a snail wasn't a chef - it was one hungry sonofabitch who thought, 'I'm hungry, maybe if I put on enough garlic butter, I could eat it.'

"Anyone can make a steak, it's simple. The challenge is to make something good out of rabbit or frog or shanks, shoulders, feet and tongue - that's the good stuff; that's what makes a cook. That's what's great about France and a lot of Asian cuisines. If you're smaller than me, slower than me, stupider than me and you taste good, you're my lunch."

And they applaud when he reveals his upcoming plans to live for a year in Vietnam, which he's visited many times. "I'm going to live in a little fishing village on the coast of Vietnam, near Hoi An," he says. "I'm not going with cameras. I'm picking a village where there are no other tourists or expats. I plan to be the lone, freakishly tall white guy. I don't know what I'm doing. I have no plans. The idea is to go and find out what happens."

Bourdain was toiling away in the kitchen of Les Halles and writing in his spare moments what he describes as "unsuccessful crime novels", when, in 1999, a piece he wrote was accepted by The New Yorker. Titled, Don't Eat Before Reading This, the article advised, among other things: don't order the Monday fish specials (the fish is four to five days old); don't eat anything with hollandaise at brunch (it's "held" at a lukewarm temperature for several hours, allowing bacteria to thrive); and don't order steaks well done (you'll be served the worst piece).

The article was a sensation, with the dining public both repelled and fascinated. Bourdain received a contract to expand the article into a book, and Kitchen Confidential was born.

In it, he describes taking a childhood trip from the US to his father's ancestral home, France. The nine-year-old continually ate "steak hache" (hamburger) with ketchup and cola, until he had the sudden epiphany that food is much more than just sustenance - that it "could inspire, astonish, shock, excite, delight and impress. It had the power to please."

Bourdain writes of his aborted academic career, his early days as a kitchen dishwasher and attending the Culinary Institute of America in Hyde Park, New York. He reveals that, after graduating and thinking he'd be the next Auguste Escoffier, he worked in a long line of decreasingly desirable kitchens, addicted to heroin and cocaine, and describes his slow climb out of "the wilderness years".

Writing Kitchen Confidential meant working 17 hours a day. "I'd wake up at 5am, write as long as I could, then I'd go to work," he says. "I didn't see it as any more important than roasting bones, filleting salmon or anything else I did. It was the same work ethic."

Before I meet Bourdain, who says he is "no longer married", a mutual friend in Paris describes him as "the classic sensitive guy with a tough exterior". Bourdain hesitates when asked to comment: "It's not untrue. I can be a bastard. I am capable of harshness, cruelty and insensitivity. It is not untrue."

And the sensitivity part? "I'm the worst person to ask that question. It would be very easy for me to say 'yes' or 'no', but who could tell? I cry at Truffaut films, OK? It depends on who you ask. Someone might say, 'He's an insensitive, self-centred prick'; someone else will say, 'He's a complete softie'. It depends."

Bourdain does come across as surprisingly accommodating - virtues one doesn't see in his descriptions of himself in Kitchen Confidential. While taking a walk through the Central wet market, he signs autographs for passers-by.

During the wet-market tour, Bourdain runs his fingers over rambutans, stops to sniff durians ("I love these") and jokes about his fertility while downing a cup of ginseng tea. He buys a jar of rich, aged soy bean paste at Kowloon Soy - and leaves it behind when we stop somewhere else.

And although he's had a five-course lunch cooked by his friend Donovan Cooke at the Royal Hong Kong Jockey Club, he stops to eat, in quick succession, a plate of roast pork and roast suckling pig at Dragon Restaurant on Graham Street, portions of dry noodles with pork and prawn won ton noodles at the famous Mak's Noodles on Wellington Street, and some strong milk tea and Hong Kong-style French toast at a cha chaan teng.

## Eats meets west

So, what food did he like best on this brief promotional trip to Hong Kong? "That suckling pig," he says enthusiastically. "Oh, my god, that was a religious experience. In the words of Homer Simpson, the pig is a magical animal. I like pig in general and suckling pig is probably the very best example of pork. When it's done brilliantly, I mean, it's all about the skin and that skin was just fantastic."

Given his excitement about the simple, local foods he tastes on this trip, it's a wonder it's taken him so long to pay his first visit to Hong Kong.

"Chinese food is such a major, important 'mother' cuisine," he says. "You'll notice I've also avoided Italy, India and, until recently, France. I've stayed away from subjects that other smarter, more authoritative people have covered."

"I went to places that haven't had much coverage. But I've been nibbling away at the edges for so long now, eating Chinese food in America, Malaysia, Singapore and Taipei, that I don't care if I look like an idiot, I just want to experience it. This is a very exciting place to be. I can't wait to come back and eat everything in sight."

A Cook's Tour, Discovery T&L channel, Tue, 10pm and Wed, 10am. Bourdain's new programme, Decoding Ferran Adria, about the experimental and influential chef whose restaurant in Roses, Spain, has three Michelin stars, starts May 10, 10pm.

## Graphic

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(Photo: Dickson Lee); Chef and writer Anthony Bourdain samples some Chinese cuisine during a walk through the Central wet market.

**Load-Date:** April 28, 2005

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