

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

Job Number: 223498089

# Documents (100)

1. 40,000 British Jews rally to side of Israel

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

2. <u>Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting</u> back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

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

3. Eight die in bus blast; Powell arrives tonight

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

4. Jerusalem woman bomber strikes in busy street

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

5. Security agents hunt Lebanon kidnap expert

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

#### 6. IN KAMIKAZE'S ARMOR

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

#### 7. Born to kill: Raising suicide bombers: Palestinian children receive early training in terror methods

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

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

# 9. A NATION CHALLENGED: ASIAN MILITANTS School in Indonesia Urges 'Personal Jihad' In Steps of bin Laden

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

# 10. Letters to the Editor

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

#### 11. 1983 Beirut bomb began era of terror

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

#### 12. A quiet revolution

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

#### 13. A history of violence: Barbara Kay defends Neil French, the ad man who told it like it is

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

#### 14. Young Iranians Speak Out (Online) for Democracy

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

#### 15. Never Again

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

16. Won't end up like Iran : Cheney

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

17. News in Brief

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

18. Why the refugee process needs work: It's those who follow the rules who seem to have the hardest time getting to stay

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

19. Was Bush right?: The U.S. president invaded Iraq for all the wrong reasons, but the action led to Jan. 30 elections in that country - a pivotal event in the history of the Mideast

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

20. Problems in the Middle East a creation of the West

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

21. Troop deaths highest since Vietnam War; 99 killed so far in April.

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

22. Shiites hail freedom

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

23. Move over, Osama: The Arab version of American Idol, representing some of the worst aspects of Western culture, is taking the Middle East by a storm

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

24. When truth spoils a good slavery story

Client/Matter: -None-

Search Terms: "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" Search Type: Terms and Connectors

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

25. LETTERS

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

## 26. IRAQIS EMPLOY HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS TO STALL AMERICANS

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

#### 27. READERS RESPOND

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

#### 28. Fighter for a Nobel cause

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

#### 29. OSAMA'S GREATEST ENEMY: HASSAN THE HEARTTHOB

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

#### 30. America -- take a stand on Israel

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

#### 31. Naive bomber and the avenger who lit his fuse

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

#### 32. U.S. role still critical to Middle East peace; The Bush administration's new urgency ought to be welcomed.

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

#### 33. Peres upbeat, but Arafat sees no thaw

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

#### 34. MIDEAST TURMOIL: OCCUPIER Israeli Soldier Just Wants To Go Home

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

#### 35. Anti- Israel Voices Muted as Millions Rally

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

#### 36. 'You can be British and be a Muslim'; ETHNIC LONDON



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

#### 37. FILM REVIEW The Sinister Evolution of the Most Intimate Form of Political Violence

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

#### 38. Frustrated Iranians eager for change: If the people have their way, Washington won't need to get involved

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

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

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

#### 40. FILM REVIEW For Children, Peace Seems Easy if They Get to Connect

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

# 41. <u>Bush made it plain: If you threaten Americans, you'll pay for it; Do most of us really understand the full import of his forceful words?</u>

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

#### 42. Middle East at the crossroads

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

43. Weekend: Space: Food: NO TASTE LIKE HOME: All of us have favourite family meals as we grow up, and our appetite for those comforting flavours never really leaves us. But in Nayla Audi 's case, that desire is often the sole reason she heads to a small village in southern Lebanon

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

#### 44. Theatre of peace

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

#### 45. Egyptian opposition bides time

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

46. Rejected refugee faces peril in Iran: Haleh Sahba, charged with speaking out against the state, needs Canada's help. So where is Judy Sgro?



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

#### 47. It is hard to deny Iraq is sinking fast

Client/Matter: -None-

**Search Terms:** "Hizbullah" OR "Hezbollah" **Search Type:** Terms and Connectors

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Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Jan 01, 2001 to

Dec 31, 2005

#### 48. Inside the mind of a suicide bomber

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

#### 49. Realism and pessimism, Palestinians and Israelis; Globalist

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

#### 50. Lives in the balance

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

## 51. Powell faces changed Arab world

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

#### 52. Charles has lost his bearings in the desert

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

#### 53. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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

#### 54. Shiite rite marks fall of Saddam

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

#### 55. Film explores hearts, minds of Mideast children

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

## 56. Suicide attack kills 3: Senior, toddler, bomber die in Israeli mall blast

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

57. This time, bomber is woman

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

58. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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

59. SHARON POISED FOR VICTORY

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

60. 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

61. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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. AMEN CORNER: News and notes

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

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

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

#### 64. Female Palestinian bomber kills elderly Israeli man in Jerusalem

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

#### 65. 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

#### 66. Suicide bomber in Israel wounds 29 Troops tighten hold on trapped A rafat

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

#### 67. MIDEAST TURMOIL: FIGHTING Israel Steps Up Military Pressure in West Bank



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

#### 68. Guerrillas' bodies returned as part of swap

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

#### 69. The President may be waiting on a friend -but he'd be a fool to cry

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

#### 70. Two thousand and counting

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

#### 71. Two thousand and counting

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

# 72. <u>Syrian opposition doubts real reform; The regime is changing just enough to survive under the intense</u> international scrutiny, they contend.

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

#### 73. House of Saud reigns uneasily over kingdom in transition

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

#### 74. Logic has got lost in Iraq

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

#### 75. GOP EXPLOITATION OF 9/11 WAS DISRESPECTFUL, DISGUSTING

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

#### 76. Filmmaker Confronts 'Protocols' Myth in Documentary

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

## 77. Israel Unveils New Shoah Museum To a World Still Bent on Destruction

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

78. GUEST COLUMN: Gadhafi is hardly ready for a peace prize

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

79. 'Arab Spring' of democracy owes thanks to George Bush

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

80. ARAB LEADERS ARE COMING AROUND TO US MINDSET

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

81. Where the Evil Empire Is Us and the Veil Liberation

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

82. Mideast Mix: New Promise of Democracy and Threat of Instability

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

83. What is Hamas?: It's a terrorist group, according to some. But to Abu Shaheh Safdi, it pays for school, buses, clothing for his brother's children

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

84. In Iraq, Give Peace a Chance

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

85. GROWING UP IN A WAR ZONE The documentary 'Promises' offers a children's-eye view of the Palestinian

-Isra eli conflict

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

86. BOOKS OF THE TIMES The Saudis' Brand of Islam and Its Place in History

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

87. Roger Franklin: Dollars dry up for IRA

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. Palestinian Ends Defense in Murder Trial

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

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

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

#### 90. CONNECTIONS A Gap Between Cultures Crying Out for a Bridge

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

#### 91. Arafat and the other side of the Mideast equation

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

#### 92. Marching as to War

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. Iran 's Volatile Experiment: Voters Elect to Proceed

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

#### 94. Mideast Parley Takes Ugly Turn At Columbia U.

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

#### 95. Israeli troops to withdraw; Soldiers to vacate West Bank except Bethlehem, Ramallah

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

#### 96. On the Tashkent front line, Bush's new best friend

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

#### 97. Going to Camp: In Chapter 8, budding terrorist Ressam learns the ABCs of mass murder

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

#### 98. Bush adds chill to Iraq threat

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

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

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

#### 100. World Week

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



# 40,000 British Jews rally to side of Israel

The Times (London)
May 7, 2002, Tuesday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Home news Length: 837 words

Byline: Dominic Kennedy

# **Body**

GWENDOLINE LAMB rose long before dawn yesterday, dressed entirely in blue and white to match the Israeli flag, then began her 350-mile journey to Trafalgar Square.

She was among about 40,000 people to converge on London for the biggest show of Anglo-Israeli unity in history. She drove from Middlesbrough to Newcastle upon Tyne to board one of three coaches leaving the city to join the Israel Solidarity Rally, an unapologetic display of affection and loyalty for a country that many Jews see as vilified, terrorised and slandered.

Jews flocked from all over England and Scotland to Trafalgar Square in such unexpectedly large numbers that they had to cling from traffic lights, hang on to a statue of George Washington and climb the walls of the National Gallery to squeeze into the space.

A fearful mood has gripped Jewish people as anti-Semitic attacks increase and events such as the Jenin fighting fuel anti-Israeli propaganda.

Every coach had a representative from the Community Security Trust, which protects synagogues and schools, in case of anti-Semitic attacks en route. Even a sober, professional man such as Bryan Slater, 50, a Manchester lawyer, said: "The reason there weren't little children here is that we were frightened of suicide bombers. I actually wondered whether I would come away with my legs still on my body."

Families brought bags full of snacks and soft drinks, but there was no party atmosphere. The crowd arrived subdued and sombre, with occasional bickering between hawks, who seemed to be in the majority, and the occasional dove, expressing concern for Palestinian rights.

The crowd was so vast that speakers such as Peter Mandelson and Lord Janner of Braunstone could be heard by only a minority, but when Binyamin Netanyahu appeared, a respectful silence fell across the square.

Raising spectres of the most terrifying enemies of the Jews - Hitler, Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden - the former Israeli Prime Minister compared Yassir Arafat to all of them.

For Israel to deal with Arafat was like saying: "The British people would have to come to terms with Hitler because Hitler is the German leader of the German people", he said.

"Arafat is bin Laden with good PR," he said. "What do you do with Saddam Hussein? Talk with him? Make concessions to him? You throw him out. Israel must and will throw out Yassir Arafat."

Mr Netanyahu's message visibly changed the mood of the crowd, as if a burden of fear and dread was being lifted.

Opposition to him came from a group of about 300 peace activist Jews, shepherded by police on to the steps of the Church of St Martin- in-the-Fields, who waved placards saying "Jews against occupation" and "Occupation not in my name", and shouted "Shame" at the right-wing leader. The anti-Sharon group were booed and called "Nazis" by the main crowd.

The other opposition came from about 500 Palestine sympathisers, penned into an area at the end of The Mall, led by a black London Muslim who shouted anti Israel slogans in rap rhythm to a drum beat.

"Who let the bombs out?" he chanted. "Bush! Sharon!" the crowd of veiled <u>women</u>, bearded Muslim men and Socialist Worker sellers cried.

One Arab, waving a Union Jack, said that he was a Palestinian refugee who has lived in England for two years.

"I love Britain," Abed said. "It's America and Israel that are the problem. Palestine is my country. They," he said, indicating the thousands carrying Israeli flags in the square, "don't have a country. My grandfather was born in Palestine. These people come from places like Lithuania."

A little boy, his face contorted, screamed "Israel, you will pay, <u>Hezbollah</u> on their way" from the shoulders of a pro-Palestinian man.

From the safety of Trafalgar Square, with a huge police cordon protecting them, two children of Israeli supporters stuck their thumbs down at the Muslims.

The pro-Palestinians chanted: "Sharon and Hitler are the same, the only difference is the name". They wore badges distorting the Star of David into a swastika.

Resting on a low wall in front of the National Gallery was Alfred Goldschmidt, 77, who escaped Hamburg in 1939, just in time to avoid joining his parents in Auschwitz. "Of course it's offensive," the grandfather of six from West Hampstead in northwest London, said, shaking his head.

John Gerwitz, 63, from Stanmore, North London, said: "Jews are very frightened. I was speaking to a concentration camp survivor who has advised her children to go to America. She said it started like this in Germany with synagogues being desecrated. She is perhaps overreacting."

By the end of the rally, Ms Lamb, like tens of thousands of fellow Jews, was feeling confident, cheerful and defiant. As the crowd dispersed, she said: "This is wonderful, wonderful. Just look, this is to show people that we are not an insignificant minority as the BBC makes out. There are thousands of coaches on the Embankment. This is a peaceful rally to show that Jewish people throughout Britain are only decent, clean people who want a homeland."

Load-Date: May 7, 2002



# <u>Jihad: play the game:</u> <u>Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam</u> <u>is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports</u>

Belfast Telegraph August 17, 2005

© Copyright 2005 Belfast Telegraph Newspapers Ltd.

Length: 1453 words

# **Body**

In 'Special Force', players can practise their sniping skills on Israeli political and military figures including Ariel Sharon

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

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

Inspired by actual Hizbollah missions, Special Force takes place during operations on Israeli soldiers. Players have to deal with the same conditions as real Hizbollah fighters, including weather conditions, mines and the number of enemy - Israeli

- troops. During training, players can practise their snipingskills on Israeli

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

political and military figures including the Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Mahmoud Rayya, an official from the Hizbollah bureau, explained at the game's launch that "this game is resisting the Israeli occupation through the media".

The game sold thousands of copies in Lebanon in the first two weeks after its release and has gone on to sell at least 10,000 more since.

Under Siege is another pro-Palestinian first person shooter (FPS) and is the sequel to Under Ashes, a game launched in 2001. Under Siege and Under Ashes were developed by Afkar Media, a Damascus-based software company that claims it creates games to educate as well as eliminate. "We believe we had to share responsibility in telling the story behind this conflict and targeting youngsters who depend on video games and movies - which always tell the counter side - to build their world knowledge. "Under Ashes went on to sell more than 10,000 copies in the Middle East, as well as being downloaded more than 500,000 times from the company's website. The game itself is a basic FPS that is billed as suitable for children aged over 13 despite the vast armoury available to players. Radwan Kasmiya, Afkar Media's executive manager, insists the game promotes non-violent methods. "This is not a game about killing. We are attempting to provide a new sort of digital dignity." Despite the warfare, the game does have a self-perception seldom found in mainstream military titles. At the end of one level, there is a tagline that reads: "A real life story or a political propaganda? You have the right to decide." While these titles aim to redress the balance to a genre dominated by victorious

While these titles aim to redress the balance to a genre dominated by victorious US soldiers defeating Arab enemies, there are other games available that reflect a wider unease with Western thinking. The Ummah Defence titles are fairly innocuous, with robots as enemies and an Islamic universe under threat. In The Maze of Destiny, players battle with an evil wizard named Dar-lack the Deceiver who has ruined a Muslim utopia where everyone worships Allah by stealing the Book of Allah and imprisoning anyone who knows Allah's teachings. Armed only with their wits and their faith, players must rescue the wise ones from Darlack's dungeons. Challenges include setting bombs to open secret passageways and exploring

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

endless labyrinths. Stylistically, the game is like an early Nintendo title but at its heart is the secular Darlack who plies people with alcohol, drugs, prostitutes and gambling. All three titles are created by Islamgames, a US-based company that makes titles featuring battles between the defenders of Islam and their opponents. The company explains its stance by stating that: "Video games are a great learning tool, but many games available teach things contrary to the teachings of Islam. By providing an alternative to the mainstream, we can help our childrenin a subtle way learn to identify with Islamic values and teachings."

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

Johnny Minkley, the editor of MC CV, the trade magazine for the games in-us i dustry, isn't convinced that religio games are ever going to compete wi ith mainstream titles. "Video games are b be-ket coming a more acceptable mass-mark

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

media and a means of expression for mo ore groups. It's natural evolution. Religio

ous games are just one small facet of th he games industry."

John Houlihan, the editor of Compu ut-has er and Videogames, agrees: "There

h been a move towards more religious gam mast. ing, both in America and the

Middle Ea However, these games are still very mu uch a minority interestfor

the industry. Ju ust like with music, the devil has all the be est tunes - and

all the best games."

Special Force Developer: Hizbullah Central Internet Bureau

Like Under Siege, Special Force is a more professional title than, say, Islamic

fun. Players simulate Hizbollah fighters during military operations against

the Israeli army and action is inspired by actual Hizbollah operations. Stalking

soldiers, blowing up tanks and full on street battles are the main aspects of

the game as players run through a city battleground causing destruction.

(www.specialforce.net)

Islamic Fun Innovative Minds

A selection of simple games for children that aim to teach them about aspects

of Islam.

Games like Building Blocks, where players create their own mosque, make up

the majority. One stand-out mini-game is The Resistance, where players take

the role of a farmer in south Lebanon who has joined Hamas to defend his land

and family from the invading Zionists. (www.inminds.co.uk)

Under Siege Afkar Media

The sequel to Under Ash, Under Siege is a first-person shooter (FPS) game played

Page 5 of 5

Jihad: play the game: Western PC games feature US forces destroying Arab enemies. Now Islam is fighting back. Rebecca Armstrong reports

from the perspective of a Palestinian. In single-player mode, Under Siege is

like many FPS games featuring a specific enemy (in this case, the Israeli army),

and gives players an arsenal of weapons with which to do battle. Choose from

grenades, rocket launchers, sniper rifles and automatic weapons. Graphically,

Under Siege is underdeveloped and very basic, so it won't be rivalling Far Cry

in the FPS stakes. (www.underash. net)

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Maze of Destiny IslamGames

In Maze of Destiny, players must battle the evil wizard Darlack to rescue the teachers of the Koran and re-establish the true worship of Allah. Maze of Destiny is reminiscent of Zelda, with its maze-based 2D levels. Gamers have to negotiate

labyrinthine dungeons while avoiding being plied with women or drink. Simple

but effective. (www.islamgames.com)

Ummah Defense 1 & 2 IslamGames

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

Load-Date: August 17, 2005

**End of Document** 



# Eight die in bus blast; Powell arrives tonight

The Philadelphia Inquirer April 11, 2002 Thursday

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; news

Length: 841 words

Byline: Martin Merzer and Elise Ackerman Knight Ridder News Service

# **Body**

JERUSALEM - A suicide bomber killed eight Israelis and rockets pounded the country's northern border yesterday, on the eve of Secretary of State Colin L. Powell's arrival on a difficult peace mission.

Further complicating Powell's mission, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon reiterated his insistence that the military offensive on the West Bank would continue, despite mounting U.S. and other international pressure for a swift withdrawal.

"We have to accomplish our mission," he told cheering soldiers at an Israeli base near the West Bank city of Jenin.

Even before his arrival, Powell urged both sides to stand down. He is expected to offer to send U.S. observers to the West Bank after Israel withdraws, as part of a cease-fire plan.

"Violence of whatever form, whether one could call it an act of terrorism or an act of resistance, at this point is counterproductive," he said in Spain.

Powell is to arrive in Israel tonight and meet with Israeli officials tomorrow. Palestinian officials said they expected him to visit Yasir Arafat in his besieged Ramallah headquarters Saturday, and Powell seemed determined to do so.

"I believe it is important for me to meet with Mr. Arafat," he said. "He is the leader of the Palestinian people."

Along the increasingly volatile border between Israel and Lebanon, guerrillas from the radical group <u>Hezbollah</u> fired two dozen rockets at Israeli positions on the Golan Heights and elsewhere. At least one Israeli soldier was wounded, Israel said.

The border attack - the most vigorous since Israel withdrew from Lebanon nearly two years ago - ignited concerns that an Israeli response could reach into Syria, which Israel holds responsible for the barrages.

U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan, meeting with Powell in Spain, said the leaders of Syria and Lebanon had told him they would try to stop the attacks.

#### Eight die in bus blast; Powell arrives tonight

In the West Bank, Israeli troops declared partial victory in their costly battle for Jenin after the surrender of 300 Palestinians - some <u>women</u>, some children and some fighters flushed from hiding in a refugee camp by bulldozers. But small-arms fire still sounded and the battle was not over.

Day 13 of Israel's incursion also saw renewed fighting near Nablus, where tanks and helicopters shelled a refugee camp, and the continued standoff at Bethlehem's Church of the Nativity, where a monk was badly wounded, for which each side blamed the other.

Late yesterday, the Israeli military announced it would withdraw from the villages of Yatta, Qabatya and Samua.

It also said its soldiers killed alleged Hamas leader Akram al Atrash during a gun battle in Dura, near Hebron. They said he was responsible for the shooting deaths of two Israelis.

Early today, Israeli forces and tanks rolled into the central West Bank town of Ber Zeit, north of Ramallah, and troops quickly occupied the police station and began doing house-to-house searches, witnesses said. The soldiers met no resistance, they said.

Yesterday, the nation was jolted by the reappearance of the Palestinians' most awful and deadly weapon - the suicide bomber.

Eight Israelis and the bomber died and 20 people were injured near the town of Nesher when a man wearing an explosive belt detonated it on a bus traveling from Haifa to Jerusalem.

The blast propelled the bus into the air, witnesses said, and scattered the dead and injured across the asphalt.

Israeli officials said the dead included two *female* border officers, both 18, and Noa Shlomo, the teenage niece of Yehuda Lancry, Israel's U.N. ambassador.

Hamas claimed responsibility and identified the bomber as Ayman Abu al Haija, 22, of Jenin, which has been surrounded by Israeli troops for days.

Israeli officials said they believed the attack was planned in Tulkarm, which was occupied by Israeli forces until Tuesday. Officials have warned that, as their troops pull out, the danger of attacks will increase.

Samir Rantisi, a spokesman for the Palestinian Authority, expressed conditional regret over the latest suicide bombing.

"We have repeatedly condemned any attack on civilians," he said. "From what we understand, there were a lot of military personnel on the bus, but that doesn't condone any attack on civilians."

In Israel, Powell was expected to meet first with Sharon and ask him to withdraw troops faster and to announce a freeze on construction of settlements. Later, he is likely to ask Arafat to declare, in Arabic, that it is time for a cease-fire.

The Israeli media were filled with reports of Sharon calling Powell's willingness to meet Arafat "a tragic mistake" that would "only encourage him."

On the West Bank, Israeli soldiers finally gained a measure of control over the refugee camp in Jenin, but at the cost of 23 soldiers, 13 on Tuesday.

After that debacle, armored bulldozers rolled in to demolish buildings allegedly used as refuges by fighters. Israeli officials said they initially considered aerial bombardments, but rejected them because they would endanger too many civilians.

At least 100 - and possibly many more - Palestinians are believed to have died in Jenin.

Load-Date: April 11, 2002

**End of Document** 



# Jerusalem woman bomber strikes in busy street

The Times (London)

January 28, 2002, Monday

Copyright 2002 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Overseas news

Length: 826 words

Byline: Ross Dunn in Jerusalem

# **Body**

Israeli police were last night trying to determine whether a Palestinian woman killed in Jerusalem by a bomb she was carrying had meant to kill herself or whether it had exploded prematurely.

One elderly Israeli man died and many were wounded in the explosion on Jaffa Road, the main commercial street in west Jerusalem. No Palestinian woman has previously carried out a suicide attack.

In Lebanon the al-Manar television station, run by the militant <u>Hezbollah</u> movement, said that the bomber was Shinaz Amuri, a <u>female</u> student at al-Najah University in the West Bank town of Nablus. The university has been described by Shin Bet, Israel's secret police, as a hothouse for suicide bombers.

At least six of the 120 suicide bombers who have carried out attacks against Israeli targets have been students at the university, considered to be a stronghold for Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, along with the Islamic Jihad. The two groups are behind suicide bombings over the past seven years that have left hundreds of Israelis dead.

The blast in west Jerusalem came the day after Yassir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, said that millions of his people were volunteering to die for possession of the Holy City.

After the bomber detonated explosives that were strapped to her body, black smoke rose over the area as ambulances arrived to treat dazed and bleeding pedestrians.

"I heard a massive blast and saw black smoke," Harold Slant, a witness, said. "Walking through Jaffa Road these days seems to be taking a risk." Mark Sokolov, an American who survived the World Trade Centre attack unscathed on September 11, had an even narrower escape in the west Jerusalem street. Mr Sokolov, his wife and two daughters, from Long Island, New York, suffered minor injuries.

The family were standing outside a shoe store. Mr Sokolov told Israeli television from his hospital bed: "I heard a loud whoosh, like a bang, and I kind of saw things flying around a little bit, and then I realized I was able to get up and walk around."

The blast occurred near the corner of King George Street, where a suicide bomber last year blew himself up in a pizzeria, killing 15 people. It was also the scene of a Palestinian shooting last week that killed two Israeli **women**.

Mickey Levy, the Jerusalem police chief, who suffered a heart attack after visiting the blast site and was taken to hospital with other victims, said that the explosion was caused by a powerful bomb.

#### Jerusalem woman bomber strikes in busy street

The bombing was condemned by the Palestinian Authority but came after Mr Arafat issued what appeared to be contradictory statements, calling on all Palestinian factions to halt attacks while also saying that millions of martyrs were on their way to claim Jerusalem as their capital.

It undermines his claims that he is doing everything in his power to halt the attacks on Israel and will further distance the Bush Administration from the Palestinian Authority.

Anthony Zinni, the US envoy to the Middle East, was quoted yesterday in Israeli newspapers as referring to Mr Arafat as a Mafia boss and a liar during a meeting at the White House at the weekend. "Arafat proved to me to be an incorrigible liar," Mr Zinni reportedly said. "In the course of talks I held in the Middle East, he told me bald-faced lies until I reached the conclusion that he is a completely untrustworthy individual."

The officials said that if Mr Arafat failed to rein in groups carrying out attacks against Israelis, then his own Force 17 presidential guard unit would be added to the terrorist list.

Dick Cheney, the Vice-President, yesterday directly implicated Mr Arafat in the shipment of 50 tonnes of arms that Israel seized from the freighter Karine A in the Red Sea on January 3 and questioned his commitment to peace.

"We've just seen evidence that he was involved in this Karine A shipment," Mr Cheney told ABC Television. Asked about Mr Arafat's denial of his involvement in a letter to President Bush, Mr Cheney said: "We don't believe him." His comments marked the first time Mr Arafat himself has been implicated in the affair.

Mr Bush has put off a visit by Mr Zinni to the region. Mr Arafat has appealed to Mr Bush to change his mind, but, according to the Israeli media Mr Zinni regards Mr Arafat as an obstacle to peace. In the face of growing US pressure Mr Arafat issued an appeal to all Palestinian factions to halt their attacks against Israel, saying that they were not in the Palestinian national cause.

But in an interview with al-Jazeera, the Arabic television station, Mr Arafat tried to justify the armed struggle against Israel. "Did George Washington not conduct a war against the British occupation with all weapons at hand, in all kinds of ways, and which led to the establishment of the United States?" he said in a message to the American public.

"Don't judge me by what the Israelis are telling you. I say to the Americans that we (the Palestinians) are the only people living under occupation."

Load-Date: January 28, 2002

**End of Document** 



# Security agents hunt Lebanon kidnap expert

The Times (London)
September 17, 2001, Monday

Copyright 2001 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Overseas news

Length: 838 words

Byline: Dominic Kennedy and Roger Boyes

# **Body**

THE terrorist warlord behind the kidnapping of Terry Waite has emerged as one of those who could be involved in the attacks on America.

Once one of America's most-wanted men, Imad Mugniyeh is a fanatical hijacking expert whose high-pitched voice struck dread into the Western hostages in Lebanon. British intelligence agents have been ordered to investigate his contacts and movements, The Times has learnt.

President Bush is understood to have told Tony Blair last week that elements in Iran are being investigated for their possible role.

Mugniyeh, who fled to Tehran from Lebanon to escape the CIA, was described in US Justice Department documents last year as having developed close links to Osama bin Laden. The Senate heard in 1995 that Mugniyeh went to Iran to organise bomb attacks in America to retaliate for the prosecution of a sheikh over the 1993 World Trade Centre bombing.

One of the founders of the <u>Hezbollah</u> movement, he blew up the American Embassy in Lebanon with a lorry bomb in 1983. He then sent two lorry bombs to destroy the American and French military barracks in Beirut, killing nearly 300 people. He was named in US indictments over the hijacking of a TWA flight in 1985.

As leader of Islamic Jihad, he masterminded the kidnapping in Beirut of 40 Western hostages, including Terry Waite, John McCarthy and Brian Keenan. He was implicated by an investigation into the bombings of the Israeli Embassy in London and a Jewish community centre in Argentina in 1994.

Mugniyeh seemed to vanish until a little-noticed report appeared last year about the investigation into the 1998 bombings of American Embassies in East Africa.

US Justice Department prosecution records suggested that the ties between the networks of Mugniyeh and bin Laden ran deeper than imagined, a US television station reported.

There was an even clearer warning from Kenneth Timmerman, an Iran expert and hawkish Republican, in testimony to the Senate Banking Committee in March 1995. "Mugniyeh came to Tehran to organise a series of bombings inside the United States, in retalitation for the prosecution of Sheikh Omar Abdul Rahman for his connection to the World Trade Centre bombing," Mr Timmerman said.

#### Security agents hunt Lebanon kidnap expert

Mugniyeh is reported to have made contacts with bin Laden through a Beirut-based militant Islamic organisation, Usbat al-Ansar, the League of the Followers. He has sent Palestinian fighters to bin Laden's training camps in Afghanistan and Ivory Coast.

Bin Laden, 44, denied involvement yesterday. "The US is pointing the finger at me but I categorically state that I have not done this," he said in a statement to the Pakistan-based Afghan Islamic Press news agency. "Those who have done it, they have done it in their personal interest."

The lifestyles of some of the hijackers suggest that they were atypical of the bin Ladeninspired suicide bombers in the Middle East, who tend to be Muslim zealots. These killers had girlfriends, drank large amounts of vodka and possibly went to a lap-dancing club. They were sophisticated enough to blend into Western society in America and Germany without raising suspicion. Mohammed Atta, one of the crucial figures, had shaved off his beard, which Islamist fanatics would be unlikely to do. In Germany, Atta hired videos such as the comedy Ace Ventura, the horror film Vampires and the action movie Storm of the Century. Some of the hijackers even collected Air Miles.

However, Atta and his cousin and fellow hijacker, Marwan al-Shehhi, used towels to cover pictures of 1920s **women** in pantaloons in their Florida motel room.

Regular globetrotters, Atta and al-Shehhi went to Zurich this summer and used credit cards to buy pocket knives and cardboard cutters, similar to those used in the hijacks.

Kay Nehm, a German federal prosecutor, said: "So far, no connection has been found between the Hamburg group and the American prime suspect, Osama bin Laden."

But a link has been discovered between the hijackers and the bombing of the USS Cole in Aden last October. Bin Laden is also a prime suspect for this attack.

Khalid al-Midhar, one of the hijackers on the flight that crashed into the Pentagon, was seen on a videotape in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, meeting a suspect in the Cole bombing.

The CIA warned the Immigration and Naturalisation Service on August 21 that al-Midhar was suspected of being linked to bin Laden. The INS discovered that al-Midhar and an associate, Salem al-Hamzi, had already entered America. The FBI was actively looking for them when the aircraft hit the Pentagon with both men on board.

Curious trading patterns involving a German reinsurance group are being investigated by the British secret service and the CIA in case investors were warned in advance about the attacks.

Munich Re held much of the secondary insurance on New York's twin towers. The company was targeted for "short-selling" in the four days before the attack, along with France's AXA and the Swiss Re. Short-selling can generate huge profits when stock plummets because of an unexpected event.

Load-Date: September 17, 2001



# IN KAMIKAZE'S ARMOR

What The Papers Say (Russia) February 16, 2001, Friday

Copyright 2001 Agency WPS

Section: LOCAL CONFLICTS

Length: 907 words

Byline: Alexander Viktovsky

Highlight: CHECHEN KAMIKAZES POSE A SERIOUS THREAT.

# **Body**

Chechen ringleaders are not the only ones who pose a serious threat. Another danger are the men that field commanders rely on to carry out terrorist operations and acts orchestrated to cause a public outcry. A particular problem is posed by the Shahids, kamikazes ready to give their lives for their faith. Their participation in the guerrilla war is expected to be extremely damaging with a maximum of casualties and to generate an atmosphere of panic in the republic, to breed security and disbelief in the ability of military and civilian authorities to safeguard noncombatants.

Operational data indicates that Aslan Maskhadov received several million dollars from abroad last June. The money was to be used for organization of a training center, selection of candidates for kamikazes and their training, purchase of armaments and equipment, explosives, and documents, and organization of terrorist acts. As for the Shahids' pay, it varies between \$500 and \$1,000. Islamic zealots who come to Chechnya from abroad are more "expensive." These people can be identified by the Arabic words "Death for Faith" tattooed on their bodies. Parlamentskaya Gazeta, February 14, 2001, pp. 1, 7

The terrorist acts are particularly cynical. They are deliberately organized in public places. Explosive devices carried under clothing and wired cars driven by the Shahids are common. Acts like that are very difficult to prevent and virtually impossible to investigate. Professionals from the Federal Security Service and Interior Ministry emphasize that "crimes committees by kamikazes do not involve the executor's escape - this automatically rules out the possibility of his capture and interrogation." Operational data indicates that fighters of the Shahid battalion formed in Chechnya are trained in Khattab's camps, where psychological, military, and technical methods of the terrorist organization *Hezbollah* are used.

Counterintelligence discovered two bases near the settlements of Urus-Martan and Serzhen-Yurt. Ammonium saltpeter (5 tons), aluminum powder, a mixing device, components of explosive devices, and mechanisms for manufacture of detonators were confiscated. Lists of trainees and instructions for placing the explosive devices in public places were also discovered. Bloodstains and instruments for torture made it clear that prisoners had been kept there as well.

Relying on religious fervor, instructors do everything to make sure that the kamikaze will accomplish his mission. He is promised that his family will be supported and protected if the mission is a success. The battalion is staffed with men who are truly devoted to the jihad or who are completely dependant on field commanders, for example, because of debts. The men who have lost their relatives are trustees. Traditions of revenge demand that such a man has to kill at least one enemy. The chronically sick are also used in terrorist acts, as well as men with mental

#### IN KAMIKAZE'S ARMOR

problems who are nevertheless capable of accomplishing a mission. The Chechen Directorate of the Federal Security Service has information on twelve kamikazes in Basaev's gangs. All of them are disabled persons - legless, armless, or without an eye. Instructors assume that it is easier for these people to get through checkpoints and infiltrate protected objects and territories.

Believers who gave committed a crime and were sentenced to death by the Shar'ah court are also used as Shahids. They are told that death in a terrorist act will exonerate them before Allah and the people.

Radio intercepts indicate that a large number of Chechen kamikazes are <u>women</u> who have lost their husbands, children, or close relatives. According to the local mentality, such a loss is tantamount to their own death.

Chechen ringleaders have lately been encountering difficulties finding volunteers to die for the faith. Aware of that, Chechen field commanders stoop to cynical tricks. Planning terrorist acts with the use of explosives, they set the timers several minutes short of the time the terrorist is told the device will blow up. The executor is given an escape route which he has no way of taking. A rank guerrilla agrees to take the device to the site and blows up with it.

An Ural truck approached the building housing the provisional internal affairs directorate of the Lenin District of Grozny at 1640 hours on December 19, 2000. All of a sudden, the truck started rolling to the central entrance.

Sentries opened up, and the antiaircraft gun emplaced on the roof of a nearby building supported them with fire. Two men jumped out of the truck and disappeared in the ruins. The third in the truck was a young woman, apparently a kamikaze. Wounded, she could not drive and the Ural struck a barricade. The woman got out of the truck, saw the approaching police, and tried to blow up herself and the police with a hand grenade. A short burst of fire killed the woman.

When the battle was over, a bomb disposal squad discovered an antitank mine, two sack fulls of explosives 50 kilograms each, 1.5 tons of ammonium saltpeter, and seven detonators in the truck. The timer was set for 1700 hours. Had the terrorist act been a success, several nearby buildings would have become so much rubble. Investigation identified the kamikaze as Mareta Duduyeva, 16, of the settlement of Grebenskaya, Shali district.

This terrorist act was thwarted, but others in the towns of Argun and Gudermes cost several policemen their lives.

Load-Date: February 16, 2001

**End of Document** 



## Born to kill: Raising suicide bombers: Palestinian children receive early training in terror methods

#### Ottawa Citizen

June 29, 2002 Saturday Final Edition

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Section: News; Pg. A10; News

Length: 801 words

Byline: Matthew Kalman

Dateline: JERUSALEM

## **Body**

JERUSALEM -- Shocking new evidence emerged this week that Palestinian children are being steeped in the glorification of suicide bombings even before they can talk.

In Hebron, the Israeli army discovered a family snapshot of a tiny Palestinian baby wrapped in a cartridge belt and wearing an infant-sized suicide bomb harness in a house they were searching for terrorist suspects.

The baby is wearing a headband similar to those worn by suicide bombers in their farewell video messages, filmed hours before they attack.

"Born to kill" proclaimed one right-wing Israeli paper, seizing upon a chilling photograph likely to prove one of the defining images of the intifada. "Terror in diapers" thundered another. Citizen Special

And in Gaza, photographs of a kindergarten graduation ceremony for five-year-olds show the children dressed in military fatigues, as suicide bombers and as terrorist leaders.

"Israeli army forces were searching the house of a terrorist suspect in Hebron today and found what appears to be a photograph from the family album," said an Israeli army spokesman.

"This image is a sharp reminder that while we educate our children to strive for peace, too many Palestinian children are being educated in murder, literally with their mothers' milk," said the spokesman.

Israeli leaders have repeatedly warned international donors to the Palestinian Authority that young children are being taught hatred and war from an early age. This, they say, is what fuels young people to commit suicide attacks in response to the sufferings of the Palestinian people.

Evidence that this incident was not unique came from the Shateh refugee camp near Gaza City, where last month a graduation ceremony was held for 1,650 children educated at a network of kindergartens run by the Islamic Association Al-Jamaiya Al-Islamiya -- a group closely associated with the Hamas terror group.

But instead of prizes for good behaviour and a school play of Aladdin, children as young as five years old were dressed as terrorists and drilled to act out scenes from suicide bombings. Instead of learning home safety, they are taught to burn Israeli flags.

Born to kill: Raising suicide bombers: Palestinian children receive early training in terror methods

And the message from the director of the Islamic Association to the mothers of the toddlers was clear: educate your children to become suicide bombers.

In one scene, toddlers in sinister black hoods with dummy explosive harnesses strapped to their bodies declare their willingness to become suicide bombers for the Palestinian cause.

In another scene, children as young as five years old are dressed in miniature military fatigues, and march in formation armed with dummy semi-automatic weapons.

One young boy, his angelic face a wholesome picture of childhood innocence, aims his rifle straight at the camera.

They dress as their heroes, terrorist leaders like Sheik Ahmed Yassin of Hamas and Sheik Hassan Nasrallah of *Hezbollah*.

In one particularly chilling episode, a young girl holds up her hands with the palms stained in red -- a tribute to the murderers of two Israeli soldiers who waved their blood-stained hands to a baying crowd in Ramallah during a vicious lynching in October 2000.

Sheik Ahmed Bahar, director of the Islamic Association, told the audience he was proud of the Palestinian mothers.

"You have taken a leading role in the intifada and the education of the believing generations," he told them.

"These scenes remind us of the mother of the martyr Mahmoud Marmash who blew up the blood of the occupiers in Netanya," he said, referring to a recent suicide bomb attack.

Mr. Bahar called on parents to "raise generations for victory" and raise "children of the Koran" with a "love of holy war and resistance."

The ceremony began with dozens of children from the Al-Noor kindergarten putting on a military display with dummy rifles, Islamic banners and Palestinian flags. The children knew their lines by heart.

"Are you terrorized by the tanks, missiles and rockets of Sharon?" he asked the crowd.

"No, no," answered hundreds of children.

"We are not terrorized by Zionist shelling," said the boy. "Our people will not succumb." And he set fire to an Israeli flag.

Then a class from the Al-Iman kindergarten staged a play about "the dangers of Zionist settlement, uprooting of Palestinian trees and the need to avenge the blood of the martyrs and to continue the resistance and the intifada."

One child imitated Hamas leader Sheik Ahmed Yassin, surrounded by dozens of children dressed as suicide bombers with dummy explosive harnesses strapped to their tiny bodies.

Mr. Bahar was unrepentant about the scenes depicted in the photographs.

"The Jews are the ones who usurp our land, desecrated our holy sites, killed our children, <u>women</u> and elderly," he said. "The Jews are teaching their children to kill Palestinians."

## **Graphic**

Born to kill: Raising suicide bombers: Palestinian children receive early training in terror methods

Photo: Israeli Army; An Israeli soldier holds a photo the army says is of a Palestinian baby dressed as a suicide bomber with a headband bearing the name of the Islamic militant group Hamas. It was found in the house of a wanted person during military searches in the West Bank on Thursday.

Load-Date: June 29, 2002



## <u>Israel pulling out of Gaza territory; 'Unforgivable crime': The Israelis take</u> control of the area with a mortar attack

# Telegraph Herald April 18, 2001 Wednesday

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Section: Pg. c6

Length: 909 words

Byline: ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

## **Body**

Israel began pulling its forces out of a strip of Palestinian territory in Gaza on Tuesday after holding it less than a day, the military said. The withdrawal followed sharp U.S. criticism over the incursion.

After a barrage of heavy rocket fire, Israel seized nearly a square mile of the Gaza Strip early Tuesday in retaliation for a mortar attack on an Israeli desert town. It was the first time Israel took over Palestinian-controlled territory since peace accords were signed in 1994.

Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat denounced the seizure as an "unforgivable crime" and said his people would "not kneel before gangs."

Secretary of State Colin Powell called the action in Gaza "excessive and disproportionate," and said Israel should respect its commitment to the Palestinians. "The situation is threatening to escalate, further, posing the risk of a broader conflict," Powell said.

Israel initially said it could hold the territory - an area of orange groves and farmland - for months until Palestinian mortar fire stopped. But Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's aides were quick to say their forces would withdraw when the danger of mortar attacks was gone.

Palestinian security officials, also speaking on condition of anonymity, said U.S. officials told them the Israelis would withdraw from the area.

A military statement said the pullout began after the mission was accomplished.

The Israeli assault came in response to mortar fire Monday night on Sderot, a working class town of 24,000 about 21/2 miles east of Gaza. The town is a stronghold of support for Sharon, and his sheep ranch is 5 miles away. The Islamic militant group Hamas claimed responsibility for the mortars, but Israel blamed Palestinian security forces.

Flares lit up the sky Monday night as Israeli forces shelled and rocketed Palestinian police stations across the Gaza Strip, killing a policeman and injuring 36 other people. Soon after, troops crossed into the corner of Gaza closest to Sderot, seizing and tearing down abandoned Palestinian security posts. Under Israeli tank fire, army bulldozers razed orange groves outside the Palestinian town of Beit Hanoun, and Israeli troops built fortified positions.

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

During the barrage, hundreds of Palestinians, including crying children, ran into the streets in Gaza City's Rimal neighborhood, where rockets punched holes in the facade of a police headquarters. Rimal resident Ghada Skaik, whose bedroom window was shattered, said she spent a sleepless night. "If you go to bed and you can't feel safe, then where can you go and feel safe?" she said.

By daybreak, after Israeli troops settled into their new positions, tanks periodically fired toward Palestinians trying to approach the area. Palestinian medics carrying the body of a Palestinian policeman away from the rubble of a Beit Hanoun police compound were sent running by Israeli fire, at one point dropping to the ground to take cover.

Two Palestinian boys were killed by Israeli gunfire late Tuesday. In Gaza's Rafat refugee camp, Bara el-Shael, 10, was shot by soldiers, relatives and doctors said. In el-Khader, near Bethlehem in the West Bank, Rami Musa, 16, was killed when an Israeli tank shelled his home, Palestinians said. The Israeli military said there was an exchange of fire at el-Khader.

Since the violence erupted on Sept. 28, 475 people have been killed, including 391 Palestinians, 64 Israeli Jews and 19 others.

Israeli tanks also cut the Gaza Strip into three parts, preventing north-south traffic and paralyzing life in the crowded territory of 1 million Palestinians. The crossing from Gaza into Egypt was sealed.

Stranded Palestinian commuters resorted to the Mediterranean beach - the only remaining passage. Young <u>women</u> in long robes and white headscarves, some carrying schoolbooks, walked along the beach, and donkey carts and tractors ferried passengers.

The Israeli commander of the region, Brig. Gen. Yair Naveh, said that the seizure of the territory - about a square mile - removed Sderot from the danger of mortars.

Israeli troops withdrew from two-thirds of the 140-square-mile Gaza Strip in 1994, as part of interim peace accords with the Palestinians.

Since the outbreak of Israeli-Palestinian fighting in September, Israeli troops have entered Palestinian-controlled territory from time to time, but each time withdrew quickly.

Palestinians had fired dozens of mortars at Israeli targets in recent weeks, mainly Jewish settlements in Gaza. The attack on Sderot caused no damage or injuries, but was the first on a town inside Israel proper.

"This is unjustified and crosses the line," Foreign Minister Shimon Peres told Israel radio. "There's a limit to everything."

Arafat said the Palestinians would fight until they obtained statehood. "Everyone must understand that our strong people will not kneel in front of the gangs that are attacking our masses and our citizens and our villages and our refugee camps and cities," he said after returning from a meeting in Egypt with President Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak, who has tried to mediate an end to the fighting, said peace efforts were now dead. "I don't see any possibility of success this way," Mubarak said, blaming Sharon for the flareup.

The land was seized at a time of renewed tensions on Israel's border with Lebanon. Lebanese <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas killed an Israeli soldier in a weekend rocket attack, followed by an Israeli airstrike against Syrian targets in Lebanon, a first since the 1980s.

Load-Date: April 24, 2001



# <u>A NATION CHALLENGED: ASIAN MILITANTS; School in Indonesia Urges</u> 'Personal Jihad' In Steps of bin Laden

The New York Times
February 3, 2002 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section 1; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 13

Length: 1306 words

Byline: By JANE PERLEZ

Dateline: SOLO, Indonesia, Jan. 31

### **Body**

Among the nearly 2,000 students crammed into Al Mukmin boarding school, Osama bin Laden is a hero. His photo, in full color and poster size, is plastered on the walls of the dormitories much as rock stars decorate teenagers' bedrooms in America. His face peers out from the inside of locker doors and appears on T-shirts worn under the preppy blazers of senior prefects.

The lionization comes from the top: the principal, a fiery preacher, Abu Bakar Baasyir, champions Mr. bin Laden and exhorts Muslims to follow his example. More important, say American and Asian officials, he has recruited operatives for Al Qaeda in Southeast Asia. According to the government of Singapore he is the leader of Jemaah Islamiah, or the Islamic Group, which officials say is a terrorist organization with cells throughout the region.

Mr. Baasyir, 64, a vision in white with his Muslim cap, long gown, scarf, toothy smile and snowy beard, denies any involvement in terrorist activities. But under questioning by the Indonesian police last week, he acknowledged that he had taught 13 of the people arrested in Malaysia and Singapore in connection with a plot to blow up the American Embassy in Singapore.

In an interview at the school, Mr. Baasyir declared that the United States was "the terrorist nation." It was not Mr. bin Laden who masterminded the Sept. 11 attacks. Americans organized the attacks on the World Trade Center, probably with the help of Israel, he said.

"I rejoiced because it seemed Allah punished the United States for its arrogant behavior," he said of his reaction to the attacks.

Some of the preacher's statements appear to be more emphatic expressions of popular ideas in the mainstream news media here.

There are plenty of people in Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation, who say they feel more sympathy toward Mr. bin Laden and his cause than toward the United States. It is not unusual to hear that Jews were responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks. Many agree with Mr. Baasyir, including those who wrote an editorial this week in the newsmagazine Tempo, that the United States should produce any evidence against Mr. bin Laden in an international court.

## A NATION CHALLENGED: ASIAN MILITANTS School in Indonesia Urges 'Personal Jihad' In Steps of bin Laden

Still, given Indonesia's history, it is striking that a boarding school -- one of the thousands that specialize in Islamic curricula and are known as pesantren -- would breed such a politicized interpretation of Islam.

For hundreds of years, Indonesia has prided itself on a system of religious schools where students, mostly from poor backgrounds, learned a laissez-faire form of Islam and acquired a sense of self-sufficiency and initiative. Though somewhat feudal in nature because they tended to be closed societies led by a charismatic preacher, the pesantren were regarded as the incubators of democracy, institutions that tried to instill justice and moral values. During the authoritarian era of General Suharto, the schools were thought to be crucibles of tolerance set against an unyielding secular state.

In contrast, Mr. Baasyir founded Al Mukmin in 1972 as a standard-bearer for an Islamic state, a place where the curriculum emphasizes carrying out a "personal jihad" to defend Islam.

The school is largely a collection of shabby one-story classrooms and offices. The one exception to the general air of decay is a new three-story dormitory financed by friends of the school in Saudi Arabia.

One man arrested in the Philippines, Fathur Rohman al-Ghozi, who was arrested on suspicion of being a crucial figure in the plot by Al Qaeda to blow up the American Embassy in Singapore, spent four years studying at Al Mukmin.

During a visit to the campus, it was easy to see how young boys, some as young as 5, could become foot soldiers in an anti-American campaign organized in the name of Islam.

"Jihad is the way of Allah," said Dwi Purwanto, 19, one of the boys sporting the image of Mr. bin Laden across his chest. "We will attack the enemy who attacks Muslims."

With barely any exception, boys from junior high school to the final year seniors, said their goal in life was to ensure that Islam was applied "correctly." On further probing this meant that Indonesia should become an Islamic state, and that "anti-Islamic forces" -- usually described as the United States -- must be destroyed. They were proud of their alumnus, Mr. Ghozi, saying he had glorified Islam.

The students are awakened at 3:30 for first morning prayers, followed by study groups on particular topics of the Koran. Sixty percent of the curriculum is devoted to the study of Islam: how to read the Koran; the speeches of the Prophet Muhammad; and the interpretation of Islamic law. "We try to emphasize Islamic law," said Sarid Maruf, the director of the school.

Arabic is a compulsory subject, and is another opportunity for teaching Islam. Nurul Hidayap, a young Arabic teacher, showed the day's lesson: questions and answers about the Prophet Muhammad's life that had to be written down in Arabic script. Question: When did Muhammad set aside the most time for contemplation? Answer: When he was 46.

With lights out at 10 p.m., the boys get little sleep. There is no television, no radio. The students are allowed out of the school one Friday a month from 5 a.m. to 5 p.m. Life is spartan.

In one cluster of buildings, the school caters to girls; some had hidden makeup in their dorms, and many seemed to have more varied professional aspirations than the boys. For the most part, boys said they wanted to go back to their villages and preach, or further their Islamic studies. Several girls said they wanted to become doctors, social workers or psychiatrists.

Mr. Baasyir founded Al Mukmin after graduating from Gontor, a distinguished religious school in East Java, sometimes referred to in Indonesia as the Harvard of pesantren. His aim, he said, was to create a different kind of religious school, one that produced students who "if and when they become leaders of the nation they would abide by Islam."

## A NATION CHALLENGED: ASIAN MILITANTS School in Indonesia Urges 'Personal Jihad' In Steps of bin Laden

His fealty to the idea of Indonesia as an Islamic state brought him into open hostility with Mr. Suharto. Mr. Baasyir was jailed and subsequently fled to Malaysia, where he said he had founded another pesantren, Lukmanal Halium. "I was received warmly in Malaysia, especially by the youth," he said. In Malaysia, he read all of Mr. bin Laden's books, he said. "He published various books about why he's against the United States," Mr. Baasyir said. "I absorbed that into my preaching."

The Singapore authorities contended that Mr. Baasyir was involved in more than that. They said he was a central figure in setting up the network in the region.

On his return to Indonesia in 2000, Mr. Baasyir took up the cause of an Islamic state again, addressing a gathering at the stadium in Solo on the theme of <u>women</u> not being suitable to serve as president. (The current leader, President Megawati Sukarnoputri, became the first *female* president of Indonesia six months ago.)

In some ways, the fact that Al Mukmin operates in Solo, a commercial city known as a bastion of conservative Islam, is not surprising. According to one count, more than 70 Islamic organizations exist here, many of them new and radical. Among them is the Solo Islamic Youth Front whose militia accompanied Mr. Baasyir to his police questioning. Others include Laskar Jundullah (Army of God) and Laskar <u>Hizbullah</u> (Army of the Party of God).

Are members of the major Muslim organizations in Indonesia worried about Mr. Baasyir, his school, and the surge in radical Islamic groups here? Yes and no.

Dahlan Rais, the regional leader of Muhammadiyah, one of the two largest national Muslim groups, put it this way: "To some Muslims, Baasyir is a symbol of truth and courage. In the current circumstances, people are alienated from their surroundings, economically and socially. It doesn't take much to incite the masses."

http://www.nytimes.com

## **Graphic**

Photos: Abu Bakar Baasyir, the principal of Al Mukmin school, admits he taught 13 suspects in a plot to blow up the American Embassy in Singapore.; A senior student in Indonesia wears an Osama bin Laden T-shirt under the blazer of an Islamic school said to have recruited for Al Qaeda. (Photographs by James Nachtwey/VII, for The New York Times) Map of Indonesia highlighting Solo: An Islamic boarding school in Solo idolizes Osama bin Laden.

Load-Date: February 3, 2002



The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

June 7, 2003 Saturday

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Section: FEATURES-TYPE- LETTER-COLUMN- LETTERS; Pg. 22

Length: 1878 words

### **Body**

#### Flirting with irrelevance

There is something strangely familiar about the brawl going on in the Labor Party. Will it become as irrelevant as the Democrats? The ALP should forget about the next federal election and focus on the following poll, with Mark Latham in the hot seat.

Do not be surprised if the person he could face across the table is Tony Abbott. There would be some interesting debates with those two feisty characters going toe to toe.

The question is, have they the ability to lead Australia? MATP

Robert Oswald, Millers Point

It is strange how short some people's memories can be. The leadership dispute in the Federal Labor Party and the destabilisation of the public image

of and confidence in Labor that results from it do not seem to count.

It is not so long ago the Democrats suffered from the knifing of Natasha Stott Despoja, the defection of Meg Lees and the intransigence of Andrew Murray.

No wonder John Howard is rubbing his hands with glee.

Bill Barwood, Canowindra

The ALP luminaries are fooling themselves if they think that by re-arranging the deckchairs on the Titanic, the voters will be fooled. Forget about the personality cult -- it is

the Labor Party's ideology and policy that are crook.

To start with, the name Australian Labor Party is not appropriate any more. Labour rarely represents workers, more the trendy chattering classes and the ABC true believers.

George Dunai, Fairlight

During World War II, Australia kept its freedom by the skin of its teeth and in the early post-war years recognised that it needed to take responsibility for securing that freedom.

Hence the drive to increase migration, the building of munitions, encouragement of industry, support for the UN and security treaties. Freedom was recognised as being an opportunity. How it was used was most important.

Today our security and freedoms are being frittered away by politicians. While the world becomes more unstable and threatening, they indulge themselves in petty, interminable power struggles. They are not interested in teamwork for the benefit of the country but in tribal leadership contests, primitive and pathetic.

Our national infrastructure has decayed, while waste and extravagance are endemic in a country where the poorest 20 per cent possess less than 0.5 per cent of the national wealth.

The next generation will pay for this, because nothing has been learned from history.

Peter H. Edwards, Batlow

Power struggles never do any political party any good. Why the obsession with getting John Howard out of the seat he has occupied so well, just because he will be 64 years old next birthday? The public appears to be happy with him, so why rock the boat?

D. Johnston, Laurieton

More riddles for visiting Angels

You've given those honorary citizens Charlie's Angels a list of mysteries to solve while they are on the job in Sydney (Daily Telegraph, June 6). Here are some other mysteries they might address:

What happens to all the rubbish in North Sydney in the absence of any public rubbish bins?

Why can't anyone fix the train system?

What happened to that old rocker "Rocking Barry Stanton"?

Why aren't there any tolls on bridges in the southern and western suburbs?

What are you supposed to do if the door won't open to let you out of a coin-operated loo?

What are those two giant matchsticks at the bottom of the Art Gallery supposed to mean?

Terence Lee, Chatswood

Happens all the time

I knew it would appear before long and it does every time this happens. I refer to how much it has cost to rescue the two British sailors in the Indian Ocean.

In Europe, sea and other rescues are far more common than here. The only thing you read about there is whether it was a success, not how much it has cost.

Terry Mason, Morley, WA

Where's our computers?

The Federal Government purports to believe in free enterprise and a level playing field, but I am dumbfounded at the way it financially supports doctors.

It was reported in The Daily Telegraph on June 4 that almost 5000 GPs had been given an average of \$6800 each to pay for putting computers into their offices. This is on top of the millions of dollars that have been poured into supporting their malpractice insurance companies.

What about all the other thousands of businesses out there who have to pay for their own computers, something that virtually all businesses would have to have now? Are they not also worthy of free computers in their offices?

Talk to other health professionals such as chiropractors, dentists and physiotherapists and I'm sure they will tell

you that their insurance premiums have soared this past year. Will they be artificially propped up if times get too tough? So much for a level playing field.

Shaun Cashman, Winston Hills

No one's a victim

The relationship between school teacher Jeff Sinclair and teenage pupil Nicki Shackle may have begun under the wrong circumstances, but the issue should not be treated as though there is a victim in need of saving ("Teacher beats police wrath over love affair," Daily Telegraph, June 2).

Mr Sinclair is not a paedophile and should not be treated like one. I am speaking on behalf of many of his former students in saying that he was a man of integrity, a great teacher and professional at all times.

What happened between him and Ms Shackle is now their private business;

the Department of Education and Training will do what it sees fit, so let the couple live in peace.

Rachel Teoh, West Pennant Hills

Let them be

Leave the ABC alone. The alternative -- privatising this corporation -- will put thousands of unemployable bureaucrats and socialist misfits who have been promoted to their own level of incompetence on the dole.

We all know the groups that work and run the ABC would not last in the real world. Just think of it as an elaborate and expensive work-for-the-dole scheme.

Trevor Ryan, Harbord

Gordon's proved his worth

Channel 7 boss David Leckie has decided to test various options for the World Cup rugby union commentary team ("Four-game shootout will decide network's top gun," Daily Telegraph, June 6).

Who does he think he is, when Seven has a winning and proven commentator such as Gordon Bray?

I have been involved in rugby for many years and have spoken to many past players on this very issue. Bray is the tonsils of rugby. To even watch a Test without him at the microphone would not seem like a true Test.

Gordon Bray brings an atmosphere to the lounge-room that other commentators just could not achieve. Bray is rugby.

Newton Gleeson, Penshurst

Channel 7 should put some fun into rugby commentaries -- and that means neither Gordon Bray nor David Fordham at the microphone.

The team on Fox Sports is thoroughly entertaining, especially Phil Kearns with his wry wit and knowledge of the game. He and Greg Martin make a great double act but nothing is ever taken away from the game; it only makes it more entertaining.

Wendy Howard, Balgowlah Heights

#### Women poorly served

I have been disappointed with Channel 7's coverage of the French Open tennis.

I had been looking forward to watching the quarter-finals on the <u>women</u>'s side of the draw, especially when world No 1 Serena Williams was playing, but Seven tended to show men's matches where the players are ranked outside the top 10.

I also find that men's tennis is boring and takes forever just to finish.

Why should I be forced to leave my home and go to a pub alone and watch a decent <u>women</u>'s match on Foxtel surrounded by drunks who aren't interested in the game?

Richard Duncan, Marrickville

Impact on payments

not mentioned.

For Your Benefit in The Daily Telegraph on May 31 answered a question about the impact of maintenance on Centrelink payments. Your response accurately describes the impact on a number

of payments and benefits, but the main payment affected for most families, Family Tax Benefit (FTB) Part A, was

FTB part A may be reduced where a parent receives maintenance (usually child support payments from a former partner) because of the operation of the Maintenance Income Test. However, a maintenance income-free area applies before FTB Part A is reduced. Parents may receive maintenance income up to \$1095 each year for a single parent and \$2190 for a couple, with an additional amount of \$365 for each additional child.

Maintenance over these amounts may reduce FTB part A by 50c in the dollar, until the base rate of FTB Part A is reached. More information is available from the Family Assistance Office on 136150.

Lynne Curran, Department of Family

and Community Services, Canberra

Plague shut out

I would like to congratulate our Australian Government for taking the steps towards protecting our soil from terrorism.

For too long, Lebanon has been plagued by <u>Hezbollah</u> and Syrian oppression, so it is reassuring to see that the troubles of the Middle East are kept off our shores. I am glad to see our Government take a leading role in ridding our world of these oppressive groups and creating a better world for our children to grow up in.

Welcome to a *Hezbollah*-free Australia.

Jamil Dagher, Roselands

I am not so much worried about whether Messrs Bush, Blair and Howard lied about the existence of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as I am about the implications of their having told the truth.

The main argument for going to war was the need to prevent Iraq's weapons from falling into the hands of terrorists or rogue states. The fact that the weapons are now missing suggests that is exactly what has happened. Either way, the Government has a lot of explaining to do.

Cameron Andrews, Surry Hills

Kind words

Recently, my husband aged 77 had a major operation in Liverpool Hospital. I want to express my grateful, heartfelt thanks to the wonderful caring staff and doctors in ICU3 who took care of my husband. During his three-week stay, they pulled him through a difficult, dangerous time with expert efficiency -- Sisters Pamela, Christine, Jennifer, Joyce, Kathy, Felicity and Dr Faborson. My special thanks to the surgeon, Dr Ray, who performed a very difficult operation with skill and expertise. Grateful thanks to Liverpool Hospital and staff who gave their all. Also our thanks to the wonderful and caring staff at East 5 Ward who looked after my husband for one week or so with love and encouragement. Special thanks to Dr Anthony Chambers, the ward clerk, and all the lovely dedicated sisters. Special thanks to Sue, the social worker, who was exceedingly kind and helpful.

The Ward family, Lansvale

To the point

It is a sad state of affairs for Australia, and the Labor Party especially, when a dithering, indecisive Kim Beazley is described as Labor's best chance of defeating John Howard in an election.

Garry Bradley, Shortland

There are two search teams operating in Iraq. One is looking for weapons of mass destruction, the other for unicorns. The smart money is on the unicorn team.

Barry Smythe, Wallerawang

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October 19, 2003, Sunday

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## **Body**

A truck bomb ripped through the U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut 20 years ago this week, marking the first major assault in a two-decade terrorist war of embassy bombings and plane hijackings that culminated on Sept. 11, 2001.

The shocking attack killed 241 U.S. servicemen in a single strike -- more than died on the deadliest day of fighting in Vietnam, this year's invasion of Iraq or the entire 1991 Persian Gulf War.

And it gave terrorists a major victory. The bombing drove the military from its peacekeeping mission in Lebanon and provided a blueprint for attacking Americans. The retreat of U.S. forces inspired Osama bin Laden and sent an unintended message to the Arab world that enough body bags would prompt Western withdrawal, not retaliation.

"There's no question it was a major cause of 9/11," said John Lehman, the then-secretary of the Navy, who today is a member of the independent commission investigating the Sept. 11 attacks.

"We told the world that terrorism succeeds."

About 2,000 Beirut veterans and family members will gather Thursday at Camp Lejeune in eastern North Carolina, where most were stationed in 1983. They will mourn fallen comrades and remember a doomed mission.

At best, they believe, the world has forgotten their sacrifices. At worst, they fear they'll always be considered a failure -- and the painful lessons of their tragedy will be ignored.

"It was such a useless, fruitless thing," says Brian Kirkpatrick, a Beirut survivor who crawled his way out of the rubble. "We gained nothing. We lost everybody."

But in the halls of the Pentagon and the State Department, Beirut has not been forgotten, Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage told The Charlotte Observer. Many of the leaders from 20 years ago -- who now serve President Bush -- work to avoid a repeat of the disaster as they plan the military missions of today.

Bush reminded Americans of the tragedy in a prime-time speech last month. He urged the country to prepare for a long and costly effort to rebuild Iraq and not to repeat the mistake of leaving before the job was done.

"What would happen if we left this business unfinished," Armitage said, "is an Iraq that would become more of a threat -- sort of an Iraq unchained."

The Beirut bombing taught the United States more about protecting troops and picking battles. Using the military for peacekeeping, leaders learned, can be just as hazardous as fighting a well-defined enemy.

But as the U.S. death toll in Iraq rises, critics of the Bush administration question whether those lessons are being heeded, or if the United States has been set up for another failure at the cost of American lives.

In 1983, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger didn't want the Marines in Beirut.

They'd gone in the year before to calm fears that Lebanon's civil war could spark a battle engulfing the entire Middle East. The Marines' role was to evacuate Palestinian fighters and prevent an invasion from neighboring Israel.

U.S. diplomats promised the safety of Palestinian families who remained. But after the Marines finished their job and withdrew in 1982, thousands of Palestinians -- largely **women**, children and the elderly -- were massacred by Israeli-backed Lebanese militia.

"It was three days of absolute butchery," said Robert Dillon, then-U.S. ambassador to Lebanon. The slaughter jeopardized a high-profile initiative by President Reagan to end the Arab-Israeli conflict.

An embarrassed State Department persuaded President Ronald Reagan to send the Marines back, hoping their mere presence in Lebanon would prevent further bloodshed and salvage the peace plan. Weinberger fought the decision.

"We didn't have any objective," Weinberger told The Charlotte Observer. "The argument was that to simply have Americans on the ground would maintain the peace."

The Marines were handicapped, former National Security Adviser Robert "Bud" McFarlane said, by infighting in the Reagan Cabinet. McFarlane and Secretary of State George Shultz wanted a more aggressive mission in Lebanon to root out foreign support of the warring factions. Weinberger and the Joint Chiefs of Staff were opposed.

"Behind the scenes was a very, very pitched battle," McFarlane said. "Reagan didn't want to take sides between his Cabinet officers, and the Marines were hostage to this paralysis."

To signal they were neutral in the civil war, the Marines were stationed between warring factions. They made their base at Beirut International Airport -- the tactically unwise low ground.

They carried weapons, but the rules of engagement mostly forbade them from keeping a round in the chamber. They had orders not to shoot unless they were direct targets and knew for sure who had fired first. The on-base drinking hole became known as the "Can't Shoot Back Saloon."

But by trying to keep order in Beirut, the Marines and U.S. diplomats were seen as allies of Lebanon's unpopular government and became targets of snipers, shellings and car bombings.

In April 1983, terrorists smashed a stolen GMC pickup loaded with explosives into the U.S. Embassy, killing 63 people, including 17 Americans.

Six months later, the truck bomb at the Marine barracks killed 241 U.S. troops.

After the barracks bombing, Reagan had a choice: Commit more forces to Lebanon only nine years after Vietnam, when public support

for a long military conflict was low, or retreat.

To political and military leaders in the United States, the pullout made sense. With a crippled Marine battalion and no clear military target, some thought withdrawal was the only option.

"You can't police the world," said P.X. Kelley, the then-Marine commandant. "Sometimes the best option is to do nothing."

But to terrorists and their backers, it was a sign of weakness, confirming their belief that the Americans had no staying power. The Syrian prime minister had told Morris Draper, a special presidential emissary, just months before: "You Americans can't hold your breath."

The U.S. response to the barracks bombing was limited. Despite indications that it was carried out by the radical Islamic group <u>Hezbollah</u> and backed by Iran, a planned U.S. military mission to bomb terrorist training camps was never carried out.

Top Reagan officials disagree on why. Weinberger says a conclusive link to Iran and <u>Hezbollah</u> was never proven. McFarlane said Weinberger was too concerned about the political risks of failure and losing support from U.S. allies in the Arab states.

Either way, critics say the lack of retaliation cemented America's weak image in the Arab world.

"If we had struck back and pulled out," said Bill Cowan, part of a top secret intelligence team sent to investigate the bombings, "we wouldn't have been leaving with our tail between our legs."

Two decades of Arab-backed terrorism have followed the bombings of the Marine barracks and the U.S. Embassy in Beirut.

American soldiers are "paper tigers," Osama bin Laden told ABC News in 1998. "The Marines fled after two explosions."

Using the Beirut bombings as a guide, terrorists:

- --attacked American embassies in Kuwait two months later, and Kenya and Tanzania in 1998, killing 307 Americans and others.
- --hijacked TWA Flight 847 for 17 days in 1985, taking hostages and killing a Navy diver.
- --exploded Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270.
- --bombed the World Trade Center in 1993, killing six and wounding about 1,000.
- --killed 19 Americans in the 1996 bombing of Khobar Towers, a U.S. military base in Saudi Arabia. The attack also wounded more than 370 Americans and Saudis.
- --struck the USS Cole in Yemen in 2000, killing 17 sailors and injuring 39 others.
- --flew hijacked planes into the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on Sept. 11, 2001, killing nearly 3,000 people.

In those cases and dozens more, terrorists exploited unconventional methods and Western openness. And in almost every case until Sept. 11, the U.S. military response was minimal.

For bin Laden and other terrorist leaders, Beirut showed how to attack a larger force and inflict the maximum damage -- physical and psychological. Terrorism experts say manuals found in al-Qaida's Afghanistan training camps were filled with references to Beirut.

"The fact is, today, the people who ran that operation are heroes" among terrorist groups, "and nothing has ever been done against them," said Lehman, the former Navy secretary. "Not retaliating was a terrible blunder."

While terrorists took their lessons from Beirut, the Pentagon learned more about when to send troops and how to protect them.

"Culturally, it changed the military," said Phil Anderson, a former Marine and terrorism expert.

Weinberger summed up the lessons in a 1984 speech. The main points of what became known as the "Weinberger Doctrine" were restated after the first Gulf War by Colin Powell, then-chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: The United States should commit troops only when vital national interests are at stake, only as a last resort, and with overwhelming force.

"It has to be for a sufficiently important cause," Weinberger told The Charlotte Observer.

The doctrine has been modified -- and sometimes ignored -- over the years, but the Beirut lessons still had a major impact:

Commanders insisted on more clearly defined missions with sufficient force to carry them out and a way to determine when troops could go home.

"You don't halfstep it," said Jay Farrar, a former Marine captain who served in Beirut and is now a military expert for the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "You deal swiftly and with a tremendous amount of force."

Policymakers realized that "presence" is not a mission, and commanders became increasingly reluctant to commit troops to peacekeeping efforts unless they were welcomed by all sides. Armitage cited the recent example of the U.S. role in Liberia, when both sides in a civil war requested American troops.

The concept of "force protection" came of age after the barracks attack. Rules of engagement are less limiting, and security around U.S. forces is tighter.

"We go in heavy," said P.J. Crowley, a retired Air Force colonel and former special assistant for national security affairs to President Clinton. "We have a plan for protecting our forces."

Crowley and other critics of the Bush administration say that's where planning for the occupation of Iraq has failed. War planners didn't send enough U.S. troops and failed to win enough support from other countries.

"We did the war without completely understanding how to do the peace," Crowley said. "We're ad hocing the peace."

More U.S. servicemen have died in Iraq since the end of major combat operations was declared May 1 than during the six-week invasion. Terrorist car bombings have ripped through the United Nations' Baghdad headquarters and other civilian targets.

A recent survey by the military newspaper Stars and Stripes found many troops in Iraq expressing sentiments similar to their Beirut counterparts. Roughly a third said their morale was low and their mission ill-defined. They characterized the war in Iraq as having little value.

But Armitage, the deputy secretary of state, said there are key differences between the mistakes in Lebanon and Iraq today.

"In Lebanon, we didn't have a clear mission," he said. "We didn't understand the complexities."

In Iraq, he said, the troops have that clear mission -- creating stability. Two-thirds of servicemen agreed in the Stars and Stripes poll. And other policymakers argue that troops need to stay until that mission is accomplished.

"There would be lingering perceptions of Beirut today if we pulled out of Iraq prematurely," said Dennis Ross, a Middle East envoy under two presidents. "The perception would be the U.S. intervenes, but it does not stay."

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June 9, 2001 Saturday

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### **Body**

He put a smile on the Islamic republic's face, but Iran's President Mohammad Khatami needs a renewed mandate to carry on reform, as Christopher Kremmer reports from Tehran.

AMIR Mohammad gave his right leg for Iran's 1979 Islamic revolution. But like the slogan-shouting, hostage-taking students of old, the former Revolutionary Guard has mellowed.

At 11, during the Iran-Iraq war, he became a spy reporting on Iraqi troop movements near his home city of Ahvaz. By 15 he was a fully fledged member of Iran's Revolutionary Guard, and he was wounded five times in battle. His lungs were damaged by chemical weapons and his leg amputated after an Iraqi rocket exploded near him on the Kordestan front line.

So when somebody like Amir who became a doctor after the war and is married with three children decides to go public with his view that the Islamic republic he helped found needs reform, few dare try to silence him.

Iran's war veterans are supposed to be a bulwark of conservatism, hostile to social and economic liberalisation. But in the countdown to yesterday's presidential elections, Iranians continued to break the mould of other people's expectations, and their own history.

In an austere apartment on Azadi ("Freedom") Street in Tehran, members of "War Veterans for the 23rd of May Movement" have gathered. The group's name honours the day in 1997 when reformist President Mohammad Khatami won a landslide election victory.

Their wardrobe is revolutionary chic grey suits, open-neck shirts and regulation stubble but their mission is to ensure Khatami a second term in office.

"The Revolutionary Guards fought for freedom, and we gained freedom. Now we must develop our country so that young Iranians can have a better future," Amir says during a tea break at the offices of the organisation he has helped establish.

Over the past month 60 volunteers have been organising and recruiting among former soldiers and guards. Voting for Khatami as many veterans have done consistently is not enough, they say. The loose-knit reformist movement needs the active backing of veterans to transform it into a real political party.

Although they refuse to admit it, members of the groups have faced intense pressure from Iran's shadowy security services not to go public. They are careful to stay within the bounds of accepted political dissent.

"We want an evolution, not another revolution," said Salari Far, another retired Revolutionary Guard who belongs to the group.

A Tehran-based Western diplomat said: "Iranians have tried violent revolution and seen what happens. They lived through a decade-long war with Iraq for little gain, felt the impact of state violence against them, and they didn't like it."

When he ran for president four years ago, Seyyed Mohammad Khatami's idea was merely to start a debate on political pluralism, which he believes is essential if the Islamic republic is to survive and prosper. The conservative Council of Guardians, which vets candidates, saw him as no threat, and let him run.

But to everyone's amazement, Khatami's blazing smile and gentle wit won the heart of a country which had grown weary of scowling clerics. His victory with 70 per cent of the vote, and a record 80 per cent turn-out, thrust the genteel mullah into a political struggle for which he was ill-prepared.

The Islamic Republic of Iran today still bears the images of its turbulent founding father, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who overthrew the American-backed shah and established a network of parallel power structures designed to foil any attempt at a counter-coup.

The army, seen as pro-monarchist, was supplemented by the radical Revolutionary Guard. The elected president would be supervised by a supreme leader chosen from the clergy, and a guardian council would judge whether laws passed by parliament were compatible with Islamic law. The entire executive branch remains subservient to the church.

Khomeini's concept of velayat-e faqih ("rule of the Islamic jurist") recalled medieval times, before the separation of church and state. In fact, it was a revolutionary concept, which dragged an unwilling Shia clergy into the political realm.

More than two decades later, almost all of Iran's 20 or so grand ayatollahs fear that active involvement in politics will taint the clergy. Having seen the Islamic republic impoverish a wealthy nation with childish and hypocritical posturing, the mullahs know they are deeply unpopular, and fear a backlash.

Wilfried Buchta, whose book Who Rules Iran? analyses the country's power structure, believes an activist core of no more than 80 from among 5,000 lesser-ranking ayatollahs have entrenched Khomeini's political legacy, partly by using terror against anyone who challenged them.

President Khatami is no flower child. He justifies Islamic punishments such as stoning for adultery and amputations for theft. He believes Iran's constitution contains sufficient scope for democracy and freedom.

But what he has confronted is a system still dominated by the angry old men, for whom polemics against the "Great Satan" of the United States are more important than providing jobs. The conservative Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, controls the army, the judiciary and the bureaucracy. Whereas the president is limited to two terms, the supreme leader rules for life.

Khatami's shock victory saw eased restrictions on <u>women</u> and youth, a flowering of the free press, and even an attempted opening to the hated United States. But gradually, the conservatives have regrouped, shutting down more than 40 pro-reform newspapers, and jailing many leading reformers.

The watershed came in July 1999, when students protesting against police harassment in cities across the country were set upon by the Ansar-e *Hezbollah*, Islamic vigilantes who enjoy virtual immunity from prosecution.

It was Iran's Tiananmen Square, a defining moment when an impotent President Khatami turned his back on his most fervent supporters, condemning the students as people with "evil aims". His own aim was to avoid an even

bloodier showdown, which he knew he could not win. But ever since, Khatami has been hemmed in by what Iranians call the "red lines".

The charismatic leader became so discouraged of late that he decided not to stand for re-election.

"Mr Khatami was never pessimistic about the reforms, but he did doubt whether he could carry all this responsibility," his younger brother, Mohammad Reza Khatami told the Herald. "He thought some others could come and follow the reforms with a strong new force. But after discussing the matter with students and all aspects of society, he overcame his doubts and decided to run for a second term."

The President's brother personifies the way some Iranian revolutionaries have re-invented themselves. As a medical student, he was among the stubble-cheeked radicals who stormed the US embassy in 1979, taking American diplomats captive for 444 days. Now, as head of the reformist Islamic Participation Front of Iran, Mohammad Reza finds himself in opposition to the radical clergy, but remains outwardly confident. "The conservatives know that even the majority of military personnel voted for Khatami last time. Because of this fact, they are very shaky to implement their programs. So they prefer to follow negotiations and calm paths," he says.

But by blocking Khatami reforms aimed at democratising Islamic rule, the conservatives have damaged not only his credibility but the system's chances of survival.

After the revolution, Iran's clergy urged mothers to create an Islamic generation by having big families. The subsequent baby boom doubled the country's population to 62 million, more than half of whom are now under 25. With the voting age set at 15, they form the core of Khatami's electoral support.

In Tehran, where the streets are still dominated by agit-prop wall murals, a 22-year- old languages student, Khatayoum (Kathy) Shafegh, last week was given a leaflet by students campaigning for Khatami. "We will build our homeland with love," it said, inviting first-time voters to a rally at the Shirody Stadium.

Kathy showed the leaflet to her mother, who urged her not to attend. To their elders, scarred by Iran's turbulent politics, the blithe spirit of youth is inspiring but also foolhardy. There is a mortal fear of renewed blood-letting.

Next day, Kathy went to the stadium, where an uproarious reformist celebration, part pop concert/part NBA final, was under way. Urged on by an ensemble of synthesisers and congas, bandana-wearing boys and girls segregated in blockseating around a basketball court sang Iran's national anthem and took turns outdoing each other with slogans and cheers.

In the thick of it, Kathy's trenchcoat, beige jeans, lipstick and make-up marked her as one of a new generation of Iranian **women** who have whittled down the billowing black chador imposed by the clerics.

"It's hot during summer, and hijab [covering] is very uncomfortable," she told me, chatting before the arrival of the candidate. "But the main thing is we need more freedom of speech. We should have relations with the United States, which will be good for educational exchanges and trade. We have to create more jobs."

The conversation ended abruptly, when a walkie talkie-wielding security guard suggested I move on, and gave Kathy a stern lecture on "teasing". Even at a reformist rally, a young woman could be needlessly humiliated before thousands of her peers.

Unable to directly challenge the social reform agenda which still enjoys overwhelming public support the President's opponents have attacked his economic performance. High oil prices have provided a budgetary cushion but at \$5,500 a year the average Iranian's purchasing power is still less than it was under the Shah. Inflation is said to have fallen from 20 to 12 per cent, but high unemployment remains a source of enormous popular discontent. New laws providing more security for foreign investment have attracted more than \$US2billion (\$3.8billion) in foreign capital.

The Government this week announced the biggest single foreign investment since the oil sector reopened five years ago, with the Italian energy group ENI taking a \$US3.8billion majority stake in a project to develop the giant South Pars gas field in the Gulf.

Early hopes of a rapprochement between Iran and the US under Khatami have been dashed by conflicting signals from both sides.

Tehran's continuing support for the militant Islamic group <u>Hezbollah</u> in the Israeli-occupied territories and southern Lebanon have undermined support in the US Congress for renewed diplomatic ties. The Iran-Libya Sanctions Act is expected to be renewed in the coming months.

With opinion polls and pundits unanimous in predicting another Khatami victory, interest is centred on any erosion in voter turnout or the reformists' percentage of the vote for the reformists, which could encourage further conservative assaults on reform.

If their vote holds, however, the reformers who already control the parliament may be emboldened to press ahead with their agenda of greater democracy and personal liberty.

The implications for the Muslim world are profound. The Iranian revolution triggered the rise of Islamic fundamentalism around the world. Its democracy movement is now a beacon of hope for opponents of despotism in the name of Islam.

Perhaps the biggest victory of all is that the conservatives have avoided endorsing any of the presidential candidates, fearing that to do so would amount to the kiss of electoral death.

With society in flux, numerous discordant realities co-exist. Late Tuesday night in Tehran, students backing reform distributed leaflets at one intersection, while members of the right-wing civil militias known as basejis stopped cars and questioned motorists at gunpoint at the next.

Unless reformers and conservatives can forge a consensus on the nature and pace of change, progress in this old and cultured society will remain stop-start.

## **Graphic**

TWO ILLUS: No flower child ... President Khatami and, top, supporters at a pre-election rally held this week. Photos: Reuters, Damir Sagoli

Load-Date: July 24, 2007



## A history of violence: Barbara Kay defends Neil French, the ad man who told it like it is

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Byline: Bret Stephens, National Post

## **Body**

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas paid George W. Bush a friendly visit on Thursday. At the Rose Garden press conference that followed, Mr. Bush stressed Mr. Abbas's responsibility to "end terror attacks, dismantle terrorist infrastructure, maintain law and order and one day provide security for their own state." Mr. Abbas himself made no mention of the word "terrorism." But he did demand the release of those he called "prisoners of freedom," now being held in Israeli jails.

The Israeli-Palestinian conflict no longer rivets world attention the way it did a few years ago. Still it rolls along, as it probably will for decades to come. And the reason for this is well-captured by Mr. Abbas's use of the term "prisoners of freedom."

Who are some of these prisoners? One is Ibrahim Ighnamat, a Hamas leader arrested last week by Israel in connection to his role in organizing a March, 1997, suicide bombing. Another is Jamal Tirawi of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades: Mr. Tirawi had bullied a 14-year-old boy into becoming a suicide bomber by threatening to denounce him as a "collaborator."

And then there is 21-year-old Wafa Samir al-Bis, who was detained in June after the explosives she was carrying failed to detonate at an Israeli checkpoint. Her target was an Israeli hospital where she had previously been treated -- as a humanitarian gesture -- for burns suffered in a kitchen accident.

Many explanations have been given for the almost matchless barbarism into which Palestinian society has descended. One is the effect of Israeli occupation and all that has, in recent years, gone with it: the checkpoints, the closures, the petty harassments. I witnessed much of this personally when I lived in Israel, and there can be no discounting the embittering effect that a military curfew has on the ordinary Palestinians living under it.

Yet the checkpoints and curfews are not gratuitous acts of unkindness, nor are they artifacts of occupation. On the contrary, in the years when Israel was in full control of the territories there were no checkpoints or curfews, and Palestinians could move freely (and find employment) throughout the country. It was only with the start of the peace process in 1993 and the creation of autonomous Palestinian areas under the control of the late Yasser Arafat that terrorism became common. And it was only then that the checkpoints went up in earnest.

A history of violence: Barbara Kay defends Neil French, the ad man who told it like it is

In other words, while Palestinian actions go far to explain Israeli behavior, the reverse doesn't hold. How, then, are the Ighnamats, Tirawis and Bises of Palestinian society to be explained?

Consider a statistic: In the first nine months of 2005, more Palestinians were killed by other Palestinians than by Israelis -- 219 to 218, according to the Palestinian Authority. In the Gaza Strip, the departure of Israeli troops and settlers has brought anarchy, not freedom. Members of Hamas routinely fight gun battles with members of Fatah, Mahmoud Abbas's ruling political party. So-called "collaborators" are put to the gun by street mobs, their "guilt" sometimes nothing more than being the object of a neighbor's spite. Honor killings of "loose" <u>women</u> are common, as is the torture and murder of homosexuals.

Atop this culture of violence are the Hamas and Fatah leaders, the clan chieftains, the PA "generals" and "ministers." And standing atop them -- theoretically, at least -- is the Palestinian president. All were raised in this culture; most have had their uses for violence. For Arafat, those uses were to achieve mastery of his movement, and to harness its energies to his political purpose. Among Palestinians, his popularity owed chiefly to the fact that under his leadership all this violence achieved an astonishing measure of international respectability.

Hence Mr. Abbas's Rose Garden obeisances to the "prisoners of freedom." The Palestinian president leads a society in which dignity and violence have long been entwined, in which the absence of the latter risks the loss of the former. This is not to say that Mr. Abbas himself is a violent man. But his fate as a politician rests in the hands of violent men, and so far he has shown no appetite for confronting them.

Instead, he has sought to entice groups such as Hamas into a democratic process. As with <u>Hezbollah</u> in Lebanon, they have been happy to get what they can out of politics while refusing to lay down their arms. In doing so, they make a mockery of Mr. Abbas's stated commitment to "one authority, one law and one gun" -- that is, to the very idea of a state, and therefore to Mr. Abbas's presidency of it.

Talk to Palestinians, and you will often hear it said, like a mantra, that Palestinian dignity requires Palestinian statehood. This is either a conceit or a lie. Should a Palestinian state ever come into existence, it will be a small place, mostly poor. One can understand why Arafat spurned the offer of it -- and why his people cheered wildly when he did. Their dignity has always rested upon their violence, their struggle, their "prisoners of freedom."

For Mr. Abbas, the problem is that statehood and dignity are not a package. They are a choice. And if history is any guide, the choice he must make is not one he is likely to survive.

## **Graphic**

Graphic/Diagram: Charicature of Mahmoud Abbas.

Load-Date: October 26, 2005



## Young Iranians Speak Out (Online) for Democracy

New York Sun (Archive)
June 22, 2005 Wednesday

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Byline: By RAMIN TALAIE, Special to the Sun

Dateline: TEHRAN, Iran

## **Body**

The reformist newspaper Eqbal was shut down here on Monday by the city's mayor and a presidential hopeful, Mahdi Ahmadinejad.

As Friday's presidential runoff election between Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani and Mr. Ahmadinejad approaches, the mayor learned that the paper was planning to publish an article suggesting there was fraud in last week's election and took swift action against it, the Associated Press reported.

Liberal voices in another medium have not been silenced, though. Bloggers have continued to use the Internet to spread their hopes of democracy for Iran, often at great risk to themselves.

The ministry in charge of communication in Iran, the Mokhabeerat, uses a filtering program to censor sexually explicit sites. It is now using the same technique to block access to blogs that convey dissident messages from inside Iran. Clever bloggers, however, persist and find ways around such constraints. According to unofficial projections, there are between 3 million and 4 million Internet subscribers in Iran. The online encyclopedia Wikipedia estimates that more than 65,000 blogs are written in Farsi.

Meanwhile, about 100 pro-democracy publications have been shut down in the last five years by the judiciary, which is led by an official appointed by Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the AP reported.

Iran's first blog was started in September 2001.By November of that year, an information technology columnist and computer programmer, Hussein Derakhshan, had published a how-to guide to blogging in Farsi. Mr. Derakhshan dished out tips on how to put legible Farsi online complete with right-to-left writing.

Currently living in Toronto, Mr. Derakhshan worries about his return to Iran someday. His fear is seemingly justified as bloggers come under attack, just as authorities cracked down on reformist newspapers a few years ago.

In April 2003, a journalist and blogger, Sina Motallebi, was arrested be 738 881 807 892729 920 798 932738 973 818 984741 1012 895 1024696 1026 784 1037cause of comments made in his online journal. In November 2004, another blogger, Mojtaba Sami Nejad, was arrested for reporting the detention of three fellow bloggers at mannamanam.blogspot.com. While in prison, his blog was transferred to the blog of the Islamist group *Hezbollah*, irongroup.blogspot.com.

#### Young Iranians Speak Out (Online) for Democracy

Mr. Sami Nejad was temporarily released but was rearrested when he launched a new Web site at 8mdr8.blogspot.com. He was sentenced to two years in prison. The blogging community created an online petition, at <a href="https://www.petitiononline.com/mojsn/petition.html">www.petitiononline.com/mojsn/petition.html</a>, to urge government officials and President Khatemi to release Mr. Sami Nejad immediately, but it was unsuccessful.

A 27-year-old journalist, Parastoo Dokoohaki, is also known as Zan Nevesht - the name of her blog, which translates to woman writer. Ms. Dokoohaki's day job is writing about social issues for the shuttered newspaper Eqbal. A self-proclaimed feminist, Ms. Dokoohaki supported a reformist candidate, Mostafa Moin, in last Friday's election and is aggravated about the vote results that left her candidate out of the runoff.

She and many others believed Mr. Moin would have posed a challenge to Mr. Rafsanjani, but Mr. Moin was not among the top five candidates in a field of eight.

In a recent dispatch, Zan Nevesht expressed concerns about the Mokhabeerat's prying eyes. Ms. Dokoohaki knows all about the filter 1025 986 1104 998930 1263 1009 1275962 1369 1096 1380system and worries about it often. Zan Nevesht gets about 1,500 hits a day and addresses the problems and hardships of young <u>women</u> in her country, a subject close to her heart.

Ms. Dokoohaki omits phrases she deems contentious enough to raise a red flag to filters and censors. She monitors and deletes replies from her readers that could likewise bring unwanted attention from authorities.

She knows she is being watched. After all, the blog of her would-be leader, Mr. Moin, at <u>www.drMoin.ir,is</u> not longer active.

A month ago, she was targeted by Ansar Al-Islam's hard-line newspaper Ya Sarat'al Hussein. The paper falsely reported that Mr. Moin paid Ms. Dokoohaki and others for their support and to attend one of his rallies.

Bloggers are mostly young, well-educated, and hail from big cities, since Internet access is an expense many young, unemployed Iranians cannot afford.

Those able to pay for service and willing to deal with its slow speed and lack of reliability have embraced blogging as a way to discuss divisive issues in a closed society, a 24-year-old Web designer, Payam Parsinejad, said. Mr. Pasinejad has created many of the blogs in Tehran. He also keeps a blog at <a href="https://www.tafteh.ws">www.tafteh.ws</a> that steers clear of politics.

In an effort to fight hard-liners and perhaps legitimize blogging, a close ally of Mr. Khatemi and a former vice president for legal and parliamentary affairs, Mohammad Ali Abtahi, started his own blog in late 2003. It can be found at <a href="https://www.webneveshteha.com">www.webneveshteha.com</a>.

Mr. Abtahi, who is affectionately known as the "mullah blogger," since he is a Muslim cleric, writes about reformist issues. At his site, the name of which literally means "written in a Web site," Mr. Abtahi has supported the release of Mr. Sami Nejad.

The number of bloggers continues to grow despite government efforts to control them. Both Ms. Dokoohaki and Mr. Parsinejad say more bloggers are likely to be harassed and jailed, but they are optimistic that, despite the risks, their fellow bloggers will not be stopped.

Load-Date: June 22, 2005



## Never Again

New York Sun (Archive) August 29, 2005 Monday

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Section: EDITORIAL & OPINION; Pg. 7

Length: 952 words

Byline: Kenneth J. Bialkin

## **Body**

On August 24, 2005, Israel announced substantial completion of the removal of Jewish citizens from 21 Gaza settlements and 4 in the West Bank without significant violence. Despite the poignancy of forced eviction from homes and settlements established more than 30 years ago, respect for the rule of law and commitment to democratic tradition triumphed over broken hearts, anguish over the government's decision, and the urging of a few religious leaders and other supporters to resist the force applied by the citizen-soldiers of Israel.

But the images flashed around the world of Jewish families uprooted and evicted through no personal fault of their own by young male and <u>female</u> soldiers who shed tears along with the settlers in the sad fulfillment of their duty has cut deeply into the minds and emotions of Jews everywhere, even those filled with pride and admiration for the people of Israel for their dedication to civil order. It is not Jews alone who shed tears in watching images of puzzled children, sobbing parents, and shocked citizens as they removed mezuzahs from their door posts, Torah scrolls from their closets and prepared to transfer the graves of those they refused to leave behind. The experience was traumatic for many in Israel and around the world who could only wonder why a land had to be rendered free of Jews because a larger number of Arabs would not tolerate them living in their midst.

Israel's unilateral separation from Gaza and four West Bank settlements was determined by a democratic process and accepted by an apparent majority in Israel, some more reluctantly than others. It was unilateral because it became obvious that Israel's willingness and efforts to negotiate mutually acceptable forms of living together in peace were not reciprocated by the Palestinian Arabs. The refusal or inability of Arafat and other leaders to convince their people to forego terror, abandon their refusal to accept the existence of the state of Israel, and live peacefully alongside a Jewish state convinced the government of Israel that it had no counterpart with whom a peace process could be pursued. With no one to whom to speak, Israel is embarking on a unilateral policy of separating itself from the Palestinians, a people unlucky in their benighted leadership who have thus far succeeded only to produce hatred of Israel. In this circumstance, who can say Israel is wrong in its determination to protect its people and pursue economic growth and social progress, whatever course the Palestinians follow? If a time should come when the Palestinians accept the existence and legitimacy of Israel, renounce terror and force, disarm the infrastructure of terror, and show an acceptance and appreciation of the benefits of freedom and peace with their neighbors, Israel has shown itself willing to follow a peace process within the framework of the road map. In the present circumstance it is mostly Palestinians who must suffer, but Israel does not owe them the rose garden they demand.

Many Arab leaders exult in the claim that Israel's evacuation from Gaza is a victory for a strategy of force and terror, compelling Israel to withdraw, as they also claimed when Israel left Lebanon. Some Israeli leaders opposed the

#### Never Again

Gaza withdrawal for the same reason, warning it would only further encourage Arab violence and aggression. Despite that risk, Israel has disengaged. Time alone will tell whether that disengagement will bring Israel the peace it seeks or the appreciation of world opinion for the trauma and sacrifice it has experienced in uprooting almost 9,000 citizens from their homes.

Prime Minister Sharon has said that until the Palestinians fulfill their defaulted steps under the road map, including dismantling the infrastructure of terror, disarming Hamas, Islamic Jihad, <u>Hezbollah</u>, and other terrorist groups, and bringing criminals to justice, no one should expect Israel to renew further steps under the road map, which is based on reciprocal progress. It would be a sad commentary on the world's understanding of the risks, sacrifices, and sorrow endured by the Israeli people if Israel is forced away from Mr. Sharon's pledge. There are already too many examples of the world's efforts to place demands on Israel that are not justified by a sense of balance and historical justice.

A major lesson of the disengagement experience is that Israel should not be asked to test its institutions and the fabric of its society by a repeat of the experience and images of tearing Jews from their homes. The Jews of Israel and the Diaspora, as well as fair-minded people everywhere, will not wish to see this happen again. The Gaza disengagement teaches us that, even for those who may feel that Israel should ultimately make some adjustment in the location of Jews in Judea and Samaria, forcible eviction is unacceptable. The West Bank, Judea, and Samaria, unlike Gaza, have political, religious, historical, security, and sentimental roots in the hearts, minds, and souls of Israel and the Jewish people that cannot be denied and must be respected. Their claims are older and clearer and, to say the least, are at least as legitimate as the Arab ones.

For Israel to undertake any future disengagement or evictions of Jewish citizens from meaningful areas of Judea and Samaria, the Arab leopard would have to change its spots and perhaps even accept the present unthinkable prospect that a modern Palestinian society should embrace notions of freedom and human rights, forswear terror and violence, abandon corruption and mendacity, and, hopefully, savor the benefits of living in peace with a Jewish state. Until then, Israel should never again so test the unity of the Jewish people.

Load-Date: August 29, 2005



## Won't end up like Iran: Cheney

The Toronto Star
February 7, 2005 Monday

Copyright 2005 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.

Section: NEWS; Pg. A08

Length: 869 words

Byline: Tim Harper, Toronto Star

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

### **Body**

Two of the leading figures in the Bush administration sought to dismiss concerns yesterday that Iraq was headed for an Iranian-style Islamic theocracy which will limit the rights of **women** and minorities.

U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney and Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in network television interviews, both said they thought it was too early to make such predictions and said secular leaders would provide a balance to the Islamic clerics who are emerging as the real power following the Jan. 30 elections.

"I think there are a great many people involved in the political process in Iraq who will seek some kind of balance," Cheney said in an interview on Fox News Sunday.

"But in the final analysis, the bottom line for everybody to remember here is, this is not going to be ... an Iraqi version of America. This is going to be Iraqi.

"It's going to be written by the Iraqis, for the Iraqis, implemented and executed by them."

The vice-president said Iraqis have watched the "dismal failure" of religious theocracy next door in Iran and fought a bloody eight-year war against that theocracy.

"The Shia in Iraq are Iraqis," Rumsfeld said on NBC's Meet the Press. "They're not Iranians. And the idea that they're going to end up with a government like Iran, with a handful of mullahs controlling much of the country, I think, is unlikely."

Rumsfeld pointed to another neighbour of Iran, Afghanistan, as a country which held free elections and fashioned a government based on its needs, not the model of its neighbour.

"I think it would be just an enormous mistake for that country to think that it could succeed with all of its opportunity, with its oil, its water, its intelligent population - to deny half of their population, <u>women</u>, the opportunity to participate fully, I think, just would be a terrible mistake."

Should Iraqi clerics be successful in placing some legal measures under Qur'anic law it would mean, among other things, that daughters receive half the inheritances of son.

#### Won't end up like Iran: Cheney

In some parts of Iraq already, alcohol-sellers have been banished from the streets and <u>women</u>, whose rights were promoted by the American occupation, are facing harassment if they take to the streets in anything other than head-to-toe black garb.

Cheney also said he did not know whether Iran had stopped a program of uranium enrichment, but said Washington would continue to back efforts by the governments of Britain, France and Germany to diplomatically force the Tehran regime to abandon it aspirations to acquire nuclear weapons.

"It all turns on this question of whether or not they should be enriching uranium," he said. "They claim they're doing it only for peaceful purposes, although there's some evidence to suggest that they have military aspirations and they're trying to acquire nuclear weapons."

Last week in London, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice said U.S. military action against Iran is not on the table at this point, but Cheney echoed her caveat that no option has been withdrawn by President George W. Bush.

"It's a regime, obviously, that we've got major problems with, not only because of their search for nuclear weapons, (but) also the fact they've been a prime state sponsor of terror over the years, the prime movers behind <u>Hezbollah</u> (an Islamic resistance movement)," he said.

"So there are a lot of reasons why the Iranians are on the list of problem states. I think, if you look at that region of the world, a potential source for instability clearly is Iran if they continue on the course they're on."

He said if talks with the Europeans break down, the U.S. would likely go the United Nations seeking international sanctions against Iran.

Rumsfeld, asked on ABC's This Week, said he had no idea whether a limited military strike could lead to the overthrow of Iran's religious leadership.

"I've been amazed many times in my life," Rumsfeld said. "I was amazed at how rapidly the shah of Iran fell and the ayatollahs took over that country.

"It happened just seemingly like that, looking at it from outside. And you look at Romania. When that fell, it was fast.

"So we can't predict these things. We don't have intelligence that's that good."

Rumsfeld, in all interviews yesterday, had to deal with questions as to when Iraqi security forces would be properly trained to protect the country and allow American troops to return home.

He said the answer "wasn't knowable," and depended on the behaviour of neighbouring Iran and Syria, the reaction of the insurgency and the funding of terrorist leader Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi.

Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy, the leading Democratic proponent of an exit strategy with specifically defined target dates to draw down U.S. troops, accused Rumsfeld of making up policy on the fly.

"The problem is at the present time the Iraqis do not believe that they own the country," Kennedy said on Meet the Press. "The elections were an important down-payment on that, but still they ought to be able to have the kind of security ... they ought to be trained.

"We ought to get about the business of doing it. Why can't they defend their own country? How long do we have to have Americans fighting and dying? How long do we have to ask the taxpayers to continue to pay out?"

## **Graphic**

## Won't end up like Iran : Cheney

CHARLES ONIANS AFP-Getty Images An Iraqi soldier escorts a suspect in Baghdad's notorious Haifa St. district yesterday. The area is believed to be controlled by Saddam Hussein loyalists.

Load-Date: February 7, 2005



## **News in Brief**

## The Philadelphia Inquirer JANUARY 18, 2005 Tuesday CITY-D EDITION

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## The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A04

Length: 869 words

## **Body**

In the Nation

Utah officials end search

for victims of avalanche

\* Authorities yesterday ended a search for victims of last week's avalanche near Park City, Utah, and said there was a good chance a body found Sunday was the lone victim. "Right now, we believe that we have taken the one sole victim out of there," Summit County Sheriff Dave Edmunds said at a news conference. Eyewitness accounts of Friday's avalanche initially led authorities to believe as many as five people may have been caught. - AP

Doctor convicted of killing

wife, children seeks parole

- \* Former Army physician Jeffrey MacDonald, convicted in North Carolina 25 years ago of the stabbing deaths of his pregnant wife and two daughters, will seek parole but will continue to proclaim his innocence, one of his attorneys said yesterday. MacDonald, eligible for parole since 1991, had declined to seek his freedom because he said he would have to admit guilt for the slayings at the family's Fort Bragg apartment Feb. 17, 1970. But MacDonald, 61, remarried a few years ago and has more reasons to want a life outside of prison, said his attorney, Tim Junkin. AP
- 4 held in bombing of home;

owner spoke against dealers

\* Police in Baltimore have arrested four suspects in the firebombing of the house of a woman who spoke out against drug trafficking. She was not injured in the fire early Saturday that caused minor damage to her home, police said. The 59-year-old woman, whose name was not released, is in protective custody. Intimidation by drug dealers is a top concern in Baltimore, where a couple and five children were killed in 2002 after their home was firebombed in retaliation for calls to police against drug dealers. - AP

Atlanta archbishop installed

News in Brief

on King birthday as tribute

\* Archbishop Wilton D. Gregory, a Chicago native, became Atlanta's sixth archbishop and its third black archbishop yesterday. Gregory, 57, said he chose the Martin Luther King Birthday holiday for his installation as a tribute to the civil rights leader. King's widow, Coretta Scott King, was on hand for the ceremony. Gregory previously served as bishop in Belleville, Ill., and was the first black president of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. - AP

Coast Guard resumes hunt

for 3 missing in Bering Sea

\* The Coast Guard resumed its search of the Bering Sea yesterday for three people missing from a crab boat that sank in stormy weather Saturday about 800 miles west of Anchorage, Alaska. Two other crew members died and one survived. A man lost overboard from another crab boat about 150 miles northwest of St. Paul Island, Alaska, on Saturday was presumed dead and the search for him was suspended. - AP

In the World

Ukraine top court rejects

bids by defeated candidate

\* Ukraine's Supreme Court yesterday rejected an array of motions from defeated presidential candidate Viktor Yanukovych and adjourned until today. The court's action left open the question of when former opposition leader Viktor Yushchenko might be inaugurated. Yushchenko was declared the winner of the Dec. 26 election with almost 52 percent of the vote to Yanukovych's 44.2 percent but cannot be inaugurated until the court resolves the appeal. - AP

Spanish judge indicts eight

over alleged 9/11 role

\* A Spanish judge indicted eight people on terrorism charges yesterday, saying they had aided suspects in the Sept. 11 attacks. The indictment said the eight had provided logistics and counterfeit documents for suspects including Ramzi Binalshibh, an alleged would-be Sept. 11 hijacker who has been in U.S. custody since his 2002 capture. - AP

Rwanda opens effort to try

many tied to '94 genocide

\* Rwanda launched the biggest phase yet of an effort to try up to a million people suspected of involvement in its 1994 genocide, opening hearings yesterday at more than 8,000 village courts, officials said. The government says the traditional gacaca hearings are the only way to handle the vast numbers of people suspected of participating in about 800,000 killings. - Reuters

Israeli warplanes bomb

Lebanon sites after attack

\* Israeli warplanes twice bombed suspected <u>Hezbollah</u> targets along the border in southern Lebanon yesterday, wounding two <u>women</u>, after guerrillas blew up an Israeli bulldozer in a disputed area near the frontier, Lebanese officials said. The Israeli army said there were no casualties in the bulldozer attack, which took place in the disputed Chebaa Farms area. - AP

10th anniversary marked

#### News in Brief

of deadly Kobe earthquake

\* Japan marked the 10th anniversary yesterday of the earthquake that ripped through the port city of Kobe, killing nearly 6,500 people, injuring more than 43,000, and damaging hundreds of thousands of buildings. Emperor Akihito was among those who attended ceremonies honoring victims of the tragedy on Jan. 17, 1995. - AP

Three British soldiers face

delay of trial in Iraq abuses

\* A military judge yesterday delayed the court-martial of three British soldiers accused of mistreating detainees in Iraq. The trial of Cpl. Daniel Kenyon, Lance Cpl. Darren Larkin and Lance Cpl. Mark Cooley initially was scheduled to start yesterday at a British base in Osnabrueck, Germany. Military Judge Michael Hunter said more time was needed to hear pretrial motions. - AP

## **Graphic**

#### PHOTO;

VADIM GHIRDA, Associated Press

A mother at last, Adriana Iliescu, 66, was resting yesterday. Iliescu, a professor who writes children's books, had Eliza Maria by cesarean in Bucharest, Romania. The world's oldest recorded woman to give birth, she took fertility treatments for nine years. The baby, just over 3 pounds, was doing well. A twin was stillborn.

Load-Date: September 6, 2005



# Why the refugee process needs work: It's those who follow the rules who seem to have the hardest time getting to stay

The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia)

January 29, 2005 Saturday

Final Edition

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Section: WESTCOAST NEWS; Pg. B1; Daphne Bramham

Length: 825 words

Byline: Daphne Bramham, Vancouver Sun

## **Body**

One can't help but be disturbed by the threats from Washington this week to expand the war on terrorism to include Iran.

Bad enough for those of us sitting safe and comfortable in our homes and offices to hear the news. Just imagine what it must be like for Haleh Sahba and her family.

Sahba was deported to Iran in mid-December, having been turned down as a refugee claimant and having exhausted all of the appeals open to her.

Sahba had been a student activist, protesting the restrictions the Iranian government and its religious police had placed on <u>women</u>. After divorcing her husband, who has connections to the terrorist group <u>Hezbollah</u>, Sahba left Iran and made her way to Canada, claiming refugee status on arrival in Vancouver.

She came here because both her parents are Canadian citizens. As a refugee claimant, she got a permit to work and worked from the time she arrived. She was a valued employee at Starbucks and was coming up for promotion when she was deported.

Even though immigration officials had assured the Immigration and Refugee Board that Sahba would not be at risk if she were sent back, she was detained for 26 hours when she arrived in Tehran.

With no relatives in Iran except an uncle who has disowned her as the result of her divorce, Sahba's father, Habib, flew over to be with her. With the help of other family and friends, he secured his daughter's release by putting up four valuable pieces of property as a guarantee that she would appear in court Jan. 25.

That day came and went and Laleh Sahba, Haleh's sister, said neither Haleh or her father will talk about what has been happening in the courtroom.

When they've spoken, Laleh says her sister deflects questions about what is happening, asking instead what is happening here.

The family is holding out hope that Canada's new immigration minister, Joe Volpe, will issue her a temporary resident's permit.

Why the refugee process needs work: It's those who follow the rules who seem to have the hardest time getting to stav

For more than two weeks, Sahba's file has been sitting on the minister's desk. It's one of many files that is caught in the limbo of ministerial change. It arrived the day before Judy Sgro resigned to fight charges that she had promised to overturn the deportation order of Harjit Singh to stay in the country after he provided free pizza for her election campaign workers.

Now, Sahba's case is just a part of the mountain of briefing materials that Volpe has to plow through to get a handle on his new portfolio.

While for Volpe and immigration officials Sahba's case is just one of many, for Sahba, what's at stake is freedom.

A ministerial permit is the document she needs to get out of Iran, to buy an airline ticket and transit countries en route to Canada, where she would be allowed to apply to become a landed immigrant.

Another Iranian, Amir Kazemian is also caught in that paper mountain. He remains holed up in an Anglican church where he sought refuge last summer in a desperate bid to avoid deportation. Like Sahba, Kazemian fears what could happen to him if he's forced to return to Iran. Kazemian was a political activist. He was tortured before he left.

Like Sahba, Sgro promised a quick decision on his case just before she resigned.

While it's understandable that the new minister needs time, it's time that hangs heavily on people like Kazemian, Sahba and their families.

And what makes it all the more stressful for them and their families is that trying to get into Canada has already consumed years of their lives.

At year-end, the backlog of refugee claims was 27,290. That's down from 41,948 the previous year. But it's an indication of how slowly the process works. Sahba, for example, was in Canada for nearly four years before she finally had an answer.

What makes their cases so poignant is that these are two people who followed the rules.

They went to the hearings and showed up for meetings with immigration officials, unlike an estimated 36,000 or so people under deportation order who have simply disappeared.

Given their current situations, they, their families and friends can't help but be struck at the patent unfairness that someone like Singh could have delayed decisions on their fate.

They must wonder how a man like Singh -- a failed refugee claimant first ordered deported in 1992 -- remains in Canada even though he's been accused of making fake passports, been called by a federal judge "the guiding force" behind a \$1-million credit card scam, and been arrested in India for travelling on a fake passport and attempting to smuggle a four-year-old out of that country.

They must wonder how Singh managed to sponsor as landed immigrants both his sons (who ended up in jail because of the credit-card scam) and a daughter.

It should come as no surprise that good, honest people like Sahba, Kazemian and their families are disillusioned by a country they once held in high regard and are left to conclude that in Canada, honesty is punished and cheating rewarded.

We all should be demanding that the system be reformed.

dbramham@png.canwest.com

Load-Date: January 29, 2005

Why the refugee process needs work: It's those who follow the rules who seem to have the hardest time getting to stay



# Was Bush right?: The U.S. president invaded Iraq for all the wrong reasons, but the action led to Jan. 30 elections in that country - a pivotal event in the history of the Mideast

The Gazette (Montreal)

March 16, 2005 Wednesday

Final Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL / OP-ED; Pg. A29; L. Ian MacDonald

Length: 821 words

Byline: L. IAN MACDONALD, Freelance

#### **Body**

What if turns out George W. Bush was right, for the wrong reasons, about Iraq and the Middle East?

His rationale for invading Iraq two years ago this week has since been entirely discredited. No weapons of mass destruction were ever found, nor were there any terrorists operating in Iraq then, though there are now. U.S. relations with its allies, including Canada, were strained, as many declined to join Bush's coalition of the willing. Saddam Hussein had obviously waged war against his own people, which would have been a more valid pretext for removing him, but he posed no immediate threat to the United States.

There was no plan for postwar reconstruction, and three times as many American soldiers have died since the end of combat operations as during the campaign itself, to say nothing of Iraqi civilian casualties.

All that being said, the election on Jan. 30 was clearly a seminal event not only for Iraq, but for the entire Middle East. The election changed the story line from insurgency to democracy.

The sight of <u>women</u> in chadors lining up with their children to vote was an inspirational image for viewers in the West. But it had an even bigger impact in Iraq and neighbouring countries, where the Arab world was watching on Al-Jazeera and other satellite channels.

In the Western world, we marvelled at the turnout of 60 per cent, equal to that in last year's Canadian and U.S. elections. But would we have dared to vote, much less taken our children with us, if our elections were held in the shadow of the insurgency's threat, "vote and die"? The turnout was all the more remarkable in light of the widespread boycott in the Sunni triangle.

In the Middle East, the story was that Iraqis, especially Iraqi <u>women</u>, were voting at all. The Iraqi election occurred only three weeks after the election of the moderate Mahmoud Abbas as president of the Palestinian Authority. He has not only denounced this intifada as a failure, and called for an end to the violence, he seems generally able to make it stick. Some of Yasser Arafat's associates were pointedly excluded from the new authority, after it was clear Palestinian public opinion would not tolerate their presence. Meanwhile, the Israelis are leaving Gaza and even closing down some settlements on the West Bank. Perhaps only a Likud hawk, like Ariel Sharon, could lead such an exit.

Was Bush right?: The U.S. president invaded Iraq for all the wrong reasons, but the action led to Jan. 30 elections in that country - a pivotal event in the his....

Since the Iraqi election, and the onset of "the Baghdad Spring," the germ of democracy appears to be spreading throughout the region. In Egypt, Hosni Mubarak has announced multi-party elections for the presidency in a country he has ruled unopposed for nearly a quarter-century. In Saudi Arabia, the ruling princes are permitting elections at the municipal level.

But the most breathtaking development is in Lebanon, where the Cedar Revolution is under way. One million people took to the streets of Beirut on Monday, telling the Syrians to get out of their country. The demonstration followed one organized by <u>Hezbollah</u> leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah, when half a million people turned out asking the Syrians to stay. What else was Nasrallah to do, when the Syrians pay his bills? But he has also sent a signal to the Americans he wants a seat at the table, rather than to blow it up, and the U.S. appears willing to consider giving him one.

Whether the Syrians were behind the assassination of former prime minister Rafik Hariri, the killing began the process of the Lebanese taking back their country. The Syrians, in light of overwhelming international opposition to their continued presence in Lebanon, will eventually have no choice but to leave. The U.S. and France, the two major powers in the region, actually agree on this, as do the Egyptians and the Saudis.

There's no progress to be made on any of these fronts, peace in the Middle East or democracy across the entire region, without U.S. leadership. The question is what role, if any, a small country like Canada might play.

Well, we are close to the Americans, but we are not the Americans, an advantage in conducting any conversation in the Middle East. We have modest interests and influence in the region. Lebanon is a member of la Francophonie, where Canada enjoys the role of not being France. There is a significant Lebanese Canadian population, particularly in Montreal. As for the Israelis and Palestinians, we have standing on both sides.

One constructive role for Canada is to assist in building civil society and encouraging dialogue. One good example is the McGill Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building, funded at \$4.4 million by the Canadian International Development Agency.

Graduate students in social studies from Israel, Jordan and the Palestinian Territories spend a year at McGill, and then go back to their home region for a further year as social workers at five centres operated by the program.

It's a small drop of hope, in a sea of sorrow. But it's a beginning.

imacdonald@irpp.org

### **Graphic**

Photo: HUSSEIN MALLA, AP; Lebanese opposition supporters wave flags at the crowd of demonstrators in Beirut's Place des Martyrs. Is democracy spreading?

Load-Date: March 16, 2005



#### Problems in the Middle East a creation of the West

Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada)

July 21, 2004 Wednesday Final Edition

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Section: OPINIONS; Pg. A9; COLUMN

Length: 849 words

Byline: GWYNNE DYER

### **Body**

It was just a random statistic, but a telling one: only 300 books were translated into Arabic last year. That is about one foreign title per million Arabs.

By comparison's sake, Greece translated 1,500 foreign-language books, or about 150 titles per million Greeks. Why is the Arab world so far behind, not only in this but in practically all the arts and sciences?

The first-order answer is poverty and lack of education: almost half of Arabic-speaking <u>women</u> are illiterate. But the Arab world used to be the most literate part of the planet; what went wrong?

Tyranny and economic failure, obviously. But why is tyranny such a problem in the Arab world? That brings us to the nub of the matter.

In a speech last November, U.S. President George W. Bush revisited his familiar refrain about how the West has to remake the Arab world in its own image in order to stop the terrorism.

"Sixty years of Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe ... because in the long run, stability cannot be purchased at the expense of liberty" -- as if the Arab world had wilfully chosen to be ruled by these corrupt and incompetent tyrannies.

But the West didn't just 'excuse and accommodate' these regimes, it created them. It did so in order to protect its own interests, and it spent the latter half of the 20th century keeping them in power for the same reason.

It was Britain that carved the kingdom of Jordan out of the old Ottoman province of Syria after the First World War and put the Hashemite ruling family on the throne that it still occupies. France similarly carved Lebanon out of Syria in order to create a loyal Christian-majority state that controlled most of the Syrian coastline -- and when time and a higher Muslim birth-rate eventually led to a revolt against the Maronite Christian stranglehold on power in Lebanon in 1958, U.S. troops were sent in to restore it. The Lebanese civil war of 1975-90, tangled though it was, was basically a continuation of that struggle.

Britain also imposed a Hashemite monarchy on Iraq after 1918, and deliberately perpetuated the political monopoly of the Sunni minority that it had inherited from Turkish rule.

As Gertrude Bell, an archaeologist and political adviser in the British administration in Baghdad, put it, "I don't for a moment doubt that the final authority must be in the hands of the Sunnis, in spite of their numerical inferiority, otherwise you'll have a mujtahid-run, theocratic state, which is the very devil."

#### Problems in the Middle East a creation of the West

When the Iraqi monarchy was finally overthrown in 1958 and the Baath Party won the struggle that followed, the CIA gave the Iraqi Baathists the names of all the senior members of the Iraqi Communist Party (then the main political vehicle of the Shias) so they could be liquidated.

It was Britain that turned the traditional sheikhdoms in the Gulf into separate little sovereign states and absolute monarchies, carving Kuwait out of Iraq in the process. (Saudi Arabia, however, was a joint Anglo-U.S. project.)

The British Foreign Office welcomed the Egyptian generals' overthrow of King Farouk and the destruction of the country's old nationalist political parties, failing to foresee that Gamal Abdul Nasser would eventually take over the Suez Canal. When he did, it conspired with France and Israel to attack Egypt in a failed attempt to overthrow him.

Once Nasser died and was succeeded by generals more willing to play along with the West -- Anwar Sadat, and now Hosni Mubarak -- Egypt became Washington's favourite Arab state.

To help these thinly disguised dictators to hang on to power, Egypt has ranked among the top three recipients of U.S. foreign aid almost every year for the past quarter-century. And so it goes.

Britain welcomed the coup by Col.Moammar Gadhafi in Libya in 1969, mistakenly seeing him as a malleable young man who could serve the West's purposes.

The United States and France both supported the old dictator Bourbuiga in Tunisia, and still back his successor Ben Ali today.

They always backed the Moroccan monarchy no matter how repressive it became, and they both gave unquestioning support to the Algerian generals who cancelled the elections of 1991.

Nor did they ever waver in their support through the savage insurgency unleashed by the suppression of the elections that killed an estimated 120,000 Algerians over the next 10 years.

'Excuse and accommodate'? The West created the modern Middle East, from its rotten regimes down to its ridiculous borders, and it did so with contemptuous disregard for the wishes of the local people.

It is indeed a problem that most Arab governments are corrupt autocracies that breed hatred and despair in their own people, which then fuels terrorism against the West, but it was the West that created the problem -- and invading Iraq won't solve it.

If the U.S. really wants to foster Arab democracy, it might try making all that aid to Egypt conditional on prompt democratic reforms. But I wouldn't hold my breath.

Gwynne Dyer is a London-based independent journalist whose articles are published in 45 countries.

### **Graphic**

Photo: ASSOCIATED PRESS; Lebanese soldiers inspect the scene of a car bombing that killed an official of the <u>Hezbollah</u> militia in Beirut Monday. The West created the modern Middle East, writes world affairs commentator Gwynn Dyer, and it did so with contemptuous disregard for the wishes of the local people.

Load-Date: July 21, 2004



### <u>Troop deaths highest since Vietnam War;</u> 99 killed so far in April.

The Philadelphia Inquirer
APRIL 19, 2004 Monday CITY-D EDITION

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### The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A06

Length: 809 words

Byline: Drew Brown INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

#### **Body**

With fighting in Iraq now at its worst, the number of U.S. troops killed by enemy fire has reached the highest level since the Vietnam War.

The first part of April has been the bloodiest period so far for U.S. troops in Iraq. There were 87 deaths by hostile fire in the first 15 days of this month, a number that had increased to at least 99 by yesterday. In the opening two weeks of the invasion last year, 82 Americans were killed in action.

"This has been some pretty intense fighting," said David Segal, director of the University of Maryland's Center for Research on Military Organization. "We're looking at what happened during the major battles of Vietnam."

The last time U.S. troops experienced a two-week loss such as this one in Iraq was in October 1971, two years before U.S. ground involvement ended in Vietnam.

There are 135,000 U.S. troops in Iraq. About 700 American troops have died since the war began. As of yesterday, 503 had been reported killed by hostile fire; 3,630 have been wounded.

The Vietnam War started with a slower death rate. The United States had been involved in Vietnam for six years before total fatalities surpassed 500 in 1965, the year President Lyndon B. Johnson ordered a massive buildup of forces. There were 20,000 troops in Vietnam by the end of 1964. There were more than 200,000 a year later.

By the end of 1966, U.S. combat deaths in Vietnam had reached 3,910. By 1968, the peak of U.S. involvement, there were more than 500,000 troops in the country. During the same two-week period of April that year, 752 U.S. soldiers died, according to a search of records kept by the National Archives.

U.S. officials say that comparisons with Vietnam are invalid and reject the idea that Iraq has become a quagmire. But the two-front battle that U.S. troops have been waging against Sunni and Shiite insurgents for the last two weeks is the most widespread resistance U.S. forces have faced since the war in Iraq began.

Troop deaths highest since Vietnam War; 99 killed so far in April.

Senior U.S. officials insist the current fighting is only a "spike" and not indicative of a widening war. Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said Thursday that the death toll was worse than he had expected a year ago.

Gunfire has been the biggest killer of U.S. troops, followed closely by improvised explosive devices.

Those killed represent a wide range of military specialties. Truck drivers and clerks are getting killed just as often, if not more often, than infantrymen and other combat specialties.

That's an indication of the kind of battlefield environment in Iraq.

"Even Vietnam was a more conventional war than this," said Charles Moskos, a sociologist with Northwestern University who specializes in military issues and was a correspondent in the Vietnam War. "Here in Iraq, there are no battle lines," he said. "It's all over."

Another striking difference is age. The average age of a casualty in Vietnam was 20 years. The average age of a casualty in Iraq is nearly 27. The youngest American soldier killed in Iraq was 18; the oldest was 55.

More than 12 percent of those killed have come from the Army National Guard and Army Reserve, which helps explain why the average age of the dead is higher. "Reserve components tend to be older," Moskos said. Another reason is that a number of special-operations troops were also killed in the early days of the war, and they tend to be older as well.

The dead were from all 50 states, plus the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, American Samoa and the Marianas, a U.S. protectorate.

Nearly 70 percent were white, according to Pentagon figures from April 8, the last date for which those statistics were available. Fourteen percent were black, 12 percent were Hispanic. Asians and other races accounted for less than 6 percent.

In a sharp departure from previous wars, 18 **women** have been killed, 12 of them by hostile fire, including a civilian lawyer working for the Army.

Sixty-five percent of those killed have been from the Army, which has the most troops in Iraq. Twenty percent were from the Marine Corps, which has taken more than half of the casualties in April because of fierce fighting in Fallujah.

Many of those killed were from small towns and inner cities, rather than the suburbs, Moskos said.

Hostile fire has accounted for about 70 percent of the deaths in Iraq, according to figures compiled by the Pentagon and <a href="https://www.lunaville.org">www.lunaville.org</a>, an independent Web site that tracks coalition casualties.

Since Vietnam, there was one attack on U.S. forces that inflicted a higher death toll than anything experienced since: 241 servicemen were killed in Beirut in 1983 when a suicide bomber from the radical Shiite Muslim group *Hezbollah* drove a truck full of explosives into their barracks.

Many experts and historians cite that incident as the beginning of America's war with violent Islamic extremists.

Contact reporter Drew Brown at dbrown@krwashington.com

### **Graphic**

Troop deaths highest since Vietnam War; 99 killed so far in April.

#### STEVE MILLER, Associated Press

Connecticut Army National Guard members carry the casket of fellow soldier Sgt. Felix Delgreco Jr., 22, from the Cathedral of Saint Joseph, in Hartford, Conn. Military authorities said his vehicle was struck by a roadside bomb and gunfire in Iraq. The funeral was Saturday.

MAP

U.S. deaths by state (SOURCE: Lunaville.org; Knight Ridder Tribune)

**CHART** 

Military Deaths in Iraq

Load-Date: August 24, 2005



### Shiites hail freedom

Deseret News (Salt Lake City)

April 23, 2003, Wednesday

Copyright 2003 The Deseret News Publishing Co.

Section: WIRE;

Length: 941 words

Byline: By John Kifner New York Times News Service

### **Body**

KARBALA, Iraq -- Long forbidden, long hidden, the whips of mortification were flagellating on Tuesday as Iraq's Shiite Muslim majority celebrated its newfound political freedom -- and potential political power.

"For 25 years they were hidden in our houses," said a man from the Shiite south as a group of young men lashed their backs in rhythm with whips made from chains. "The father taught his son."

Hundreds of thousands of Shiites, pounding themselves in grief and joy, circled the mosques here Tuesday, marking the most emotional and symbolic event in their religious calendar -- the death of Hussein, grandson of the Prophet Muhammad, in the power struggle that cemented the great split in Islam between Shiites and the worldwide Sunni majority.

"Yes, Yes, Hawza," the chanting rhythm keeper shouted into a battery-powered loudspeaker, referring to the body of religious scholars here that many Shiites believe should run the country. "Yes, yes, Iraq."

"Hussein, Hussein," the young men grunted as the chains struck their shoulders.

The death of Hussein is marked on the holy day of Ashura, the 10th day of the Islamic month of Muharram. But the date fell while the Iraqi leader, Saddam Hussein, was still in power and such observances were banned.

The holiday celebrated this week, Arbaeen, marks the end of the 40-day mourning period for Muhammad's grandson. The size and fervor of the gathering here was a testament to the ability of the Shiites to quickly organize and wield their long-suppressed political weight in the wake of the U.S. invasion that toppled the former government.

This holy city was jammed on Tuesday with men and black-draped <u>women</u> chanting and pounding their chests in tribute to their most sacred figure.

Even as screaming, self-appointed traffic managers were trying, competitively and ineffectually, to unsnarl the chaotic jam of departing pilgrims piled onto buses and trucks Tuesday afternoon, hundreds of thousands more, many on foot, were pouring into the city.

While a minority in the Muslim world, Shiites are the majority in Iraq -- roughly 60 percent of the population -- and in Iran and Lebanon. The revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1979 turned Iran into a Shiite theocracy; and, in Lebanon, Shiites have gained a large measure of power and respect through their *Hezbollah* organization.

#### Shiites hail freedom

But, despite the presence of the two most important Shiite religious sites, here and in Najaf, and Iraq's history as a center of Shiite revolutionary thought, Shiites in Iraq were repressed by Saddam Hussein's government, ruled by Sunni military officers and a clique drawn largely from Saddam's family and clansmen in the northern city of Tikrit.

On Tuesday, along with the portraits of Hussein, the martyr, there were ubiquitous pictures of two of the most prominent religious-political activists who were executed by the former regime, Ayatollah Muhammad Bakr Sadr, killed in 1980 and Ayatollah Muhammad al-Sadr, killed in 1999. Ayatollah Bakr Sadr was particularly important in the development of radical political Islam as the founder of the formerly outlawed al-Dawa Party and a colleague of Ayatollah Khomeini, who delivered an influential series of lectures in the theological school here when he was in exile in the late 1970s.

But there were also signs of potential contending forces among the Shiites.

Guards with flimsy plastic identification badges and Kalashnikov rifles said they were providing security for the city under the authority of the Hawza religious scholars, as do neighborhood security committees in many other cities. "Approved by the American soldiers," one of the guards was quick to point out.

One group of marchers held up signs printed in English and Arabic saying: "Yes, yes, to Islam and honorable scholars," and "Yes, yes, for Islam; no America, no Saddam."

There were also trucks filled with gunmen and loudspeakers supporting Moktada al-Sadr, the 22-year-old son of the late Ayatollah al-Sadr, who has formed his own militia group. He is believed by the U.S. authorities to be behind the stabbing death in Najaf earlier this month of Sheik Abdel Majid al-Khoei, who had just returned from exile in London and was perceived to have U.S. backing.

Twere were also pictures of Iraq's senior mutahid, or religious scholar, Grand Ayatollah al-Sestani.

The saga of Hussein's death is central to the ethos of martyrdom, guilt and political resistance that pervades Shiite Islam. A major thread of the celebration is the failure of the people to come to his aid.

With the death of the Prophet Muhammed, a power struggle ensued for the leadership of the new religion. His son-in-law Ali was the fourth successor, but was stabbed to death in Najaf by rivals. Shiite means partisans, or the party of Ali, which became the minority sect.

In A.D. 680 Ali's son, Hussein, contended for the leadership. There were petitions from Karbala for him to lead the Muslims. But a trap was laid and his army was besieged by his rival, Yazid, and defeated.

In one of the central incidents that is commemorated, Ali's forces are cut off from water and dying off thirst. His half-brother Abbas was sent to the river, but was slain with arrows and mutilated. In the desert, the denial of water looms large, and even on Tuesday, before taking a sip of water, Shiites will say "for the thirst of Hussein."

In the traditional ceremonies on Tuesday, the pilgrims acted out the thirst of Ali's army, crawling on their knees and shrieking.

But, in addition to the traditional chants, there were new ones set to the same rhythm, that were adapted to the new situation like: "Yes, Yes for Islam -- No America, No Saddam."

Load-Date: April 23, 2003



# Move over, Osama: The Arab version of American Idol, representing some of the worst aspects of Western culture, is taking the Middle East by a storm

The Gazette (Montreal)
August 27, 2004 Friday
Final Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL / OP-ED; Pg. A19

Length: 918 words

Byline: ERIC MINK, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

#### **Body**

Osama bin Laden and fellow-travelling Islamist radicals believe that Western culture defiles their belief system and that unless it is stopped, it will obliterate what they regard as the one true way of life.

They're right.

Materialistic excess, free expression, individualism, political and spiritual independence and the pursuit of happiness - the underpinnings of Western culture - fly in the face of the hierarchical subservience and sacrifice of personal will at the core of their extreme imagining of Islam.

And if unchecked, the allure and sheer volume of Western culture - most especially the broadly accessible popculture expressions of television, movies, music, fashion and the popular press - would undermine and overwhelm any bin-Ladian ideal of society. ("Ideal" defined as something resembling the suffocating rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan.)

But the Islamists are wrong on two fundamental points: First, this would not be a bad thing; no sensible inhabitant of Earth in 2004 regards a 10th-century lifestyle as a step forward. Second, they can no more stop this force than they can keep the sun from rising in the east. Ask the now-free people of the Czech Republic, Poland and Romania, among others, about the impact of Western culture.

A current case in point: Superstar 2.

While Shiite insurgents, Iraqi forces (so to speak) and American troops fight and die over shrines and cemetery slabs in Najaf, the rest of the Arab world is working itself into a delighted frenzy of expectation over the second-season finale of the Lebanese-produced TV show Superstar 2.

This Sunday, Ammar Hassan, a 26-year-old Palestinian from the West Bank town of Salfit, and Ayman al-Atar of Libya will sing their hearts out on Superstar 2 in the finals of a pan-Arab version of American Idol. Millions of viewers throughout the Middle East then will choose a winner by voting via the Internet and cell-phone text messages.

Move over, Osama: The Arab version of American Idol, representing some of the worst aspects of Western culture, is taking the Middle East by a storm

This is the second season of Superstar (hence the "2"). It began Feb. 29 with 83 contestants - including 32 <u>women</u> - selected from about 40,000 applicants. A panel of judges then took a couple of months to winnow the field to 14 for final sorting by viewers.

Finding common cause with cultural conservatives in the United States who bemoan the decadence of North American pop culture, religious fundamentalists and terrorist groups in the Middle East have denounced Superstar and other reality shows being broadcast by Arab networks and satellite distributors. "These kinds of programs are in contradiction with our habits and with the principles of Islam," a Lebanese sheik told Agence France-Presse. "We are seeing youngsters kissing and expressing emotions. This is indecent."

A Palestinian spokesman for Hamas told a reporter for the Jerusalem Post, that we "are not in need of singers, corruption mongers and advocates of immorality."

Hamas apparently is irked that the Palestinian people seem more interested in a TV competition featuring the appealing Hassan than they are in strapping on vests packed with explosives and nails and blowing themselves up at Israeli military checkpoints. Go figure. The coming Superstar 2 climax also is draining attention away from what has turned out to be a poorly timed hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners held by Israel.

The Palestinian Authority, however, is playing the situation cleverly, declaring a week of solidarity with Hassan, setting up giant outdoor viewing screens in towns in the West Bank and Gaza and persuading the major Palestinian telecommunications company to offer discounts on text-message votes sent to the show.

"People are very bored with the political and security situation," an official for the authority's Ministry of Culture told the Jerusalem newspaper. "For them, the show is an escape from the distress and frustration. We believe that creative art contributes to the people's struggle for freedom."

It is also an expression of that freedom, and its pull is powerful.

In 2003, the first season of Superstar became a focus for national pride in the region, even provoking some accusations - as there have been in the United States from time to time about American Idol - of vote rigging. Thousands of fans protested loudly in the streets of Beirut at the headquarters of Future Television, the show's producer, when Lebanese semi-finalist Melhem Zein was voted out in favour of Syria's Rwqaida Attiyeh and the eventual winner. Diana Curazon of Jordan.

Zein - from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, previously famous as the place where <u>Hezbollah</u> terrorists received training and sanctuary - was enormously popular with his fellow Lebanese, and problems with overloaded phone lines and Web servers only heightened suspicions of a fix. But Future Television is owned by the billionaire family of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri; the company had no rational incentive to make Zein lose. Still, public pressure persuaded Future to give Zein a three-hour solo TV special the next week and sign him to a record deal.

In Jordan, a Superstar fan told United Press International that the show was "a good exercise in democracy for the Arab masses." That's a stretch on both democratic and cultural grounds. Superstar, after all, isn't exactly a Hopper canvas, a Shakespeare tragedy, On the Waterfront, The Sopranos or the Gettysburg Address.

But the power of the creative spirit - even at the level of a cheesy TV talent competition - surpasses that of terrorism, war and oppression. Osama and his ilk are right to be very, very afraid.

#### **Graphic**

Photo: MUHAMMED MUHEISEN, AP; Ahmed Hassan, 63, father of Ammar Hassan, watches as his son performs on TV during the Arab Idol competition.

Move over, Osama: The Arab version of American Idol, representing some of the worst aspects of Western culture, is taking the Middle East by a storm

Load-Date: August 27, 2004



#### When truth spoils a good slavery story

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia)

June 3, 2003 Tuesday

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Section: FEATURES-TYPE- FEATURE-COLUMN- OP ED; Pg. 16

Length: 909 words

**Byline: PIERS AKERMAN** 

### **Body**

THE pitiful story of 12-year-old Thai girl Puangthong Simpalee who was sold into sex slavery into Australia certainly caught the eye when it was first published three months ago.

It had all the earmarks of a Walkley Award winner, social justice writ large and an attack on the current Coalition Government's Immigration Minister Philip Ruddock, the chattering classes' whipping boy of choice.

The story was a real tearjerker. Detective Sergeant Neal Apolony had told the NSW Coroner's Court on March 12 that it appeared that Puangthong had been sold as a child and trafficked to Australia on a fake Malaysian passport at the age of 12. By the time Immigration Department officers picked her up in a Surry Hills brothel in September, 2001, she had been enslaved as a prostitute for 15 years. She was to die three days later at Villawood Detention Centre during heroin withdrawal.

**MATP** 

The union-backed ultra-politically correct Walkley Award was all but secured for whichever journalistic team wanted to penetrate the corrupt world of international sex trafficking.

But last week The Daily Telegraph stringer Jim Pollard visited Puangthong's parents in northern Thailand and found that the story

was not exactly as it had

been reported.

They said they had not sold Puangthong into sex slavery. She had not been a prisoner and she was not in Australia unwillingly.

Yesterday, Detective Sergeant Apolony told me that his information had come from one of two of Puangthong's boyfriends who had come forward after her death. However, he had not been able to check the information -- even though he had been given her parents' telephone number in Thailand -- because he did not speak Thai.

"She had also been using another name and had worked as a fruitpicker in Victoria," he said. "She worked on-andoff as a prostitute."

His report to the Coroner's Court was "never gospel" but it was seized upon by activists who used the unfortunate woman as their pin-up girl.

#### When truth spoils a good slavery story

It is a pity that The Australian, which courageously sent a reporter to Afghanistan to investigate Ali Bakhtiyari's claims to be an asylum seeker, did not make the same basic checks before launching

its campaign into human

trafficking.

It has certainly not joined the ranks of the internationally duped broadsheets The New York Times and The Washington Post which succumbed to innate urges to publish stories for political motives without applying fundamental journalistic principles -- but it did plunge in, fired up by the initial report on Puangthong's death and a controversial report which estimated the number of "sex slaves" in Australia to be as many as 1000.

This is not to say that it is improbable that some <u>women</u> in the Australian sex trade are the victims of international trafficking. Indeed, it would be most unlikely if some of the <u>women</u> in the sex trade were not been brought here under false pretences.

But whether there are 500 or 1500 sex slaves (as some zealots claim) is impossible to guess and the task is made more difficult by activists with other agendas.

Another of the stories on sex slavery has also been queried after it claimed, among other things, that an Immigration Department office that had been closed for a year was still operating. (As with the ABC's built-in bias, the recurring theme of the activists agenda is one of governmental and ministerial bungling and inaction.)

However, a spokesman for the Immigration Department says almost all so-called sex-slaves picked up from brothels reject the notion that they were enslaved, do not want to assist authorities and wish only to leave the country as soon as possible and ply their trade in other First World countries.

If they have a complaint about working in Australia,

it is that they have not made as much money as they expected. Government is however expected to begin offering witness protection visas to those who might feel they are at risk should they co-operate with authorities.

The international sex-slave lobby took a knock last month after a report in The Spectator found sex slavery in Eastern Europe was a "myth" and "nonsense."

Puangthong's parents have undermined the local campaign with their frank revelations and graphic photographs depicting their daughter at play on Sydney Harbour, at Bondi, Melbourne and the Snowy Mountains.

It would be a tragedy if more suffering is caused through sensationalist journalism.

akermanp@dailytelegraph.com.au

Random thoughts

On terrorists #1

'Unless some new evidence emerges that David Robinson had some political-religious goal in mind when he lashed out with his sharpened wooden spikes, he should be described as a mental case rather than a terrorist.'

On terrorists #2

While the focus on bias in recent days has been the ABC, the record at SBS is far worse and far more dangerous. The outfit did continue to employ an associate of the Tamil Tigers terrorist group despite being warned of his connections and the content of its Arab broadcasts could suggest that other political activists may have infiltrated the organisation. It is not unusual for the ethnic broadcaster to devote much of its news to acts of militant Islamic terrorism without mentioning the common fanatical strand of ideology that links them.'

### Dialogue

'Why should there be any reluctance to ban <u>Hezbollah</u> or any other group that has terrorist connections. Unless Australia acts to outlaw all of these groups we run the risk of being a safe-haven for their supporters.'

--G. Ross

Load-Date: June 2, 2003



#### **LETTERS**

Geelong Advertiser

June 20, 2005 Monday

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Section: LETTERS; Pg. 14

Length: 967 words

#### **Body**

Day to remember the world's refugees

TODAY is World Refugee Day, the day on which the world remembers the courage, sacrifices and determination of people -- families, men, *women* and children alone -- fleeing their own country because of persecution.

On this auspicious day, I ask the Federal Government and the Federal Opposition to rethink their immigration policies.

I also call on all members of the electorate to lobby their local members of parliament urging them to scrap mandatory detention.

The current policy demeans us as a nation. The Australian ideal of a fair go has somehow been forgotten in relation to this most vulnerable class of would-be citizens.

We need a system that ensures that people in our country who are exercising their fundamental human rights to seek asylum are allowed to live in the community and be treated with dignity and respect.

Alan Hands, convenor, Amnesty International Geelong

Reunion for Hubbard family descendents

A REUNION will be held on Sunday, July 31, at Maldon in the Victorian goldfields for the descendants of George Hubbard, who was a Tasmanian convict shipbuilder.

In 1858, two of his sons, George and Edward, settled in the Maldon, Huntly, Eaglehawk, Goornong area and between them fathered 27 children.

Hubbard girls married McAllan, Torpy, Unsgaard, Lewis, Asplin, Weymouth, Parish, Cordell, Bennetts, Rowe, Cox, Weeks, Wingrove, Presnell, Handke, Schott, Forward, Ballini, Cecolini, Hodge, Adams, Smythe.

Telephone me on 5259 3430 or Len Hubbard 5869 3354 for more details.

Jack Hubbard, Portarlington

Book lovers out in force

#### **LETTERS**

ON behalf of Geelong Regional Library Corporation, I would like to extend my congratulations and appreciation to the greater Geelong residents who came to hear George Negus and Ben Kozel speak at various libraries and other locations on June 9 and 10.

More than 500 people attended the six free talks by George and Ben within 24 hours.

Both authors were delighted by the overwhelming interest, as were our library staff.

The popularity of the tour was a testament not only to George and Ben's talents, but also to local residents who are passionate about literature.

George and Ben's tour followed another Library Corporation's event seven weeks ago, featuring author Greg Roberts, which attracted more than 300 residents to GPAC's Blakiston Theatre.

The Geelong Regional Library Corporation is committed to bringing more high-profile identities to the region, so keep an eye out for more information in your local library or at <a href="https://www.geelonglibraries.vic.gov.au">www.geelonglibraries.vic.gov.au</a>.

Kylie Warne, activities and promotions officer, Geelong Regional Library Corporation

No understanding of grazing issues

I AM against the ban on cattlemen using the high country for grazing.

The cattlemen know and understand more about the high country than any of these people who have imposed this ban.

What would Steve Bracks or John Thwaites know or understand about the high country?

As far as John Woods, Rob Gell, and Ron Barassi saying the cattle are damaging the high country, what would they know? Have they ever been up into the high country to find out?

Take the cattle out of the high country and you will find blackberries and unwanted growth will take over and it will be a mess.

There will be no hope of controlling bad undergrowth or fires.

How many fires and damage have we had while the cattlemen run the high country grazing. None.

So let those who know the high country and understand cattle stay and leave them alone.

J. Fisher, Drysdale

Terrorists from whose perspective?

THE Israeli foreign minister (6/6/05 CNN) calls for <u>Hezbollah</u> to be disbanded under UN resolution 1559, claiming them to be a terrorist organisation.

The foreign minister should be reminded that Israel for decades has not complied with UN resolution 249, which calls for withdrawal of Israeli forces from Palestinian territory.

During this period of non-compliance thousands of Palestinians have been killed, their homes bulldozed, their economy shattered, their population suffering from humiliation via road blocks.

More than 8000 Palestinians have been jailed, most of whom are freedom fighters, while there is a special jail for young boys who throw stones at heavily armed soldiers who shoot to kill.

May I ask, who are the terrorists?

#### **LETTERS**

Albert Dennis, Belmont

No mandate for cattle ban

FORMER Labor Minister for Conservation Rod Mackenzie claims that romance clouds the facts on grazing in the Alpine National Park (GA 13/6).

After reading his letter, I would claim that it's not romance, but political bias that clouds the facts.

The Land Conservation Council's recommendations were always going to be a fait accompli.

Labor's claim that there is clear evidence of damage caused by the cattle is deliberately non-specific.

What definitive scientific evidence is there that all of a sudden, after 170 years, the Alpine National Park is being irrevocably damaged by cattle grazing?

If this were true, you would expect the place to have been completely destroyed after 170 years of continuous damage.

On the other hand, there is strong case to support the view that cattle grazing actually helps the region, by keeping the weeds down and helping the regeneration of native grasses.

Moreover, the presence of mountain cattlemen helps the environmental management of the region by reducing the presence of feral animals and certainly diminishes the chances of bushfires.

If you take the argument of the Green gods to its logical conclusion, we should ban cattle from grazing everywhere, because they clearly trample over fauna and flora wherever they graze. Amazingly, nature keeps regenerating itself.

No, Mr Mackenzie, Labor does not have a mandate to trample over the lives and history of country people and should brace itself for the same political backlash Kennett got and deserved.

Brian Handley, Geelong

Load-Date: June 20, 2005



#### IRAQIS EMPLOY HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS TO STALL AMERICANS

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

March 30, 2003 Sunday

TWO STAR EDITION

Copyright 2003 P.G. Publishing Co.

Section: WORLD, Length: 870 words

Byline: JOHN WALCOTT, KNIGHT RIDDER NEWSPAPERS

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

### **Body**

While American military planners have concentrated since the Persian Gulf War on making more and better use of high technology, their Iraqi counterparts appear to have been taking lessons from every battle the United States, Great Britain and Israel have either lost or failed to win.

Unable to compete with American technology, firepower and intelligence-gathering, U.S. officials say, Saddam Hussein's commanders have turned to Vietnam, Lebanon, Somalia and Northern Ireland for inspiration, and also borrowed one idea from Yugoslavia's losing battles against NATO forces in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Senior U.S. officials believe the resulting Iraqi strategy, an ever-shifting mixture of suicide bombing, guerrilla warfare, deception and concealment, is designed to slow the U.S. and British advance on Baghdad, rattle green American troops, create as many civilian casualties as possible, frustrate coalition efforts to win Iraqi hearts and minds, encourage international opposition to the war and preserve Saddam's best fighting forces for as long as possible.

"It's a textbook example of how a weak state can try to fight a stronger one," one senior U.S. official said yesterday. "There's nothing new in what they've been doing, but they've recycled a lot of stuff from all sorts of conflicts."

If there's a central organizing principle to the Iraqi strategy, it appears to have been drawn from Vietnam, Lebanon and Somalia: If you can inflict enough American casualties and make enough Americans think they've lost the moral high ground, you can lose the battles but win the war.

Iraq's aim appears to include killing Americans, displaying corpses and captives on television for shock value and making the most of the small number of civilian casualties so far.

Like the North Vietnamese, the Viet Cong and the militants of the Irish Republican Army, Iraqi fedayeen paramilitaries, probably supported by some experienced Republican Guard soldiers, have been ambushing American supply convoys and rear areas. Typically, U.S. officers in the field say, the Iraqis wait for a convoy to pass and then attack its tail end.

#### IRAQIS EMPLOY HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS TO STALL AMERICANS

Yesterday, the Iraqis added suicide bombing to the familiar guerrilla manual. The militant Islamic group <u>Hezbollah</u> used truck bombs to drive first the Americans and then the Israelis out of Lebanon, and Iraqi officials said the first such attack wouldn't be the last.

That threat may be a combination of bravado and psychological warfare, but the use of suicide bombing has several advantages for the Iraqis.

\* It makes it impossible for U.S. and British troops to distinguish combatants from civilians, which means they may kill more civilians, which in turn angers Iraqis who might otherwise turn against Saddam. Such killings energize Arab and Muslim opposition to the war, repulse Americans and anger the rest of the world.

The use of children, <u>women</u> and parents as suicide bombers heightens the shock value, and there's no way to tell when it's over whether the bomber was motivated by love for Saddam or a gun at his children's heads.

- \* Suicide attacks wear down the mostly young American soldiers, most of whom have never been in combat before, by keeping them constantly on edge.
- \* Finally, by embracing a tactic pioneered by Muslim radicals, suicide bombers create the impression that Saddam, a secular ruler, is allied with Osama bin Laden and others in a Muslim holy war against Christians and Jews.
- "Any method that stops or kills the enemy will be used," Iraqi Vice President Taha Yassin Ramadan said yesterday, adopting the language of Islamic radicalism. "The United States will turn the whole world into martyrs against it."
- U.S. officials said they also thought the Iraqi tactics, drawn in part from Vietnam, were designed to keep the Americans and British as far from the Iraqi people as possible and to prevent them from delivering humanitarian aid, as the Iraqis have tried to do by mining the southern port of Umm Qasr.

"The idea is to make us appear to be the enemy of the people we're there to help," said one administration official. "It had some success in South Vietnam."

Iraqi tactics in the southern city of Basra, and probably Saddam's plan for Baghdad, as well, suggest that the Iraqis also studied the American retreat from Somalia. Their conclusion appears to have been that if you draw the Americans and the British into narrow city streets where tanks, artillery and air power are of less use, you give them two unpalatable choices: Fight house-to-house, take a large number of casualties and lose public support; or level the city and lose public support.

Finally, like the Yugoslavs, the Iraqis seem to be trying to preserve their best forces, the Republican Guard and the Special Republican Guard, for last by moving and concealing them. Despite three months of NATO air attacks, the Yugoslavs managed to protect more than 90 percent of their army.

Iraq's concealment also is a lesson from the 1991 war, when thousands of its troops were killed as they congregated in the open desert.

It isn't clear, however, whether the Iraqis read all the way to the end of the Yugoslav textbook. The Yugoslavs lost, and many of their leaders are now on trial, accused of war crimes.

### **Graphic**

Photo: David Lesson/Dallas Morning News: A soldier with the Task Force 2-69 Armor, 3rd Brigade Combat Team of the Army's 3rd Infantry Division from Fort Benning, Ga., holds a photograph of Saddam Hussein confiscated from a building yesterday in Kifl, Iraq. Another soldier from the task force added the crosshairs to the photo.

#### IRAQIS EMPLOY HIT-AND-RUN TACTICS TO STALL AMERICANS

Load-Date: April 3, 2003



#### READERS RESPOND

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

August 29, 2003 Friday

Home Edition

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### The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Section: Editorial;; Letters

Length: 891 words

Byline: AARON WATSON, JOHNNY PAYTON, JOHN FROUDE, CHRIS CREECH, STUART HILL, MARK

MUSICK, HAROLD KIRTZ, HERBERT SHAFER

#### **Body**

Honoring Jackson: Park would show vision

Atlantans should consider the work that Maynard Jackson would want us to continue, the hard work that he personified. He would be best honored by taking on one of today's problems and naming the resulting success after him. Renaming a thing, a place, a building, is too easy.

For example, we could create a magnificent new park reflective of Jackson's vast acumen, understanding and generous nature. A new destination park, the rival of Hyde Park or Central Park or Golden Gate Park, would be a fitting homage.

For the Journal-Constitution

Atlantans can take this opportunity to aggregate 100 acres or more of underutilized land --- from Northside Drive across from the Georgia Dome, to the Atlanta University Center --- to create a greenway named in honor of Maynard Jackson. This great park would symbolize Jackson's grand vision and serve as a magnificent "comingtogether place," so apt for our mayor who loved people and was deeply committed to bringing folks together.

Another possibility would be to build more affordable housing. City Hall East, a Jackson creation, could become a mixed-use development, including high-end and desperately needed low- to moderate-priced housing.

Let us be inspired to new heroic efforts. Then, like our fallen leader, let us get to work.

AARON WATSON, Atlanta

Naming proposal could bear fruit

The debate over whether to rename the Atlanta airport to honor former mayors has been elevated to a level that is both unbearable and embarrassing for the city.

#### READERS RESPOND

Here is my suggestion: Let's place a peach on the sidewalk of Peachtree Street or around the capital. In the center of the peach would be the likeness of the person being honored, similar to the stars on Hollywood Boulevard.

JOHNNY PAYTON, Atlanta

Cost-effective tribute to trio

Let's kill three birds with one stone: Take Andrew Jackson's photograph off the \$20 bill but leave the name Jackson in the center of the bill in a large, attractive font.

Then we will have Andrew and Maynard covered, and we won't have to do anything new for Jesse when the time comes.

JOHN FROUDE, Tucker

'Queer eye' looks beyond pricey, trendy

I was a little taken aback and, as a gay man, actually a bit insulted by Sandra Eckstein's article on where you would go for a makeover in Atlanta ("Queer eye for the Atlanta guy," Living, Aug. 28).

Being gay and having a "queer eye" is definitely not just about shopping at the priciest and most trendy places. Taste and sensibility come much more from being creative, informed and just knowing how to make things work. No self-respecting gay person would squander \$2,400 on a 10-person party when you could easily spend half that much for an absolutely fab affair and have enough left for a quick weekend jaunt to New York or Miami.

CHRIS CREECH, Atlanta

Conservatives change spots

Well, you learn something new every day. The same tough-talking, "bring 'em on" conservatives who didn't serve when their country needed them, the same tough-talking conservatives who said people in Hollywood should keep their mouths shut about politics, are now falling all over themselves to jump on the bandwagon for Arnold Schwarzenegger, whose unwelcomed sexual advances have been the stuff of legend for decades.

And I thought only women could have penis envy.

STUART HILL, Atlanta

Race gap the real story with SAT scores

There is distressing news for Georgia in the SAT scores, but it is not the nonsense that Georgia's scores for 56,000 students trail the scores in states such as North Dakota, where only a few hundred students take the SAT. The huge, unacceptable gap between scores for black and white students in Georgia and other states is a headline we should see and one that should spur us to action.

There are certain facts about the SAT (and the ACT taken by several thousand Georgia seniors) that Georgians should know, but how Georgia "ranks" compared with the 26 states where few students take the SAT may be the least important.

MARK MUSICK

Musick, of Atlanta, is president of the Southern Regional Education Board.

Middle East: Terrorist groups prevent peace

#### READERS RESPOND

The editorial "The cost to salvage peace in Mideast likely too steep" (@issue, Aug. 26) described the Arab-Israeli conflict as a cycle of violence. This, unfortunately, equates the targeting of members of a terrorist organization with the bombing of innocent civilians, including many children. The two are not equal. How could they be?

The "cycle of violence" is often cited by the media to describe this conflict. However, if Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other terrorist groups stopped their terror attacks, we would see a cycle of peace.

The goal of dismantling the terror infrastructure remains the key element in the success of the road map. Once that occurs, other elements will fall into place, and the cycle of peace will be a reality.

#### HAROLD KIRTZ

Kirtz, of Atlanta, is chairman of the community relations committee of the Jewish Federation of Greater Atlanta.

#### Acts justified

If someone will please come up with one sound reason why Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and al-Qaida should suspend armed resistance, and all that it connotes, against Israel as long as even one Israeli occupies Palestinian soil, I'll buy them a case of Dom Perignon.

Would that airhead President Bush allow any armed enemy to occupy our soil without armed resistance?

HERBERT SHAFER, Atlanta

### **Graphic**

Photo: Maynard Jackson; Photo: Arnold Schwarzenegger

Load-Date: August 30, 2003



#### Fighter for a Nobel cause

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia)
October 28, 2003 Tuesday

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 11

**Length:** 905 words **Byline:** Dan De Luce

### **Body**

THERE was a time when Shirin Ebadi was a lone voice in the wilderness.

Not any more. The 56-year-old lawyer's recognition last week as the first Muslim woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize was a fitting reward for a lifetime of campaigning for **women**'s rights in Iran -- a fight that earned her years in solitary confinement.

After the 1979 revolution that toppled Iran's monarchy, the conservative clerics who seized power told her she could no longer serve as a judge. And she was castigated for questioning draconian laws imposed against *women*.

Recalls Ebadi: "In parliament, one representative, a <u>female</u> doctor, read one of my articles out loud and then she said, 'Please Mrs Ebadi, shut up. Or people will make you shut up.' "

Ebadi refused to shut up. She argued for <u>women</u>'s rights and free speech in the courtroom, published books on human rights, won over moderate clerics and inspired students with her lectures on the rule of law.

More than 20 years since she was verbally attacked on the floor of parliament, the tide has shifted in her favour. Revolutionary fervour in Iran has given way to frustration and impatience. Now <u>female</u> legislators are seeking out her legal opinion and she is a role model for law students.

Unlike some political activists, she cannot be accused of treasonous opinions, as she is citing the writings of clerics and the Koran itself.

"Islam is not the problem. It is the culture of patriarchy. Some clerics have interpreted Sharia law in a way that discriminates against <u>women</u>," Ebadi says.

According to Ebadi, Iranian women are increasingly aware of their rights and unwilling to tolerate the status quo.

"One reason is that 63 per cent of students entering university are **women**. Before the revolution, it was about 25 per cent. That's very important."

In a country where two-thirds of the population is under 30, Ebadi believes the social change that has begun cannot be stopped.

"If you ask Iranian women, 'Are you satisfied with your legal situation?' about 90 per cent will say no," she says.

#### Fighter for a Nobel cause

Three years ago, Ebadi and another human rights lawyer were accused of "disturbing public opinion" by interviewing an ex-member of the notorious Ansar-e <u>Hezbollah</u> vigilante group. In a video of the interview, the paramilitary implicated senior establishment figures in a failed assassination attempt against former vice-president Abdollah Nouri.

In a closed trial, Ebadi received a suspended sentence of 15 months. She says her most frightening experience was when a document emerged after a purge of the intelligence ministry. The document resembled a list of political enemies. Some of the names on the list included intellectuals who had been murdered in unexplained circumstances. Ebadi's name was the list.

During a brief spell in solitary confinement at Evin prison, Ebadi's back pain and other ailments became almost unbearable. "I hate myself for being so weak. I try not to complain," she wrote later.

The international spotlight created by the Nobel award will make it difficult for the judiciary and its security forces to go after Ebadi again. Her newly created non-government organisation, the Centre for the Defence of Human Rights, also will receive much-needed support from the \$1.3 million in cash that comes with the award.

One of her colleagues, Mohammad Fayfzadeh, says the organisation was launched by Ebadi and several other lawyers in an attempt to promote civil rights without partisan political interference.

Iran's powerful hardliners accused the Nobel committee of meddling in the country's internal affairs by awarding the annual peace prize to a dissident. The conservative-controlled state television hesitated for a few hours before finally reporting the news that Ebadi won last week, burying the item at the end of the broadcast.

The reformist Government led by President Mohammad Khatami, which has been thwarted by powerful clerics in the judiciary and security forces, welcomed the Nobel award. But Khatami's cautious approach in politics has drawn criticism from Ebadi and some of her associates.

Many of Iran's dissident voices have been compromised, forced into exile or reduced to silent despair.

But although she has been repeatedly threatened and harassed, Ebadi continues to speak her mind and to take on sensitive cases that highlight human rights abuses. Ebadi also is a popular mentor for aspiring lawyers at the university where she lectures, and that must have hardline clerics worried.

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BADI'S latest court case has her arguing against the provisions of "blood money" law that puts the value of a woman's life at half that of a man's. Ebadi is representing the family of an 11-year-old Kurdish girl who was raped and murdered. Under the bizarre terms of "blood money" law, the family has to raise money to pay for the execution of the male killer. The murderer's life is worth twice that of their daughter.

"The family had to sell their house and possessions, but it wasn't enough," Ebadi says. "The father went to a doctor to try to sell his kidney."

A judge recently ruled that the state would help pay a portion of the blood money. Ebadi does not consider the decision a genuine victory, but feels the news coverage of the case has helped shed light on a law created for another era when men were the sole breadwinners.

"As an optimist, I believe the law will be changed. But when, I don't know. Maybe in two months, maybe in two years," she says. "But it will be changed."

Load-Date: October 27, 2003



### OSAMA'S GREATEST ENEMY: HASSAN THE HEARTTHOB

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

August 25, 2004 Wednesday Five Star Late Lift Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; Eric Mink; Pg. B07

**Length:** 944 words **Byline:** Eric Mink

### **Body**

#### **CULTURE**

A pan-Arab version of "American Idol" shows how powerful pop-culture can be in undermining terrorism Osama bin Laden and fellow-traveling Islamist radicals believe that Western culture defiles their belief system and that unless it is stopped, it will obliterate what they regard as the one true way of life.

#### They're right.

Notwithstanding materialistic excess, free expression, individualism, political and spiritual independence and the pursuit of happiness -- the underpinnings of Western culture -- fly in the face of the hierarchical subservience and sacrifice of personal will at the core of their extreme imagining of Islam. And if unchecked, the allure and sheer volume of Western culture -- most especially the broadly accessible pop-culture expressions of television, movies, music, fashion and the popular press -- would undermine and overwhelm any bin-Ladian ideal of society. ("Ideal" defined as something resembling the suffocating rule of the Taliban in Afghanistan.)

But the Islamists are wrong on two fundamental points: First, this would not be a bad thing; no sensible inhabitant of Earth in 2004 regards a 10th-century lifestyle as a step forward. Second, they can no more stop this force than they can keep the sun from rising in the east. Ask the now-free people of the Czech Republic, Poland and Romania, among others, about the impact of Western culture.

A current case in point: "Superstar 2."

While Shiite insurgents, Iraqi forces (so to speak) and American troops fight and die over shrines and cemetery slabs in Najaf, the rest of the Arab world is working itself into a delighted frenzy of expectation over the second-season finale of the Lebanese-produced TV show "Superstar 2."

This Sunday, Ammar Hassan, a 26-year-old Palestinian from the West Bank town of Salfit, and Ayman al-Atar of Libya will sing their hearts out on "Superstar 2" in the finals of a pan-Arab version of "American Idol." Millions of viewers throughout the Middle East then will choose a winner by voting via the Internet and cell-phone text messages.

This is the second season of "Superstar" (hence the "2"). It began Feb. 29 with 83 contestants -- including 32 **women** -- selected from some 40,000 applicants. A panel of judges then took a couple of months to winnow the field to 14 for final sorting by viewers.

#### OSAMA'S GREATEST ENEMY: HASSAN THE HEARTTHOB

Finding common cause with cultural conservatives in the United States who bemoan the decadence of American pop culture, religious fundamentalists and terrorist groups in the Middle East have denounced "Superstar" and other reality shows being broadcast by Arab networks and satellite distributors. "These kinds of programs are in contradiction with our habits and with the principles of Islam," a Lebanese sheik told Agence France-Presse. "We are seeing youngsters kissing and expressing emotions. This is indecent."

A Palestinian spokesman for Hamas told a reporter for the Jerusalem Post, that "(we) are not in need of singers, corruption mongers and advocates of immorality."

Hamas apparently is irked that the Palestinian people seem more interested in a TV competition featuring the appealing Hassan than they are in strapping on vests packed with explosives and nails and blowing themselves up at Israeli military checkpoints. Go figure. The upcoming "Superstar 2" climax also is draining attention away from what has turned out to be a poorly timed hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners held by Israel.

The Palestinian Authority, however, is playing the situation cleverly, declaring a week of solidarity with Hassan, setting up giant outdoor viewing screens in towns in the West Bank and Gaza and persuading the major Palestinian telecommunications company to offer discounts on text-message votes sent to the show.

"People are very bored with the political and security situation," an official for the authority's Ministry of Culture told the Jerusalem newspaper. "For them, the show is an escape from the distress and frustration. We believe that creative art contributes to the people's struggle for freedom."

It is also an expression of that freedom, and its pull is powerful.

In 2003, the first season of "Superstar" became a focus for national pride in the region, even provoking some accusations -- as there have been in the United States from time to time about "American Idol" -- of vote rigging. Thousands of fans protested loudly in the streets of Beirut at the headquarters of Future Television, the show's producer, when Lebanese semifinalist Melhem Zein was voted out in favor of Syria's Rwqaida Attiyeh and the eventual winner, Diana Curazon of Jordan.

Zein -- from Lebanon's Bekaa Valley, previously famous as the place where <u>Hezbollah</u> terrorists received training and sanctuary -- was enormously popular with his fellow Lebanese, and problems with overloaded phone lines and Web servers only heightened suspicions of a fix. But Future Television is owned by the billionaire family of Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq al-Hariri; the company had no rational incentive to make Zein lose. Still, public pressure persuaded Future to give Zein a three-hour solo TV special the next week and sign him to a record deal.

In Jordan, a "Superstar" fan told United Press International that the show was "a good exercise in democracy for the Arab masses." That's a stretch on both democratic and cultural grounds. "Superstar," after all, isn't exactly a Hopper canvas, a Shakespeare tragedy, "On the Waterfront," "The Sopranos" or the Gettysburg Address.

But the power of the creative spirit -- even at the level of a cheesy TV talent competition -- surpasses that of terrorism, war and oppression. Osama and his ilk are right to be very, very afraid.

#### **Notes**

COMMENTARY A FORUM FOR OTHER VOICES, IDEAS AND OPINIONS

### **Graphic**

#### OSAMA'S GREATEST ENEMY: HASSAN THE HEARTTHOB

Load-Date: August 25, 2004



### America -- take a stand on Israel

University Wire
March 12, 2002, Tuesday

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Section: COLUMN Length: 912 words

Byline: By Danny Baram, The Daily Free Press

Dateline: Boston

#### **Body**

Remember when you were younger and the answer to everything was always, "We'll see?" These words are spoken by parents as a way of appeasing a child without ever giving a definitive answer. Right now, it seems as though America is playing the role of indecisive parent when it comes to its policy in the Middle East, taking a "wait and see" attitude even as violence continues to escalate in Israel, with the death toll rising by the day.

As we commemorate the six-month anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, we cannot forget that every single day in Israel, innocent civilians are at risk in the face of suicide bombers with no regard for the value of human life. It's time for the Bush administration and Americans in general to realize, or just remember, America and Israel are ideologically linked in a way that should unequivocally unite them in the current war against terrorism -- a war that includes Yassir Arafat and the Palestinian extremists who look to him for leadership. Currently, America is too ambiguous in its policies and not vocal enough in its role as a mediator in the Middle East. America, as with Israel, maintains a policy of no negotiations with terrorists. Why, then, does it seem the Bush administration simply spouts the same tired calls for peace at a time surely demanding something more?

Boston U.

We are too quick to forget. In an age when swarms of news bulletins become engulfed in an endless stream of information, it can become easy to lose sight of the bigger picture. Even as America struggles to form a coalition against terrorism while forming alliances with previously antagonistic countries, terrorists attack Israel with an unsettling regularity. These terrorists possess strikingly similar ideals to the al Qaeda members who destroyed the World Trade Center. They not only hate the Jewish people, they hate democracy, capitalism and the entire Western way of life as represented by both America and Israel. And yet some dismiss these terrorist attacks in Israel, committed by members of such groups as Hamass and *Hezbollah*, as nothing more than justified acts in a war between two countries.

Israel has undoubtedly made mistakes in its fight to defend itself from terrorism, and so has the United States. However, this does not change the fact that the men, <u>women</u> and children being killed in cafes, nightclubs and shopping malls in Jerusalem and throughout Israel are not casualties of war. They, like the workers in the World Trade Center, are the unfortunate victims of a cowardly brand of suicidal terrorism that does not distinguish between soldiers and civilians.

Imagine every activity, every trip outside of your own home, carries with it the risk of death. Before Sept. 11, most Americans couldn't fathom having this type of mentality. But Israelis have had to live with this dangerous reality for

#### America -- take a stand on Israel

years, knowing they live in a country surrounded by neighbors who do not share their ideals of democracy and freedom. Israel has fought more wars in 50 years than most countries have in 200.

Now, the violence is increasing once again. The problem is Israel, as with America, faces an enemy who tends to hide in the shadows. Yassir Arafat is a leader who hides behind extremist groups, letting all-too-eager suicide bombers do his dirty work and prevent him from ever having to be held fully accountable for the actions of Palestinian extremists. Similarly, the Taliban government of Afghanistan was not directly responsible for the attacks of Sept. 11: It was Osama bin Laden and his network of terrorists. Still, the United States had no qualms about dismantling and replacing the Taliban regime. Why, then, is there so much support and empathy directed toward Yassir Arafat? Political sensitivities? Diplomatic interests?

It is clear Arafat does not represent all Palestinian people. Obviously there are those who simply wish for peace. There are those who wish for a Palestinian homeland. There are even those who might argue the Palestinians have a historical and spiritual claim to the Holy Land, yet they would not resort to terrorism to prove it. However, Israel is not negotiating with these people. Israel is fighting to defend its borders and guarantee the safety of its citizens, something America now understands all too well. So enough with the rhetoric and mincing of words; it's time for our government to step up to the plate and realize Israel's battle is also our own.

Certainly there are no easy solutions to ending the violence. The same old treaties and plans for peace will not cut it at this point. Arafat has repeatedly not held up his end of the bargain, even as he was offered deals that saw Israel giving up more and more land. Arafat failed to keep the peace for seven days, let alone seven months. The problem is Arafat feels he can manipulate us. It wasn't long ago that Arafat, a man recently linked to a vast shipment of terrorist weaponry, had certain American politicians calling for the creation of a Palestinian state as a stop-gap measure. It's easy to think narrowly, to conveniently separate and disassociate Palestinian extremists from al Qaeda and America's own war on terrorism. The fact is these groups are connected, as are the goals and ideals of Israel and America. In the face of escalating violence, Israel looks to America for support, and our answer cannot be, "We'll see." Only a simple yes or no will suffice.

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Load-Date: March 12, 2002



#### Naive bomber and the avenger who lit his fuse

The Times (London)

November 29, 2003, Saturday

Copyright 2003 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Overseas news; 25

**Length:** 894 words **Byline:** Suna Erdem

#### **Body**

Gokhan Elaltuntas was no fanatic, his horrified family say. Yet he blew himself up in a truck outside an Istanbul synagogue. Suna Erdem reports from Bingol, Turkey

IT DOES not look like the home of a suicide bomber. No Arabic script adorns the newly painted walls. Nobody is dressed in Islamic garb. The men are wearing smart trousers or jeans; the <u>women</u>'s heads are covered in traditional Islamic scarves, patterned with colourful flowers or embroidery.

"Everything was badly burnt but I could make out features on his face. I went out of the room several times, hoping desperately each time I came back that some part would not fit - but I knew in the end that it was my brother," said Fatih Elaltuntas.

The 24-year-old holds a steady gaze, his blue eyes hardly blinking as he describes how he identified the remains of his younger brother, Gokhan Elaltuntas, named by Turkish police as the truck bomber who blew himself up outside Beth Israel synagogue in Istanbul on November 15.

The Elaltuntas family still have not recovered from the horror of learning that Gokhan, 22, was one of the four suspected Islamist suicide bombers who between them killed more than 55 people and inflicted on modern Istanbul its bloodiest week of peacetime violence.

"I would rather my son died a thousand times over than die once like this," his father, Sefik, said sadly.

Dressed in a grey jumper and grey flannel trousers, he sits crumpled on a sofa, a small, helpless figure among a swarm of family mourners. "All those people who died, I want to go and comfort their families, I want to go and console the Chief Rabbi..."

He heaves a long sigh. "I can't get my head around the idea that Gokhan would ever have done such a thing."

The uncles, brothers, cousins and aunts, sitting on sofas and crouching along the walls, all nod in agreement. Neither can they believe that they have been cast as fundamentalist Muslims. This is a wealthy family, well-respected in the town of Bingol. The men run building and electrical businesses, and have close relations with local state and security officials.

Although they are devout, as is the norm here, their political sympathies lie with the nationalists, not the Islamists. When Gokhan's mother, Sakine, went to the graveside, she cursed her son, but then relented, telling him: "I just know it can't have been your fault."

#### Naive bomber and the avenger who lit his fuse

"When we watched September 11 on television, Gokhan got very angry. He said, 'Proper Muslims don't kill, these are just terrorists'," explains his uncle, Rifat, before breaking down in tears.

A new group of mourners enters the room and offers up a prayer before passing around a plate of cigarettes.

"He rang me to say he was coming home on the Friday, then he died on the Saturday.

He was getting married next week. He had been decorating a new house. How can such a person want to die?" implored his father.

Gokhan, who failed exams that would have seen him enter university, began working in his father's businesses, which includes the smart Bingol Internet Cafe, where young boys excitedly play computer games.

He had hardly left the town, his family insist, let alone travelled to Pakistan or Afghanistan as many Turkish Islamic militants had done. He had many friends, but preferred to spend much of his time with his numerous cousins, father and uncles.

"He wasn't the brightest kid," his brother, Fatih, said. "I would always say to him, 'You think everyone's like you.

You'll get tricked one day'."

Then, three or four years ago, Gokhan met Azad Ekinci. The son of a left-wing activist killed by a right-wing hitman in the 1970s, Ekinci is believed to have been the ringleader of the suicide bombers.

Having supplied one of the trucks for the synagogue bombings, Ekinci is also the prime suspect in the suicide attack five days later, on the British-owned HSBC bank.

He is believed to have been working in tandem with Feridun Ugurlu, the only bomber not to come from the city, who blew up the British Consulate.

Ekinci was close friends with Mesut Cabuk, 29, another Bingol local who has been named as Gokhan's fellow synagogue bomber. It was Ekinci who introduced the pair.

Azad Ekinci had a sheltered childhood and would read copiously, often Islamic texts. After studying in Pakistan, he returned with a beard, a knowledge of Arabic and Farsi and, it seems, a mission to promote Islam.

"After his father's death his mother, Remziye, kept Azad at home to shelter him from relatives who wanted him to grow up to take revenge. She just wanted him to keep out of trouble," says a relative, adding wryly: "Well that didn't work, did it?"

Although Azad Ekinci has been identified with the Turkish <u>Hezbollah</u>, which is known to have had strong links to Bingol, his relative says the 27-year-old was contemptuous of local militants. "He had much more admiration for Muslim fighters elsewhere, like those in Chechnya and Bosnia," he added. His family refuses to confirm reports that Azad fought alongside Muslim rebels in Chechnya, but they do remember him discussing going to the region with his mother, who replied angrily: "If you go to Chechnya you had better not come back to my house."

Alettin Saray, a technician who knew Azad Ekinci and Gokhan Elaltuntas said: "Azad held meetings in his cafe with Islamist types. Sometimes the police would come . . . He'd ask me to join them, but that's not my scene."

Load-Date: November 29, 2003



# <u>U.S. role still critical to Middle East peace;</u> The Bush administration's new urgency ought to be welcomed.

Portland Press Herald (Maine)
April 6, 2002 Saturday, FINAL Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; OUR OPINION; Pg. 7A

Length: 920 words

#### **Body**

When it comes to Middle East policy, there's no such thing as benign neglect. Failing to act may be just as damning as failing to achieve diplomatic success.

That's why President Bush's decision to speak clearly on the crisis - and his decision to send Secretary of State Colin L. Powell to the region - is long overdue. As the Middle East teeters on the brink of all-out war, the United States can play a critical role in achieving a cease-fire. With the assistance of moderate Arab nations, Powell may even be able to bring Israelis and Palestinians back to the negotiating table.

In a national address on Thursday, Bush adopted a new tone of engagement. Instead of vaguely defending Israel's right to protect itself, as he has on previous occasions, the president said "Enough is enough." Israel should halt its incursions into Palestinian-controlled areas, Bush urged, and Palestinians should end their suicide-bombing campaign.

THAT'S EASILY SAID, but to his credit the president went even further. He called on Israel to immediately withdraw from Palestinian cities and relax its restrictions on "peaceful people (who want) to go back to work." Finally, he reiterated the Mitchell Report's insistence that Israel end construction of settlements in the occupied territories.

To call on Israel to take such steps is not to forsake an important friendship or blame an ally for the violence from which it has suffered. Bush rightly aimed his harshest words for Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, who has "missed his opportunities and thereby betrayed the hopes of his own people."

We agree with that assessment. In failing to stop the suicide attacks against Israel, Arafat has revealed either his weakness or his duplicity, or both. His own promises will not be sufficient to bring a permanent end to this conflict.

A cease-fire, by definition, is a temporary respite from the shooting. Unless it is followed by negotiations involving not only the Palestinians and Israelis, but other possible guarantors of peace, a cease-fire is an interlude, not an end.

The United States, member nations of the European Union and, most importantly, other moderate regimes in the Middle East all have roles to play in restoring peace to the region.

The United States, as it has done on previous occasions, should work to bring officials from Israel and the Palestinian Authority together to talk. It should provide the time, the place and the logistical assistance to get discussions started.

U.S. role still critical to Middle East peace; The Bush administration's new urgency ought to be welcomed.

In a departure from its previous stance, the United States has rightly sent its special envoy Anthony Zinni to Ramallah to deal with Arafat face-to-face, despite the Israeli siege.

The European Union, meanwhile, ought to provide medical assistance, food and emergency aid for Palestinians who have been under siege and unable to work since the Israeli incursion began earlier this week. Leaders of Europe should also continue to pressure both sides to seek a truce.

Finally, Arab nations should understand that their support of organizations such as Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and Islamic Jihad serve no end other than to prolong the blood-letting. Israel will not be bombed into submission, and has shown both the capacity and the will to strike back with brutal effect.

Obviously, countries like Iraq should end "payments" to the families of suicide bombers, which essentially puts a bounty on the heads of innocent men, <u>women</u> and children. Equally important, however, is the role of moderate Arab countries and nongovernment entities. They should cut all funding to groups that claim responsibility for suicide bombings, including "relief" for the bombers' families. Suicide attacks are not the work of freedom fighters and martyrs, but that of terrorists and murderers.

Occupation and bombs aren't the only roadblocks to the negotiating table. Preconditions to negotiations have to be cleared away as well. "Israeli withdrawal back to 1967 borders," the right of return for displaced Palestinians and the fate of Jerusalem cannot be prerequisites for peace talks, but the subjects of the talks themselves.

NONETHELESS, THERE IS HOPE in the latest Arab proposal for reciprocal recognition. That plan is imperfect, as it includes a full right of return for refugees, making East Jerusalem the capital of an independent Palestine, and full Israeli withdrawal from occupied lands. Still, it puts on the table new incentives for the Israelis to make peace.

That should drive the negotiations forward. In return for recognizing a Palestinian state, Israel is being promised recognition by Arab countries that, in the past, have sworn themselves to one goal: destroying it. This is a sea change in attitude, an opportunity too promising to ignore.

Although it will come with some costs, Israel should see that a Palestinian state will be a far more responsible neighbor than an occupied territory. It's hard to see how much control Arafat (or his successor) could have over militants when he is confined to a building in Ramallah, cut off from other Palestinian cities. National borders, furthermore, are also more secure than constantly changing lines on a map.

It's unfortunate that President Bush has waited so long to make the Middle East a foreign policy priority that requires high-level involvement. Still, the United States' renewed engagement in the crisis is a hopeful sign, especially with the process for negotiation already in place: a cease-fire, followed by implementation of the Mitchell Plan, followed by negotiations based on the Saudi Arabian peace plan.

### **Graphic**

The Associated Press

Without greater U.S. leadership in peacemaking, the Middle East could be headed toward a full-scale war.

Load-Date: April 7, 2002



## Peres upbeat, but Arafat sees no thaw

Deseret News (Salt Lake City)
July 1, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 The Deseret News Publishing Co.

Section: WIRE;

Length: 941 words

Byline: Reuters News Service

## **Body**

JERUSALEM -- The Palestinian leader and Israel's foreign minister shook hands publicly at a Lisbon conference on Saturday after meeting for the first time since February in hopes of narrowing a yawning gap over peace moves.

Israel's Shimon Peres, who had talks with Palestinian President Yasser Arafat over dinner on Friday, told Reuters Saturday: "I think it was a good occasion to exchange views informally in a rather agreeable atmosphere.

"One of the . . . greatest problems we are facing is an emotional breakdown, the fact that the parties have lost confidence." Peres said.

But Arafat later appeared to rule out a thaw in relations on his return to Gaza from Portugal, where he told reporters that he was "sorry to say that criminal activities still continue from the Israeli side, especially from the settlers protected by Israeli troops, as well as closure of our cities and villages."

Regional tensions remained high but, 17 days into a fragile cease-fire, violent incidents were relatively few.

Fighting on the Israel-Lebanon border on Friday and clashes at West Bank and Gaza flashpoints overnight took the shine off U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell's three-day peace mission to the area last week. Lebanon and its political mentor Syria warned that any Israeli reprisals for a <u>Hezbollah</u> northern border attack on its troops would endanger the region's volatile security.Powell was seeking a way to end nine months of intercommunal bloodshed sparked by a Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation, in which about 600 people have been killed.

He persuaded the two sides on Thursday to agree to a seven-day period of complete ceasefire as a test of their commitment to press ahead with peace moves.

A source close to Friday's dinner meeting said Peres told Arafat that achieving seven straight days of calm would pave the way for a longer cooling-off period and set the peace plan in motion.

The plan, crafted by a panel headed by former U.S. senator George Mitchell, calls for a series of confidence-building measures, including an end to Jewish settlement construction on occupied Arab land, but Israel Prime Minister Ariel Sharon has vowed it will continue to facilitate "natural growth."

Belgian court to hear complaint

#### Peres upbeat, but Arafat sees no thaw

The fiery ex-general faced a personal hurdle on Saturday after the Belgian Le Soir newspaper reported the Brussels Public Prosecutor's Office had ruled a complaint against Sharon accusing him of crimes against humanity was admissible in a Brussels court.

Le Soir said that a magistrate should now launch an investigation into events surrounding the killing of hundreds of Palestinian men, <u>women</u> and children at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps during Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Israeli officials declined to comment.

A 1983 Israeli state inquiry found Sharon, then defence minister, indirectly responsible for the killings at Sabra and Shatila when the Israeli army allowed Israeli-backed Christian Phalangist militiamen to enter the camp.

The search was ostensibly for Palestinian gunmen, after the assassination of Phalangist leader Bashir Gemayel, the Lebanese president-elect. A complaint against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein for alleged crimes against humanity was also ruled admissible in Belgium on Friday.

In Lisbon, Sharon's foreign minister Peres, trying to bridge peace chasms with Palestinians, told Reuters on Saturday the U.S. peace plan should be followed "without any reductions or additions or deviations."

"Any attempt to change will kill the plan and will kill the chance for peace," he said, adding the week-long test period was important to create the conditions for peace to take hold.

Ambiguity swirled over whether that period had yet begun.

Arafat said in Gaza after returning from Portugal that the seven-day countdown had started from Wednesday. On Friday, Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo declared the period "starts from today."

Sharon's spokesman, Raanan Gissin, had riposted that violence earlier in the day meant it had yet to begin.

Peres and Arafat, who shared the 1994 Nobel Peace Prize with slain Israeli leader Yitzhak Rabin for earlier peace efforts, shook hands before addressing the meeting of the Socialist International, which groups labour and socialist parties.

Two weeks ago, Sharon vetoed a suggestion that Peres meet Arafat in the company of U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan. The prime minister has frequently called Arafat a terrorist and has never shaken his hand.

In his speech, Arafat called for more European Union observers to be sent to Palestinian-ruled territories to help consolidate the ceasefire. He said three West Bank towns had been calm since observers had arrived there.

Israel opposes the large-scale dispatch of third-party observers to the region.

"Lift blockades" plea

Peres told delegates he believed the main stumbling block to a peace agreement was security, not occupation. "Give us security, you can have freedom," he said.

Arafat reportedly told Peres on Friday that his Palestinian Authority was trying to halt the violence, but its task would be made easier if Israel improved Palestinians' living conditions, for example by lifting blockades on their towns and villages.

In the West Bank on Saturday the Israeli army said its forces came under attack near Ramallah and in Hebron. There were no injuries. Around 40 Jewish settlers chanted anti-Arab slogans at the site of the killing of a woman settler on Thursday near the town of Jenin.

At least 466 Palestinians, 119 Israelis and 13 Israeli Arabs have been killed since the Palestinian revolt again Israeli occupation erupted in late September after peace talks stalled.

Load-Date: July 1, 2001



## MIDEAST TURMOIL: OCCUPIER; Israeli Soldier Just Wants To Go Home

The New York Times
May 10, 2002 Friday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 16

Length: 788 words

**Byline:** By STEVEN ERLANGER

Dateline: BETHLEHEM, West Bank, May 9

### **Body**

Nisan, 19, stood on the other side of the makeshift barricade of Israeli-blue metal stands and barbed wire, leaning his helmeted head against the wall, listening to the <u>women</u> in head scarves. They were begging to be allowed to see their sons and relatives, still besieged in the Church of the Nativity, but part of the group of wanted Palestinian gunmen who are supposed to go into exile in Gaza or abroad.

"We just want to see them one more time," said Shibah Daghlalah, whose brother, Ahmad, a Palestinian Authority policeman, is headed for a prison in Gaza. "I'm afraid I won't see him again alive!" she said, shouting and weeping.

"Go away, go away -- it's curfew. Go home," Nisan shouted in Arabic, exasperated, while two other Israeli soldiers, all paratroopers, consulted on the radio about the **women**.

The few journalists watching, during a hot morning's lull in the long Bethlehem siege, started taking photographs. "Now I'm the bad guy," said Nisan, who declined to give his last name, continuing a conversation in English. "They have to understand that there is a curfew." He shook his head. "I'm supposed to arrest them," he said.

"I won't. I'm not going to attack them, they're women."

"Doesn't your mother call you to see how you're doing?" Iman Abayat shouted at him in Arabic. "I bet she calls you every hour." Nisan shook his head and spat at the ground.

Her son, Ibrahim, 29, is a former Palestinian policeman who resigned to join the Aksa Martyrs Brigades and is believed to be its local leader, wanted for the killings of three people and considered one of Israel's main catches. He is one of the 13 in the church expected to go abroad.

"She says she wants to see her son," Nisan said. "Well, let him come out. We want them all to come out. We want to go home. Nobody wants to be here in Bethlehem, but everyone thinks we like it."

Thirty-five years ago, during the 1967 war, Israel's soldiers bravely defended their doughty little country from a combined attack of Arab nations. Today is Jerusalem Day, the anniversary in the Hebrew calendar of Israel's greatest moment in that war, the day when East Jerusalem was captured. Throughout Israel, it is a day of celebration and national fervor.

#### MIDEAST TURMOIL: OCCUPIER Israeli Soldier Just Wants To Go Home

But today, barely five miles from the center of Jerusalem, in Bethlehem, Nisan and his comrades have, at least temporarily, retaken Palestinian land seized in that war and never yet fully returned, and they are viewed as occupiers, holding down Palestinian aspirations to a state through disproportionate force.

They are doing their job, they say, defending Israelis against terrorism and suicide bombers, but they know how they are often perceived, and they hate it.

One of his soldier colleagues said in Hebrew, "These people are taking pictures, don't look so depressed." Nisan said: "Depressed? I'm fed up with this -- with these morons on the other side for two weeks," referring to the Palestinian gunmen in the church. "How many agreements do we have to reach with them?"

He turned back, speaking in English. "I know I look like a monster in all this," he said, tapping his helmet, then his vest, then his rifle. "I'm not a monster," he said. "I don't like this. I'm a human being just like you."

An Israeli journalist asked him in Hebrew: "Will this stop the suicide bombings?" Nisan looked up, exasperated again. "I'm not like you," he said. "I'm a soldier. If I'm told to lie down, I'll lie down." Why not just surround the whole place with barbed wire, the Israeli asked.

"This?" said Nisan, kicking at the wire. "This is nothing." He stopped, then said: "Let's not get into politics."

He broke into English again. "I'm here to defend my family, my father and my mother and my brother and my girlfriend, that's all."

He shouted at the <u>women</u> again, to go away, to obey curfew. "People outside think that all Israelis pray and eat kosher, and I eat cheese and meat together and I don't pray, not once, I don't believe in it," he said.

"People outside think I'm a monster with a gun, and pray every day and eat kosher and kill Arabs," he said. "We just want to go home."

And what is home? Metulla, he said, right on the border with Lebanon.

"Hezbollah is firing rockets at us all the time," he said. "I'm in a war here and at home, too."

Nisan rested his helmet again against the wall. "I've been awake from 8 a.m. yesterday," he said at 2 p.m. today. "I don't know what's going on with the negotiations. The ones who are deciding, the higher-ups, are sleeping now."

He looked longingly across the barricade meant to keep the journalists and families out. "At least you get to go away and change your socks," Nisan said. "I sleep like this, dressed like this, with a helmet. I haven't had these boots off in two weeks."

http://www.nytimes.com

## **Graphic**

Photo: Nisan, 19, is one of the Israeli soldiers keeping Palestinian relatives, the press and onlookers outside of the besieged area surrounding the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem. (Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times)

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



## Anti-Israel Voices Muted as Millions Rally

The Forward February 21, 2003

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**Section:** News; Pg. 7 **Length:** 940 words

#### **Body**

They cheerfully rode the New York City subway uptown: three Jewish <u>women</u> in their late 50s or early 60s, bundled up in heavy coats decorated in peace buttons. Millions of protesters in 600 cities around the world were rallying against a looming war in Iraq, and these New Yorkers did not intend to be left out.

Members of a half-dozen left-leaning Jewish organizations assembled at the Workmen's Circle building in midtown Manhattan for bagels before the protest Saturday and marched together to the rally site at 49th Street and First Avenue, near the United Nations.

Support for the Palestinian cause was evident at the rally, though far less than pessimists had predicted. Jewish groups, for their part, kept their focus determinedly on opposition to an impending war in Iraq.

Many of those who showed up at the Jewish assembly point looked as if they had been at many other rallies against other wars. Although the main rally was peopled principally by hundreds of thousands of young protesters, there were also thousands of gray heads and wizened faces braving the freezing weather with "No War With Iraq" buttons proudly pinned on their coats.

Rabbi Arthur Waskow, director of Philadelphia's Shalom Center, joined the Jewish contingent halfway to the rally, looking a bit like a 1960s version of a wonder-rabbi with his long, flowing white beard, rainbow-colored skullcap and prayer shawl. He had come straight from Kennedy Airport, after addressing an anti-war conference of church leaders in Rome.

Former New York City mayoral candidate Ruth Messinger, a featured speaker at the large rally, addressed the Jewish contingent before it set out. "I have never seen a demonstration this big or this wide," said Messinger, who heads the American Jewish World Service. "It's an extraordinary, exciting event."

At an interfaith prayer service before the rally, Messinger read a Hebrew prayer for peace. At the rally itself she quoted the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel.

The main rally was not a 1960s-style love fest, however. Many demonstrators waved signs with images of President Bush daubed with a Hitler mustache or accompanied by messages such as, "Traitor, Imposter, Crook, Rich Man's Poodle." One young woman in a black-and-white kaffiyeh sported a sticker of Bush with a Pinocchio nose that said: "Bush Knew."

The protest movement had come under attack for anti-Israel leanings days before, when planners of a rally in San Francisco denied a speaking slot to Rabbi Michael Lerner, editor of Tikkun magazine. Lerner had publicly criticized one of the rally's co-sponsors, International Answer, for its anti-Israel rhetoric.

#### Anti- Israel Voices Muted as Millions Rally

When the San Francisco rally took place, however - on Sunday, a day after other cities' rallies, to avoid conflict with Chinese New Year festivities - several rabbis were on the program. One, Rabbi Pam Frydman Baugh of Or Shalom Jewish Community, a Renewal synagogue in San Francisco, greeted a pre-rally interfaith prayer vigil with greetings in Hebrew and Arabic. The rally also featured Muslim, Christian and Buddhist clerics.

While praying for peace for Israelis and Palestinians, Frydman Baugh focused most of her attention on Iraq, praying that Iraqi civilians can "escape the violence perpetrated by Western military forces, and are free from the violence perpetrated by their own people."

In Germany, the Berlin Association Against Anti-Semitism accused the German peace movement of antisemitism following that city's anti-war rally, which was attended by an estimated 500,000 protesters.

"From the start of the Berlin demonstration, it became clear that groups were involved whose worldview includes nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism," stated a letter, signed by approximately 100 scholars, Jewish religious and communal leaders, and activist groups from Germany and abroad.

"Revisionist banners and anti-Israel chants were heard. Israel was depicted as pulling the strings in the Iraq conflict; its politicians were cursed as 'child killers,' and a few flags of the Islamic extremist Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u> groups were waved," the letter stated.

But in New York, Jews stood side by side with an estimated 100,000 to 400,000 fellow protesters, who lined New York's East Side in wintry weather to hear speakers ranging from Messinger to South African Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Amit Mashiah, co-founder of "Courage to Refuse," a group of Israeli reservists who refuse to serve in the territories, also spoke at the New York rally. "If Bush really wants to spread democracy and peace around the world today he can start with Israel," he said. "Everyone can learn from our experience that violence doesn't solve conflict."

Mashiah said that although he believes terrorism needs to be condemned and terrorists brought to justice, "to really eliminate terror you have to deal with the reason for hatred. You cannot get rid of terror just by force."

Speaking to a reporter afterward, Mashiah dismissed the anti-Israel sentiment in the anti-war movement as unimportant. "I oppose every movement that is against Israel's right for existence," he said.

A featured speaker at the San Francisco rally was Rabbi Stephen Pearce, the senior spiritual leader of the Reform Congregation Emanu-EI, the largest and most influential synagogue in Northern California. He was criticized by some for appearing at a rally whose sponsors included groups known to be hostile to Israel.

But he offered another Jewish voice to those urging Bush to refrain from attacking Iraq. "Jewish tradition teaches of the disciples of Aaron, loving peace and pursuing peace, loving thy fellow creatures, and drawing them near to the rule of law," he said.

# **Graphic**

**IMAGE** 

Load-Date: June 14, 2006



# 'You can be British and be a Muslim'; ETHNIC LONDON

The Evening Standard (London)
February 5, 2001

Copyright 2001 Associated Newspapers Ltd.

Section: Pg. 23

Length: 864 words

Byline: Andrew Gimson

#### **Body**

ANDREW GIMSON meets East End Bangladeshis as our series on the capital's diverse mix continues

THE East London Mosque in Whitechapel Road is full to overflowing. At Friday prayers 3,500 people, most of them Bangladeshis, squeeze into the mosque and the pressure on space is so great that signs on the stairs read: "For health and safety reasons please do not pray here."

A short distance away another 2,500 squeeze into the Brick Lane mosque, which was formerly a synagogue and before that a Huguenot church. Smaller mosques scattered across the East End are also crammed full.

The Bangladeshis (often referred to as Bengalis, though many of them are from Sylhet, in eastern Bangladesh, and speak Sylheti, a language related to Bengali) have become as dominant and visible in this part of London as the Jews once were.

According to Hassan Ahmed, 27, a member of the East London Mosque's management board, 70,000 Muslims live within walking distance of the mosque, which traces its history back to 1910. The current building, which is going to be extended, was opened in 1985, and was the first mosque in Britain to have the adhan, or call to prayer, delivered from its minaret, through loudspeakers.

Mr Ahmed, who is married with two children, lectures in business studies at Waltham Forest College. His father came to London on an employment visa in 1961 and worked in the docks. The rest of the family, which eventually extended to five sons and two daughters, followed in 1982.

According to Mr Ahmed: "The mosque has played quite a tremendous role in equipping the Bengali community with a sense of identity. You can be British and a Muslim. A large number of Bengalis do have this inferiority complex, they would find it difficult to say to people they do go to the mosque because of the huge Islamophobia that has been generated by the media. I've been to university campuses debating about these things and everybody seems to feel there's some sort of connotation of terrorism or fundamentalism attached to the word Muslim."

The leaflets that can be picked up at the East London Mosque include "warm greetings to our <u>Hezbollah</u> brothers in Lebanon" from the Bangladeshi Muslim Literary Circle in Great Britain, but Mr Ahmed says: "We get a variety of people in this mosque. The mosque's official views are not necessarily reflected in the leaflets distributed." He argues that "this society probably lacks certain aspects of morality and dignity which all religions could put back into

#### 'You can be British and be a Muslim'; ETHNIC LONDON

it," and points to the mosque's attempts to combat drugs (a threat to teenagers that greatly worries Bengalis) and to help Bengali <u>women</u> "who are not being treated well at home".

Mohmed Salim manages the Sheraz Hotel and Restaurant in Brick Lane, which until 10 years ago, he says, "used to be a pub, the Frying Pan. Jack the Ripper used to sit in here".

Mr Salim came to the East End from Bangladesh aged 14 in 1967 and remembers: "When I came this area was all the Jewish community and they were doing businesses like textiles and tailoring, though there were already some Bengali grocers."

According to Mr Salim, Brick Lane is not nearly as "rough, tough" as it used to be. Many of his customers are workers from the City and it has become safer to walk home at night. "But I want to say one thing. The prostitutes in the area should be controlled. The Government should do something. Sometimes we feel very embarrassed when they're walking on the road when you're leaving your job and asking if you want to do business. It is not very nice, also for the children it is not nice at all."

Bengali shops and restaurants dominate. Here you can buy not just halal meat but "delicious halal pizza". Whole housing estates are occupied by Bengalis, traditional dress is commonplace, the signs are in English and Bengali, while books, videos and tapes come more in Bengali than in English. There is also a thriving Bengali press.

ONE of the many shops on Cannon Street Road selling Bengali delicacies is Bangla Sweets.

A customer called Mr A Rahman (he preferred not to give his first name, but said he was "56 or 57 years old") emerged from a back room where he had been praying and gave an enthusiastic account of the brightly-coloured wares: "This is one of the very nicest possible sweetmeat shops in this area," he said, and pointed to some orange balls. "This is one of the very nicest sweets on offer. It is called Laddu. Those who have tasted it are very pleased and gratified with it. Those who have not tasted it, are very unfortunate in a way."

Mr Rahman is pleased to see Bengalis becoming more educated in English ways: "It doesn't mean you become a Christian, but you can upkeep your traditions, your society's style and culture, but you can have a nice, friendly exchange of cultural thoughts and ideas about each other, irrespective of caste and religion."

#### **FACT FILE**

THERE are about 123,000 people of Bangladeshi descent living in London, overwhelmingly concentrated in the borough of Tower Hamlets, where according to the London Research Centre they account for over 60 per cent of the total population in Spitalfields ward and over 30 per cent of the population in four other wards.

## Graphic

GATHERING FOR PRAYER: THE FAITHFUL PACK THE EAST LONDON MOSQUE, OFTEN TO OVERFLOWING

Load-Date: February 6, 2001



# FILM REVIEW; The Sinister Evolution of the Most Intimate Form of Political Violence

The New York Times

June 25, 2003 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Column 1; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 5

Length: 919 words

Byline: BY STEPHEN HOLDEN

#### **Body**

"Human Weapon," a gripping and important documentary, examines the history of suicide bombing as a tool of warfare and comes to some unsettling conclusions. The premise of the movie, directed by Ilan Ziv, a New York-based Israeli filmmaker, is that this most intimate expression of political violence, like other forms of warfare, has systemically evolved as a technique. Initially applied to military and political targets, it has only in the last decade expanded to include the intentional slaughter of civilians.

The biggest (but my no means the only) incentive to self-destruct in the service of a cause is the promise of religious martyrdom, the movie suggests, and the film shows how easy it is to train impressionable teenage boys to turn themselves into human bombs by firing them up with images of glorious sacrifice. Before they die, many of the bombers videotape grandiose final messages that are shown on television to whip up militant fervor.

The forerunners of today's suicide bombers, according to the movie, were the thousands of Japanese kamikaze pilots who flew to their deaths during World War II, especially when Japan was losing the war. The film dates the birth of the latest round of suicide attacks to April 18, 1983, when an anonymous terrorist drove a truck packed with 2,000 pounds of explosives into the lobby of the American Embassy in Beirut, killing 63 people, 17 of them Americans. Six months later two suicide bombers killed more than 250 soldiers in coordinated attacks on the barracks of United States Marines and French paratroopers in Beirut.

During the Iran-Iraq war, in which more than a million people were killed, Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, sanctioned suicide, which is traditionally forbidden by Islamic law, as a legitimate and heroic enterprise so long as it was used as a weapon. Thousands of teenage warriors competed to clear minefields with their bodies and to march in waves directly into the fire of the better-equipped Iraqi army. Their eagerness to sacrifice their lives helped equalize the forces' uneven military balance.

The ayatollah promised future martyrs a heavenly afterlife of gardens, castles and beautiful angels. One former Iranian soldier describes his indoctrination (which involved viewing Arnold Schwarzenegger and karate movies) as "neutralizing the sensual instinct and instilling a warrior instinct."

But such self-destructive zealotry doesn't necessarily require a religious sanction. During the civil war in Sri Lanka, some 30 to 40 percent of the roughly 200 suicide missions of the Tamil separatists against the government were carried out by <u>women</u> indoctrinated in revenge by films depicting the enemy's atrocities against <u>women</u>.

#### FILM REVIEW The Sinister Evolution of the Most Intimate Form of Political Violence

Examining the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the movie cites as a turning point the 1994 Hebron massacre, when an American-born Israeli settler protesting the Oslo peace accords killed more than two dozen Islamic worshipers before being killed himself. The militant Palestinian group Hamas retaliated two months later in a raid that killed eight Israelis. Since then, the two sides have played increasingly deadly games of tit for tat.

Among the many thoughtful voices in the movie, which opens today at the Film Forum in New York, the most eloquent belongs to the American author and psychologist Robert J. Lifton, who has the film's opening and closing remarks. He worries that in the effort to end what he calls "apocalyptic violence," it is all too tempting to combat it in a way that resembles it.

Sharing the bill with "Human Weapon" is "My Terrorist," Yulie Cohen Gerstel's deeply personal reflection on the cycle of violence in the Middle East. Ms. Gerstel, a sixth generation Israeli who was injured during a 1978 attack on an EI AI flight, seeks out Fahad Mihyi, one of the attackers, who had spent the last 22 years in an English prison. She initiates a correspondence in which he expresses contrition for his youthful deeds, and she considers supporting his release from prison.

Her impulse for reconciliation is contrasted with the unforgiving rage of the parents of a flight attendant (and colleague of Ms. Gerstel) who was killed in the same raid. But then the World Trade Center is attacked, and the tumultuous emotions it re-awakens in Ms. Gerstel prompt her to reconsider her offer. The movie's disparate voices coalesce here as an emotionally charged microcosm of the conflict and suggest how difficult it would be to sustain any peace, when all it takes is one vengeful dissenter to undermine the noblest of intentions.

#### **HUMAN WEAPON**

Directed by Ilan Ziv; written (in English, Arabic, Farsi, Hebrew and Tamil, with English subtitles) by Mr. Ziv and Nancy Peckenham; directors of photography, Alberto Marquart, Sam Shin, Uri Ackerman, Suher Ismail, Abdel Salam Shihada and Jean Cadin; edited by Enat Sidi; music by Eugene Levitas; produced by Mr. Ziv and Serge Gordey; released by First Run/Icarus Films. Shown with "My Terrorist" at the Film Forum, 209 West Houston Street, west of Sixth Avenue, South Village. Running time: 54 minutes. This film is not rated.

#### MY TERRORIST

Produced and directed by Yulie Cohen Gerstel; in English and Hebrew, with English subtitles; directors of photography, Oded Kirma, Moshe Gerstel and Yulie Cohen Gerstel; edited by Boaz Lion; music by Tal Segev; released by <u>Women</u> Make Movies. Shown with "Human Weapon" at the Film Forum, 209 West Houston Street, west of Sixth Avenue, South Village. Running time: 58 minutes. This film is not rated.

http://www.nytimes.com

# Graphic

Photo: <u>Hezbollah</u> children in training, from the documentary "Human Weapon," on the growth of suicide bombing. (First Run/Icarus Films Release)

Load-Date: June 25, 2003



# Frustrated Iranians eager for change: If the people have their way, Washington won't need to get involved

Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

June 15, 2003 Sunday Final Edition

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Section: Monitor/Comment; Jonathan Manthorpe; Pg. D2; Column

Length: 888 words

Byline: Jonathan Manthorpe

## **Body**

Shortly before the invasion of Iraq, a jaded British diplomat muttered a cynical comment on the militant mood of his American allies.

"Men want to go to Baghdad," he said. "Real men want to go to Tehran."

Washington has indeed been making increasingly threatening noises towards its old enemy, the Islamic Republic of Iran, in recent weeks, reminding everyone that it is, in the opinion of President George W. Bush, one of the "axis of evil" states that sponsors terrorism.

Vancouver Sun

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld turned up the heat again last week. During a visit to Germany, Rumsfeld said American intelligence agencies do not believe Iran has nuclear weapons yet. But he added, "The assessment is that they (Iran) do have a very active program and are likely to have nuclear weapons in a relatively short period of time."

Rumsfeld pointed to a report by the United Nations nuclear watchdog that said the Tehran government had not reported several banned activities around its nuclear energy program. The International Atomic Energy Authority said Iran has failed to account for all nuclear material, not reported on the processing of that material or declared the facilities where it is stored.

These failures could be consistent with attempts to mount a secret weapons program. Tehran denies any such implication, says it will co-operate fully with the IAEA and insists its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes only.

But as Ayatollah Ali Khamenei and his supreme council of Muslim clerics, who keep the democratically elected government firmly under their thumbs, peer out from Iran's borders they have cause for apprehension. The American military is just over the horizon in every direction.

United States forces are to the west in Iraq, to the east in Afghanistan, to the north in several of the Central Asian republics. Aircraft carrier battle groups ply the seas to the south.

That picture, however, appears more threatening than it really is.

There is no consensus in the Washington administration about what approach to take towards Iran and Bush has yet to cast a deciding vote.

Frustrated Iranians eager for change: If the people have their way, Washington won't need to get involved

The hawks in the Pentagon predictably want a regime change. They say the evidence of Iran's nuclear program, its support for terrorism and its hand in weapons proliferation is more compelling than that against Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

As it gets clearer by the day that Saddam had no usable weapons of mass destruction, that would not be hard.

Pragmatists around Secretary of State Colin Powell respond that Iran is a democracy, however frail, and that invading democracies is not what the U.S. is meant to do.

They also point out that Iran's twice-elected president Muhammad Khatami has been helpful to Washington's efforts to break the cycle of violence in the Middle East.

Not least of Khatami's demonstrations was to go to Beirut last month and put pressure on anti-Israeli <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas to scale back their attacks from Lebanon, while Bush attempted to stake out a road map to peace between Israel and the Palestinians.

No, Washington is not the immediate threat to the Iranian regime, but the Iranian people are.

Last week, there were serious riots in Tehran, the first since last November. The protests started among students enraged that their universities are to be privatized, but were quickly joined by thousands of ordinary people.

News of the student riots was beamed into Iran by satellite television channels operated by Iranian exiles in the United States.

But student complaints are not usually enough to bring ordinary people to the barricades unless there's a deeper anger seething beneath the surface.

That is the case in Iran. Iranians are fed up with the austere and reactionary rule of the Islamic clerics who came to power after ousting the despotic shah in 1979.

Iranians are also frustrated by the slow pace of reform. They seem to have lost faith in Khatami's ability to push for change in the face of clerical opposition.

Reformist parliamentary legislation on <u>women</u>'s rights, trial by jury and press freedom have all been vetoed recently by the clerics. The mullahs have also refused to give up their self-assumed right to veto candidates for parliament.

There was a sign in February of how ineffectual Iranians now feel their democratic rights to be. Once enthusiastic voters, only 12 per cent of the Iranian electorate came out to cast ballots in local elections.

There were serious riots and protests late last year after a liberal university lecturer, Hashem Aghajari, was sentenced to death by a religious court for questioning the political role of clerics in Iran.

After two months of street protests Iran's Supreme Court overturned that death sentence. But Aghajari is now awaiting a retrial by the same court that ordered his execution.

It was a much lesser spark that set off this week's protests and riots, suggesting that Iranians' tolerance is waning rapidly.

The word in Tehran is that more protests and, presumably, more brutal response by the militias loyal to the clerics can be expected in the next few days. An indicator of whether this is the beginning of a sustained popular uprising will be if the protests spread to other Iranian cities.

If they do, Washington may not have to decide what its policy should be towards the Iranian administration.

Load-Date: June 15, 2003



# <u>TELEVISION REVIEW; In a Land Where Old Youths Meet as Distant</u> Neighbors

The New York Times

December 13, 2001 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Column 1; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 949 words

Byline: By JULIE SALAMON

## **Body**

A Palestinian boy named Faraj tells a documentary filmmaker about his desire to avenge a friend who threw stones at an Israeli soldier and was killed. But when the filmmaker arranges to have Faraj meet two Israeli twins -- who are as sports obsessed as he is -- he prepares for the rendezvous as if it's a date. On the telephone he asks them what kind of food they like. Before they arrive, he spritzes himself with cologne.

Their meeting is a humanist's dream. The Israeli twins speak of holding their breath in fear whenever they take a bus downtown, half expecting a terrorist bomb. Yet like Faraj they are willing to check out an enemy whose interests are so closely aligned with theirs (track, volleyball). They come to the Palestinian's neighborhood -- a refugee camp that resembles a housing project. They agree to speak the neutral language of English, resulting in a conversation that is far more friendly than fluent. They wrestle, play ball, have a meal.

But mirroring so many moments of potential rapprochement in Middle East history, this one turns out to be far more heartbreaking than heartwarming. Their connection -- captured so emotionally on camera -- appears very real but doesn't last. It's doomed by the inherent fickleness of youth but, more pointedly, by the political reality of checkpoints and propaganda.

This moment of confounded possibilities lies at the heart of "Promises," an intensely personal and insightful documentary that looks at the Palestinian-Israeli conflict from the vantage point of seven children living in or near Jerusalem. Part of PBS's "P.O.V." series, which specializes in nonfiction films by independent producers and directors, "Promises" demonstrates the unusual power of thoughtful, subjective filmmaking. This extraordinary enterprise was distilled from 170 hours of filming between 1997 and the summer of 2000; post-Sept. 11 it has acquired an even greater sense of sorrow and frustration.

The film was made by Justine Shapiro, B. Z. Goldberg and Carlos Bolado, but it is Mr. Goldberg whose face becomes familiar in front of the camera. Born in Boston, he grew up just outside Jerusalem and then returned to the United States to study film at New York University. Though he maintains a resolute nonpartisanship, his quiet, thoughtful interviews with the children reveal his own deep -- perhaps quixotic -- yearning for peace. It's a tribute to his open spirit that all the children, the most dogmatic and the most reasonable, seem to have great affection for him.

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

He has captured these children as they must really be, much too old in their political thinking but buoyantly childish. On the streets of Jerusalem he interviews a 13-year-old rabbi-in-training named Shlomo, who talks not only about being cursed and punched by Arab boys but also about Jewish and Palestinian adults he knows who have civil relationships. As he speaks, a Palestinian boy about his age comes close and starts belching, not hostilely but teasing. Shlomo, in Orthodox black and white, tries to ignore him but starts giggling. Finally he belches back, and for a moment the universal language of boys prevails.

An angelic-looking Palestinian boy named Mahmoud fiercely denounces Israelis and says he doesn't even want to meet one. This same boy, who urges the filmmakers not to tell his mother that he has sneaked cups of coffee, also says: "I support Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u>. They kill <u>women</u> and children, but they do it for their country." He seems shocked when Mr. Goldberg tells him that he, Mr. Goldberg, is half-Israeli.

Mahmoud is unmoved. "You're half-American," he said. "I'm talking about authentic Jews. Not Americans."

An equally fierce, chubby 10-year-old named Moishe, son of a Jewish settler family, says, "If I could make my own future, all the Arabs would fly away."

The children repeat the rhetoric they're taught by adults, and they reflect the wide range of response to the region's history. Moishe makes the cameraman wait while he searches the Bible for the specific reference that marks Jewish claim on the land. Mahmoud explains that the Koran has marked the spot for Muslims. Others, including the secular Israeli twins and a Palestinian girl, are willing to compromise.

The film's personal focus may assume too much knowledge on the part of viewers, especially since this film would be a valuable teaching guide. The filmmakers supply some history, not going back to ancient Judea but more recently to what Israelis call the 1948 War of Independence and Palestinians call "the catastrophe." A bit more geopolitics would provide useful context.

Still the documentary illustrates through imagery and interviews the uneasy convergence in Jerusalem of history and modernity, Arab and Jew, fanaticism and reasonableness. The camera sweeps by Burger King signs and Hasidic Jews dressed as in the Middle Europe of centuries ago. Palestinian children wear T-shirts that say, "I have a dream," and cars and camels still share the road in places. It records the checkpoints leading into the Palestinian territories, seen by Israelis as necessary safety measures and by Palestinians as insults.

Wisdom does emerge from the mouths of these children, who are anything but innocent. "In war both sides suffer," one of the twins says. "Maybe there's a winner, but what is a winner?"

P.O.V.

**Promises** 

PBS, tonight at 9

Produced, written and directed by Justine Shapiro and B. Z. Goldberg; Carlos Bolado, co-director and editor; Yoram Millo and Ilan Buchbinder, camera; Stephen Most, consulting writer and researcher; Janet Cole, executive producer; Lucy Kaplan, consulting producer; Cara Mertes, P.O.V. executive producer. Series produced by American Documentary Inc.

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: December 13, 2001



## FILM REVIEW; For Children, Peace Seems Easy if They Get to Connect

The New York Times
March 15, 2002 Friday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Part 1; Column 4; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 13

Length: 927 words

## **Body**

"Promises" was broadcast in the "P.O.V." series on PBS in December. Following are excerpts from Julie Salamon's review, which appeared in The New York Times on Dec. 13; the full text is available at nytimes.com. The film, which has been nominated for an Academy Award for best documentary, is in English, Arabic and Hebrew with English subtitles. It opens today at the Quad Cinema, 34 West 13th Street, Greenwich Village.

A Palestinian boy named Faraj tells a documentary filmmaker about his desire to avenge a friend who threw stones at an Israeli soldier and was killed. But when the filmmaker arranges to have Faraj meet Israeli twins -- who are as sports-obsessed as he is -- he prepares for the rendezvous as if it's a date. On the telephone he asks them what kind of food they like. Before they arrive, he spritzes himself with cologne.

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But mirroring so many moments of potential rapprochement in Middle East history, this one turns out to be far more heartbreaking than heartwarming. Their connection -- captured so emotionally on camera -- appears very real but doesn't last. It's doomed by the inherent fickleness of youth but, more pointedly, by the political reality of checkpoints and propaganda.

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The film was made by Justine Shapiro, B. Z. Goldberg and Carlos Bolado, but it is Mr. Goldberg whose face becomes familiar in front of the camera. Born in Boston, he grew up just outside Jerusalem and then returned to the United States to study film at New York University. Though he maintains a resolute nonpartisanship, his quiet, thoughtful interviews with the children reveal his own deep -- perhaps quixotic -- yearning for peace. It's a tribute to his open spirit that all the children, the most dogmatic and the most reasonable, seem to have great affection for him.

#### FILM REVIEW For Children, Peace Seems Easy if They Get to Connect

He has captured these children as they must really be, much too old in their political thinking but buoyantly childish. On the streets of Jerusalem he interviews a 13-year-old rabbi-in-training named Shlomo, who talks not only about being cursed and punched by Arab boys but also about Jewish and Palestinian adults he knows who have civil relationships. As he speaks, a Palestinian boy about his age comes close and starts belching, not hostilely but teasing. Shlomo, in Orthodox black and white, tries to ignore him but starts giggling. Finally he belches back, and for a moment the universal language of boys prevails.

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http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photo: Faraj, a Palestinian, is among the children in the documentary "Promises." (Justine Shapiro/Cowboy Pictures)

Load-Date: March 15, 2002



# Bush made it plain: If you threaten Americans, you'll pay for it; Do most of us really understand the full import of his forceful words?

Portland Press Herald (Maine)

February 4, 2002 Monday, FINAL Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. 9A

Length: 858 words

Byline: M.D. Harmon

## **Body**

It's been common to say over the past few months that "Everything's changed since Sept. 11," and nearly as common to deny it. In fact, for those people not directly affected by the terrorists' attacks of that day, things have gone on fairly normally as the shock receded.

True, the armed forces have gone from training to security and limited combat missions, while emergency workers, FBI and CIA agents and immigration services have seen their focus sharpen. Most of us, though, encounter such things only tangentially, through travel or the stories of our friends. We carry on our lives as we did prior to that day.

But last Tuesday, we were put on notice by no less of an authority than the president of the United States that as far as the nation's leadership and its conduct of foreign policy was concerned, the world as it existed before Sept. 11 is a fading memory.

I wonder if most of us understand just how much this nation is now committed to taking charge of events around the globe that affect our security, and how broadly that concept is being defined.

In his post-attack speech to Congress and the nation on Sept. 20, President Bush pledged to pursue terrorists and their supporters no matter where they tried to hide or find shelter. Subsequent events in Afghanistan have proved he was completely sincere.

Taliban and al-Qaida gangsters were hit with everything from leaflets to daisy cutters, and last Tuesday Bush was able to display the fruits of our victory: an interim Afghani leader, Hazid Karzai, and the (*female*) member of his staff in charge of *women*'s development, the remarkably burqua-free Sadoozai Panah.

They proved our victory is also Afghanistan's. That warlord-laden land has long deserved a chance for change, and if the developed countries keep their word, it will get it.

That wasn't the main point of the State of the Union address last Tuesday, however: What Bush promised, in the clearest, most direct language possible, is that this nation will no long take a passive, let's-be-nice-to-the-bad-guys stance on serious threats to our lives and prosperity.

Terrorism isn't the only danger that we will now confront head-on (although he named several groups in addition to al-Qaida, including Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and Islamic Jihad, as part of the "terrorist underworld" that threatens us and others).

Bush made it plain: If you threaten Americans, you'll pay for it; Do most of us really understand the full import of his forceful words?

Bush, to the reported dismay of State Department softies, told the American people that there were three countries that have for years pursued major, significant actions that threatened both the safety and security of the United States and the peace of the entire world.

This "axis of evil" - yes, like Ronald Reagan, he dared to use the e-word - is composed of Iraq, Iran and North Korea. Each has not only supported terror, but has striven to build or acquire nuclear, chemical or biological "weapons of mass destruction" and the means to deliver them.

This astounding burst of candor and realism is so new, so valuable (and so unlike what his predecessor said and did), that I wonder if most of us have fully internalized what it means. While certainly not making a promise of immediate, all-out war on these nations, Bush in effect said that America will now mobilize all its resources -political, economic, diplomatic and military - to take away these nations' ability to slaughter us or others by the thousands.

Some of that will be defensive, as his pledge to develop an anti-ballistic missile force illustrates. Much of it, however, will require positive action to isolate, control and eventually encourage the removal of the tyrants, autocrats and dictators who not only threaten us, but keep their own peoples in deepest misery.

Recall the predictions that an attack on the Taliban would mobilize the entire Muslim world against us? Instead, we saw ordinary Afghanis dancing in the streets when they were finally set free.

Such dancing was only a foretaste of the celebrations that will occur in Baghdad, Tehran and Pyongyang if and when those peoples are liberated from their cruel, oppressive rulers.

As Bush noted, we have to take action in these cases for our own defense. In doing so, however, we will, as the quote from Leviticus inscribed on the Liberty Bell puts it, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof."

Or, in the words of Todd Beamer, American hero: "Let's roll."

A FEW WEEKS ago I used a word, blogger, confessing that it was new to me. Now I've been informed that it's a cyberspace term, a shortened version of Weblogger. Webloggers use their personal Web sites to discuss their daily lives, or just ramble on about various topics, in paragraphs called blogs. So, a print column can't be composed of blogs, because it's not online; it's "ondeadtree," as one cyberjournalist puts it.

However, local columns and editorials on these pages are available online at <u>www.portland.com</u>. Click on "Viewpoints" on the red task bar near the top of the home page for that day's offerings, and check out the past week's writings using the links at the bottom of the Viewpoints page.

- M.D. Harmon, an editorial writer and editor, can be reached

at <u>mharmon@pressherald.com</u> or 791-6482.

Load-Date: February 4, 2002



## Middle East at the crossroads

University Wire
December 4, 2003, Thursday

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Section: COLUMN Length: 880 words

Byline: By Baruch Mechanic, Technician

Dateline: Raleigh, N.C.

# **Body**

A little more than a week ago, I attended a forum called "From Pain to Reconciliation," and it shocked me with how pro-Palestinian the audience was. It seemed as if there were two kinds of people that attended the forum: those that support the "plight" of the Palestinians and those that want to learn more about the situation.

But, I ask, how can you expect people to have a better understanding of the current situation in Israel when the forum took on the same point of view as the mainstream media? I thought the reason for these forums was to create discussion and interest about a certain topic and not be blinded by our biases. CNN (also known as Chicken Noodle News), BBC (British Biased Corporation) and other major networks present what I call dramatized news. The headline news covers topics that would result in better ratings such as the O.J. Simpson and Peterson trials, tiger attacks, murder, missing interns, Ms. Lewinski and other topics. Similar to the situation in Israel, the news takes a dynamic situation that spans over thousands of years with tons of variables and turns it into black and white, good and bad -- where the strong are the bad and the weak are the good. Such simplification of the Arab terror war against Israel is malicious, one-sided and outright wrong.

North Carolina State U.

The Palestinian view is always the one that most people attach themselves to because they see a "suffering people" that are being "oppressed" by the big bad Israelis. First of all, let me take a second here to correct this misconceived notion of Palestinian people. Before 1948, the land that is currently Israel and Jordan was called Palestine. After 1948 the people that lived there were Israeli, Jordanian or Egyptian. The area called the Gaza Strip was under control by Egypt, and the area called the West Bank was under control by Jordan. At this time there was never any mention, talk or existence of Palestinians. After The Six Day War in June 1967, Israel took control of Gaza and the West Bank. This is when you first heard about the Palestinians and their pseudo love for their lost land and country. They were merely created to destroy the Jewish identity of this land that has existed for thousands of years.

The major argument of the forum was the "occupation" -- what most people call Israel's control over Gaza and the West Bank. When Ghazi Briegieth, a Palestinian peace activist, was asked how peace would be accomplished, he said that if Israel would leave Gaza and the West Bank there would be peace. I can't help but to laugh at such a ridiculous idea. Time and time again these terrorist groups known as Jihad, <u>Hezbollah</u>, Hamas, PLO (Palestinian Liberation Organization, now called the Palestinian Authority), Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and many more continually state that they will never stop their attacks until the occupiers have left their land. In other words, not until the destruction of Israel will the terrorists rampage of murder and destruction stop. There are multiple accounts of the

#### Middle East at the crossroads

Palestinian Authority providing funding for these same terrorist groups. Guess where the PA receives their funds to carry out the murder of innocent Israelis -- Americans or Europeans? Without the financial support of the governments of Iran, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait and other Muslim countries, the PA would be unable to carry out their wave of cold-blooded murder throughout the land of Israel. Peace? I think not.

When the areas in dispute were under Arab control there were still continuous attacks by terrorists. They would do everything in their power to kill Jews and to think otherwise is pure delusion. One must quintessentially ask, "Will Israel's security wall prevent the continued murder of innocent Jews?" Not when an Arab dresses as an Orthodox Jew and carries a bomb strapped to his chest onto a bus that is carrying innocent men, <u>women</u> and children, as was the case with the last Palestinian attack that killed more than 23 people including four Arabs at the Maxim Restaurant in Haifa. Will a Palestinian state stop the mortars and crudely made rockets from falling on homes where people are sleeping, where the shells rip holes in ceilings that are just above baby cradles? No, it will not! Will the shootings along highways stop? No they will not! Every day Israel receives about 40-50 terrorist warnings -- EVERY DAY!!!! And every day a few succeed.

Since three years ago after the Camp David summit, the amount of terrorist attacks in Israel would be about the equivalent of an Oklahoma City bombing every week within the United States. Israel is about the size of New Jersey with about six million Jews surrounded by more than 500 million Arabs. Would another sliver of Israel given up actually create peace? It would make Israel about 11 miles wide at the thinnest part. So, for pseudo peace, should Israel make itself less defendable? I would hope not.

Like anybody else in this world, I want peace in the Middle East; I want peace in the entire world. But for those terrorists this peace means the destruction of Israel. Is that really peace? No, it's not. And I would hope that the Muslim countries that support terrorism would soon see the grave mistake in their policies.

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Load-Date: December 4, 2003



Weekend: Space: Food: NO TASTE LIKE HOME: All of us have favourite family meals as we grow up, and our appetite for those comforting flavours never really leaves us. But in Nayla Audi's case, that desire is often the sole reason she heads to a small village in southern Lebanon

The Guardian (London) - Final Edition

May 1, 2004

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Section: Guardian Weekend Pages, Pg. 66

**Length:** 1482 words **Byline:** Nayla Audi

#### **Body**

When I heard that my friend Anissa Helou was writing a book about Middle Eastern bread, I knew there was one place I had to take her: southern Lebanon. Only a few years ago, a trip to that part of the country was fraught with danger, and we'd wait anxiously for bullets or missiles to come whizzing by, or cringe as we heard yet another roadside bomb go off. Unfortunately, my village fell on the border of the Israeli-occupied parts of south Lebanon, making it a perfect place for *Hizbullah* resistance fighters to infiltrate and for the Israeli army to retaliate against. Still, we continued to visit periodically. My father would go to check on the house, while my two daughters and I would tuck into local specialities.

Four years ago, the Israelis withdrew from the region, thereby ending a 22-year occupation. For the villagers, it meant a return to their harvests. For my father, it meant a return to his beloved home. And, for me, it meant many all-you-can-eat sessions on southern delicacies.

And so I bundled Anissa into the car and, soon, overcrowded Beirut was replaced by a quiet drive along the Mediterranean coast. When the scent of orange blossom engulfed us, we knew we were truly down south.

The first stop in every trip to my village is at the local bakery, which never closed during the occupation. I wanted Anissa to taste its manakish jreesh, a flat dough covered with olive oil and zaatar, a spice mixture of dried thyme, sesame seed and sumac (you can buy it ready-made in Middle Eastern food stores). Usually, white flour is used in Lebanon to make bread dough, but in the south we use organic cracked wheat flour mixed with anise seeds and spices. This has secured the bread a special place in our hearts - so much so that, throughout the occupation, my father insisted on visiting every weekend and bringing back as much manakish jreesh as he could carry.

My trip with Anissa took place on a Monday, market day, and all kinds of vegetables and fruits were laid out on the floor, each display manned by a woman. Among the radishes, red carrots, lettuce, parsley, basil and others were the famous zaatar leaves for which Lebanon is known. Village <u>women</u> spend hours every morning collecting this wild, thyme-like plant from the surrounding hills. Some of it is sold as is (and eaten with salads); the rest is beaten in a big mortar until the leaves are soft and tiny. It is this that is then mixed with sesame seeds and sumac to make the manakish

Weekend: Space: Food: NO TASTE LIKE HOME: All of us have favourite family meals as we grow up, and our appetite for those comforting flavours never really leave....

Nearby, the smell of barbecued meat beckoned us. Dozens of butchers stood in a row behind their tiny stalls, each of them with their own barbecue stand out front, inviting potential customers to taste their freshly cut meat served in pitta bread. We had to limit the extent of our tasting, unfortunately, because lunch awaited us at my father's house.

Just beyond the village is a fertile valley where most of the area's agricultural produce used to be grown. When I was a child, we used to run through the valley and play under the dozens of fruit trees that dot the land - farmers always welcomed the children and allowed us to eat as much fruit as we wanted. During the occupation, however, the valley became a strategic military point for the Israelis, and all the trees were burned down and the entire land mined. When I saw the barren land after 20 years, I could barely speak. Today, the valley has finally been declared free of mines and farmers are slowly returning to sow and plant trees once again.

Southern Lebanon is considered the poor area of the country. In culinary terms, this means that people eat solely what they grow. Over the years, they developed their own specialities and, unbeknown to them, they hit upon wholesome and organic meals that the upper classes of the city are now trying to include in their own diets. As meat is an expensive treat, villagers depend on crushed wheat as the filler in many meals. The word kibbet signifies anything made with crushed wheat.

As we'd expected, lunch was a southern affair: kibbet banadoura (tomato) and kibbet batata (potato), and fatoush (salad of thinly sliced cucumber, tomato, onion, parsley, all covered in tiny slices of baked or fried pitta bread). Another treat was lahme madkouka, a big plate of raw meat, pounded in a big stone mortar until resembling a puree, then spread out over a large plate and covered with a crushed wheat mixture made up of what southerners call tahweecheh, meaning "collected" (ie, anything found in their gardens). This might include parsley, mint, marjoram, lemon or orange peel, basil, sometimes even rose petals. The "collected" mixture is then pounded with crushed wheat, giving it a green colour, before being spread on the meat puree.

That evening, after Anissa and I had headed back to Beirut, I was already pining for the southern delicacies we left behind. And then my two young daughters said that they, too, wanted some of our village food. I didn't need to be asked twice - the next day, we were back down that coastal road again.

Tahweecheh

1/2 onion

1 small bunch flat-leaf parsley

1 small bunch mint

1 small bunch marjoram

Peel of 1 lemon

Peel of 1 orange

A few rose petals

A few basil leaves

200g cracked wheat or burghul

In a big mortar, pound everything together until completely blended. This mixture is the base for the three following recipes. All are usually accompanied by olive oil and pitta bread.

Kibbet banadoura

500g tomatoes, blanched, peeled and cut into very small dice

Weekend: Space: Food: NO TASTE LIKE HOME: All of us have favourite family meals as we grow up, and our appetite for those comforting flavours never really leave....

50g crushed walnuts

100g tahweecheh (see above)

Salt and pepper

Olive oil

Mix the tomatoes, walnuts, tahweecheh, salt and pepper until you get a dough-like texture. Spread it on a plate and serve with a dash of olive oil.

Kibbet batata

500g boiled potatoes

100g tahweecheh

3 tbsp olive oil, plus more to finish

1 tbsp lemon juice

Salt and pepper

Puree the potatoes, then add the tahweecheh, oil, lemon juice, salt and pepper (to taste), until you get a dough-like texture. Spread it on a plate and serve with a dash mo olive oil.

Lahme madkouka

500g meat (traditionally, we'd use boned leg of lamb)

Salt and pepper

200g tahweecheh

Pound or grind the meat until you have a pinkish puree, removing any visible veins as you do so. Season to taste, then spread out over a flat plate and cover with the tahweecheh.

Manakish jreesh

These breads are delicious. The addition of the manakish is optional. The recipe comes from Anissa Helou's soon to be released book, Savoury Baking From The Mediterranean.

100g King Arthur's organic cracked wheat (jreesh)

Scant 2 tsp active dry yeast

500g wholewheat flour, plus more for kneading, if necessary

1 tsp fine sea salt

3 tbsp anise seeds

3 tbsp sesame seeds

1/2 tsp ground mahlab (a popular Lebanes spice made from the pits of sour cherries; you should be able to buy it in most Middle Eastern food stores)

1/2 tsp ground aniseed

Weekend: Space: Food: NO TASTE LIKE HOME: All of us have favourite family meals as we grow up, and our appetite for those comforting flavours never really leave....

Extra-virgin olive oil, to grease the bowl

For the manakish

6 tbsp dried zaatar

3 tbsp olive oil

Put the cracked wheat to soak in cold water for an hour. Meanwhile, dissolve the yeast in 75ml of warm water and stir until creamy. Mix the flour, salt and spices in a large mixing bowl, making sure you distribute the spices evenly. Drain the cracked wheat and add it to the flour mix. Make a well in the centre, then add the yeast water and another 150ml warm water, and knead until you have a rough ball of dough.

Transfer the dough to your work surface and knead for another 10 minutes until you have a malleable dough. Push the dough to one side, smear the work surface with a tablespoon of water, then flatten out the dough over the wet surface. Spread another tablespoon of warm water on top of the dough. Using your knuckles, press down on the dough to flatten further. Pick up the corners and fold them towards the middle, repeating the process until the dough feels softer and even more malleable.

Grease a large bowl with a little olive oil. Shape the dough into a tight ball and place it in the bowl, rolling it to coat it all over in oil. Leave to rise in a warm, draught-free spot for an hour and a half, or until double in size.

When the dough is ready, divide it into six equal parts and roll each into a tight ball. Cover with a damp kitchen towel and leave to rise again for 45 minutes. Half an hour before the dough is ready, preheat the oven to its highest setting.

When the dough is ready, flatten each ball with your hands until you have six discs of about 18cm in diameter, transfer to a baking sheet and leave to rest again, this time for 10-15 minutes

If you are going to make manakish, mix the zaatar and oil together, then spread over the dough as soon as you flatten it, making sure you oil the edges. Bake in the preheated oven for 10-12 minutes, or until the edges are lightly golden. Remove, and set aside to rest for a few minutes before serving warm; alternatively, allow to cool on a rack and serve at room temperature

Load-Date: May 1, 2004



Sunday Times (London) April 8, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Features
Length: 2060 words
Byline: Simon Callow

## **Body**

Simon Callow sees Beirut bouncing back from the trials of war to find a new appetite for life, love -and Romeo and Juliet

Three months ago, Daniel Kramer was asked -specifically commissioned -to direct Romeo and Juliet with his River Styx Company for the Al-Bustan Festival in Beirut. There are a number of places in the world where this particular play could be expected to create resonances, but few more so than the Lebanese capital, in which, for 17 years, neighbours tore each other and their city to pieces. Well might Shakespeare's Prince have berated them:

Rebellious subjects, enemies to peace

Profaners of this neighbour-stained steel

Will they not hear? What, ho -you men, you beasts

That quench the fire of your pernicious rage

With purple fountains issuing from your veins!

Since 1992, a sort of peace has reigned, and last year the Israeli troops withdrew from south Lebanon, signalling a return to normality. But the scars and the wounds are everywhere. It might have seemed almost impertinent, perhaps tactless, of a group of young actors of mixed nationality to bring Shakespeare's admonitory fable to Beirut. In fact, the symbolism of their visit turned out to be quite otherwise.

I went to the premiere last month. The plane was (gosh, what a surprise) late. I had 20 minutes to get to the Al-Bustan Hotel, in whose theatre the production was taking place; the hotel was a 45-minute drive away. The charming man who greeted me at the smart new airport smiled when I pointed out the urgency of the matter. Calmly, suavely, he guided me into a car. The burly driver put his foot down and never took it off as we rattled furiously through downtown Beirut, which was thus presented to me as his life passes before a drowning man: at lightning speed and with terrible detail. There was the usual Middle and Near Eastern urban sprawl -the cement rectangles mixed in with occasional 19th-century remnants, a minaret here, there a palace -but then, suddenly, great vacancies, an emptiness right at the centre of things. Buildings pitted with black cavities, others with whole walls blown out, mangled metalwork groping up to the sky, tower blocks smeared with smoke, their penthouses gouged out.

Then, as we swung vertiginously round on two wheels, through red lights, up a winding hill road, a sudden glimpse of something quite different: long elegant streets of blemishless neoclassical buildings in yellow brick, with a clock tower and a few chic shops. Only nobody was walking down the newly laid pavements, no customers were in the brilliantly illuminated bars.

The car was climbing up, away from the mirage, up into the hills, overtaking at every turn, brakes shrieking, wheels swerving, as Beirut, now just a carpet of twinkling lights, lay beneath us, leading down to the black expanse that is the Mediterranean. Here, up in the hills, we seemed to be in a quite different part of town: secure bourgeois houses, elegant shops, palm trees. We might almost have been in the suburbs of Cannes or Monte Carlo.

Suddenly we'd arrived at the hotel. It was 8.31pm. The show had just started:

Two households, both alike in dignity

In fair Verona where we lay our scene

From ancient grudge break to new mutiny

Where civil blood makes civil hands unclean.

How would they take it? What would this audience, the inhabitants of the city I have just glimpsed in fast-forward, make of Romeo and Juliet? For a start, who were they? I peered round to see well-heeled, elegant, bejewelled people, triumphs of their coiffeur's art, handsome, hawk-like men, <u>women</u> with natural cheekbones beyond the dreams of plastic surgeons. They were watching the stage keenly, and laughing appreciatively: laughing at subtle references, at Elizabethan quibbles that it is by no means certain the average English audience will get. Then, when the fighting broke out -in this production savage and eruptive -they laughed again. They laughed at the absurdity of it. They purred with pleasure at the peacock couture the young actors were wearing; they gasped as the lovers ascended the trapeze and played out their ardour in a sort of ecstatic circus. They followed everything, and at the interval, they cheered.

In the foyer, Myrna Bustani, the formidable woman who created this festival and who owns the hotel, was receiving compliments on the production, relaxing, evidently for the first time: her gamble to present this unknown group of nomads as the highlight of her festival had paid off. The talk was all of the imagery, the poetry, the passion of the production. It was not of the war in the play, the violence, the waste. It was all about theatre and not about life, because now, here, at this moment -at last! -the war was over and civilised existence, with all its rich resources, was returning to Beirut. In the bar I talked to theatre people, businessmen, socialites, politicians. I discovered something extraordinary: they viewed the war not so much with horror as with something like bashfulness, as a man with a hangover recalls the events of the night before. The debris was all around them (the war even made its way up here, into the privileged hills), but the precise motivation, the exact impulses that led to it, are now obscure. Where are the vile beginners of this fray?

Of course everyone knows the politics -the arrival of the refugee Palestinians in 1948, the growing tension over the French- devised constitution, the <u>Hezbollah</u>'s attacks over the border, the overwhelming Israeli retaliation, the involvement of the Americans -but still it is unclear to them how a society that for centuries had lived, with intermittent violent eruptions, in prosperous harmony, purveyors of the dolce vita, the bankers of the Arab world, makers of fine wines and the best food in the entire region, breeders of heart-stopping singers and incomparable dancers -how had they bred that, everything that was down there, on the blasted plains below?

The following day I went downtown, where Maurice Malouf, one of Beirut's leading actors and teachers, took some of us on a guided tour of the city's theatres. They were few, and small, but the flame was burning: in the opera puppet theatre, in the Theatre el-Medina, they'd just done Albee's Three Tall <u>Women</u>. The Theatre Monnot was doing a new play translated by the leading actress from the French; she told me that it was almost impossible to find plays in local bookshops, but that she had discovered that she could print them out from the internet. Little by little, people are coming back to the theatres. Maurice described the horrors of acting through a raid, of hiding down corridors at the end, creeping home at 6am when the fighting finally subsided. He also reminded me that theatre is

something of a novelty in the history of Lebanon: the Arab tradition eschews the representation of the human form in any medium, considering it to be blasphemously competitive with the handiwork of the Almighty. But Lebanon, in this as in so many other matters, quietly modified the stricter exigencies of the Koran.

Maurice, a living exemplar of the fabled hospitality of the Lebanese, subsequently took Dan, me and a handful of the actors to Al-Birkeh, a superb restaurant on the other side of town, where we consumed table-loads of meze, scoffed stuffed vine leaves, cod in tahini, chopped raw meat, paste of brains, meatballs, preceding it all with tumblers of absinthe-like arak and washing it down with gallons of exquisite local wine, ending up with peculiarly pungent Turkish coffee and dizzying, honey-drenched puffs of the nargileh, as the hookah calls itself here.

Our fellow diners -a party from the American embassy and a couple of tables of Beirut families -finally gave in to the sinuous and teasing music of the band, which was winding up the tension till it becomes unbearable not to dance. The Americans, cool and self-conscious or hearty and muscular, seemed hopeless by the side of the elderly Lebanese man and woman who gyrated effortlessly, the sway and the snap of their hands snake-charming each other into as near to sex as you can get with your clothes on.

Maurice reminded me of quite how old this land of his is when he told me that after the Albee, the Theatre el-Medina performed a story-telling epic on Timur, Tamburlaine's great rival -many of whose bloodthirstiest exploits took place on Lebanese soil. Maurice's family has been here since the 7th century AD (Greek Orthodox; the religious question is the first one you ask), but even they were Johnny-come-latelies: before them were the Romans, the Greeks and, first, the fabled Phoenicians with their boats and their commerce and their jewellery and their dyes; their city of Byblos has been continuously inhabited for longer than any other city on the face of the globe. According to legend, Jonah, Noah and Jacob are buried here. Every one of these civilisations -and the Ottomans, and the French, and the Lebanese themselves -have left traces; at Dog River, invaders from the Assyrians to the Americans have inscribed their graffiti.

In downtown Beirut, the juxtapositions assail you: the remains of the Roman baths abut on the Place de l'Etoile, Rafic Hariri's pristine development with the clock tower and the empty streets I had seen on the night I arrived; as I stood trying to pull these two things together, a child beggar approached: he had no hands. I panicked. How do you give money to someone with no hands? I moved away swiftly from this living witness of the horrors of war, and then the awful thought came to me: Had his hands been severed purposely? And later I was told that, yes, in all likelihood they were cut off at birth for professional purposes.

At the end of the Place de l'Etoile, excavation was in progress: the war, in blasting away the 19th-century city, has uncovered much older civilisations, themselves blasted away. Beirut has often been destroyed, by man and by nature; an earthquake ripped it apart in the 6th century AD. Between the excavations, the new developments, the ruins, the undemolished but destroyed buildings, the abandoned new buildings, buildings in progress, it has the appearance of an organism that is simultaneously dead, dying, living and being reborn.

Another disturbing juxtaposition awaited. At Baalbek, west of Beirut, are the remains of the grandest, the largest site of worship in the Roman world.

The six remaining columns of the Temple of Jupiter with their entablature intact stand like a vast set of stumps for some Olympian cricket match, visible from miles away. As we disembarked from the bus, our ears were assaulted by the ranting exhortations of the *Hezbollah*, clangorously amplified from the crude loudspeakers at the top of a tower. The grating, guttural hysteria echoed poisonously out across the serene, ravaged beauty of the ancient site. But "hate's proceeding", as Shakespeare's Prince would have it, was replaced eventually by the muezzin's intonation of the Koran, monodic, even monotonous, but unexpectedly soul-stirring. This, in turn, was replaced with groin music of the souk, sensuous and seductive.

All these elements are part of what Lebanon is. "A glooming peace this morning with it brings," the Prince bleakly observes at the end of Romeo and Juliet. But now, today, peace rather than gloom is in the ascendant.

Simon Callow travelled to Beirut as a guest of Sunvil

Getting there: MEA (020 7493 5681) flies direct from Heathrow to Beirut five times a week, with excursion fares starting at Pounds 312. British Airways (0845 773 3377) also has daily flights from Heathrow. Travel Deals (020 7371 6300) has fares with Olympic Airways from either Heathrow or Manchester via Athens, starting at Pounds 305. Trailfinders in Dublin (01 677 7888) has fares with Lufthansa, via Frankfurt, from IRPounds 420.

Tour operators: Sunvil (020 8758 4722) has four-night guided tours based in Beirut from Pounds 665pp, including B&B and flights with MEA from Heathrow. Also try: Cox & Kings (020 7873 5000); Abercrombie & Kent (0845 070 0617); Explore Worldwide (01252 760000); and Kuoni (01306 743000).

Best guidebook: Travellers Survival Kit Lebanon (Vacation-Work Pounds 10.99).

Further information: visit www.

lebanon2c.com for listings and information. The ninth Al-Bustan Festival is from February 19 to March 24, 2002. For details, visit <a href="https://www.albustanfestival.com">www.albustanfestival.com</a>

## **Graphic**

Travel; Lebanon; Beirut

Load-Date: April 9, 2001



## Egyptian opposition bides time

The Toronto Star
September 10, 2005 Saturday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A12

Length: 925 words

Byline: Mitch Potter, Toronto Star

**Dateline: CAIRO** 

## **Body**

The barren concrete stairwell spirals upward around an elevator shaft that appears not to have seen movement since the British left Egypt. And at the end of a corridor that has also seen better days, a tiny wooden sign barely whispers the power that lies within.

"Muslim Brotherhood," it reads.

If true democracy had come to Egypt, the new president might today be behind this door. But the sudden Arab spring that led to Wednesday's first-yet multi-party elections did not sprout a candidate from the Brotherhood. The country's oldest Islamic movement, founded in 1928, was forced to watch Hosni Mubarak trounce an opposition far weaker than itself, reclaiming the title of president for a fifth time.

Banned but unbowed, the Muslim Brotherhood sees time - and, by its own reckoning, as many as 40 per cent of the Egyptian people - on its side. Violence, this once bloody group now abhors. It is through evolution, not revolution, the movement patiently predicts its day will come.

And it promises that day need not be feared, not by Egypt, nor the West. Because the mellow, modern Brotherhood says it has come to realize the "Islamic democracy" of its dreams must govern with tolerance, or perish.

"We are not bitter. We are not angry. We know that freedom has its prices and burdens and this exclusion is part of it," Mohammed Habib, supreme council deputy, told the Toronto Star.

At 62, Habib is emblematic of the moderate face of the modern Brotherhood leadership. A university geography professor, Habib has spent three stints in Egyptian prisons for his activism since the 1970s, yet remains a genteel host.

He offers tea in formal Arabic, via the <u>female</u> translator accompanying his guest. Her head is not covered, which does not faze him. When the conversation turns to the group's vision of an Egypt that adheres to the teachings of Islam and what that might mean for <u>women</u>, he emphasizes his comfort with modernity.

"We are not standing with veils, waiting to cover this country," Habib says, addressing the translator as much as this reporter.

#### Egyptian opposition bides time

"There are some who think this way perhaps, but these ideas need to be changed. And they are changing. We believe in democracy. We believe democracy is consistent with Islam. And we believe the state is a civil institution." Such promises, Habib acknowledges, have yet to sway many Egyptians, who fear a bedrock fundamentalism lies beneath the tolerant facade.

Nor does it help that on the eve of another anniversary of the attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, the Muslim Brotherhood's international reputation tends to revolve around the fact that many decades ago its ranks included Ayman al-Zawahiri, now believed to be the second-in-command of Al Qaeda.

Habib makes it plain. He unabashedly criticizes Al Qaeda.

"We consider everything they do to be crimes."

During the run-up to elections, many Egyptians remarked upon the acquiescence of the Brotherhood, which urged its membership, estimated at as many as five million people, to participate by voting for any candidate of their choosing. The decision not to formally boycott struck many as suspicious.

"Some people wondered whether there was a deal with the regime. Were there promises that the Brotherhood could field a certain number of independent candidates in the upcoming parliamentary elections in exchange?" asked Abdallah Al-Ashaal, professor of international relations at the American University of Cairo.

"We don't know. But we do know that the Brotherhood has a generation of very gifted, very enlightened leaders now. They are not dogmatic any more and they understand the dilemma. They are better off co-operating, rather than trying to fight Mubarak, who has proven he will simply arrest and put them in jail."

Ashaal said the relationship that matters more is the one between Mubarak and Washington, which he says remains ambivalent to an Egypt so democratic as to give the Brotherhood the opportunity of full participation.

"America can push hard or it can push with feathers. And the impression of most Egyptians is that we are seeing feathers," he said. "But the danger of this equation is that Mubarak will take his victory as total validation for his policies, just as (U.S. President) George Bush took his last victory, with just 51 per cent of the vote, and rushed onward with his agenda.

"If that happens, many of us believe the other part of the game will be the ascension of Mubarak's son Gamal into the seat of power, one way or another. It suits the ruling party, it suits America, and it keeps the Brotherhood at bay."

Gamal Mubarak, 40, is widely seen as the guiding hand behind his father's democratic makeover.

"But it is not the faces that matter," warns Ashaal. "It's the corruption. And the expectations that this time 70 million Egyptian people are looking for someone to address their mountain of problems."

The Muslim Brotherhood isn't likely to interfere with any such transition. But its leaders admit the frustrations of watching from the wings as it sees other Islamic groups gain political foothold elsewhere in the region. <u>Hezbollah</u> of Lebanon is a case in point. And even the Palestinian group Hamas, an offshoot of the Brotherhood, is finding stronger democratic legs.

"We watch the situation in Lebanon and Palestine and we find there is dialogue. Hamas and others are involved in negotiations. They have a voice.

"But that is not our situation. Here we are restricted, chased away. We don't believe in revolutions, we don't believe in violence. We can only work peacefully to keep the popular pressure. It is our only choice."

# **Graphic**

## Egyptian opposition bides time

AMR NABIL AP Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood deputy leader Mohammed Habib speaks at a demonstration in front of a "national coalition for reform" sign.

Load-Date: September 10, 2005



# Rejected refugee faces peril in Iran: Haleh Sahba, charged with speaking out against the state, needs Canada's help. So where is Judy Sgro?

The Vancouver Sun (British Columbia)

December 31, 2004 Friday

Final Edition

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Length: 918 words

Byline: Daphne Bramham, Vancouver Sun

## **Body**

For nearly a month, Haleh Sahba had to report to police every morning in Tehran to confirm she was still in Iran.

That she was free at all came at a high price. Her family, friends and relatives -- all of whom live in Canada -- put up four pieces of property in Iran, securing her freedom until her court date.

Haleh left Iran illegally four years ago to join her family. Once here, she applied for and was refused refugee status.

She is also charged with speaking out against the state of Iran and two undisclosed crimes -- undisclosed by her family for fear that the Iranian government will deal even more harshly with Sahba if they speak out.

In Iran, the penalties range from flogging to execution.

Last week, Haleh's father, Habib Sahba, along with three other men and a woman, signed affidavits, swearing that they would ensure Haleh appears in court when her case is heard Jan. 25. Since then Sahba and her father have left Tehran, where she didn't feel safe, and gone to another part of the country.

Since then, Sahba has also learned that all four of her closest university friends, who worked with her to organize rallies in support of greater freedoms and rights for **women** during the late 1990s, are in jail.

Until Dec. 6, Sahba reported every day not to police, but to work at a downtown Vancouver Starbucks where she was a shift supervisor and such a valuable employee that Starbucks has written to Immigration Minister Judy Sgro promising it is more than willing to give Sahba her job back.

That ended abruptly following an hour-long hearing in Federal Court when Madame Justice Judith Snider ruled that if Sahba were sent back to Iran she "would not suffer irreparable harm," since other failed refugee claimants had been returned without incident.

Snider said Sahba and her lawyer hadn't provided any evidence that she would be at risk as a failed refugee and, as a result, the immigration officer couldn't consider that.

The judge also called it implausible that Sahba's ex-husband and his brother, who is a senior member of the terrorist group *Hezbollah*, would be any danger to Sahba.

Rejected refugee faces peril in Iran: Haleh Sahba, charged with speaking out against the state, needs Canada's help. So where is Judy Sgro?

The next day, the 30-year-old divorced woman and former student activist boarded a plane accompanied by a Canadian immigration officer en route for Iran.

She was arrested on arrival. During her 26-hour detention, she was struck in the face and head twice when she refused to sign a statement denouncing Canada.

Sahba's sister, Laleh, who spoke to Haleh earlier this week, says Haleh is terrified. Laleh's father told her that Haleh wakes up screaming with fear in the middle of the night. During the daytime, Haleh and her father go everywhere together, believing they're safer that way.

Iran is a frightening place, especially for <u>women</u>. They can be arrested by religious police for such transgressions as wearing brightly coloured nail polish or even wearing brightly coloured sweaters.

The most recent horror brought to Western attention by Amnesty International was the November sentencing of Hajieh Esmailvand to death by stoning for having had an adulterous relationship. On Dec. 21, she was given a stay of execution, but there are still concerns that the rest of her sentence will be carried out. It includes five years in jail and 100 lashes.

Earlier this year, the son of Canadian Fatemeh Magd died after been flogged 80 times after being accused of corrupting his sisters, owning an illegal satellite dish and possessing medicines containing alcohol.

Mohsen Mofidi turned himself in to Iranian police in exchange for the release of his two sisters. The sisters were arrested by morality police at a party at their brother's apartment, beaten with chains during their detention and were later sentenced to 130 lashes for having boyfriends. The sisters came to Richmond before their sentences were carried out.

The irony in Sahba's case is that she would qualify as an immigrant. She speaks English, has a university education and 17 of her family -- all of them except a religious uncle who despises her because of her divorce -- live in Canada.

But Sahba, twice denied a visa to leave Iran, believed her only hope of joining her family was to leave illegally.

She paid thousands of dollars to a human trafficker who secured flights for her from Turkey to Malaysia to Germany and then to Canada, and eventually robbed her of both her real Iranian passport and a fake one.

She checked the refugee claimant box on the form when she arrived at Vancouver International Airport, setting in motion a process that makes it impossible to then apply as an immigrant.

Sahba's family cling to the hope that before her Tehran court date on Jan. 25, the immigration minister will issue a temporary-resident permit to Sahba.

That would be the documentation she needs to leave Iran and get on an airplane bound for Canada. It would also allow either a European country or the United States to intervene and provide her with even temporary sanctuary.

While even criminals don't seem to be deported from Canada these days, it appears that Sahba's "crime" is that she either knowingly tried to jump the immigration queue or she got a lot of bad advice from smugglers and lawyers about how to be a successful refugee.

Whichever it was, surely even Sgro should recognize that any further punishment the Iranian authorities mete out is likely to be totally out of proportion to Sahba's crime of wanting to be close to her family.

And it might be a small step toward Sgro putting the immigrant-stripper scandal behind her.

dbramham@png.canwest.com

Rejected refugee faces peril in Iran : Haleh Sahba, charged with speaking out against the state, needs Canada's help. So where is Judy Sgro?

# **Graphic**

Color Photo: Haleh Sahba was struck in the head and face by Iranian police for refusing to denounce Canada.

Load-Date: December 31, 2004



# It is hard to deny Iraq is sinking fast

Western Morning News (Plymouth)

September 22, 2005

Default Edition

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Section: News; Other; Others; Pg. 12

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# **Body**

A S 160 servicemen are despatched from the Westcountry to Iraq, and our thoughts and best wishes are with them this morning, we should not pull the blanket over our heads and fail to see the new and harsh realities of Iraq after its long scorching summer.

There have been many voices in Britain, heard before and after the illegal invasion of Iraq in March 2003, forecasting that it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to keep Iraq united in the future.

Today that is seen to be true.

While Whitehall's spokesmen can point to areas of Iraq where conditions are improving, for Iraq is a vast country of five million people, it is very hard to deny that Iraq is sinking fast. The Shia-lef Government of Ibrahim Jaafari looks weak and is losing its way. There are dangerous signs that it cannot impose its will on the local authorities in Southern Iraq where British troops are based. The coalition is crumbling at the edges and at a time when Iraq is desperate for greater international commitment. In Washington and in London, serious politicians are talking of the need for an exit strategy.

Hope, such as it is, has hovered around Iraq's proposed constitution. British diplomats have been trying to help it along behind the scenes. It was unfair of its critics to claim it had only been written by American stooges and exiles. The 71 members of the drafting committee had been appointed by Iraqis and came from wide political and ethnic backgrounds. The Sunni minority made a big mistake in boycotting January's elections, and would have paid a bigger price if unelected Sunni representatives had not been drafted, sensibly, on to the committee.

Many other countries in the region would be only too pleased to have their recently-elected representatives deciding on a new constitution. There is much in it that will have a wide measure of support inside and outside Iraq. For example, it is stated that Iraq will be republican, democratic and pluralist with 25 per cent of the seats in its Parliament reserved for *women*.

The main Sunni objections are over the use of the word "federal" and the treatment of former members of the Ba'ath Party. The Foreign Office is putting it about that some Sunni political leaders broadly welcome the draft constitution, but feel unable to say so in public in the present climate. This may, or may not, be the case. What is clear is that, at present, it looks as if those opposed to the constitution will win a two-thirds majority on October 15 in three of the country's 18 provinces. This would legally destroy the proposed constitution. It is by no means clear what would happen then.

There has been little coverage of the British authorities and the 7,000 British troops in southern Iraq. We have a Consul-General, Stewart Innes, in Basra who has been in post for several months. He comes under Britain's new ambassador in Baghdad, William Patey. The task of both is to have a strong dialogue with politicians and officials and support in every way the national political process.

The British troops are part of the Multi-National Division in the South East which has a British Commander, Major General John Riley. The British contingent is overstretched, but that said it is a well-trained, well-equipped and impressive force of which we can all be proud. There have been reports for weeks that the number of British soldiers in Iraq is going to be further reduced. It is likely that some will be flown to Afghanistan where Britain has taken on a large commitment.

The Shia South is confident that, representing the ethnic majority, events are going its way. No region was more pleased to see the back of Saddam Hussein. In practice, local people are more encouraged to work out their own future. This has led to the south becoming less tolerant. The south is becoming a mini-state and increasingly Islamist.

The pictures of individual and popular clerics are now displayed in the local police stations - not necessarily a political gesture in Iraq. The British have been concerned at the feuds between the Shia factions, one of which is the Mehdi Army, a banned militia loyal to Moqtadn al-Sadr. The police are trained and encouraged to keep above them. This does not always happen and, inevitably, police commanders will be wondering who they will be reporting to in a short while.

There have been disturbing reports for months that Shiite militiamen have been infiltrating the police. I presume this led to the recent placing in jail of two undercover British soldiers and their subsequent release in a bold but controversial operation.

To add to such problems, there are strong suspicions that Iran is getting more involved in the upsurge of violence in the south, possibly because of the election victory last month of the hawkish President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. No doubt he dislikes Britain's hardening position against Iran's nuclear programme. The UN Security Council might impose sanctions on Iran.

Military intelligence has suggested that Iran is supporting a terror group in south Iraq, run by Abu Mustafa al-Sheibani, which is believed to have nearly 300 members. It may have been behind the murder of six Royal Military Policemen back in 2003.

There has been an increase in the number of attack on our troops during the summer, and Iran may have supplied a sophisticated new armour-piercing bomb, which is also in the hands of *Hezbollah* in Lebanon.

In truth, Iran and other countries are linked with powerful forces in Iraq over which Washington, London and Baghdad have little or no control. The country seems to be sliding into the sort of anarchy, horror and despair that Lebanon experienced some years ago.

Load-Date: September 24, 2005



# Inside the mind of a suicide bomber

Daily Telegraph (Sydney, Australia) (Sydney, Australia)

July 12, 2005 Tuesday

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Length: 1043 words

**Byline: KEITH SUTER** 

# **Body**

Suicidal killers are a recent phenomenon in armed resistance groups, writes KEITH SUTER

Eighty-eight Australians were killed in Bali on October 12, 2002. They were among 202 who died. This was one of the worst suicide terrorist attacks in modern history.

Between 1980 and 2003, there were 315 suicide bombings worldwide. Most were directed at developed countries. Almost all the attacks have been against a handful of nations: Australia, the United States, France, India, Indonesia, Israel, Russia, Sri Lanka, Spain, and Turkey. Since the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, that nation has also been in the firing line.

**MATP** 

The common aim of such a tactic is to force a democratic country to change its policy. Suicide bombing is generally a tool for groups fighting for national liberation of some sort. They see themselves fighting an invader or occupier (such as the US and its allies). Islamic fundamentalism is not necessarily involved.

The largest number of suicide attacks have been done by the Tamil Tigers in Sri Lanka, who are a communist movement drawn from Hindu families. Of 315 such attacks recorded, 76 were carried out by the Tamil Tigers. They are fighting for the independence of northern Sri Lanka from the majority Buddhist Sinhalese. The Tigers are the only such group in the world to have killed two heads of government with suicide bombs: India's prime minister Rajiv Gandhi in 1991 and Sir Lanka's president Ranasinhe Premadasa in 1993.

Modern suicide terrorist groups share a number of characteristics. In general they are militarily and numerically weaker than their opponents. Their goals, if not their tactics, are broadly supported by a distinct national community.

The militants have a close bond of loyalty to each other and a devotion to their leader. They have a system of initiation and rituals of commitment to the community.

Suicide terrorists are often educated people from affluent families, such as those involved in the September 11, 2001, attack on the US. They are not often, as we might think, psychologically disturbed young men. They seem quite well-adjusted (bearing in mind the rigorous training they undergo). Some of the most effective terrorists are **women**. Before 1980, the best-known suicide terror groups included the militant Jewish revolutionary groups the Zealots and the Sicarii (named after their dagger). They committed public assassinations about 2000 years ago against the Roman occupiers of the Holy Land. They attacked victims in broad daylight using daggers concealed under cloaks.

#### Inside the mind of a suicide bomber

Another famous group was The Assassins, Shiite Muslims based in Iran in the 11th and 12th centuries, who fought the Sunni rulers and Christian Crusaders. They welcomed death in combat.

Japanese kamikaze pilots targeted the military rather than civilians. But they were still willing to die for their cause, and did so frequently from October 25, 1944, until Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945. About 3843 pilots killed themselves. They failed to stop the Allies but exacted a high cost. They damaged or sank at least 375 Allied ships, killed 12,300 Allied service personnel and wounded 36,400. Japanese soldiers preferred to die in battle rather than face capture, seen as the ultimate humiliation.

Between 1945 and 1980, suicide attacks temporarily disappeared from the international scene.

There were numerous acts of suicide by individuals in the service of political causes, such as IRA prisoners going on a hunger strike in the 1970s in Northern Ireland.

But there is not a single instance of a suicide terrorist killing others from 1945-80. The modern use of suicide attacks began in the early 1980s, with the Islamic <u>Hezbollah</u> group in Lebanon. The largest loss of American military personnel in history -- in percentage terms -- took place on October 23, 1983, when a suicide terrorist drove a truckload of explosives into the US Marines compound in Beirut; 241 soldiers were killed (about 10 per cent of the force). There was a near-simultaneous attack on the French base, which killed 58 French troops.

The US and France immediately quit Lebanon. The toll was an inspiration to other would-be suicide attackers. Suicide attacks are used because they can be effective.

They helped force Israel out of southern Lebanon in 1985, and they have helped force Israel out of the Gaza Strip (the settlers' withdrawal is currently underway). This style of attack also had a hand in forcing the Sri Lankan Government to create an independent Tamil state from 1990.

The assassination of the Indian prime minister stopped any Indian attempt at ever again deploying troops in Sri Lanka to assist the Sri Lankan government.

Having scared India off, the Tamil Tigers have not found it necessary to attack Indian targets again.

Meanwhile, there is a stalemate in current campaigns, such as the Chechens rebelling against Russian control, the Kashmiris against India and the Iraqi rebels against the US and its allies. Osama bin Laden is still on the loose in southern Afghanistan or northern Pakistan. He is the spiritual leader of the international al-Qaeda network, probably behind last week's London terror attacks.

Terrorist groups have learned from each other. For example, Tamil Tigers pioneered the now common "suicide belt". This is an undergarment with specially made pockets to hold explosives and triggering devices that fit the human bomb's body. Other groups have followed this idea.

Terrorist groups need community support. First, such support enables a group to replenish its membership to make up for the losses through deaths in action.

Second, terrorist groups need to avoid detection by security forces. Broad sympathy among local populations means they can quickly find safe places in which to hide.

Finally, community support is necessary for acceptance of the suicide terrorists as being martyrs to the cause. Many suicide terrorists make videos to be shown after their death. In the Middle East, souvenirs such as keyrings honour martyrs with portraits.

Suicide attacks comprise just 3 per cent of all terrorist attacks from 1980 to 2003, but account for 48 per cent of the fatalities.

\* Acknowledgments to Dying to Win: The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism, by Robert Pape (Scribe, Melbourne, on sale from yesterday)

Load-Date: July 11, 2005



# Realism and pessimism, Palestinians and Israelis; Globalist

The International Herald Tribune
January 15, 2005 Saturday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 2

Length: 966 words

Byline: Roger Cohen

Dateline: RAMAT HASHARON, Israel

# **Body**

What follows is a summary of a senior Israeli intelligence officer's presentation of his national security concerns. The officer is a pessimist, by nature, and because he is paid to imagine worst-case scenarios. But the history of the last half-century suggests pessimism is no more than realism in this part of the world.

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#### Security Review 2005

The decision to dismantle settlements in Gaza is irrevocable. Israeli society is split between those opposed to this course and those who do not like it but think it is necessary. Still, the operation will go ahead. Its risks should not be underestimated.

International Herald Tribune

Consider this scenario. We are engaged in trying to move 5,000 inhabitants of the settlements at Gush Katif, in southern Gaza. The settlers are joined by 15,000 supporters from around the country. Children are crying, <u>women</u> screaming, men shouting. We've moved in trucks and buses and thousands of police officers and troops. In this mayhem, mortars are fired from the adjacent Palestinian town of Khan Yunis, perhaps by a faction determined to reinforce the impression we are leaving under fire. Ten Israelis are wounded. Under such conditions, can we proceed with the plan?

Even before this stage, there may be problems. A government decision on disengagement from Gaza has been made, but our citizens there have not yet received formal notification. People in their homes for a quarter-century may receive only three months' written notice to move. There will be appeals to the Supreme Court; their outcome is uncertain.

The prime minister's determination is such we must assume the operation will be completed, perhaps by September, despite such obstacles. Most people think our security will improve after that, at least in the Gaza area, because a reason to fight us will have been removed. That is a dangerous assumption.

In the absence of our forces and intelligence in Gaza, Palestinian military capability may improve. I refer to rockets with a longer range. I refer to the smuggling of surface-to-air missiles from Egypt. The possibility that a coastal town like Ashkelon will be hit exists. How would we respond?

#### Realism and pessimism, Palestinians and Israelis; Globalist

If we find a transformed Palestinian Authority led by Mahmoud Abbas, one that is strong and accountable, we may expect a determined effort to stop such attacks.

But our belief is that he is not powerful enough to dismantle terrorist groups, especially Hamas. Pressure from *Hezbollah*, from Iran and from Syria to maintain military pressure on Israel will be insistent. The most Abbas will obtain is a truce.

But a truce may only complicate our political situation.

Let's assume there is quiet. The Palestinians, backed by the Europeans and the Arab world, will say: You see, all the problems are caused by the Israeli occupation. If Israel would only do as it has done in Gaza and pull back to the 1967 lines, abandoning the West Bank, the conflict would be over. We know this is an illusion. But our view is not widely shared.

It is an illusion because many Palestinians still seek a state that would replace ours, rather than one that will exist alongside Israel. But Abbas will have several cards to play to put pressure on us.

He will point to a democracy as good as any in the Arab world. He will point to cleaned-up finances. He will point to reorganized security services. He will say the guns are quiet. He will recall that President George W. Bush once spoke of a Palestinian state by 2005. He will be in a hurry. That is when the complications will start, because we are not in a hurry.

The road map is clear. Its path to peace differs from the Oslo accords in one critical respect. Implicit in Oslo was the notion that peace leads to security. The road map says security comes first, then peace.

Until we can guarantee our security, we are not going to discuss a political solution. There has to be a full and final Palestinian decision to give up terror as a means to achieve political ends. A truce or a cease-fire are not enough.

We want to see Abbas arrest and try and sentence to life terms militants who have killed Israelis. This has never happened. We want to see a law saying it is illegal to carry weapons. We know what the dismantlement of Palestinian terror cells is. Until it happens, we must resist pressure to discuss a final-status peace. There is a perception that the road to such a peace is now open. But it's not that simple.

Even as a pessimist, however, I must acknowledge a few hopeful signs. Hamas has been weakened. It used to get 70 percent of its funds from Saudi Arabia. That channel has been curtailed. It has turned to Iran, to some effect. But a terror organization is like any business: it needs money to be successful. Hamas now has less.

Both sides have understood the need for compromise -- on territory, on Jerusalem. The gap is smaller. Credible leadership exists on both sides. Support from Washington, from Egypt, from Turkey is real. If the Palestinians will accept a state with interim borders -- an accord that is not definitive -- we may make headway.

Abbas understands that in the post-9/11 world, violence is counterproductive. The price is too high. He is credible when he says he opposes a militarized intifada. But his real strength, and his flexibility on issues such as the right of return of Palestinian refugees, remain in doubt.

In conclusion, I do not see a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the foreseeable future. But we may, if we are realistic, enter a period of calm marked by cooperation and sincere attempts to solve problems. That is the best-case scenario: not a peace agreement, but various agreements building peace.

However, because the Palestinians will want more, because our timetables are not synchronized, the worst may as ever be inevitable.

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Load-Date: January 16, 2005



# Lives in the balance

Courier Mail (Queensland, Australia) September 15, 2004 Wednesday

Copyright 2004 Nationwide News Pty Limited

Section: FEATURES; Pg. 23

**Length:** 1019 words **Byline:** John Hartley

# **Body**

The kidnapping of hostages has become an ugly feature of international conflict, writes John Hartley

KIDNAPPING in Iraq is becoming a favoured tactic among a variety of disaffected groups.

So far, the authorities have no effective way of responding to it, suggesting the trend will continue.

Kidnapping by terrorists is well documented in conflicts around the world.

In recent times the most notable cases involved the Lebanese radical Shia group <u>Hezbollah</u>, which detained many Western hostages in the 1980s.

Among them, American journalist Terry Anderson was held for six years and a British hostage negotiator, Terry Waite, for nearly five years. Both wrote extensively on their ordeals.

Kidnapping occurs largely for political or ideological reasons or for ransom. In the latter case there usually is a good success rate of an eventual release. Certainly this was the case with the Philippine-based Abu Sayyaf group and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia. But even in ransom cases, such as that involving Australian backpacker David Wilson, there is no guarantee of success.

Kidnapping can attract considerable public attention. If prolonged and subject to detailed media scrutiny, it can be exploited for its human-interest value as families and communities become emotionally involved. There also is the capacity to pressure governments, particularly if the kidnapping is seen to be linked to a broader policy issue.

Since March, 2003, more than 100 foreigners have been kidnapped in Iraq by a variety of groups. Most have been freed but at least 25 have been murdered. Although not generally reported, by far the largest number of those kidnapped have been Iraqi citizens with some observers suggesting as many as 10 a day.

Kidnapping of foreigners is carried out by an array of groups with such exotic titles as the Green Brigade, the Black Banners, the Horror Brigade, Islamic Response, the Islamic Army and so on.

Some of these groups undoubtedly are based on criminal gangs that seek to exploit the general lawlessness in Iraq and kidnap victims for ransom, so they can make financial gains.

Others, however, are part of an extremist Islamic group such as that headed by Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi.

#### Lives in the balance

The Jordanian-born Zarqawi is Iraq's most wanted terrorist and is considered so important authorities have posted a \$US25 million reward for his capture. His group is said to be linked to Al-Qaeda and certainly believes in the Wahhabi doctrine that is shared by so many extremist Sunni groups. Known as al-Tawid wel Jahid (Unity and Holy War), the group has killed a number of its kidnapped victims.

Iraqi citizens targeted tend to be children of middle class parents or professionals such as doctors and teachers. Most of the hostage takers are small-time criminals who seek quick payment.

A recent development, however, suggests that hostages are being sold "up the chain" to larger criminal or militant Islamic groups.

Foreigners in Iraq are kidnapped for a variety of reasons. Pressure is placed on governments to withdraw their troops, to cease reconstruction activity and to end their support for the interim Government.

Aid agencies, civil contractors and journalists also are targets.

The militants also carry out kidnappings to shore up their own support and credibility within the Islamic world. They also see their activities as part of the global jihad.

No country or field of endeavour appears immune. Nor do those of an Islamic faith necessarily have a better chance of survival. Of the 20 or so hostages presently held, at least a dozen nationalities are involved.

The nationality of the kidnapped victim and that country's relationship with Iraq largely will dictate how the kidnapping is handled and what level of support the hostages attract.

Some hostages, such as the two French journalists and the two Italian <u>women</u> aid workers, attract considerable publicity and government support. Others, such as Turkish truck drivers and Nepalese cooks and cleaners, do not.

There is no doubt the willingness of some countries and groups to deal with the hostage takers impacts on their perceived level of success.

Several private firms have agreed to deals that have secured the release of their hostages. In some cases this has involved the payment of ransoms or a decision to suspend further activity in Iraq. There also is a suspicion that a number of countries also have entered into such deals.

By far the best-documented case is the Philippines, which agreed to withdraw its troops to ensure the safe release of one of its nationals. A CNN report also insists that the release of an Egyptian diplomat was the result of a payment of a large sum of money. There also are allegations that money was paid to release three Italians who were kidnapped some months ago.

Regardless of the veracity of these claims, there is little doubt that hostage takers believe they are able to have their demands met.

TO this end the 32-country multinational force agreed in August that they would make no concessions to terrorist demands. A co-ordinated campaign was mounted to this effect.

Hostage-taking also has been condemned by many Islamic organisations, some of which have been involved in militant activity. The Islamic group Hamas has deplored the kidnapping of the French journalist, describing France as a "supporter of the Iraqi cause". Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood described the murder of the 12 Nepalese as "un-Islamic".

The US and Australia have condemned hostage-taking in the strongest of terms. Both Australian Prime Minister John Howard and the Opposition Leader Mark Latham have reiterated their determination not to negotiate with terrorists.

#### Lives in the balance

The problem for authorities in dealing with the continued use of hostages in the war on terror is that there is always a public response to an alleged or actual hostage taking event.

With human lives in the balance, it is important that authorities find a way of dealing with the issue that offers no concession to the terrorists but also manages public opinion at home.

Major-General (ret) John Hartley was head of the Defence Intelligence Organisation from 1992-95

Load-Date: September 14, 2004



Christian Science Monitor (Boston, MA)

April 10, 2002, Wednesday

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Section: WORLD; Pg. 01

Length: 1524 words

Byline: Philip Smucker Special to The Christian Science Monitor

**Dateline: CAIRO** 

Highlight: Israel suffered its biggest military loss of the current intifada yesterday, as Powell met with Egypt's

president.

### **Body**

As Secretary of State Colin Powell pressed Arab leaders to help quell Palestinian suicide attacks, a newly militant Arab world looks prepared - short of a complete Israeli pullout from the West Bank - to rebuff US diplomatic efforts.

The Middle East has changed from what it was even in late February of 2001, when Mr. Powell embarked upon his first overseas mission as a new and ambitious US Secretary of State. That was a time when he could still expect warm smiles and offers of unstinting support from moderate Arab states.

But in Egypt yesterday, and in Morocco on Monday, Powell discovered just how much Arab opinion has shifted. And, in response, he is making some adjustments to his official positions on the Palestinian-Israeli crisis. In Morocco on Monday, Mr. Powell described his own mission as one meant to persuade moderate Arab leaders to publicly condemn suicide bombings and other militant activities against Israelis. But King Mohammed VI stunned some observers by ask- ing Powell: "Don't you think it was more important to go to Jerusalem first?"

Powell will make five stops for discussions with Arab and European leaders before arriving in Israel the end of this week.

In Egypt yesterday, the reception was less severe, but far from warm. Protesters at the al-Azhar Islamic university burned Israeli and US flags ahead of Powell's visit, chanting "burn, burn the flag of America."

Powell emerged from a meeting with Egytian President Hosni Mubarak, saying he would meet with Palestinian Authority President Yasser Arafat later this week. The US had been hesitant to commit to a meeting with Mr. Arafat in the week leading up to yesterday. He added: "I think that it is up to all of us to recognize that the suicide bombings - all of this has to be brought to an end. I would ask all the leaders of the Arab nations and the Palestinian nation to say to their people that this is the time to stop this kind of activity."

In Israel, new violence gave urgency to Powell's mission. While Israel pulled out of some areas in the West Bank yesterday, in partial accordance with US wishes for a complete withdrawal, Palestinian sources claimed that new incursions had been made as intense fighting continued in several areas. Thirteen Israeli soldiers were killed and nine wounded in fighting in the Jenin Refugee Camp, according to an army spokesman. More than 100 Palestinians have been killed in battles inside Jenin over the past week.

Meanwhile in the Arab world, there is a growing disenchantment with how the Palestinians are being treated. Government-appointed clerics in Egypt, who hold great sway here, have pointedly reversed their position toward Palestinian-led suicide attacks against Israeli targets in recent days.

"The whole region is far more militant than it was," says Hala Mustafa, a political and social analyst with the Al Ahram Newspaper Group in Egypt. "Religion, as never before, is playing the main role in mobilizing people - both Palestinians and their Arab neighbors."

One of the slogans being chanted by Egyptian protesters angry at Israeli military incursions into the West Bank is particularly disturbing, says Ms. Mustafa. "The demonstrators are shouting that 'Israel is the enemy of God!' - a slogan very popular with Algerian extremist groups" that have enmeshed that country in a bloody civil war.

"And because there is no real Arab army as such, Arab youth and demonstrators feel that they have no other way except to fight back through militant groups," she says. "In Syria, the population supports <u>Hizbullah</u>; and in Palestine, they support groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad."

Mustafa says even Arab <u>women</u> have become more militant in the past year. "The ones you see in the streets are not acting in a modern way," she says. "They are covering their heads with veils."

For them, Wafa Idris, the first Palestinian woman to attack inside Israel on Jan. 27, is a new heroine.

Though hard-line states like Syria and Iraq have rarely concealed their support for suicide strikes against Israel, even moderate Arab leaders are now implicitly backing what the US government defines as "terror" - suicide bombings by the Palestinians. The attacks are seen as a guid pro guo meant to bring about an Israeli pullout.

Egypt's government has called on its top religious leaders to explain the new militant stance, as they claim the government hasn't changed its position. "Our official stance against these attacks has not changed," says presidential spokesman Nabil Osman. "To put civilians in harm's way - either Palestinians or Israelis - is definitely the wrong policy. But we must look at the root causes of such attacks. If there was no occupation, we would not be talking about suicide bombing."

Sheikh Mahmoud Ashour, a deputy of the grand imam of Al Azhar, the mosque-university that is the highest center of religious learning in the Sunni Muslim world, starts by defining "jihad," or holy war, versus what he calls "terror." (See story, below.)

"Terror is when you threaten people who live in security, and usurp the rights of others," he says, sitting in his spacious office that provides guidance to Egypt's well off and poor alike. "Jihad is when people resist those who

usurp their territory. The prophet Muhammad says that those killed without their land, money, or honor are true martyrs."

Sheikh Ashour insists that it is Israel that has "breached all Islamic and Christian values." He justifies the Egyptian religious establishment's new support for the suicide attacks, which he refers to as "self-sacrifice" as a means to an end.

The man he works for, Sheikh Al-Azhar Muhammed Sayyid Tantawi, had until recently ruled that all attacks on civilians were forbidden.

This stance had been backed by the most senior cleric in Saudi Arabia, Abdul Aziz Alash-Sheikh, who ruled that most of the attacks are suicidal in nature - with suicide being explicitly forbidden by Islam.

"If it will lead to the end that Israel will acknowledge the peace and human rights of the Palestinians that they have usurped, the attacks are justified," he explains. "As soon as the US forces the Israelis out of the occupied territories, we will be committed to peace again. But let the Israelis commit first to peace, and we will follow suit."

Cleric signals shift toward harder line in moderate Egypt

Egypt's top religious adviser, Mufti Ahmed al-Tayyeb, has called Palestinian suicide bombers "martyrs of the highest order."

The mufti's remarks, along with similar statements given by Egypt's other top cleric, Sheikh al-Azhar, suggest a new institutional and religious stance from within moderate Egypt, which has previously condemned suicide attacks on civilian targets.

In an interview with the Monitor, Mufti Ahmed al-Tayyeb - newly-appointed this year to his influential post by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak - defended the acts of Palestinian bombers as heroic deeds that express the Islamic idea of jihad, or holy war.

The mufti called it the right of Palestinians to attack civilians, pointing out that all Israelis - <u>women</u>, men and children - are considered part of an "occupying force."

In February, a slightly more moderate stance had been taken by Sheikh Mohammed Sayed Tantawi, the grand sheikh of Cairo's al-Azhar mosque and university, who was quoted by Egypt's Middle East News Agency as saying that the bombers were defending their people's dignity, but that they should not intentionally target the weak.

The mufti explained the Palestinian attacks in the context of an overall defensive strategy, which he said the Muslim world supported. "The Palestinians have a plan and a vision to defend themselves and we believe in this plan," said Mr. al-Tayyeb, who was surrounded by several prominent government advisers as he spoke. "The faithful are being martyred to force the Zionist occupiers to reconsider their plans."

Some political analysts in Egypt have warned that the mufti's new stance could inflame youthful passions across the country, which is already fertile recruiting ground for international terror organizations, including Osama bin Laden's Al Qaeda.

Asked if he did not consider the suicide attacks against Israelis to be in any way similar to the suicide strikes against the World Trade Center and the Pentagon last September, the mufti insisted that there was absolutely no comparison to be made. He charged that Mr. bin Laden's attacks against the United States were now being exploited by Ariel Sharon as an excuse to rampage through the West Bank in a so-called war against terror.

"What happened in the United States is terrorism, what is happening here is not the same," he insisted.

The mufti described Palestinian suicide attacks on Israeli targets as a last means of defense for a defenseless and humiliated people. He asked: "If the Germans invaded London, wouldn't the British people support the idea of self-sacrifice?"

He also downplayed the possibility that such attacks would spread beyond Israel and the occupied territories, since there were, in his words, "no Arab leaders at war with their own people."

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Load-Date: April 9, 2002



# Charles has lost his bearings in the desert

The Times (London)
February 10, 2004, Tuesday

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Section: Features; 18 Length: 982 words Byline: Michael Gove

# **Body**

By visiting the Middle East's tyrannies, the Prince lends them legitimacy

Is the heir to the throne French? I know the Prince of Wales looks quintessentially English -double-breasted, silk handkerchiefed and traditionally barbered. But he certainly acts like a Frenchman.

His approach to marriage was nothing if not Gallic. After all, no other phrase quite captures Camilla Parker Bowles's position in our national life as well as the French coinage maitresse en titre. The Prince's views on agriculture are as French as they come. He hates genetically modified crops and fast food with all the passion of a Jose Bove, while idealising the closeness of the feudal paysan to his organic terroir after the fashion of Jean de Florette. The Prince is also a stickler for linguistic correctness. His support for the traditional English of the Prayer Book and Shakespeare is the sort of stand against the modernisation of language which the Academie Francaise loves to make.

It is, however, in his attitude to abroad that the Prince is most fully French.

Like Jacques Chirac, and other French leaders, he seems curiously comfortable in states which are strangers to democracy. Especially if they happen to be Islamic.

So it shouldn't come as that much of a surprise that the Prince of Wales has been visiting Iran and Saudi Arabia this week.

In the recent past Charles has visited the Gulf autocracies of Kuwait, Qatar, Bahrain, the United Arab Emirates and Oman. He is particularly keen on Saudi Arabia, having made public visits there on a practically biennial basis, dropping by in February 1997, November 1999 and February 2001. It should be noted that the Prince has never visited the Middle East's only fully functioning democracy, Israel.

Prince Charles's trips to Saudi are only the most visible evidence of his interest in a state where public displays of Christianity are impossible, while <u>women</u> are denied the right to drive, walk alone in public, dress as they wish or follow the profession they choose. He has feted Saudi royals and businessmen, inviting them to dinner at Highgrove and supporting their sponsorship of educational ventures.

One wonders whether the Prince has ever used his close relationship to inquire into Saudi funding of suicide bombing in the Middle East? Or has he questioned Saudi support for extremist madrassas across the Islamic world? Might he even have taken his Saudi friends to task for their countrymen's habit of buying off fundamentalism in their own country by providing it with the funds to wreak havoc elsewhere?

#### Charles has lost his bearings in the desert

I suspect not. In a speech he gave in 1993, to mark the opening of the Saudi-funded Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies, the Prince went out of his way to see only the best in the Islamic world, arguing that it had retained an "integrated, spiritual view of the world in a way we have not seen fit to do in recent generations in the West". He went on to say, "There is much we can learn from that Islamic world view in this respect".

I suppose there is an "integrated, spiritual view of the world" prevailing in Saudi Arabia and other states run on a properly Islamic basis, such as Iran. There certainly was in Afghanistan when the Taleban were in charge. But I don't think we have that much to learn from countries which flog <u>women</u> who socialise in the wrong way, practise routine censorship, deny basic democratic rights and export terrorism.

There is something admirable, of course, in seeking to build understanding across cultures and there is a huge amount that could be done by the West to help the lives of those in Saudi Arabia, Iran and other Islamic states. But we don't help them at all by contrasting our democratic freedoms with their religious tyrannies and suggesting that they are the ones who are more enlightened. The Muslims who really are better off in this world are those who do not live in fear of religious police or fundamentalist oppression, those who breathe free in countries such as our own, Turkey and the newly liberated Iraq. If the Prince really wanted to do more to help Muslims then he could have used his trip to Iran to ask some pertinent questions.

He could have drawn attention to the absence of a free press, free elections and free speech. He could have asked why the tragic people of Bam were condemned to live in jerry-built housing in an oil-rich country that uses its resources to fund terror abroad and build nuclear weapons rather than provide the level of decent support which, say, Turkey extends to its citizens. He could also have inquired why in the week that he is visiting Iran, its mullahs are also playing host to a terrorist summit with representatives from Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u>, Islamic Jihad and the al-Qaeda affiliate Ansar-al-Islam.

The Prince should have known, before he made his trip to Iran, that his visit would be seen as a blessed conferral of legitimacy on a tightly controlled religious tyranny. Many in the West have been guilty of wishful thinking towards Iran, believing that President Khatami is a moderate, even a democrat, leading a "reformist" faction.

The truth, sadly, is very different. Khatami was certainly elected, in 1997. But only after the mullahs of Iran's Guardian Council had decided that he, and three other stooges, were pliant enough to be trusted with office; 234 other candidates were denied the chance to run because they were insufficiently Islamic. In office, Khatami has supported the brutal crushing of student pro-democracy demonstrations and done nothing to prevent the imprisonment of dissidents or the exporting of terrorism.

The Prince of Wales has been brave in standing up for human rights in the past, not least by snubbing the Chinese premier Jiang Zemin in solidarity with the oppressed people of Tibet. What a pity that the Prince's traditional English love of liberty seems to vanish in the desert air.

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St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

April 2, 2002 Tuesday Five Star Lift Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; Pg. B6; LETTERS

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## **Body**

Israel seeks end to terrorist attacks

The March 30 headline "Arafat under siege" should have read "Israel moves against bomber network."

Israel is fighting violent Palestinian groups that bomb Israeli citizens. These violent groups are akin to the people who attacked New York City. The Palestinians and al-Qaida celebrate the same successes and mourn the same losses.

It's time for each of us to ask ourselves, "Whose side are we on?" Do we support a democratic state, governed by a succession of elected leaders from across the political spectrum for the past 50 years, or do we support a movement whose entrenched political leader teaches hate, pursues violence and allies with corrupt and intensely repressive regimes.

With which side do we share core values? Indeed, what are our core values?

Yasser Arafat is not under siege. He's sleeping in the bed that he made. He thought the intifada could bring better results than negotiations. He was wrong, in every sense of the word.

Harry Liebman

**Ballwin** 

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After the latest terrorist attacks upon civilians, <u>women</u> and children included, the Israelis' response is totally appropriate. They are certainly using more restraint than I would. Yasser Arafat and his backers would be history.

The United States responded with all-out war against the perpetrators of 9/11. Why should Israel, whose existence is threatened, do less? To call for restraint or withdrawal under these circumstances is ludicrous. It shows how much the U.S. dependency on Arab oil dictates U.S. policy toward the Middle East.

Arafat is now and always has been a terrorist. Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u>, Fatah and Islamic Jihad are terrorist organizations and should be treated accordingly. Arafat has no power and no will to stop the bloodshed. I hope the Israelis stay the course and thoroughly defeat the Palestinian extremists. Then and only then can peace be discussed.

Shame on the U.S. for not giving full support to Israel. Oil be damned!

John Czarnecki

Hillsboro

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#### Palestinian rights

In his March 26 column, William Safire chastised those who would draw any equivalence between Israeli and Palestinian terror. Israel, said Safire, is simply defending itself against Arab aggression.

The next day, Mona Charen made much the same argument. There is no equivalence, she said, between the Israeli military and Muslim terrorists.

Two such vitriolic statements of anti-Arab racism in as many days are more than I can handle. Sooner or later, Israel's defenders and their readers should admit that Israel was created at the expense of the Palestinians and that Israel, 50 years on, continues to deny Palestinians the most basic of human rights, the right to live in peace and security.

I appreciate the efforts of the Post-Dispatch to balance these statements with an excerpt on March 26 from the Jordan Times, "Sharon's immoral practices," and the March 27 editorial cartoon of Sharon suffocating the latest Arab peace plan.

Steve Tamari

St. Louis

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#### Don't attack Iraq

I was one of five arrested during the Good Friday protest at Boeing's missile facility in St. Charles. Four years ago, I visited the Amiriyah Shelter on the outskirts of Baghdad, Iraq, which was hit by two "smart" bombs during the Gulf War. I met a woman whose nine family members, including all of her children, had died during the bombing.

I walked onto the Boeing property to try and stop another round of human destruction in Iraq. Both Rep. Todd Akin and Boeing spokesman Jim Bafaro were quoted as suggesting that the precision-guided missiles cause little "collateral damage."

Such missiles killed more than 400 civilians at the Amiriyah Shelter, destroyed the Chinese Embassy and a major TV station in Belgrade, leveled the Al-Shifa chemical factory in Sudan, and struck a Red Cross warehouse three times in Afghanistan, to name just the most prominent instances of "collateral damage."

As for Akin's comment that he isn't aware of plans to attack Iraq, he should read the newspaper. Gen. Tommy Franks has said the U.S. is building up forces in Kuwait to prepare for a possible attack on Iraq. Vice President Dick Cheney tried to shore up Arab support for such an attack. Ex-CIA Director James Woolsey traveled to London to discuss options for attacking Iraq.

Certainly, Akin, a member of the Armed Services Committee, has seen the Nuclear Posture Review that says the United States should be prepared to use nuclear weapons against seven countries, including Iraq.

I appeal to Boeing's shareholders, management and employees to stop the preparations for war on Iraq.

Mira Tanna

St. Louis

====

Fighting for clean air

I was satisfied to read the March 25 editorial, "Life and breath decisions," criticizing President George W. Bush's ridiculous new proposals for the environment.

In the new era, where a person's "patriotism" is hastily brought into question if he or she challenges proposals by the administration, it takes courage to stand up for what is right.

I find it interesting that the Bush administration upholds the ideals of freedom from government, yet does not feel that citizens with no voice should be freed from toxic pollutants being emitted by powerful corporations.

I also find it ironic that most corporations that would be affected by the restrictions donated money to Bush. I'm glad the Taliban didn't donate money.

I always assumed that citizens had a fundamental right to breathe clean air. I guess I was wrong. It's a right that we apparently have to fight for.

Clinton Lawson

Springfield, Mo

====

Must be the weather

The Cardinals claim they can't make enough money in today's climate and are asking for a handout.

Laclede Gas Co. claims it didn't make enough money in this winter's climate and is also asking for a handout. How funny.

Bill Schulz Jr.

Hazelwood

# **Graphic**

GRAPHIC; Graphic / Illustration - (cloud with lightning streaking from it)

Load-Date: April 2, 2002



# Shiite rite marks fall of Saddam

The International Herald Tribune
April 23, 2003 Wednesday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 1

**Length:** 992 words **Byline:** John Kifner

Dateline: KARBALA, Iraq:

# **Body**

Long forbidden, long hidden, the whips of mortification were flagellating Tuesday as Iraq's Shiite Muslim majority celebrated its newfound political freedom and potential political power.

"For 25 years they were hidden in our houses," said a man from the Shiite south as a group of young men lashed their backs in rhythm with whips like a thick cat-o'-nine-tails made from chains. "The father taught his son."

Around and around, hundreds of thousands of Shiite Muslims, pounding themselves in grief and joy, circled the mosques here Tuesday marking the most emotional and symbolic event in their religious calendar the death of Imam Hussein, grandson of the Prophet Mohammed, in the power struggle that cemented the great split in Islam between Shiites and the worldwide Sunni majority.

The New York Times

"Yes, yes, Hawza," the chanting rhythm-keeper shouted into a battery-powered loudspeaker, referring to the body of religious scholars here that many Shiites believe should run the country and, in some ways, already is. "Yes, yes, Iraq."

"Hussein, Hussein," the young men grunted as the chains struck their shoulders.

The death of Hussein is normally marked on the holy day of Ashura more than a month ago, on the 10th of the Islamic month of Muharram. But this date fell while Saddam Hussein was still in power and such celebrations were banned.

Thus these ad hoc ceremonies marking the traditional Shiite 40th day of mourning were a testament to the Shiite community's ability to quickly organize and wield its long-suppressed political weight in the wake of the American invasion that toppled Saddam.

This holy city was jammed Tuesday with men and black-draped <u>women</u> chanting and pounding their chests in tribute to their most sacred figure, depicted in huge pictures either as a fierce warrior on a white horse or as the severed head carried off to Damascus by the victors of the Ummayad Caliphate.

Even as screaming, self-appointed traffic managers were trying, competitively and ineffectually, to unsnarl the chaotic jam of departing pilgrims piled onto buses and trucks Tuesday afternoon, hundreds of thousands more, many on foot, were pouring into the city.

#### Shiite rite marks fall of Saddam

While a minority in the Muslim world, Shiites are the biggest population bloc here roughly 60 percent of the population and in Iran and Lebanon.

The revolution led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini in 1979 turned Iran into a Shiite theocracy, and in Lebanon, Shiites have gained a large measure of power and respect through their *Hezbollah* organization.

But, despite the presence of the two most important Shiite religious sites, here and in An Najaf, and Iraq's history as a center of Shiite revolutionary thought, Shiites here were sharply repressed under Saddam and ruled by Sunni military officers and a clique drawn largely from his family and clansmen in the northern city of Tikrit.

Thus Tuesday, along with the portraits of Hussein there were ubiquitous pictures of two of the most prominent religious-political activists who were executed, along with scores of other rebellious clerics, by the former regime: Ayatollah Mohammed Bakr Sadr, killed in 1980, and Ayatollah Mohammed Sadiq Sadr, killed in 1999.

Bakr Sadr was particularly important in the development of radical political Islam as the founder of the formerly outlawed Al Dawa (the Call, meaning call to prayers) Party and a colleague of Khomeini who delivered an influential series of lectures in the theological school here when he was in exile in the late 1970s.

But there were also signs of potential contending forces among the Shiites. Guards with flimsy plastic identification badges and Kalashnikov rifles said they were providing security for the city under the authority of the Hawza religious scholars, as do neighborhood security committees in many other cities.

"Approved by the American soldiers," one of the guards was quick to point out. One group of marchers held up signs printed in English and Arabic with similar sentiments saying: "Yes, yes to Islam and honorable scholars," and "Yes, yes for Islam, No America, No Saddam."

There were also trucks filled with gunmen and loudspeakers supporting Moktada Sadiq Sadr, the 22-year-old son of the late Ayatollah Sadiq Sadr, who has formed his own militia group. He is believed by the American authorities to be behind the stabbing to death in An Najaf this month of Sheikh Abdul Majid Khoei who had just returned from exile in London and was perceived to have American backing.

And there were pictures of Iraq's senior mujtahid, or religious scholar, Grand Ayatollah Ali Sestani. "Rais of Iraq, God willing," a youth shouted, pointing at the portrait.

The saga of Hussein's death is central to the ethos of martyrdom, guilt and political resistance that pervades Shiite Islam. A major thread of the celebration is the failure of people to come to his aid.

With the death of the prophet, a power struggle ensued for the leadership of the new religion. His son-in-law Ali was the fourth successor but was stabbed to death in An Najaf by rivals. Shiite means partisans, or the party of Ali, which became the minority sect.

In 680 A.D. Ali's son, Hussein, contended for the leadership. There were petitions from Karbala for him to lead the Muslims. But a trap was laid and his army was besieged by his rival, Yazid, and defeated. In one of the central incidents that is commemorated, Ali's forces were cut off from water and dying of thirst.

His half-brother, Abbas, was sent to the river, but was slain with arrows and mutilated. In the desert the denial of water rings large, and even today, before taking a sip of water, Shiites will say, "For the thirst of Hussein."

In the traditional ceremonies Tuesday, the pilgrims acted out the thirst of Ali's army, crawling on their knees and shrieking.

But, in addition to the traditional chants, there were new ones set to the same rhythm, that were adapted to the new situation, such as: "Yes, Yes for Islam No America, No Saddam."

Load-Date: April 23, 2003



# Film explores hearts, minds of Mideast children

Chicago Daily Herald May 9, 2002, Thursday All

Copyright 2002 Paddock Publications, Inc.

Section: SUBURBAN LIVING;

Length: 930 words

Byline: Lisa Friedman Miner Daily Herald Staff Writer

# **Body**

Justine Shapiro and her filmmaking partners didn't set out to change anyone's politics about the Middle East. They had something more intimate in mind.

"We just wanted to open people's hearts," Shapiro says.

Her documentary - the Oscar-nominated "Promises" - succeeds in doing just that.

The film, shot from 1997 to 2000 in a period of "relative calm," focuses on four Israeli and three Palestinian children living in and around Jerusalem.

"Promises" made its Chicago debut Friday at the Music Box Theatre. Its theatrical release comes at a time of intense conflict in the Middle East.

Shapiro, in Chicago recently to promote her film, says the documentary provides the hope and humor sorely missing from news accounts filmed in Israel today.

"This is not a view of the Middle East conflict that you're getting on the 9 o'clock news," Shapiro says.

Rather, it is a look into the hearts and minds of Israel's children.

They talk about violence and vengeance. But they also touch on the power of prayer, their love of sports and the losses that seem to mark each one of their young lives.

Different lives

"Promises" was a collaboration.

In 1995, Shapiro went to Israel and the Palestinian territories as a host and writer for "Lonely Planet," an adventure travel show now on PBS under the name "Globetrekker." During her visit, she was struck by the raw emotions of both her Israeli cousins and the Palestinian children she met. So she teamed with Israeli-born former journalist B.Z. Goldberg and editor Carlos Bolado to make the film.

Though Shapiro and Goldberg are Jewish, Shapiro says they did not have trouble reaching out to the Palestinian children.

#### Film explores hearts, minds of Mideast children

"I made a decision early on to listen and ask questions and not to debate," she says. "The kids really picked up on that."

They shot 200 hours of film and interviewed about 100 different children. They focused on seven:

- Secular Jewish twins Yarko and Daniel worry about being blown up on a bus and dream of winning their volleyball championship.
- Faraj lives in a Palestinian refugee camp. He talks of killing soldiers, yet he reaches out to the twins with a gesture of friendship.
- Moishe, a right-wing Jewish settler in the West Bank, wants Arabs off the land he believes was promised to his forefathers.
- Sanabel, the only girl, wears a Disney T-shirt and talks of getting letters from her father, who has been imprisoned by the Israelis,
- Mahmoud lives in Jerusalem's Muslim Quarter. He voices intense hatred for the Jews, but grows silent, almost sad, when he learns that Goldberg is himself a Jew.
- Shlomo, an ultra-Orthodox Jew and the son of a respected American rabbi, studies 12 hours a day.

It's hard not to be disturbed by the deep animosity voiced by some of the children.

Moishe, for example, talks of a shooting range for soldiers in his settlement. "And if the soldiers aim poorly," he says, "it's OK cause they might shoot an Arab."

Mahmoud also speaks with bitterness.

"I support Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u>," he says. "They kill <u>women</u> and children, but they do it for their country. The more Jews we kill, the fewer there will be. Until they're almost gone."

Yet, the children are not defined solely by their anger.

The cameras capture the children at play and in prayer. Soon, parallels emerge.

When Daniel and Yarko lose their volleyball match, one of the boys breaks down in tears. Likewise, Faraj cries when he loses his track meet.

And there are moments of humor.

Shlomo's encounter with a Palestinian boy - a chance meeting that could have led to violence - instead ends in a burping contest.

Coming together

At first, Shapiro says, it was difficult to get backing for the project. Many of those she turned to worried that children of 12 or 13 were too young to grasp the complexities of their world.

But the ages of the children were what attracted Shapiro and Goldberg in the first place.

"At this age, they are unselfconscious in front of the camera. They're candid," Shapiro says.

They're also flexible, despite their rhetoric, Shapiro found.

"They give themselves permission to flip and flop," she says. "It's part of the process of growing up."

That willingness to change their minds sparked the documentary's most moving moments.

#### Film explores hearts, minds of Mideast children

At one point, after seeing a picture of Yarko and Daniel, Faraj asks to call the twins. They talk about food and sports. Then, they ask to meet - something Shapiro says she never expected.

Faraj, Sanabel and other Palestinian children plan the day for Yarko and Daniel. The Palestinian children speak no Hebrew; the twins speak no Arabic. So they converse in English with the help of interpreters.

They played in the refugee camp, shared a meal, talked of bullets that killed their friends. At 6 p.m., they sat down to discuss all they were feeling. The conversation lasted until midnight.

"It was the longest day of my life because we didn't know what was going to happen," Shapiro says. "It was really extraordinary watching how these kids negotiated these very complicated situations."

In March, the filmmakers flew Yarko, Daniel and Sanabel to Los Angeles for a week to attend the Academy Awards.

Shapiro says the teens would have accepted the award if "Promises" had won. It did not. But the three grew close during the trip, and they keep in touch via e-mail.

Shapiro hopes the film helps viewers feel as if they've gotten to know people in the Middle East.

"I hope that people are moved by 'Promises,' " Shapiro says, "and, when they read about the Middle East conflict, they'll feel like they have friends there."

# **Graphic**

Filmmaker Justine Shapiro's "Promises" is a look into the hearts and minds of Israel's children. Mark Black/Daily Herald

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



# Suicide attack kills 3: Senior, toddler, bomber die in Israeli mall blast

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)
May 28, 2002 Tuesday Final Edition

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Section: News; Pg. A1 / FRONT

Length: 951 words

**Byline: MATTHEW KALMAN** 

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

# **Body**

Hopes for peace in the Middle East dimmed once again yesterday as another suicide-bomber attack outside an Israeli shopping mall killed a 2-year-old girl, her elderly grandmother and the bomber and injured 40 other people, including several babies.

The large bomb contained about 10 kilograms of explosives, according to police estimates.

It was packed with nails and screws designed to cause as much death and destruction as possible, officials said.

Witnesses said the bomber, who was wearing overalls and looked like a teenager, targeted a large group of people gathered outside a cafe in a row of shops next to a car park at the Em Hamoshavot shopping mall in Petach Tikvah, north of Tel Aviv.

Southam News; The Gazette; AP and The New York Times contributed to this report

"He sat down at the patisserie and suddenly exploded," said one witness, identified only as Liran. "His head flew off. I saw lots of people lying wounded. Then a policeman came and took me away."

A blood-spattered baby buggy stood abandoned among the wreckage as police combed the area for clues and body parts.

Haya Villozyny, who lives 10 minutes by car from the mall, stopped there on her way home from work.

"It's not nice to live like this," she said in an interview with The Gazette, "going to work, going to buy only bread or milk. You never think that buying bread or milk you have to be lucky."

Villozyny, 54, who lived in Montreal in the early 1980s, said she left the mall about half an hour before the bomb went off. When she returned home, she saw the destruction on the news.

"A foot there, a leg there, a hand there. Young mothers lying on their little children because they want to save them, and they're full of blood."

She described the mall as an outdoor shopping centre with a central garden where mothers meet with young children in strollers.

The Lebanese TV station Al-Manar, representing the <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas, broadcast a claim of responsibility from the Al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, affiliated with Palestinian President Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement.

#### Condemns Attack

The Palestinian Authority officially condemned the attack, saying the Al-Aqsa Brigades were not connected to the Fatah movement. But Arafat only two weeks ago said how proud he was of the Al-Aqsa Brigades and documents captured by Israel show regular payments by Arafat and senior officials to the group.

David Baker, an official in the Israeli prime minister's office, said: "Palestinian terror continues to strike out at Israeli **women** and children." He said Israel would use "all the resources at its disposal" to stop terror attacks.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres said: "We have to do whatever possible to beat these things, by military means and also by political means."

But Defence Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said that despite continued warnings about plans by Palestinian militants to carry out suicide attacks, Israel was not on the verge of another large-scale military operation on a par with the six-week Defensive Shield offensive that ended this month.

The latest bombing came as Canadian Foreign Affairs Minister Bill Graham left the Middle East yesterday expressing strong support for Israel's war on terror and for the right of the Palestinians to independence, and hoping a regional conference this summer would produce a breakthrough in the peace process.

After meeting Arafat in Ramallah, Graham told Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in their private meeting Sunday that the Palestinian leader had said he arrested several Palestinian suicide bombers on their way to attack Israel, and so prevented several more attacks.

"Arafat hasn't done a thing," Sharon replied. "Just wait and see if the attacks stop. They won't. He is a pathological liar."

#### Worse Attack Averted

Yesterday's attack in Petach Tikvah would have been even worse had the young suicide bomber not been prevented from entering his first target, a crowded supermarket, by an alert security guard.

Earlier, police in Jerusalem had defused a bomb hidden in a plastic bag that had been discovered outside an apartment building.

The suicide bombing came as Israeli forces swept into Bethlehem for the second time in three days and captured the man its suspects to be the mastermind behind a string of suicide attacks, including one in Rishon le Zion last week in which two Israelis died.

Israeli troops also blocked access to the Church of the Nativity, built where Christians believe Jesus was born, to prevent another standoff at the shrine with Palestinian gunmen who earlier had holed up inside for 39 days.

The incursion was strongly denounced by Palestinian officials. After their meeting on Sunday, Arafat told Graham such incursions were delaying plans for new Palestinian elections.

Such incursions have often drawn international condemnation, but at a joint press conference yesterday with Peres, Graham said he supported them if they helped the campaign against terrorism.

"They can be helpful if, in fact, they are specifically designed to deal with the terrorist menace," Graham said before wrapping up his Middle East trip. "We recognize the need for Israel to have its security and it must take actions to ensure security.

"What we urge upon Israel is to ensure that the actions that ultimately are taken will be those that will enable people to move freely in that area, to re-establish their economy, to have prosperity, so they can be neighbours with dignity to Israel."

Suicide attack kills 3: Senior, toddler, bomber die in Israeli mall blast

Graham said Canada supported the idea of a regional conference if it was designed in such a way to advance the peace process.

"My tour of the region and speaking to the other people in the area suggests that it is a propitious time to have a peace conference," he said.

# **Graphic**

Color Photo: PAVEL WOLBERG, AP; A medical worker arrives with a blast victim at a hospital in Petach Tikvah yesterday.

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



# This time, bomber is woman

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

January 28, 2002, Monday, 0 South Pinellas Edition

Copyright 2002 Times Publishing Company

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

Length: 986 words

**Dateline: JERUSALEM** 

# **Body**

For the first time in nearly 16 months of conflict, a Palestinian woman apparently carried out a suicide bombing Sunday, killing herself and an 81-year-old Israeli man in a blast that ripped through the heart of Jerusalem at midday.

Israeli police said they were not sure if the woman intended to kill herself or if the bomb exploded prematurely as she walked along Jaffa Street, the main commercial strip in west Jerusalem.

No group immediately claimed responsibility. In Lebanon, the Al-Manar television station run by the militant <u>Hezbollah</u> movement said the bomber was Shinaz Amuri, a <u>female</u> student at Al-Najah University in the West Bank town of Nablus.

Compiled from Times WiresMIDEAST

Israel accused Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat of "encouraging terrorism" and said it was prepared to respond to the bombing - the third major attack in an Israeli city in a week.

Arafat is "encouraging terrorism. He's sending (attackers) to Jerusalem," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. "We will continue to systematically dismantle the terrorist infrastructure."

Arafat is penned in his West Bank headquarters in the city of Ramallah, where Israeli tanks sit less than 100 yards away from his compound in what had been Palestinian-controlled territory.

The Palestinian leadership "strongly condemned the suicide attack" and called on President Bush to send Mideast envoy Anthony Zinni back to the region.

But that seemed unlikely.

"At this stage, we need to see some positive signs that his return would do some good. And that means we've got to see some positive results out of Arafat," said Vice President Dick Cheney on Fox News Sunday. Arafat must "do everything he could, make a 100 percent good-faith effort to put an end to terrorism. So far, he hasn't done that."

The Israeli killed was 81-year-old Pinchas Toktaly, father of three and grandfather of 13, who was walking home from an art class when the explosion occurred about 12:30 p.m.

#### This time, bomber is woman

Jerusalem Mayor Ehud Olmert, who has seen the center of this city turn into a ghost town during the bloody fighting with the Palestinians, gave a statement to Israel Radio that offered little comfort to an increasingly shellshocked public.

"We are in the middle of a war," Olmert said, "which will not end soon, and there will be more victims."

The blast next to a shoe shop blew out shop windows, set a store on fire and left victims sprawled on the pavement amid shards of glass, pieces of fruit, shoes and storefront mannequins.

"It sounded like half the street exploded," said Hama Gidon, a clothing store worker who was slightly injured. "All the mannequins went flying and I did too. People were falling, glass was flying everywhere."

Police spokesman Gil Kleiman said 111 people were treated at hospitals, two of them in serious condition and five moderately serious. Dozens of those sent to hospitals were treated for shock.

"Jerusalem is becoming like a choke-chain that keeps closing on you," witness Sarit Cohen told Israeli television.

The bombing occurred on crowded Jaffa Street, across the street from the Sbarro pizzeria where a suicide bomber killed himself and 15 people in August and just 80 yards from where a gunman killed two Israelis in a flurry of bullets on Tuesday.

Across the street from the blast, Asher Bakshi, 20, a salesman in another shoe store, shook his head in disgust.

"We just changed the windows from last Tuesday," he said. "We have to kill them all, all the Arabs. Why does half the world tell us not to go to war? If we want we could kill them in one hour."

Sunday's bombing came amid tight security and warnings that such attacks were possible, highlighting the militants' ability to strike Israeli streets almost at will.

"Even if I take all the 3,500 policemen I have, I still can't close the city hermetically," said Jerusalem police Chief Mickey Levy, who suffered chest pains as he directed his officers at the scene and suffered a massive heart attack later in a nearby hospital. He was in stable condition Sunday evening.

Jaffa Street is teeming with uniformed and plainclothes police but somehow the bomber slipped through, perhaps because *female* attackers are rare, and *female* suicide bombers unheard of. Palestinian 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 soldiers and police generally do not scrutinize Palestinian *women* the way they do men.

"What can we do? We check people, we look for terrorists. When they see the extra forces they are deterred," said officer Vladimir Fishman, who suffered a shrapnel wound in his ankle Sunday.

Despairing, dejected and fearful of further attacks, many Jerusalem residents are avoiding the city center, warning their children against venturing into crowds and dialing their relatives' cell phone numbers the moment they hear an ambulance siren. "Enough, enough, we don't have the strength for this," Simcha Levy, a witness to Sunday's bombing, told Voice of Israel radio. "It's just impossible to live like this."

Despite the concentration of attacks on Jaffa Street, and the resulting plunge in sales at virtually every store in the neighborhood, merchants say none of them are moving away. "It was never so bad," said Avraham Birnbaum, chairman of the Jerusalem Merchants Association. "(But) this is the center of the city, it's the best location."

Also Sunday, just south of Jerusalem 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. Palestinian security officials said.

- The Los Angeles Times, Cox News Service, the Associated Press, the Washington Post, Knight Ridder Newspapers and the New York Times contributed to this report.

# **Graphic**

PHOTO, Associated Press; Medics rush an injured Israeli woman to help Sunday after the busy Jaffa Street suffers its third deadly attack since August.

Load-Date: January 28, 2002



Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

January 06, 2002, Sunday

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Section: Opine; Pg. F-7

Length: 916 words

# **Body**

Handless cell-phone devices are just the ticket

I strongly believe that officers should be looking to ticket cell-phone users.

I drive every day in the city, and especially in the Plaza area. I've noticed on countless occasions people using cell phones and driving rather recklessly, running stop signs and using no signals.

Both hands (need to be) on the wheel and the mind on the controls - not phones. Using headsets or other handless devices is strongly suggested.

Julian Sanchez

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Undocumented setup

The setup of using drunken-driving roadblocks to arrest undocumented immigrants is, at best, shameful behavior on the part of both the Border Patrol and the state police. I don't think it was coincidental for the article to appear on the Feast of Holy Innocents.

For the state police to participate in such action diminishes the integrity and honor of an otherwise fine lawenforcement agency. What part of the inscription on the Statue of Liberty welcoming the poor and hungry is not understood? The undocumented come to America seeking a better life for themselves and their families.

I'm the child of an undocumented immigrant and proud of it. My mother became an LPN in World War II and served this country in New Haven, Conn., hospitals so others could serve overseas. Much of her pay, during and after the war, went back to Ireland to help her impoverished brothers and sisters.

I don't think too much has changed.

The Rev. Richard W. Murphy

rector

St. Bede's Episcopal Church

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Book burning

Regarding your article on the front page (Dec. 31) about the church in Alamogordo burning books: I guess I have definite opinions on this, but this seems stupid and extreme.

If they are so worried about these children's books and such turning their kids to tampering with witchcraft and such, maybe they should look closer to home and not to these books -- try figuring out what at home is wrong, what is lacking for their children instead of looking to something else to blame (if) their kids go wrong.

The truth is that the majority of kids go the wrong way (because) they are lacking structure -- or even caring, listening parents at home. Sometimes it just takes listening and caring about what a kid does or says that makes the difference.

For them to blame fun books about a fantasy world for their problems at home is ridiculous. The Harry Potter books hardly teach kids to become witches, etc. Maybe they should try reading the books first.

Lisa Stephenson

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Not full picture

Does anyone here in the U.S.A. really believe that it will be "wonderful" when Palestinians can live on both sides of the Green Line and Jews can only live on one side of the Green Line? These are just some of the publicly stated goals that Arafat, PLO, Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and other terrorists and anti-Jewish groups in the Middle East established even before the 1967 Six Day War -- and still want.

Just think, can it be possible that we are helping to get places like Shomron to be Judenriden or rid of the "filthy" Jews (as the PA and PLO have said) -- just like the Nazis did in certain areas of Europe?

But then the good ol' U.S.A. will reward these politically correct terrorists with a nation of their own.

Get hold of the Arab literature coming from the Palestinians and see how they view Israel eventually disappearing completely under future wars. They have pictures and graphics of Palestinians stomping all Jews out of the Middle East, sometimes with blood flowing from Jewish bodies.

There are lots of records (evidence) of Arafat plotting and killing Jews even before the Six Day War. The picture is bigger than what you see.

Catherine Sidoti

Los Alamos

via e-mail

Pro Patti

Patti Bushee has my vote for mayor. What a tenacious, passionate, hard-working and outspoken Santa Fean we have working for us all.

Viva Bushee!

Susan Robinson

Santa Fe

via e-mail

'Justice for all...'

Cecilia Gonzales (letters, Dec. 26) asked, "Where in our Constitution does it say that the rights we have as Americans are to be extended to everyone in the world?"

The answer lies within the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Americans and others around the world have struggled for centuries to make "all" mean all -- to include blacks, minorities, <u>women</u> and a host of others within the light of the Declaration's beneficence. Now is not the time to make "all" mean "only some of us."

Terrorism is a serious evil to be faced with courage and strength. But, when we act to deny basic rights to select groups of people, we erode our moral authority and our ethical core. By casting doubt on our national integrity, we ultimately reduce our effectiveness.

Jenny Felmley

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Locked in?

At this time of year many syndicated columnists publish mea culpa pieces in which they acknowledge their errors of the past 12 months. In the Dec. 30 New Mexican, Dave Broder credits Barry Mackintosh, an old friend of mine from National Park Service days, with catching him in overlooking the fact that China is a communist country.

Barry's achievement motivates me to comment on The New Mexican's headline above the Broder piece: "As year ends, yet another pundit tugs forelock."

Whose forelock? As evidenced by the columnist's photograph, Broder does not have one of his own.

Jerry L. Rogers

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Load-Date: January 7, 2002



## SHARON POISED FOR VICTORY

Scotland on Sunday
February 4, 2001, Sunday

Copyright 2001 The Scotsman Publications Ltd.

Section: Pg. 19

Length: 943 words

Byline: By Ross Dunn In Jerusalem

## **Body**

ARIEL Sharon is the man Israel has turned to in previous crises, when the country's very existence has seemed under threat. The fact that he is expected to become prime minister this week is a reflection of Israel's current troubles.

Twenty points ahead in the opinion polls, Sharon seems all but certain to defeat the incumbent Ehud Barak. But moderates fear that electing the hawkish Sharon risks plunging Israel into deeper crisis.

Sharon's political rehabilitation and ascendancy towards the top job have been extraordinary. Eighteen years ago he was condemned by a government commission for being responsible, albeit indirectly, for the massacre of Palestinian refugees in Lebanon and declared unfit to serve as defence minister. Now his political resurrection seems complete.

Palestinians blame him, however, for sparking the current unrest through his visit in late September to a shrine in Jerusalem's walled Old City, sacred to both Jews and Muslims.

While an internal Israeli government inquiry has absolved Sharon, many observers saw this provocation as further evidence of the same dangerous spirit that he has displayed throughout his career.

Only months ago, even members of his own right-wing Likud Party saw Sharon simply as a caretaker leader, who would be forced to step down as soon as former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu decided to return to politics. But with Netanyahu out of the race and Israel still confronting a bloody Palestinian uprising, Israelis appears poised to vote for the man they call "Security".

"It's a measure of how desperate Israelis feel this time that Sharon could even be considered a candidate at all," says Yossi Klein Halevi, a senior writer for the Jerusalem Report.

" What frightens many Israelis is that he is in a sense a wildcard. Sharon is the person who steps in at a time of desperate emergency. That is the role he has played in the Israeli army and in Israeli politics."

Although known as Israel's most brilliant military strategist, Sharon was never chosen to be chief-of-staff of the defence forces because of his reputation among fellow officers for unpredictability.

And yet when Israel was in danger of being defeated by Arab armies in the 1973 Yom Kippur War, it was Sharon who was called upon to turn the tide. It was Sharon who led the Israeli troops across the Suez Canal and it is he who many believe saved the country.

#### SHARON POISED FOR VICTORY

"Sharon is almost in a sense the doomsday weapon for Israelis," says Halevi. "When Israelis feel their backs are to the wall, there is one last resort and that is Sharon."

Born in 1928 on a moshav, a Jewish agricultural settlement under the British Mandate rule of Palestine, Sharon grew up believing Israelis had to be able to defend themselves.

In Israel's War of Independence in 1948, he proved himself an able officer with a natural ability to lead. But his reputation was sullied when he led a special unit to counter cross-border Arab terrorist attacks.

In 1953, a Jewish woman and her two children were murdered near Tel Aviv, and Sharon was instructed to blow up 10 homes in the Jordanian border village of Quibya. Instead his raiding party destroyed 45 houses in the village, killing 69 residents, half of them **women** and children.

Sharon's reputation for ruthlessness was confirmed two years later when he led a reprisal attack against an Egyptian army base in the Gaza Strip, killing 38 soldiers and wounding 44 others. That action, some Israeli analysts believe, destroyed the first chance for peace with the Arab world and set the stage for the series of wars that followed.

The damage Sharon did to the prospects for peace while in the army did not bar his entry into parliament. And it was as defence minister that he again showed his head-strong nature by masterminding Israel's invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

The real turning point in Sharon's career has come as the result of the latest Palestinian intifada in the wake of Arafat's refusal to accept Barak's far-reaching concessions at Camp David last July. Arafat's rejection came despite the fact that Barak was the first Israeli leader to offer to share power in Jerusalem, as well as surrendering more than 90% of the West Bank.

The irony of Barak's situation is that, in some respects, it reminds some observers of Sharon's career in Lebanon.

"If you look at how Barak has gone about the peace process, it recalls Ariel Sharon in Beirut in 1982," says Halevi. "What Sharon has tried to do through war, Barak is trying to do with peace, which is change the Middle East, totally turn events upside down, turn preconceptions upside down, and impose your vision on Middle East reality."

"Sharon thought he could do it through power and conquest. Barak believes he could do it through concessions. But the ambition, the drive, the ruthlessness is the same."

Barak may have contributed to his political decline by fulfilling his pledge to withdraw Israel's troops from Lebanon, an action undertaken while under attack from members of the militant Islamic guerrilla group *Hezbollah*.

"Barak's fatal flaw was not that he offered Israel's ultimate concessions, it was not even that he violated his own promise not to compromise on Jerusalem, it is that he did so under fire, under threat of violent blackmail," says Halevi.

"When Barak made his first offer to Arafat at Camp David in July and that offer was rejected by three months of violence, Barak should have said the negotiations are over .

"You can offer those concessions but at the same time you have to make sure that the Middle East understands, we (Israelis) have not lost our resolve."

That is a message that will not be lost upon Ariel Sharon.

Load-Date: February 5, 2001



The New York Times

April 3, 2002 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

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

Length: 969 words

## **Body**

INTERNATIONAL A3-10

Sharon Offers Arafat 'One-Way Ticket' to Exile

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon of Israel said Yasir Arafat could have passage into exile, a step that would quash any remaining prospects for his restoration as Israel's partner in peace talks. The Palestinian leader said he would choose martyrdom over exile. European nations condemned the idea of exile, and the United States discouraged it. A1

Israel pressed its spreading military assault in the West Bank, with much of the fighting in the biblical city of Bethlehem, but a new front threatened to open up in the north after <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas fired mortars and antitank missiles from Lebanon. A8

Washington is struggling to forge an effective Mideast policy. A1

The United Nations Security Council and the European Union searched for ways to end the fighting. A9

Protesters took to the streets in Jordan and Egypt, Arab countries whose leaders have been pressed to defend their peace treaties and full diplomatic relations with Israel. A1

U.S. Jews Attacked in Germany

Two American Jews were attacked on Sunday in Berlin. The government stepped up security around sites associated with Judaism. A3

World Briefing A6

NATION CHALLENGED A12-13

Pakistani Leader Visits Afghanistan to Mend Fences

President Pervez Musharraf made a surprise visit to Kabul in a gesture intended to soothe lingering bitterness from Pakistan's support of the Taliban regime that ended only after Sept. 11. The general also rejected any future American military operations against Al Qaeda or Taliban forces who have fled to Pakistan. A1

#### **New Attacks Suspected**

An important lieutenant to Osama bin Laden, Abu Zubaydah, was organizing new attacks on American targets when he was captured in Pakistan last week, officials said. A12

#### NATIONAL A14-17

#### U.S. Indicts Associates Of Illinois Governor

The campaign committee of Gov. George Ryan of Illinois, a Republican, and two of his top former aides were indicted on federal charges of racketeering, mail fraud and conspiracy to obstruct justice. The new indictments bring to 48 the number of defendants in the four-year-old investigation stemming from Mr. Ryan's tenure as secretary of state. The governor has not been personally implicated. A14

#### Rearranging U.S. Books

The Bush administration said it would juggle finances this week so that the statutory ceiling on government borrowing would not be breached. Democrats quickly asserted that the move illustrated the irresponsibility of the tax cut that the president pushed through Congress last year. A16

#### **EDUCATION B7**

#### Suit Over Corpses in Class

A Florida man filed a suit accusing Lynn University, in Boca Raton, of using his wife's body for mortuary science students to practice embalming without the family's consent. The suit also says hundreds of corpses may have been taken to the university without families' consent. A14

#### **Bush's Head Start Proposals**

President Bush proposed improvements in teacher training for Head Start and asked Congress to spend \$45 million over five years for research on child literacy programs. A16

#### SCIENCE/HEALTH

#### U.S. Choice for Warming Panel

The State Department has decided to back an economist and engineer from India, Dr. Rajendra K. Pachauri, for chairman of an international pa

#### **NEW YORK/REGION B1-8**

#### Pensions Drain City Budget As Rolls Rise, Funds Shrink

Pension fund investments have lost more than \$9 billion at a time when the city must pay out greater benefits to retired teachers, police officers and other former employees, deepening the city's fiscal crisis. Two years ago, the city estimated that it would need to contribute \$817 million to the pension funds in the fiscal year that begins July 1. That cost has now ballooned to more than \$2 billion. A1

#### Plea Expected in Jail Assault

Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, suspected by the government of being a senior aide to Osama bin Laden, plans to plead guilty today to charges that he tried to murder a federal jail guard in Manhattan in late 2000, according to people familiar with the case. B1

#### Skakel Murder Trial Begins

Jury selection began in Norwalk, Conn., in the trial of Michael C. Skakel, 41, who is accused of murdering a 15-year-old neighbor, Martha Moxley, in Greenwich in 1975. Mr. Skakel faces life in prison if he is convicted. B1

Fire Dept. Seeks Diversity

Officials said they would begin a campaign to hire more blacks, Hispanics and <u>women</u> as firefighters, 93 percent of whom are white men. B3

ARTS E1-12

SPORTS D1-8

**OBITUARIES C16** 

John U. Monro

A white educator who left as dean of Harvard College in 1967 for a low-paying job with an impoverished black college in Alabama, he was 89. C16

Benjamin Harkarvy

The Juilliard School's dance division director since 1992, he was 71.

**BUSINESS DAY C1-15** 

Andersen-KPMG Talks Falter

Negotiations to sell much of Arthur Andersen's foreign division to KPMG collapsed, potentially cutting off one of Andersen's few financial lifelines since the Enron debacle. C1

Ruling on TV Ownership Policy

The federal appeals court in Washington ordered the F.C.C. to reconsider its rule that in practice prevents a single company from owning more than one television station in a small or medium-sized market. C1

Mideast Crisis Roils Markets

The price of crude reached its highest level in six months, nearly \$28 a barrel, stoked by fears that the worsening Mideast violence could lead to a disruption of supply. C1

The Nasdaq lost 58.22 points, or 3.1 percent, to 1,804.40; the Dow fell 48.99 points, to 10,313.71; and the S.& P. 500 shed 9.78 points, to 1,136.76. C11

Business Digest C1

World Business W1

DINING F1-12

**EDITORIAL A18-19** 

Editorials: Rebuilding downtown; the cancer of suicide bombing; a more balanced farm bill.

Columns: Thomas L. Friedman, Maureen Dowd.

Crossword E7 TV Listings E11 Public Lives B2 Weather D8 http://www.nytimes.com

## Graphic

Photo

Load-Date: April 3, 2002



Santa Fe New Mexican (New Mexico)

January 6, 2002 Sunday

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Section: LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; Pg. F-7

Length: 915 words

## **Body**

Handless cell-phone devices are just the ticket

I strongly believe that officers should be looking to ticket cell-phone users.

I drive every day in the city, and especially in the Plaza area. I've noticed on countless occasions people using cell phones and driving rather recklessly, running stop signs and using no signals.

Both hands (need to be) on the wheel and the mind on the controls - not phones. Using headsets or other handless devices is strongly suggested.

Julian Sanchez

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Undocumented setup

The setup of using drunken-driving roadblocks to arrest undocumented immigrants is, at best, shameful behavior on the part of both the Border Patrol and the state police. I don't think it was coincidental for the article to appear on the Feast of Holy Innocents.

For the state police to participate in such action diminishes the integrity and honor of an otherwise fine lawenforcement agency. What part of the inscription on the Statue of Liberty welcoming the poor and hungry is not understood? The undocumented come to America seeking a better life for themselves and their families.

I'm the child of an undocumented immigrant and proud of it. My mother became an LPN in World War II and served this country in New Haven, Conn., hospitals so others could serve overseas. Much of her pay, during and after the war, went back to Ireland to help her impoverished brothers and sisters.

I don't think too much has changed.

The Rev. Richard W. Murphy

rector

St. Bede's Episcopal Church

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Book burning

Regarding your article on the front page (Dec. 31) about the church in Alamogordo burning books: I guess I have definite opinions on this, but this seems stupid and extreme.

If they are so worried about these children's books and such turning their kids to tampering with witchcraft and such, maybe they should look closer to home and not to these books -- try figuring out what at home is wrong, what is lacking for their children instead of looking to something else to blame (if) their kids go wrong.

The truth is that the majority of kids go the wrong way (because) they are lacking structure -- or even caring, listening parents at home. Sometimes it just takes listening and caring about what a kid does or says that makes the difference.

For them to blame fun books about a fantasy world for their problems at home is ridiculous. The Harry Potter books hardly teach kids to become witches, etc. Maybe they should try reading the books first.

Lisa Stephenson

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Not full picture

Does anyone here in the U.S.A. really believe that it will be "wonderful" when Palestinians can live on both sides of the Green Line and Jews can only live on one side of the Green Line? These are just some of the publicly stated goals that Arafat, PLO, Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and other terrorists and anti-Jewish groups in the Middle East established even before the 1967 Six Day War -- and still want.

Just think, can it be possible that we are helping to get places like Shomron to be Judenriden or rid of the "filthy" Jews (as the PA and PLO have said) -- just like the Nazis did in certain areas of Europe?

But then the good ol' U.S.A. will reward these politically correct terrorists with a nation of their own.

Get hold of the Arab literature coming from the Palestinians and see how they view Israel eventually disappearing completely under future wars. They have pictures and graphics of Palestinians stomping all Jews out of the Middle East, sometimes with blood flowing from Jewish bodies.

There are lots of records (evidence) of Arafat plotting and killing Jews even before the Six Day War. The picture is bigger than what you see.

Catherine Sidoti

Los Alamos

via e-mail

Pro Patti

Patti Bushee has my vote for mayor. What a tenacious, passionate, hard-working and outspoken Santa Fean we have working for us all.

Viva Bushee!

Susan Robinson

Santa Fe

via e-mail

'Justice for all...'

Cecilia Gonzales (letters, Dec. 26) asked, "Where in our Constitution does it say that the rights we have as Americans are to be extended to everyone in the world?"

The answer lies within the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness."

Americans and others around the world have struggled for centuries to make "all" mean all -- to include blacks, minorities, <u>women</u> and a host of others within the light of the Declaration's beneficence. Now is not the time to make "all" mean "only some of us."

Terrorism is a serious evil to be faced with courage and strength. But, when we act to deny basic rights to select groups of people, we erode our moral authority and our ethical core. By casting doubt on our national integrity, we ultimately reduce our effectiveness.

Jenny Felmley

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Locked in?

At this time of year many syndicated columnists publish mea culpa pieces in which they acknowledge their errors of the past 12 months. In the Dec. 30 New Mexican, Dave Broder credits Barry Mackintosh, an old friend of mine from National Park Service days, with catching him in overlooking the fact that China is a communist country.

Barry's achievement motivates me to comment on The New Mexican's headline above the Broder piece: "As year ends, yet another pundit tugs forelock."

Whose forelock? As evidenced by the columnist's photograph, Broder does not have one of his own.

Jerry L. Rogers

Santa Fe

via e-mail

Load-Date: November 5, 2002



## AMEN CORNER: News and notes

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

August 11, 2001 Saturday,

Home Edition

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Section: Religion Faith & Values;; Brief

Length: 962 words

## **Body**

Report: Christians fleeing Mideast Violence in the Middle East is draining the Christian presence in the region, according to a new report from a World Council of Churches delegation that toured the area.

"The rapidly increasing emigration of Palestinian Christians is a signal that the situation has become intolerable to them," the delegates concluded in their report, released this week. "The fear that the holy sites of Christianity will become museums is a very real one, as two to three Palestinian Christian families leave every week."

The report is the culmination of the delegation's five-day tour of Israel and the West Bank in June and was discussed at the council's two-day gathering of religious leaders in Geneva this week.

From staff and wire reports

Ecumenical organizations "should consider urgently helping the local Christian community to maintain a presence in Palestine," the report declared.

"The Palestinian community feels that they have not been seen as a part of the Christian family by many in the ecumenical family who do not even know there are Christians in Palestine," the report said.

Iran told to pay Jenco family \$314.6 million

A federal judge has ordered Iran to pay \$314.6 million to the family of the Rev. Lawrence M. Jenco, the director of Catholic Relief Services in Beirut, Lebanon, who was taken hostage in the 1980s.

The ruling last week determined that Iran was responsible for the kidnapping of the Roman Catholic priest, who was held from January 1985 to July 1986, The Washington Post reported. Jenco died in 1996 at the age of 61.

U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth of Washington said in his ruling that Jenco was treated "little better than a caged animal" when he was threatened, chained and beaten by kidnappers from <u>Hezbollah</u>, the Iran-controlled Islamic fundamentalist group.

Jenco's family filed suit against the government of Iran based on a 1996 U.S. law giving legal recourse to American victims of terrorism abroad. Lamberth's decision marked the eighth time that Iran has been mandated to pay damages to victims or their families in cases involving terrorism.

MEDIA WITH A MESSAGE: 'VeggieTales' live stage show, movie planned

#### AMEN CORNER: News and notes

The popular "VeggieTales" children's animated video series is coming to more than one kind of theater near you, with producers planning a live stage show and a movie for 2002.

Among the cast of vegetables in the touring show will be Larry the Cucumber and Bob the Tomato, who are hosts for the series that has been a top seller among children's videos in Christian and secular stores.

The tour will launch in February 2002 in Minneapolis and will initially run for 40 weeks in such cities as Dallas, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Seattle, Indianapolis, Denver and Orlando. It is part of a two-year agreement between Big Idea Productions, creators of "VeggieTales," and Clear Channel Entertainment, a New York-based producer of live entertainment events.

"At Big Idea, we strive to create products filled with wacky humor, infectious music and lovable characters that entertain and teach timeless values," said Phil Vischer, founder of Big Idea Productions, based in Lombard, Ill. "The 'VeggieTales' live tour will continue that tradition for kids and families nationwide."

An animated film titled "Jonah: A VeggieTales Movie" also is scheduled for theatrical release in 2002. The full-length motion picture will be a humorous retelling of the Bible story of Jonah, a Hebrew prophet who was swallowed by a big fish.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE: Deadline for Holocaust claims filing extended

Holocaust survivors who were forced to work as slave laborers for the Nazis now have till Dec. 31 to file reparation claims. The original date for filing such claims was to expire today.

To date, approximately 150,000 applications have been submitted and in June, the first 10,000 eligible applicants received 10,000 deutsche marks --- about \$4,400 in U.S. dollars. A second group of 11,877 applicants is due to be paid by the end of August.

In metro Atlanta, people needing further information about the reparation program or help filling out applications can contact Carrie Bellware with Jewish Family & Career Services at 770-677-9452. Additional information can be found at <a href="https://www.claimscon.org">www.claimscon.org</a>.

Revenue drops 20% for Church of the Brethren

Leaders of the Church of the Brethren are "seriously concerned and disappointed" that revenue dropped 20 percent in the 141,000-member denomination.

As of July 31, giving to the church's General Ministries Fund stood at \$1.9 million, down from \$2.5 million during the same period last year. The General Ministries Fund covers most activities for the church.

"This is very, very serious," said Ken Neher, director of the fund, according to a church press release. "Being a half-million dollars behind last year, and slipping \$100,000 per month as we have the last two months, will cripple the work of the General Ministries Fund well into the future."

Neher, who said he was "seriously concerned and disappointed" by the numbers, said the fund is the "backbone of the denomination's worldwide mission and ministry work," including ministry, youth programs, the Brethren Service Center, communications and ecumenical affairs.

The Church of the Brethren is one of three churches --- along with the Mennonites and the Amish --- with roots in the Anabaptist tradition of 18th century Switzerland and Germany.

The church is known, in part, for its involvement with peace causes.

#### AMEN CORNER: News and notes

QUOTABLE "It is not charity, it is not love, to bind up wounds made by the system but do nothing to change the system that is doing the wounding." Sister Joan Chittister, an international lecturer and author, in a sermon celebrating the 60th anniversary of Church <u>Women</u> United.

## **Graphic**

Photo:

Summertime audience

Pope John Paul II is surrounded by nuns in the Paul VI Hall at the Vatican on Wednesday during his traditional weekly audience. / PLINIO LEPRI / Associated Press

Load-Date: August 11, 2001



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

The Philadelphia Inquirer

APRIL 18, 2001 Wednesday CITY-D EDITION

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## The Philadelphia Inquirer

Found on Philly . com

Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A01

Length: 937 words

Byline: Barbara Demick and Nomi Morris INQUIRER STAFF WRITERS

Dateline: BEIT HANOUN, Gaza Strip

## **Body**

Israeli troops yesterday recaptured a narrow slice of the Gaza Strip but withdrew last night amid a barrage of criticism that it was rolling back the 1993 peace deal that gave the strip to Palestinian self-rule.

Israel said the incursion was a temporary measure designed to thwart attacks such as one Monday, when Palestinians fired homemade mortars out of Gaza into the nearby Israeli town of Sderot.

"There was no reoccupation. There were a host of objectives set in this operation and once they were accomplished it was finished," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Ariel Sharon, who became Israel's prime minister last month with a promise to quash the Palestinian uprising. Gissin denied that U.S. criticism played a role in the decision to withdraw.

Earlier in the day, U.S. Secretary of State Colin L. Powell sharply criticized Israel's move. In a statement, Powell called it "excessive and disproportionate" and said Israel should respect the peace accords that gave most of Gaza to the Palestinians.

The Israeli move came a day after Israel bombed a Syrian radar station inside Lebanon, in response to an attack on Israeli forces by Lebanese <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas on Saturday. Powell said he was concerned that the "situation is threatening to escalate further, raising the risk of a broader conflict."

The territory seized by Israel was a narrow, thinly populated band of citrus and olive groves along the northeast corner of the Gaza Strip, amounting to barely two square miles of the 140-square-mile Gaza Strip. But its symbolic importance is much larger, since this is the first time that Israel had retaken what was given to the Palestinians as part of the land-for-peace deal brokered by the White House.

"It's clear that Israel has expanded the sphere of the war with the Palestinians," Palestinian negotiator Hassan Asfour contended. "It has carried out a new and dangerous step by reoccupying Palestinian areas."

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

In Beit Hanoun, the closest Palestinian town to the area recaptured, residents said there were 12 Israeli tanks and three bulldozers involved in the operation, which began early yesterday. The bulldozers demolished a small Palestinian police post, a house, and acres of trees along the border that Israel said could provide cover for terrorists. A Palestinian police officer was killed in the process.

"They were shooting, shooting with tanks, and nobody could stop them," said Feria Masri, 47, a homemaker from Beit Hanoun who hid with her children in an orange grove when the Israelis moved in overnight. "We are expecting them to take all of Gaza again."

Her son, Bilal Masri, 16, said he was in geography class when an Israeli tank pulled into fields behind his school. "We all were falling over one another to get away. We were so frightened," he said.

Yesterday afternoon, bulldozers still churned at the orchards outside the town, stirring up huge clouds of dust, as Israeli combat helicopters whirred overhead providing air support for the operation. The air was punctuated by gunshots.

"Sharon is the terrorist. He wants us to surrender our rights and accept what he dictates," farmer Muad Abu Odeh, 32, said as he watched the bulldozers at work yesterday.

Late last night, Beit Hanoun residents reached by phone confirmed that the Israelis were withdrawing. Early today, the Israeli army said that it had completed its pullout and returned to its previous positions.

Earlier in the day, the Israeli Gaza commander, Gen. Yair Naveh, had said Israel could remain in the area recaptured for weeks or months.

The Israeli move was prompted by mortar attacks Monday night in Sderot, a working-class town of 24,000 about 2 1/2 miles from Gaza. Although no one was injured, it was a chilling incident that prompted Sderot residents to prepare their bomb shelters for the first time since 1973. Sderot also happens to be five miles from a sheep ranch owned by Sharon.

The Islamic militant movement Hamas took responsibility for the mortar attacks. But Israel said it held Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat and his self-rule authority responsible for encouraging the militants.

"Without a shadow of a doubt, Arafat and the Palestinian Authority are behind this wave of terror," asserted Uzi Landau, Israeli public security minister.

Israeli military officials said they had drawn up contingency plans for more incursions into Palestinian territory, if provoked. "There are many other plans to take bites of the Palestinian Authority," Gen. Yom Tov Samia told Israel radio yesterday.

A Palestinian police officer was killed in the Israeli incursion near Beit Hanoun, while a Palestinian teenager was reported killed in a clash in Karin in the Gaza Strip. In another incident yesterday, a Palestinian in the West Bank town of Tulkarm was shot dead after he stabbed and slightly wounded an Israeli soldier.

Also trying to prevent terrorism, Israel divided the Gaza Strip into three parts, making it almost impossible for residents to travel within. Stranded Palestinian commuters resorted to the Mediterranean beach - the only remaining passage. Young <u>women</u> in long robes and white head scarves, some carrying schoolbooks, walked along the beach, and donkey carts and tractors ferried passengers.

The government of Ehud Barak, the previous Israeli prime minister, used similar tactics of dividing Gaza and demolishing property that might harbor gunmen, but refrained from going into any area under full Palestinian sovereignty for fear of undermining the peace process.

Sharon's spokesman, Gissin, said, "They [the Palestinians] have to understand there's a new government in town and there are new rules of the game."

## **Graphic**

ADEL HANA, Associated Press - In Gaza, a Palestinian man walks with his children along the beach to bypass the road that was destroyed by bulldozers during the Israeli army's daylong operation in the Gaza Strip yesterday.

NASSER SHIYOUKHI, Associated Press - An Israeli soldier breaks up a scuffle between Palestinians and Israeli settlers. The confrontation yesterday was in Hebron, the West Bank.

Load-Date: October 31, 2001



## Female Palestinian bomber kills elderly Israeli man in Jerusalem

Charleston Gazette (West Virginia) January 28, 2002, Monday

Copyright 2002 Charleston Newspapers

Section: News; Pg. P1A

Length: 983 words

Byline: Greg Myre The Associated Press

## **Body**

JERUSALEM - A Palestinian woman launched a bomb attack Sunday on a busy Jerusalem street, killing herself and an 81-year-old Israeli man and wounding at least a dozen people. She was believed to be the first <u>female</u> suicide bomber since fighting began 16 months ago.

Israeli police were hesitant to call her a suicide bomber, saying it wasn't clear if the woman intended to kill herself or if the bomb exploded prematurely as she walked along Jaffa Street, the main commercial strip in west Jerusalem.

In Lebanon, the Al-Manar television station run by the militant <u>Hezbollah</u> movement said the bomber was Shinaz Amuri, a <u>female</u> student at Al-Najah University in the West Bank town of Nablus.

Israel accused Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat of "encouraging terrorism" and said it was prepared to respond to the bombing - the third major attack in an Israeli city in a week.

The blast next to a shoe shop blew out shop windows, set a store on fire and left victims sprawled on the pavement amid shards of glass, pieces of fruit, shoes and storefront mannequins.

"It sounded like half the street exploded," said Hama Gidon, a clothing store worker who was slightly injured. "All the mannequins went flying and I did too. People were falling, glass was flying everywhere."

More than 100 people were treated on the spot or taken to hospitals, though most suffered only from shock. Three people were seriously hurt and nine had moderate injuries, officials said.

Up until now, only the radical Islamic Jihad and Hamas have sent suicide bombers into Israel, but Islamic law forbids <u>women</u> from committing suicide for any cause. Therefore, Israeli security sources, quoted anonymously in the Maariv daily, said they suspected the bomber might have come from a secular movement.

The paper said Israeli security is rethinking its profile of potential suicide bombers. Until recently, most were young, single, uneducated Palestinians. "Lately we are seeing older, married men and now a woman," the paper wrote.

Palestinian <u>women</u> have taken a larger part in public life in the West Bank and Gaza than in some other Muslim societies, but they have gradually receded into the background during the current conflict as men have taken the roles of military commanders. Only one woman serves in the Palestinian Cabinet - Intissar al-Wazir, widow of the legendary Palestinian fighter Abu Jihad, killed in a 1988 raid in Tunis, Tunisia, widely attributed to the Israeli secret service.

#### Female Palestinian bomber kills elderly Israeli man in Jerusalem

No group immediately claimed responsibility for Sunday's attack, but Israel said it held Arafat ultimately responsible.

Arafat is "encouraging terrorism, he's sending [attackers] to Jerusalem," said Raanan Gissin, a spokesman for Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. "We will continue to systematically dismantle the terrorist infrastructure."

The Palestinian leadership, meanwhile, "strongly condemned the suicide attack" and called on President Bush to send Middle East envoy Anthony Zinni back to the region. However, Bush has been sharply critical of Arafat, and Vice President Dick Cheney suggested on "Fox News Sunday" that Zinni will not return soon.

"At this stage, we need to see some positive signs that his return would do some good. And that means we've got to see some positive results out of Arafat," Cheney said.

Arafat must "make a 100 percent good-faith effort to put an end to terrorism," he said. "So far he hasn't done that."

The Palestinian leadership on Saturday called for a halt to all attacks against Israel. However, several Palestinian groups have said recently that they would no longer observe a cease-fire declared by Arafat in December.

Israel has dismissed the Palestinian cease-fire calls as meaningless and says Arafat has simultaneously been encouraging militants.

In a speech Saturday, Arafat said Palestinians were "facing a military crisis, but despite all this, no one has complained of the suffering. They have said, 'God is great, and jihad, jihad, jihad.'"

"Jihad" is an Arabic word that can be translated as "resistance," "struggle" or "holy war." The context was not clear in Arafat's statement.

Just south of Jerusalem on Sunday, an angry 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.

Palestinian security officers did not want to use force with the crowd and did not try to stop them, a Palestinian security official said.

Jaffa Street is a Jerusalem landmark lined with shops, and the narrow sidewalks are clogged with pedestrians, particularly in the middle of the day. The streets were full Sunday, the first day of Israel's work week.

The attack came two days after a Palestinian suicide bomber killed himself and wounded 24 people in a pedestrian mall in Tel Aviv. That bombing followed Israel's killing of a senior Islamic militant in a targeted missile strike in the Gaza Strip.

On Tuesday, a Palestinian gunman opened fire with an automatic rifle on Jaffa Street only a few yards from the site of Sunday's attack. The gunman killed two <u>women</u> and injured more than a dozen people before he was shot dead by police. Some shops had their windows shot out Tuesday and had just replaced the glass when it was shattered again.

In August, a suicide bomber killed 15 people in a Jaffa Street pizzeria just across the street from Sunday's blast. Some workers at the Sbarro pizza restaurant were treated Sunday for shock, witnesses said.

Palestinian militants have carried out more than 30 suicide bombings during the current Middle East conflict. On Friday, a bomber wounded two dozen people in an attack in Tel Aviv.

Palestinians say Israel undermined a month of relative calm, from mid-December to mid-January, by resuming targeted killings of Palestinian militants. Israel says it acted because Arafat wasn't doing enough to crack down on the militants.

Load-Date: January 29, 2002



The New York Times
April 16, 2002 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

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

Length: 1015 words

## **Body**

**INTERNATIONAL A3-18** 

Israel Arrests Arafat Aide; Sharon Balks at Full Pullout

Israel arrested a top leader of Yasir Arafat's Fatah movement, Marwan Barghouti, accusing him of masterminding terror attacks. Prime Minister Ariel Sharon indicated that Israeli forces would withdraw within a week from Jenin and Nablus, but would stay in Bethlehem and Ramallah, contrary to American demands. He also said Israel would not negotiate a peace deal with Mr. Arafat. A1

Secretary of State Colin L. Powell suggested a regional peace conference but without Mr. Arafat, whose presence would be rejected by Israel. Mr. Powell also visited Lebanon and Syria to press leaders to restrain <u>Hezbollah</u> militants firing across Israel's northern frontier. A17

President Bush moved to quell a furor among conservative supporters about his policy by sending Deputy Defense Secretary Paul D. Wolfowitz, one of the administration's most hawish officials, to speak at large pro-Israel rally in Washington. A18

Senior Bush administration officials met several times in recent months with leaders of the coalition that ousted the Venezuelan president, Hugo Chavez, for two days last weekend, and agreed with them that he should be removed from office. A1

Survivors of Air Crash

Rescuers found 39 passengers who survived the crash of an Air China Boeing 767-200 near Pusan, Korea, that killed at least 115 people. A3

World Briefing A12

NATION CHALLENGED A20-21

9/11 Hijacker Hoped Death Would Foment More Attacks

A man identified as a Sept. 11 hijacker said in a newly broadcast videotape that his death was meant to send the message that "it is time to kill the Americans in their own homeland." Another segment showed Osama bin Laden sitting contemplatively beside his second-in-command, Ayman al-Zawahiri. A20

#### Rumsfeld Defends Detention

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld said the government's continued detention of an American-born prisoner who was seized in Afghanistan, Yasser Esam Hamdi, was justified, even though he had not been charged or given access to a lawyer. A21

#### NATIONAL A22-25

#### Vatican Summons Cardinals To Discuss Abuse Scandal

The Vatican said Pope John Paul II was summoning American cardinals to Rome next week to discuss the scandal over reports of priests' abuse of minors and the hierarchy's handling of such cases. At least 8 of the 13 cardinals are expected to attend. A1

#### Food Safety Bills Stalled

Legislation to improve food safety, rushed through both houses of Congress last fall in response to the threat of bioterrorism, is stalled because of food industry resistance. A22

#### A Move to New Types of Arms

Defense Secretary Donald H. Rumsfeld told the three service secretaries that he wanted to cut major weapons systems to finance new technologies, including space surveillance systems and unpiloted weapons. A25

#### **OBITUARIES C18-19**

#### Byron R. White

The football legend who became one of the longest-serving United States Supreme Court justices was 84. A1

#### **EDUCATION**

#### Black Scholar Explains Switch

The black studies scholar Cornel West said he was leaving Harvard for Princeton largely because Princeton had made a stronger pitch to get him than Harvard had to keep him. A24

#### Warning on School Vans

The 15-passenger vans that many schools use as small-group buses are more prone to rolling over than other vehicles, and their occupants are less likely to wear seat belts, the top federal highway safety official said. A25

#### NEW YORK/REGION B1-6

#### Boarding School Alumni Say Staff Abused Them

A dozen alumni of the American Boychoir School in Princeton, N.J., from the 1960's to the 1980's described a pattern of sex abuse at the nonsectarian boarding school by two longtime choirmasters and by nine staff members that they say has resonated through their lives. B1

#### What Budget Cuts Would Mean

Streets would be dirtier, trash baskets in Midtown would be emptied less often and pharmacies at the city's public clinics would be shuttered under parts of a contingency budget plan being considered by the Bloomberg administration. B1

#### Senator Blamed at Sentencing

Audrey Yu, who pleaded guilty to obstructing an investigation into her boss's campaign contributions to Senator Robert G. Torricelli of New Jersey, said at her sentencing that the senator and lawyers had pressured her to lie to investigators. She received three years' probation. B1

SCIENCE TIMES F1-10

Health & Fitness F5

FASHION B7

ARTS E1-10

#### Shake-Up at 'Producers'

Henry Goodman was dropped from the Max Bialystock role in "The Producers" after only 30 performances and replaced by his understudy, Brad Oscar. The real producers said they had miscalculated in choosing Mr. Goodman to replace Nathan Lane. E1

SPORTS D1-8

Kenyans Dominate in Boston

Rodgers Rop won the men's marthon in 2 hours, 9 minutes, 2 seconds; Margaret Okayo won the **women**'s race in 2:20:43, a course record. D3

**BUSINESS DAY C1-17** 

#### A Shell Game With Taxes

Some large companies, encouraged by top law and accounting firms, are adopting a new strategy to cut taxes legally on profits they make in this country by moving money to paper companies overseas. A1

#### U.S. Inquiry at Hewlett

Hewlett-Packard said two federal agencies were looking into its relationships with investment banks that cast crucial votes on its proposal to merge with Compaq Computer. C1

#### Versace Seeking Cash

The family-owned fashion design house of Gianni Versace is trying to raise \$176 million by selling a minority stake, according to outsiders who have been approached. Most of the money would be spent on renovating older stores, repurchasing franchised stores and expanding a leather goods and accessory line. C1

#### Citigroup Profits Lag

Citigroup reported first-quarter earnings that fell short of analysts' estimates, largely because of greater-thanexpected losses in Argentina. C1

Business Digest C1

World Business W1

EDITORIAL A26-27

Editorials: A barely breathing energy bill; Venezuela's political turbulence; Justice Byron White; Robert B. Semple Jr. on Arnold Palmer.

Columns: Paul Krugman, Nicholas D. Kristof.

Crossword E7 TV Listings E9 Public Lives B2 Weather A19

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: April 16, 2002



## Suicide bomber in Israel wounds 29 Troops tighten hold on trapped A rafat

Daily News (New York)
March 31, 2002, Sunday
METRO EDITION

Copyright 2002 Daily News, L.P.

Section: NEWS;; FRONT PAGE

Length: 1000 words

Byline: BY RICHARD SISK DAILY NEWS WASHINGTON BUREAU

## **Body**

WASHINGTON - A Palestinian suicide bomber struck a crowded cafe in Tel Aviv yesterday even as Israeli troops tightened their grip on Yasser Arafat in his West Bank compound.

The bomber walked into My Coffee Shop on bustling Allenby St. in Tel Aviv's entertainment district last night and detonated explosives strapped to his body, wounding at least 29 customers.

The explosion blew out the roof and windows and overturned chairs and tables. Dance music was still playing inside the cafe after the attack.

Police said the bomber was killed and six people were in serious condition.

One media report said that the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, a militia linked to Arafat's Fatah movement, claimed responsibility.

In Ramallah on the West Bank, Israeli troops rounded up Palestinian men and kept Arafat, the Palestinian leader, holed up in two blacked-out rooms of his wrecked headquarters.

President Bush called on Arafat to end the terror bombings, and as night fell, Palestinian officials said Israeli forces were preparing to storm the cramped offices where the Palestinian leader and a small group of aides and bodyguards were trapped without food, water or electricity.

Surrender called unlikely

But Israeli defense officials said they wanted to search the offices for weapons, and there were no immediate plans to knock down the wooden door separating their troops from Arafat.

Palestinian Information Minister Yasser Abed Rabbo said Arafat would not surrender and was likely to fight back in the event of such a move.

Eleven Palestinians and two Israelis have been killed in the new round of fighting, and Israeli Defense Minister Binyamin Ben-Eliezer said the incursion into the West Bank would last as long as it takes "to guarantee the safety of our homes."

Ben Eliezer said the Israeli action was aimed at "the infrastructure of terror in Ramallah," but "we have no intention to touch him [Arafat], to hurt him."

#### Suicide bomber in Israel wounds 29 Troops tighten hold on trapped A rafat

Israeli tanks fanned out from Ramallah to outlying towns north of Jerusalem and into the southern town of Hebron, as the suicide bomber struck in Tel Aviv.

The Tel Aviv incident was the third bombing since last Wednesday in suicide attacks that have killed a total of 24 Israelis.

On Wednesday evening, a suicide bomber blew himself up in a hotel in the coastal resort of Netanya, killing 22 diners attending a Passover Seder, the ritual meal ushering in the Jewish holiday.

On Friday, a <u>female</u> bomber blew herself up at the entrance of a Jerusalem supermarket, killing a guard and a woman shopper.

In a separate incident yesterday, Israeli police said two other Palestinians heading into Israel to conduct a suicide attack got into a gun battle with Israeli police at the edge of the West Bank. An Israeli officer and the two Palestinians were killed.

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said he would take "all means possible" to stop the Palestinian attacks, part of a cycle of violence that began in September 2000 and has killed about 1,200 Palestinians and nearly 400 Israelis.

Sharon called the attack on the cafe "a continuation of the campaign of murder."

No letup seen

Isif Avner, 43, said he was having coffee in the shop with his wife. He had stepped outside for a moment when the bomb went off.

"I called out to my wife and a friend and they did not answer, but after a minute they came from inside," Avner said, adding that his wife and friend were unhurt.

Avner, a resident of Jerusalem, said he had left the often-targeted city for Tel Aviv to be able to enjoy an evening out.

Police Commissioner Shlomo Aharonishki said he did not expect a letup in Palestinian attacks.

"We are expecting many more bomb attacks, and we are spreading our forces as widely as possible," Aharonishki said on Israel TV.

The attacker was a man from the West Bank city of Nablus, Israel TV's Channel Two said. A spokesman for the militia said he was still trying to confirm the identity of the assailant.

In Ramallah, Arafat alternated between pleas for help and vows of defiance in a series of emotional phone calls to world leaders and news outlets, but the Israelis had cut off the phone lines and the Palestinian Authority chairman's cell phone was losing power.

"I appeal to the international community to stop this aggression against our people, this military escalation, this killing," Arafat said in one call.

Arafat vows to fight on

He also pledged to continue the struggle for an independent state.

"Together we will march until one of our children raises the Palestinian flag over the churches and mosques of Jerusalem," Arafat said in Arabic.

He accused Israel of "terrorist, racist actions using all kinds of American weapons."

#### Suicide bomber in Israel wounds 29 Troops tighten hold on trapped A rafat

Near Arafat's compound, Israeli troops displayed a large cache of weapons they said were found inside "under the eyes of the chairman of the Palestinian Authority."

The weapons included sniper rifles, mortars and rocket-propelled grenade rounds that were forbidden to the Palestinians under international agreements, the Israelis said.

Outside Arafat's compound, the roar and bash of Israeli tank fire echoed through Ramallah's streets as the Israelis stormed a five-story building and fought isolated gun battles with Palestinian skirmishers.

Tanks rumbled into the Palestinian town of Beit Jalla, just south of Jerusalem and next to biblical Bethlehem, where Christians are observing Easter weekend. Many Christian residents in Beit Jalla complained that the incursion kept churches closed.

Tanks also entered the town of Beituniya, outside Ramallah, surrounding the military compound of West Bank security chief Jibril Rajoub.

In Ramallah, Israeli troops used loudspeakers to demand that all men between the ages of 14 and 45 come out of their homes and report to a school. More than 500 Palestinian men assembled in the yard, where they were blindfolded and their hands were tied behind their backs, witnesses said.

Along Israel's tense northern border with Lebanon, Israeli warplanes and artillery hit back after <u>Hezbollah</u> guerrillas fired shells and rockets into Israeli territory.

Load-Date: April 1, 2002



# MIDEAST TURMOIL: FIGHTING; Israel Steps Up Military Pressure in West Bank

The New York Times

April 3, 2002 Wednesday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2002 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 4; Foreign Desk; Pg. 8

Length: 833 words

**Byline:** By JOHN KIFNER with SERGE SCHMEMANN **Dateline:** RAMALLAH, West Bank, Wednesday, April 3

## **Body**

Israel pressed its spreading military assault on the West Bank on Tuesday with much of the fighting in the biblical city of Bethlehem, but a new front threatened to open up in the north.

After it began a rocket attack into Israel overnight Monday across the border from Lebanon, <u>Hezbollah</u>, the guerrilla group that has increasingly been supporting the Palestinians, fired mortars and antitank missiles from the disputed Shabaa Farms region on the border on Tuesday. In retaliation, Israeli jets struck back at Lebanese villages in the region on Tuesday evening.

Israeli troops and tanks stormed into Bethlehem on Tuesday morning, with much of the fighting, in which seven Palestinians were killed, centering around Manger Square and the Church of the Nativity.

The troops moved into the nearby Aida and Dheisheh refugee camps, in the latter issuing a call for <u>women</u> ages 15 to 25 to submit to questioning, as well as men. The summons appeared to be a response to the new phenomenon of <u>women</u> serving as suicide bombers.

Early this morning Israeli forces moved on to the northern city of Jenin, entering with at least a dozen tanks in preparation for what will be, the army says, a new standard set of tactics of house-to-house searches as well as the roundups of men for questioning. A Palestinian woman was killed in heavy fighting in Jenin, The Associated Press reported. The A.P. also said Israeli forces later moved into Salfit to the south.

Still, the Palestinian suicide bombing campaign continued on Tuesday, with the seventh attack in seven days. This time the bomber was a man who succeeded only in killing himself. He approached a military checkpoint near the village of Baga al Sharqiya, on the border with Israel, and his bomb exploded as soldiers approached to search him.

One result of the suicide bombing campaign was seen Tuesday afternoon in the Galilee, where the police in the town of Karmiel sealed off entrances and exits and closed down shopping malls after rumors that a terrorist was in the area.

Three people wounded in the Passover bombing in Netanya died on Tuesday, bringing that total to 25, as did a man from a bombing in Haifa, bringing that total to 15.

#### MIDEAST TURMOIL: FIGHTING Israel Steps Up Military Pressure in West Bank

Dawn broke in Ramallah on Tuesday with Apache helicopter gunships firing machine guns and rockets at the command compound of Jibril Rajoub, the powerful Palestinian security chief for the West Bank.

Mr. Rajoub had once been the Israeli and American hope for security cooperation, and a favorite of the C.I.A. Now Israel is accusing him of harboring wanted men. Although he vowed early on that the several hundred of his men in the complex would fight to the death because "surrender is not in our culture," by afternoon an agreement had been brokered under which about 180 men turned themselves over to the Israelis.

The C.I.A. played a central role in working out an agreement to evacuate the Palestinian security headquarters, Western officials said. They Israelis said, though, that they suspected that more militants were still inside.

Among the various clashes on Tuesday, two Palestinians were shot and killed while driving on a highway. A settler's group, Tears of the Orphans and Martyrs, took responsibility.

Along the border with Lebanon, the evening news said, "The tension on the border is increasing by the hour." Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, however, professed to be unworried about any threat from the border during a visit on Tuesday to an officer's training camp.

The operation in Bethlehem followed a script that has now become familiar. After massing on the outskirts of the city Tuesday, tanks and armored personnel carriers moved into position, with soldiers erecting observation and firing positions on strategically situated rooftops.

Details of the operation were sketchy, since residents stayed in their homes. "The tanks are shooting randomly," one resident said by telephone. "They shoot at anything they see moving -- dogs, cats. It's very dangerous."

The area of Manger Square and the Church of the Nativity were not invaded in March, and many Palestinian gunmen sought refuge in the square. This time, the Israelis entered the square in force. Scores of gunmen were said to have taken refuge in the church itself, and Israelis called on them in Arabic through loudspeakers to surrender. Residents said four Palestinians were killed on the steps leading from Manger Square to the marketplace.

"We consider all holy places immune and places of refuge," said the Rev. Raed Abu-Sahlia, the chancellor of the Catholic patriarchate in Jerusalem. "This is also in the Jewish tradition."

Residents in the vicinity reported many gunfights in the warren of alleys around the square. The Santa Maria Church and the Omar Mosque, both near Manger Square, were said by several witnesses to have been damaged by fire. The Russian Orthodox Church said a hospice for pilgrims that it owns was taken over by the Israelis, prompting a strong protest from Moscow by the Russian Orthodox patriarch, Aleksy II.

http://www.nytimes.com

## **Graphic**

Chart/Map: "Military Steps in the West Bank"The Israeli army has invaded areas in the West Bank, searching for terrorists and weapons caches. Tulkarm -- Tanks and armored bulldozers moved in on Monday, and house seaches began yesterday. Qalqilya -- Israeli forces began house-to-house searches yesterday. Ramallah -- The army invaded Yasir Arafat's compound on Friday and seized stores of weapons and counterfeit money. Ten suspected terrorists were arrested and more than 700 others detained. Beit Jala -- In response to a mortar fired at a Jewish area in Jerusalem, tanks and troops invaded on Saturday. Bethlehem -- Yesterday, forces moved into Manger Square and the Church of the Nativity. Map of Israel highlighting the West Bank.

## MIDEAST TURMOIL: FIGHTING Israel Steps Up Military Pressure in West Bank

Load-Date: April 3, 2002



## Guerrillas' bodies returned as part of swap

The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario)

January 31, 2004 Saturday Final Edition

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Section: FRONT; Pg. A12; NEWS

Length: 150 words

Dateline: NAQOURA, LEBANON

## **Body**

<u>Women</u> in black wept and a military band played sombre music to honour the remains of 59 guerrillas returned to Lebanon yesterday, the last step of a complex prisoner exchange between <u>Hezbollah</u> and Israel.

A Canadian-Lebanese man was released as part of the transaction. Associated Press

Hundreds of people lined the streets as the convoy of trucks carrying the coffins slowly made its way up the coastal road from the border with Israel to Lebanon's capital Beirut.

Elsewhere in Lebanon, thousands of people took to the streets to welcome home released prisoners, showering them with rice and chanting "Death to Israel."

"I say that the enemy can kidnap a man from a house by various methods, but it is impossible to hijack his will and determination to resist injustice," said Mustafa Dirani, a <u>Hezbollah</u> leader who was abducted by Israeli commandos in eastern Lebanon in 1994 and released under the deal.

Load-Date: January 31, 2004



## The President may be waiting on a friend -but he'd be a fool to cry

The Times (London)
August 26, 2005, Friday

Copyright 2005 Times Newspapers Limited

Section: Features; 25 Length: 999 words Byline: Gerard Baker

## **Body**

THE ROLLING STONES are back in the news. They kicked off another concert tour in Boston on Monday and next month will release A Bigger Bangtheir first original, studio-produced album since 1997. For years these resourceful survivors of the rock era have been staving off the steady detumescence of encroaching irrelevance with a chemically reinvigorating mix of controversy and nostalgia. Bill Wyman's predilections, Mick Jagger's progeny, Keith Richards' toxicity and endless new compilations of decades-old tunes have kept the blood pumping into all the right places.

This time, the Viagra comes in the form of a song that, though no one has actually heard it yet, is already ensuring bumper CD and ticket sales. It's an anti Bush, anti-war track that goes by the title Sweet Neocon.

To Stones fans (and I count myself one) the lyrics suggest there hasn't been much of a revival in the song-writing ability that deserted Messrs Jagger and Richards when they reached normal retirement age a decade or so ago: "You say you're a Christian. I think you're a hypocrite. You say you're a patriot. Well I think you're full of shit."

Not exactly Masters of War, is it? But, hey, when your last outing included a number entitled Might as Well Get Juiced, your fans will take anything that still suggests consciousness.

And yet the timing is exquisite. As the Stones play once again to sold-out stadiums, President George Bush looks more and more like the political equivalent of a failed busker, mumbling his lines to ever less convincing effect and to ever more bemused and contemptuous onlookers.

He and his sweet neocon friends are besieged this late summer. Americans are dying in Iraq at a faster pace than ever. Outside the Crawford ranch Cindy Sheehan, the bereaved mother of a dead serviceman, continues to enjoy the friendly glare of media attention. Republicans are nervous, with some openly talking now about the need for a US withdrawal from Iraq. The President's approval ratings have dived further and are now, by some measures, lower than Richard Nixon's were when impeachment proceedings began against him over Watergate.

Far more important than the fortunes of this finite presidency, the neoconservative dream of democratic transformation in the Middle East looks as plausible these days as Mick Jagger in a leotard; the hard reality of the President's Iraq policy looks about as edifying.

Where once the US talked of creating a peaceful, stable democratic country, Iraq now looks closer than ever to a civil war between, on the one side, proponents of a Shia theocracy allied to <u>Hezbollah</u>-friendly Iran, and on the

#### The President may be waiting on a friend -but he'd be a fool to cry

other promoters of an international terrorist ideology allied to Saddam-friendly Baathists. Sorry, but whose side are we on again?

The travails of the constitution-making process have raised more doubts about the feasibility of democratic nation-building in an ethnically diverse Muslim country.

The struggle to get agreement on the proper role of Islam in the nation's basic law leaves most western democrats queasy about the status of <u>women</u>, gays and non-Muslims in the future Iraq. The failure to get the Sunnis to agree, and their campaign now to defeat the constitution, looks ominous.

All this is leading many in America, even conservatives, even neoconservatives, to begin to doubt the wisdom of the war. Did we really fight to make Iraq safe for fundamentalist mullahs to force <u>women</u> into hiding while thuggish Sunni, Shia and Kurdish militias duke it out on the streets? Mission accomplished?

And it leads inevitably, to the question at the heart of the neoconservative world view: weren't we better off with a dictatorship, that, for all its faults, at least walled in the chaos? The answer is still "no".

Not just because the case for invading Iraq was based on the former regime's grotesque defiance of international law -demonstrated repeatedly from the invasion of Iran up to UN Security Council resolution 1441. Nor is it that the moral imperative for powerful, free states to intervene on behalf of oppressed peoples is compelling.

The reason is that the apparent stability that Saddam provided for us was a false stability. You can't treat a people as he did for 30 years and not create the conditions for explosive violence with long-term implications for your own people and way beyond your own borders. Indeed what we are seeing now is not what would have happened in the absence of Saddam, but the consequences of what Saddam did to his own people for all that time. You cannot build an international order by embracing tyranny for half the world -we tried that in Iran and Saudi Arabia and Indonesia for decades. We didn't get stability; we got violence, much of it directed at us.

In any case, the criticism of the Iraq constitution-in-progress is overdone. It is not a perfect model of democracy; it was never going to be. But neither does it enshrine an Iranian-style Islamic law. Not the least important evidence for that is that Iraq's Shia leadership, having watched with disdain and alarm events to their east, have no desire to model their country on the powder-keg theocracy next door.

The most important thing about the document is that it is, above all else, Iraqi.

It was constructed by Iraqis and if it is approved by referendum, it will represent the will of the people. Self-determination remains, as it has done for a century now, the only real basis for lasting international peace.

The sweet neocons have got many things wrong. They may have been naive about how easily and quickly a free Iraq would emerge from Saddam's ruins. They may underestimate differing levels of ethnic, religious and political resistance to democracy. But the path of chaotic freedom down which they want to nudge the world remains a better route than the alternative, supposedly realist approach to international affairs that we have tried in the past. That, I'm afraid, winds up being nothing less than sympathy for the devil.

gerard.baker@thetimes.co.uk

Load-Date: August 26, 2005



Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

October 27, 2005 Thursday

First Edition

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Section: NEWS AND FEATURES; Pg. 1

Length: 1042 words

Byline: Paul McGeough

## **Body**

Death comes quickly in Iraq. But some die quicker than others, writes Paul McGeough.

Rory Carroll lived to explain why 2000 young Americans have died in Iraq's bitter war.

The British journalist's account of his brief abduction in Baghdad last week is a disturbing window into the ordinariness of this trillion-dollar insurgency that frustrates Washington's democracy plans for the Middle East with such seeming ease.

The grim statistical milestone of being the 2000th American victim of the insurgents was allotted to a 34-year-old Texan, Sergeant George Alexander, who died on Saturday in the American hospital where he was being treated for wounds he suffered in a roadside bombing.

But this insurgency survives only because Iraqis let it operate around them in their homes and villages, in their tribes and mosques. In their communities there are few secrets, but very few are willing to spill the beans to the authorities - Iraqi or American.

It was the domestic ordinariness of Carroll's imprisonment that jarred under the stairs in an ordinary Iraqi home where <u>women</u> went about their chores and children squealed with delight when he was brought out to eat and to exercise.

Whole families and wider circles of friends and acquaintances are in on the movement of thousands of rank-and-file insurgents, offering shelter, sympathy and signals on what the Americans are up to.

Washington offers multi-million dollar rewards for information on the insurgency's high-profile leaders, but even this appeal to baser instincts has failed.

Despite all Washington's promises of reconstruction and all that democracy has to offer, the extent of the American failure to win the trust of Iraqis, to win in the vital battle for hearts and minds, is borne out in reports in the British press in the last week.

They reveal that an opinion poll commissioned secretly by British military authorities found 45 per cent of Iraqis believe that attacks on foreign troops are justified. Given that Sunnis who back the insurgency account for about 20 per cent of the population, that is a staggering figure.

More than 80 per cent of respondents across the country indicated strong opposition to the presence of foreign troops. And while 70-plus per cent said they had no confidence in them, 67 per cent said the presence of the foreigners made them feel less secure; and 43 per cent reckoned that conditions for peace and stability had deteriorated.

It's not just Americans who die in this war. Statistics on Iraqi civilian deaths are kept with less precision, but the most respected tally is that of Iraq Body Count, a US-based non-profit group, which estimates Iraqi deaths at between 26,690 and 30,051.

Death in Iraq now comes quicker - for while it took the insurgents 18 months to kill the first 1000 US troops, it took only 14 months to despatch the second 1000.

Iraqi civilians are dying at a faster rate, too, the estimate for this year is 60 a day compared with 40 a day last year. More than 90 per cent of the US deaths have occurred since George Bush stood in May 2003 before a banner that read "mission accomplished" and said major combat operations had ended in Iraq.

The insurgency is now firmly dug in. Defying repeated claims by the authorities in Washington and Baghdad that victory is imminent, it has established its sources of weapons and funds and is so comfortable in its operations that it even buses in Afghan fighters to train them to fight the Americans.

In the early days of the insurgency, when the Americans still hoped to be welcomed with flowers and candy, the attacks were almost schoolboyish - a shot from a rooftop, a grenade dropped from a traffic overpass. But as the Americans armoured up, the insurgents went after their check-point teams.

Their information was good because they were infiltrating the new Iraqi police and army services and their weapons and tactics were upgraded as they perfected crude roadside explosives and suicide bombers. And when the Americans started pulling back, the insurgents made the agencies of the new Iraqi government and Shiite mosques their prime targets.

The only plan that the US has is to train Iraqi troops in sufficient numbers to take on the fight themselves. But that is a fractured process in which the timeline is continually stretched into the future.

The numbers trained are often rubbery and well short of the fighting force needed. And now the US brass has identified another problem - it will probably take two or more years for the Iraqis to learn how to deploy and supply their forces in the field.

Coupled with a prediction by the US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, that the insurgency could last for another 12 years, these teething problems add weight to the prediction by Linda Bilmes, a former assistant secretary in the US Department of Commerce, that the cost of fighting the war and caring for thousands of injured veterans, could stretch to \$US1.3 trillion.

That's the landscape as it has evolved. What some observers see in the future is even more disturbing.

An observation by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, that the bombs used against British forces in the south of the country were similar to those used by <u>Hezbollah</u>, the Iran-backed Shiite militia in Lebanon, prompted some analysts to predict that neighbouring Iran would likely encourage the Iraqi Shiites to turn their guns on the Americans.

There is much pretence in Iraq. Neighbouring countries, particularly Iran, are accused of stirring the Iraqi pot from behind diplomatic veils, and the Shiite leadership in Baghdad might insist that it is not responding to attempts to incite civil war.

But the Shiites are fighting back. Their private armies have taken control of entire sections of the military, police and intelligence services. They run their own illegal prisons - I have seen them - and now they round up Sunnis for summary execution. The week before last, I spoke by phone to an associate of Iraq's top breed of Shiite henchmen.

He reported that his acquaintance had executed 37 Sunnis in the previous 24 hours. That night, he added, they would be guests at one of the highest Shiite tables in the land for Iftar, the twilight breaking of the Ramadan fast.

Coming to terms with that lot remains a mighty challenge.

## **Graphic**

PHOTO: Sergeant George Alexander ... the 2000th American to die in Iraq.

Load-Date: July 17, 2007



Sydney Morning Herald (Australia)

October 27, 2005 Thursday

Fourth Edition

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Section: NEWS AND FEATURES; Pg. 1

Length: 1058 words

Byline: Paul McGeough

## **Body**

Death comes quickly in Iraq. But some die quicker than others, writes Paul McGeough.

Rory Carroll lived to explain why 2000 US soldiers have died in Iraq's bitter war.

The British journalist's account of his brief abduction in Baghdad last week is a disturbing window into the ordinariness of this trillion-dollar insurgency that frustrates Washington's democracy plans for the Middle East with such seeming ease.

The grim statistical milestone of being the 2000th American soldier victim of the insurgents was allotted to a 34-year-old Texan, Sergeant George Alexander, who died on Saturday in the American hospital where he was being treated for wounds he suffered in a roadside bombing. And hasn't taken long for the toll to rise. The 2001st US soldier was killed in a vehicle accident on Tuesday in southern Iraq.

But it's not just Americans who die in this war. Statistics on Iraqi civilian deaths are kept with less precision, but the most respected tally, from the Iraq Body Count, estimates Iraqi deaths at between 26,690 and 30,051.

This insurgency survives only because Iraqis let it operate around them in their homes and villages, in their tribes and mosques. In their communities there are few secrets, but very few are willing to spill the beans to the authorities - Iraqi or American.

It was the domestic ordinariness of Carroll's imprisonment that jarred - under the stairs in an ordinary Iraqi home where <u>women</u> went about their chores and children squealed with delight when he was brought out to eat and to exercise.

Whole families and wider circles of friends are in on the movement of thousands of rank-and-file insurgents, offering shelter, sympathy and signals on what the Americans are up to. Washington offers multi-million dollar rewards for information on the insurgency's high-profile leaders, but even this appeal to baser instincts has failed.

Despite all Washington's promises of reconstruction and all that democracy has to offer, the extent of the American failure to win the trust of Iraqis, to win in the vital battle for hearts and minds, is borne out in reports in the British press in the past week.

#### Two thousand and counting

They reveal that an opinion poll commissioned secretly by the British military found 45 per cent of Iraqis believe attacks on foreign troops are justified. Given that Sunnis who back the insurgency account for about 20 per cent of the population, that is a staggering figure.

More than 80 per cent of respondents across the country indicated strong opposition to the presence of foreign troops. And while 70-plus per cent said they had no confidence in them, 67 per cent said the presence of the foreigners made them feel less secure; and 43 per cent reckoned that conditions for peace and stability had deteriorated.

Death in Iraq now comes quicker - for while it took the insurgents 18 months to kill the first 1000 US troops, it took only 14 months to despatch the second 1000.

Iraqi civilians are dying at a faster rate, too, the estimate for this year is 60 a day compared with 40 a day last year. More than 90 per cent of the US deaths have occurred since George Bush stood in May 2003 before a banner that read "mission accomplished" and said major combat operations had ended in Iraq.

The insurgency is now firmly dug in. Defying repeated claims by the authorities in Washington and Baghdad that victory is imminent, it has established its sources of weapons and funds and is so comfortable in its operations that it even buses in Afghan fighters to train them to fight the Americans.

In the early days of the insurgency, when the Americans still hoped to be welcomed with flowers and candy, the attacks were almost schoolboyish - a shot from a rooftop, a grenade dropped from a traffic overpass. But as the Americans armoured up, the insurgents went after their check-point teams.

Their information was good because they were infiltrating the new Iraqi police and army services and their weapons and tactics were upgraded as they perfected crude roadside explosives and suicide bombers. And when the Americans started pulling back, the insurgents made the agencies of the new Iraqi government and Shiite mosques their prime targets.

The only plan that the US has is to train Iraqi troops in sufficient numbers to take on the fight themselves. But that is a fractured process in which the timeline is continually stretched into the future.

The numbers trained are often rubbery and well short of the fighting force needed. And now the US brass has identified another problem - it will probably take two or more years for the Iraqis to learn how to deploy and supply their forces in the field.

Coupled with a prediction by the US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld, that the insurgency could last for another 12 years, these teething problems add weight to the prediction by Linda Bilmes, a former assistant secretary in the US Department of Commerce, that the cost of fighting the war and caring for thousands of injured veterans, could stretch to \$US1.3 trillion.

That's the landscape as it has evolved. What some observers see in the future is even more disturbing.

An observation by the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, that the bombs used against British forces in the south of the country were similar to those used by <u>Hezbollah</u>, the Iran-backed Shiite militia in Lebanon, prompted some analysts to predict that neighbouring Iran would likely encourage the Iraqi Shiites to turn their guns on the Americans.

There is much pretence in Iraq. Neighbouring countries, particularly Iran, are accused of stirring the Iraqi pot from behind diplomatic veils, and the Shiite leadership in Baghdad might insist that it is not responding to attempts to incite civil war.

But the Shiites are fighting back. Their private armies have taken control of entire sections of the military, police and intelligence services. They run their own illegal prisons - I have seen them - and now they round up Sunnis for summary execution. The week before last, I spoke by phone to an associate of Iraq's top breed of Shiite henchmen.

#### Two thousand and counting

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Coming to terms with that lot remains a mighty challenge.

Counting the cost - Page 11

# **Graphic**

PHOTO: Sergeant George Alexander ... the 2000th US soldier to die in Iraq.

Load-Date: July 17, 2007



# Syrian opposition doubts real reform; The regime is changing just enough to survive under the intense international scrutiny, they contend.

# The Philadelphia Inquirer JUNE 20, 2005 Monday CITY-D EDITION

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# The Philadelphia Inquirer

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. A06

Length: 954 words

Byline: Hannah Allam INQUIRER FOREIGN STAFF

Dateline: DAMASCUS, Syria

#### **Body**

Syrian opposition leaders are watching with a mixture of jealousy and despair as voters in other Arab countries cast ballots in elections hailed as the slow march of democracy throughout the Middle East.

Initially hopeful that reforms in Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt and the Palestinian territories would lead to an opening in Syria, opposition figures say it now appears change will again pass them by.

The Baath Party regime led by President Bashar al-Assad is adapting just enough to survive under intense international scrutiny, Syrian dissidents said in recent interviews. The change is not nearly enough to make a real difference in the lives of a population now in its fourth decade of authoritarian rule.

"The whole region is changing, and we're being left behind," lamented Bisan Bouni, a human-rights advocate whose father, a member of the Communist Party, was imprisoned for most of her life. "We were optimistic at first, but not anymore. It's clear we're just going to be even more isolated."

Syria is deemed the last rogue Arab state, the refuge of anti-American extremist groups and the recipient of mounting threats from the United States and Israel.

Under pressure, Syria withdrew its forces from Lebanon after nearly three decades of making decisions for Beirut from Damascus, and Assad's Baath Party this month held its first national congress since 2000. Many Syrians were thrilled at the prospect that the government might end the country's perpetual state of emergency and offer citizenship to thousands of stateless Kurds, the largest minority.

Instead, the regime made a vague promise to allow rival political parties, as long as they were not based on ethnicity or religion. That effectively ruled out a voice for Kurdish and Islamist groups, key components of the opposition.

Syrian opposition doubts real reform; The regime is changing just enough to survive under the intense international scrutiny, they contend.

"The problem in this country is the same problem that Iraq had: it's Article 8 of the constitution, which says the Baath Party must be the ruling party in Syria," said Mohammed Shahrour, a Syrian author and outspoken critic of the regime. "Touching that article is impossible. It's just a dream. The regime will survive until the end of this century. They're not afraid of the internal opposition."

Haitham Mullah, a vocal opposition figure who spent seven years in prison after calling for change, described the regime as performing a "striptease for the Americans," shedding just enough authoritarian rules to stave off a U.S.-led attack.

"We think the Americans are weakening despotic regimes, but we're not sure they're strengthening the opposition," said Michel Kilo, a Syrian dissident writer. "When we were asking for democracy, America was supporting a despot. Now that they're asking for democracy, they want it their way."

Riad al-Daoudi, a university dean and adviser to the Syrian foreign ministry, said he met with U.S. diplomats in London last year to hear their demands: Close all offices of Palestinian militant groups; end relations with the Lebanese guerrilla group *Hezbollah*; improve security along the Iraqi border; and take steps toward political reform.

But talks broke down, Daoudi said, because the American officials were not offering anything in return.

"We are trying to avoid any face-to-face clashes with the United States," Daoudi said. " . . . They've asked for reforms, and we've introduced reforms. But we're talking about a structure that's been in place for 40 years. You can't just shake it up and expect change. You can't ask a government to dissolve itself."

Ahmed al-Hajj Ali, a member of a government committee formed to introduce reforms to the Baath Party, said dismantling the party would only erode the secular net keeping Islamist extremists at bay. As proof, he pointed to a bullet wound on his cheek that he said came from a 1978 attack by members of the banned Muslim Brotherhood.

Such opposition groups, he said, don't offer a better plan for Syria: "If they ruled, there would be catastrophe."

While there have been no major political reforms, Syrians say, the oppressive social climate has eased since the death in 2000 of the former President Hafez al-Assad, the current leader's father.

Syrian officials bristle at comparisons to Saddam Hussein's Iraq. After all, they argue, Syrians can surf the Internet, watch satellite television and criticize the regime in moderation.

Shoppers crowd marketplaces until midnight, foreign tourists stroll in ancient quarters and bottles of real Coca-Cola can now be found stashed behind shelves of government-approved alternatives, such as Mandarin Cola.

There are no American fast-food joints, but Syrians munch chicken nuggets and cheeseburgers at restaurants in the capital. At one downtown cafe popular with Damascus teenagers, girls in head scarves puffed on hookahs as they watched NASCAR races on a big-screen TV. Outside, <u>women</u> in skintight jeans strutted past a billboard for a popular new play, Excuse me, America.

"People think that Syria has tanks in the streets and intelligence agents lurking on every corner," said Fayez al-Sayegh, editor of the state-rum Al Thawra newspaper. "I wish they could see how it really is. We've never in our lives practiced terrorism."

The opposition views the easing of social restrictions as a poor substitute for democracy, an appearement to keep Syrians distracted from the country's sluggish socialist economy, unemployment and crowded prisons.

"They're not really changing. They're just adding makeup to the same faces and silk gloves to the same old hands," said Anwar al-Bunni, a human-rights attorney. "They're ready to give America whatever it wants to stay in power. They're just trying to buy time, to let the bad times pass in order to survive."

Contact reporter Hannah Allam at hallam @krwashington.com.

Syrian opposition doubts real reform; The regime is changing just enough to survive under the intense international scrutiny, they contend.

# **Graphic**

#### PHOTO;

Mohammed Shahrour: Ousting rulers "just a dream."

Riad al-Daoudi, an adviser to Syria's minister of foreign affairs, met with American diplomats last year and told them that reform would have to be gradual.

PAUL ASSAKER, Knight-Ridder Tribune

Haitham Mullah, a leading opposition figure, said Syria's government was giving the U.S. what it thought the U.S. wanted, to stave off an American-led attack.

Ahmed al-Hajj Ali is working on changes in the Baath Party.

Load-Date: September 14, 2005



#### House of Saud reigns uneasily over kingdom in transition

St. Louis Post-Dispatch (Missouri)

December 25, 2005 Sunday

THIRD EDITION

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Section: NEWSWATCH; Pg. B4

Length: 1098 words

Byline: By Victor T. Le Vine SPECIAL TO THE POST-DISPATCH

#### **Body**

Everybody who was anybody came to King Fahd's funeral in August.

Many came ostensibly to pay tribute to the man, but also because it would not do to offend King Abdullah, who, as crown prince, ran Saudi Arabia for the past 10 years, and who now controls the spigot on the world's premier supply of oil.

The Bushes, good friends of the Saudi royal family, sent Vice President Dick Cheney (another old friend and business partner of the Saudi royals); there was also France's President Jacques Chirac, Britain's Prince Charles and Japan's Crown Prince Naruhito, among others.

The august assemblage in Riyadh was also an international gathering of the tribe of international oil producers and guzzlers, pledging their mutual solidarity. And for good reason: Never has a Saudi royal transition been so fraught with danger for the House of Saud, and never has the kingdom seemed so vulnerable to domestic and foreign dangers.

Almost by definition, every leadership transition in the Middle East is, if not a period of crisis, then at least one of extreme unease at all levels. Because there is no accepted template for leadership succession in Muslim countries, every time a head of state dies, the question of the legitimacy of his regime surfaces, and with it, the possibility of violent change.

Except for Israel, almost every other country in the Middle East has experienced violent leadership change at least once, some several times, though there have been periods of relative calm during eras when one ruler or his dynasty have held sway.

Every Middle East regime tries to ensure its own survival, often by creating some form of dynastic succession. Moreover, each new ruler tries to find ways to secure the acceptance of those they rule, be it by charismatic appeal (Gamal Adbel Nasser in Egypt, Habib Bourguiba in Tunisia, Moammar Gadhafi in Libya), or tradition (the kings of Jordan and Morocco); beneficence (the kings and emirs of the Persian Gulf), or piety and generosity (the kings of Saudi Arabia).

The late King Fahd gave up the title of king, preferring instead to be called "Guardian of the Two Holy Mosques," thus emphasizing the Saudis' claim to stewardship of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina.

#### Calls for change

The Saudis have been fortunate to have been in charge for over 75 years; in the centuries prior to their arrival, there were no fewer than 300 violent attempts to seize control of these iconic cities. So despite the ostensibly smooth transition from Fahd to Abdullah, the Saudis are again -- this time not so quietly -- seized with transition jitters.

#### What's bothering them?

First, King Abdullah is 82, the Crown Prince, Sultan, is 78, and the rest of the senior princes -- the "founding father generation" of the remaining sons of Ibn Saud -- are themselves octogenarians or in their late 70s. They've been in power since Ibn Saud's death in 1953, but are now in their twilight, and it is unlikely that they will be able to contain all those who will seek power when they are gone.

The Royal family in Saudi Arabia has about 25,000 members; about 200, including the king, sit at the top of the nation's power, according to a 2004 study. This family elite fill virtually every important position in the kingdom, from governorships, to the two military establishments, to the ministries, to the major educational institutions, to the largest business groups and banks.

The ferment for change is certainly visible in Saudi Arabia. A significant number of younger royals are impatient to fill the top jobs in the kingdom. More important, a growing layer of midlevel nonroyals, themselves beneficiaries of the extravagant spending of the past 20 years, are increasingly tired of royal rule and the ostentatious corruption during Fahd's reign.

Fahd's creation of a Consultative Council (which met infrequently and had only minimal input on policy matters), some liberalization in the status of <u>women</u> (now permitted to run commercial enterprises), the recent "semidemocratic" local elections, and a number of other policy concessions toward a more open society have all failed to satisfy that midlevel thirst for political change.

#### Protests, terrorism

In 2003 and early 2004, a group of liberals, intellectuals, professors, former Wahhabi scholars, judges and even <u>women</u> presented petitions for what seemed (at least to the royals) to be a program for radical changes in the regime, including a demand to transform the kingdom into a constitutional monarchy. The protesters were not firebrands, but all nurtured within the regime and beneficiaries of its largesse. The subtext of their protest was -- and remains -- that they can no longer be bought off, or coerced into silence.

Not surprisingly, under pressure from ultraconservative clerics, they were promptly swatted down for their presumption, and over 200 found themselves arrested or accused of sedition; many still linger in jail. Then, later in 2004, Crown Prince Abdullah called for a national dialogue and loosened some the restrictions on open criticism of the regime. Nevertheless, the unhappiness of the reformers persisted, remaining as one of the latent but potent threats to the kingdom.

There is more. Not only has the country's long-repressed Shiite minority become increasingly restive, but a terrorist insurgency waged mainly by offshoots of al-Qaida and ultrafundamentalists seeking to keep the kingdom "pure" has presented the most serious challenge yet to the regime.

According to official Saudi sources, during the two years prior to February-March 2005, a total of 221 people, including 92 terrorists, were killed in terrorist attacks and clashes.

Terrorist attacks, about 30 of them, date to 1979, when the Great Mosque in Mecca was seized by religious rebels, and include not only recent acts by al-Qaida, but also a number involving <u>Hezbollah</u> and several other militant Muslim organizations.

#### House of Saud reigns uneasily over kingdom in transition

The regime worries that its own security units may have been infiltrated by al-Qaida operatives, and it has recently tightened its cooperative links with Western counterterrorism agencies -- moves denounced by the kingdom's ultraconservative clergy.

In sum, as King Abdullah must certainly already know, the job of running his realm has gotten much more difficult than it was during the halcyon days of the 1970s, when Saudi oil ruled the world's petrochemical supply and OPEC was arguably the world's most powerful economic force.

Today, the kingdom is in near-crisis, or worse, and Abdullah may not have much more time to save his country from collapse. Or maybe it's already too late -- the next year will tell.

#### **Notes**

Victor T. Le Vine is professor emeritus of political science at Washington University. Saudi Arabia

Load-Date: December 30, 2005



# Logic has got lost in Iraq

The Times (London)
September 30, 2004, Thursday

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Section: Features; 17
Length: 1041 words

Byline: Anatole Kaletsky

# **Body**

The Prime Minister is dangerously unable to make reasoned judgments about the War on Terror

POLITICIANS, like people in general, should normally be judged by their actions not words. But after a chain of events has been set irrevocably in motion, when it is too late for actions to change history's course, there are times when words can speak louder than deeds. Tony Blair's address to the Labour Party conference was such a moment.

As I listened to Mr Blair in Brighton on Tuesday, I suddenly -and totally unexpectedly -felt a twinge of the same physical panic which engulfed us all on that horrible Tuesday three years ago. As the Prime Minister's speech veered from a perfectly lucid account of domestic policies in Britain into a tangled and incoherent apologia for the disaster in Iraq, it suddenly struck me that Britain was led by a man who had lost his reason. This sounds exaggerated, so let me be precise.

To judge by the three pages on Iraq in his speech to the party conference, Mr Blair has "lost his reason" in two very literal ways: He has lost his ability to make reasoned judgments about the War on Terror. And he has therefore lost the primary raison d'etre of any prime minister, which is to protect Britain and British interests in a dangerous and complex world.

I recognise that this is a terrible accusation to level against any politician - and that none of the other commentators in Brighton seemed to react in the same way as I did. I will therefore quote at length from Mr Blair's speech, so that readers can judge for themselves whether I am the one whose reason has disappeared.

But first, let me explain why I attach such significance to a single speech. What Mr Blair said about Iraq in Brighton was not just some thoughtless off-the cuff comment. This was the most self-conscious passage in the most heartfelt speech he has delivered -the outcome of weeks, maybe months, of introspection, analysis and mental struggle. By all accounts, it was written by the Prime Minister himself, not by a spin doctor or PR hack. This was, in short, the distillation of all Mr Blair's wisdom on the most important question of his political life. So if I am right in judging this passage confused to the point of unreason, serious questions must be raised about his capacity to stay in his job.

Here is Mr Blair's main justification for invading Iraq, offered with more than a hint of intellectual pride:

"There are two views of what is happening in the world today. One view is that there are isolated extremists engaged in essentially isolated acts of terrorism.

#### Logic has got lost in Iraq

That what is happening is not qualitatively different from the terrorism we have always lived with. If you believe this, we carry on the same path as before September 11. We try not to provoke them and hope in time they will wither.

"The other view is that this is a wholly new phenomenon, worldwide terrorism based on a perversion of the true, peaceful and honourable faith of Islam; that its roots are in the madrassas of Pakistan, the extreme forms of the Wahhabi doctrine in Saudi Arabia, in the former training camps of al-Qaeda in Afghanistan. If you take this view, the only path to take is to confront this terrorism, remove it root and branch and at all costs stop it acquiring the weapons to kill on a massive scale."

What is wrong with this analysis? Only that the logical implications of Mr Blair's dichotomy are exactly the opposite from the ones that he draws. If the "new" terrorists are isolated gangs of madmen with no defined objectives, then the fear of "provoking" them is irrelevant, since nihilists cannot, by definition, be provoked. Such nihilists, far from being "traditional" terrorists, as the Prime Minister suggested, are the opposite of traditional groups such as the IRA, Basque militants, *Hezbollah* or Hamas, all of which have clearly defined objectives. The right course to follow against the first type of terrorists is what Mr Blair recommends for the second type: destroying them with overwhelming force. This, indeed, was the argument presented for the invasion of Afghanistan.

If, on the other hand, the "new" terrorism is really a malignant offshoot of the Wahhabi religious movement -then it is similar to traditional Irish and Palestinian terrorism, albeit more vicious and destructive. In that case, needless provocation should be avoided and the response must be political as well as by force. Moreover, if fundamentalism is at the root of the problem, why attack Iraq, a secular country where Wahhabis were almost unknown? Far from justifying the Iraq invasion, Mr Blair's logic points towards regime change in Saudi Arabia or armed action to seize nuclear weapons in Pakistan.

The confusion gets even worse. Mr Blair points out that some of the terrorists now in Iraq are the same religious fanatics who oppressed the **women** of Afghanistan.

But how does this justify the overthrow of the largely secular Saddam regime, which has sucked these maniacs into Iraq, while leaving much of Afghanistan to be reoccupied by the Taleban? Mr Blair's answer would be funny if it were not so scary.

"But Iraq was not a safe country before March 2003," he states. Then, to prove this contention and somehow link it with the invasion he makes his final leap of illogic: "Few had heard of the Taleban before September 11. Afghanistan was not a nation at peace...but the terrorists trained in the Hindu Kush could end up in British streets threatening our way of life."

In sum, Mr Blair, seems to have convinced himself that Iraq and Afghanistan are effectively one country and that al-Qaeda, the Taleban and Saddam Hussein are all the same. Britain's chattering classes haughtily patronise the 60 per cent of American voters who apparently believe that Saddam was behind 9/11. Yet in Britain we now have a Prime Minister whose whole Middle Eastern strategy rests on this same fiction, and whose analysis of global terrorism is so illogical that it makes President Bush sound like Socrates.

Mr Blair was once an intelligent and convincing leader. But Iraq has caused his brain to short-circuit, much as John Major's did after the exchange-rate debacle.

A prime minister who has lost his power to reason is too dangerous to keep in the job.

Load-Date: September 30, 2004



#### GOP EXPLOITATION OF 9/11 WAS DISRESPECTFUL, DISGUSTING

Pittsburgh Post-Gazette (Pennsylvania)

September 4, 2004 Saturday

REGION EDITION

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Section: EDITORIAL, Length: 1086 words

# **Body**

As I sit writing this, I shake with rage. I quiver with disgust. After watching Monday night's coverage of the Republican National Convention, I cannot imagine ever being this angry again. Yes, I expected distortion of facts, misrepresentation of Democratic points of view and the accounts of all of the "wonderful" things this current administration has "accomplished" since it snuck into the White House four years ago.

What I was not prepared for was the shameless manner in which the events of Sept. 11 and the universal sympathy they generated were exploited to serve the interests of the Republican Party ("Bush Hailed for Resolve on 9/11," Aug. 31). I thought that maybe the party was ready to stop using the corpses of the victims as props and let them rest with the peace and respect they rightly deserve. I thought that maybe, just maybe, the memory of the immense and tragic blow suffered by all American people on that day belonged to all the American people. I guess I was wrong.

Monday's gratuitously emotional rape of that memory has lowered my already sea-level expectations regarding the lengths to which the Republicans will go to win. Watergate pales in comparison to the perverse, craven manipulations I witnessed Monday night. It was the work of an absolutely power-crazy group of individuals masquerading as compassionate human beings, and it makes me physically ill to imagine that it may just work. May God have mercy on their souls, if they have them.

**BRANDON McCARTHY** 

Franklin Park

Iraq opportunities

In their introduction of their mother at the Republican National Convention Tuesday night, Bush daughters Barbara and Jenna mentioned that now that they had graduated from college, they were "looking around for something to do for the next few years." I'm certain my 22-year-old niece (a naval officer serving in Iraq) could recommend plenty of opportunities for young college grads -- in the Gulf. Perhaps driving a Humvee in Najaf? Or maybe directing air traffic out of Baghdad?

Barb and Jenna would look just as fetching in fatigues and body armor (their parents could surely afford to buy them their own) as they do in their designer gowns. How about it, girls? Sign right up.

LISA RULONG

#### GOP EXPLOITATION OF 9/11 WAS DISRESPECTFUL, DISGUSTING

Bethel Park

Bravo, Ms. Dowd

I have to take exception to your editorial downplaying of Maureen Dowd's "Bushworld" ("Publishing World: Maureen Dowd Offers Reheated Morsels," Aug. 16). You stated that you expected a better book. Better than what?

"Bushworld" is a selection of Dowd's columns from 2001 to the present and represents a collection of indictments of the Bush administration that no other journalist -- with the possible exception of Paul Krugman and Lewis H. Lapham -- can match. It is to the credit of the Post-Gazette that it carried her columns over this period. Now to have in a single volume the complete record of her singular literary style and courageous intelligence is something to celebrate, not demean.

The aforementioned Mr. Krugman and Hendrik Hertzberg have published their collected columns over this same period to high praise, and there is no reason why Maureen Dowd should not be accorded the same -- if not even more -- credit. How many other journalists -- male or <u>female</u> -- have been as undeceived and outspoken as she about the casualty-producing, debt-creating, hardship-spawning policies of the Cheney-Bush junta since its selection in 2000? To my knowledge, none.

SAMUEL HAZO

Upper St. Clair

What we want

Enough of this "war hero" stuff. That was 30 years ago. What I want (and I bet everybody else does, too) is my life back the way it was on Sept. 10, 2001.

How does being or not being a war hero serve that purpose?

ARLINGTON G. KUKLINCA

Warren, Ohio

The impact of help

I am in complete agreement with the Aug. 14 letter by Steve Patterson ("America, Start Being Modest and Spread Compassion)."

If Mr. Patterson wants to see the points of his letter in action, he can spend one week "dodging cars" with me on Washington Boulevard (near the Highland Park Bridge). There he will see drivers who feel that "the road exists for me alone."

Between once a week and once a month, I find myself cast in the Good Samaritan role (such as helping to push vehicles off the street), deeds that are ignored or cursed at by other drivers.

I challenge any church leader to peddle flowers with me for a week and see what it is like to view the world as I do. However, I must differ from Mr. Patterson's statement that "Pittsburgh has no money." I routinely see many expensive cars and individuals who smoke cigarettes like chimneys.

In a speech early in 2002, President Bush spoke of fighting terrorism by aiding those in need. Americans, especially Republicans and evangelical Christians, are grossly neglectful.

Every historian who has ever written about the early Christian church has written that the Christians of the first two centuries outlasted multiple extermination attempts by providing a "social safety net." Al-Qaida, Hamas and **Hezbollah** draw their pools of kamikazes by providing for the needy, not being "social Darwinists" as is the

#### GOP EXPLOITATION OF 9/11 WAS DISRESPECTFUL, DISGUSTING

dominant trait among American Christians. Any church in southwestern Pennsylvania that would provide "living wage" jobs and affordable health/dental insurance would, within five years, outdraw the Steelers.

**DAVID ISH** 

Sheraden

Making us better

Regarding the Aug. 28 letter from Frank Skraly ("Just Stoking Fears"). He asked sarcastically if we were voting for a president or a pope. I believe most people who believe in God or at least a higher being want a president who understands how important it is to have these faith-based organizations. These types of organizations do so much for the community and also help in times of need.

I do not think President Bush meant to offend anyone who does not believe the same way. The majority of America is "religious" in some way, shape or form, and I believe we could all use a little soul enlightening by a higher power, especially in these troubled times. I pray for my country every day, and I pray that my leaders will make right choices for the sake of me and my family.

It is your decision to believe in what you want, but you're not losing anything by having faith. When this country was attacked on Sept. 11, 2001, there was an outpouring of love and humanity in this country; "whatever" that may have been from doesn't matter. What truly matters is, if believing in something makes people "better" people, then I'm all for it and you should be, too.

DANIELLE TORREP

North Side

Load-Date: September 4, 2004



# Filmmaker Confronts 'Protocols' Myth in Documentary

The Forward January 14, 2005

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Section: The Shmooze; Pg. 2

**Length:** 1041 words **Byline:** Jon Kalish

# **Body**

In the weeks and months after the attacks of September 11, 2001, filmmaker Marc Levin kept hearing from New York City cab drivers that no Jews had died in the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center. One Egyptian driver not only repeated the canard that "Jews were warned about 9/11," but posited that the alleged heads-up was consistent with "The Protocols of the Elders of Zion," the notorious fictional 19th-century account of a meeting held by Jews to plot world domination.

"I just kind of flipped out," Levin said, recalling his reaction. "I said, 'My great-grandfather was at that meeting.' The cabbie didn't know what to make of that exactly."

Then Levin heard that an Arab American newspaper in Patterson, N.J., had started serializing "Protocols." That did it. He became determined to use his craft to document the re-emergence of "Protocols" and antisemitism in the wake of 9/11.

Two years later, he finished "The Protocols of Zion," which will have its world premiere at the Sundance Film Festival in Utah on January 21. In the 90-minute film, Levin, one of the nation's most respected documentary filmmakers, personally confronts antisemites of various stripes. Levin predicts the documentary will "stir it up" at Sundance, where he expects to negotiate a distribution deal for a theatrical run that could begin as early as this spring or summer. HBO already has bought North American television rights to the film and will run it in 2006. Levin also anticipates a sale of European TV rights.

"Marc couldn't read the newspapers and see the potential for antisemitism at the level it is at without doing something," said Mark Benjamin, who served as director of photography on "Protocols" and has worked with Levin on some 25 documentaries and feature films. "He had to make this film."

Levin's great-grandfather obviously wasn't part of the fictional Elders of Zion confab, but he was responsible for the Levin family's first foray into the motion picture business. Isaac Levin purchased a couple of movie theaters in New York in the early 1900s, one of which still generates income for the family. A couple of generations later, Isaac's grandson, AI - Marc's father - became a TV producer. Marc joined his father on Bill Moyers's production team during the early days of public television. Today, a third generation of Levin is poised to enter the film biz: Marc Levin's son, Daniel, is studying film in college, where he recently made a black comedy about assault weapons.

The family also has quite a history in both organized religion and organized labor. Marc Levin's grandfather, Herman Levin of Brooklyn, helped the late Rabbi Mordecai Kaplan found the Jewish Reconstructionist movement in

#### Filmmaker Confronts 'Protocols' Myth in Documentary

the 1930s after growing displeased with the role of <u>women</u> in his Conservative synagogue. (The record should note that Levin's synagogue, the East Midwood Jewish Center, now bills itself as an egalitarian congregation.)

Levin's parents were labor organizers before becoming white-collar professionals. Prior to her career as a psychologist and college professor, his mother, Hannah, was a shop steward for the old International Union of Electrical Workers. And Levin's father worked for the International Association of Machinists, organizing New Jersey railroad workers. Al Levin went on to a job as a rewrite man at Dorothy Schiff's old New York Post. He served as one of Bill Moyers's producers for many years.

"I stand in awe of how much further Marc has gone on his own," said Al Levin, the 79-year-old family patriarch, who lives in a house in Maplewood, N.J., "decorated" by two graffiti artist grandsons. "Marc is at a level of producing that far surpasses what I was able to accomplish."

Marc Levin's success in both the documentary and feature film world is unusual. Among other awards, he won a national Emmy in 1988 for a Bill Moyers special on the Iran-Contra affair, "The Secret Government." He made the feature film "Slam" after working on a documentary about a Washington, D.C., jail. "Slam" told the story of a fictional African-American performance poet imprisoned for a minor drug offense, winning a Grand Jury Prize at Sundance and the Camera d'Or at Cannes in 1998.

A couple of Levin's features received what kindly could be called lukewarm critical response. His first feature, "Blowback," was about a fanatical CIA agent.

"It was somewhat of a lunatic endeavor," Levin said with a chuckle during a walk through his sprawling production office on the far west side of Manhattan.

Levin also made "Brooklyn Babylon," which was released in 2000. Its storyline included an improbable romance between a Hasidic woman and a Rastafarian rapper in Brooklyn's Crown Heights.

Initially, Levin was inclined to lampoon the Protocols by dramatizing it with a cast of "Jewish elders" to include Mel Brooks, Rob Reiner and Woody Allen. But apparently both the <u>Hezbollah</u> satellite TV network and Egyptian television beat him to the punch by releasing their own models of just such dramatizations in two different programs.

Levin came to the conclusion that the best way to approach the topic was in documentary form, but he knew he wouldn't make an academic, PBS-style historical documentary.

"I decided I was just going to get out there and mix it up with the people who were buying and proselytizing [with] this stuff," he explains.

What emerged is a documentary in which Levin confronts Arab Americans, black nationalists, Christian evangelicals, skinheads and a street vendor selling the Protocols on the perimeter of a demonstration against the war in Iraq. It is the first time in his career that Levin wanders in front of the camera.

"Marc stands nose to nose with these guys and says it's a big lie," said Benjamin, who, like Levin, is a critic of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank but is also concerned about the potential for "explosive antisemitism" in Europe and the United States.

But Levin insists his "Protocols" film is about something larger than antisemitism.

"In the end, it's about a journey to the heart of hate," Levin told the Forward. "It's about how you deal with people who hate not just Jews, but Americans, Christians, whoever. And they're willing to blow themselves up. They're willing to blow up the whole world."

# Graphic

IMAGE

Load-Date: June 14, 2006



# Israel Unveils New Shoah Museum To a World Still Bent on Destruction

The Forward March 18, 2005

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Section: News; Pg. 1 Length: 1127 words Byline: Limor Livnat

#### **Body**

World leaders and delegations from more than 30 nations arrived in Jerusalem Tuesday for the inauguration of the new museum at Yad Vashem, Israel's national Holocaust memorial. Rather than further focus on the documentary aspects of the Nazi genocide, the new Holocaust center, which is four times as large as the existing museum, will explore the unprecedented tragedy by stressing the personal stories of the murdered victims and eradicated communities.

The message of the humanitarian obligation of remembrance embodied by Yad Vashem's new museum has never been more current or more vital. With blatant antisemitism experiencing a dangerous renaissance in national capitals from London to Paris to Buenos Aires to Tehran, the new exhibition of the systematic destruction of European Jewry will help visitors better understand the warning bells of unconstrained racial and religious hatred that are sounding globally unchallenged.

For Israelis the lessons of the Holocaust are sadly never permitted to be very far from our minds. Our national homeland, which was molded into being out of the ashes of the concentration camps and the tattered remnants of those who survived the murder of 6 million of our people, has been threatened with destruction since the very hour we proclaimed our independence in 1948. In the nearly 57 years since then, we have fought six major wars and weathered unrelenting terrorist attacks on our civilians both in Israel and abroad.

Barely a week has passed in the last half-century without a new deadly offense being leveled against our cities and towns by our Arab neighbors. This has been coupled with some of recent history's most brutal terrorist attacks on Jewish synagogues, institutions, communities and individuals as a surrogate means of inflicting suffering on our nation.

For too long, our neighbors' mosques, media and even textbooks and school curricula have promoted hatred and the genocide of the Jewish people. Tragically, these days it seems to surprise no one but ourselves to learn of the latest cemetery desecration, antisemitic epithet or violent attack on Jews somewhere in the world.

The expanded museum's inauguration comes against a background of the government of Iran and its proxies - the terrorist organizations <u>Hezbollah</u>, Hamas and Islamic Jihad - threatening renewed attacks against Israel that could again destabilize our region and derail peace talks with the Palestinians. Tehran's ongoing refusal to abandon its quest for a nuclear bomb, which it has insistently implied it will use against the Jewish state, has become our number-one security concern. While international conflicts between other nations are mostly limited to border disputes and struggles over maritime rights, when Israel is involved it is always our very future existence that is being threatened, with complete destruction lying at the core of the aggression.

For Israelis, and for Jews everywhere, the awareness of the Holocaust is part and parcel of our very identity. The names Aushwitz, Treblinka, Dachau, Buchenwald and Mauthausen have become a sacred part of our heritage. If the world leaders who visited Jerusalem this week want to better understand our foreign policy concerns and our inflexible demand for security guarantees, then the exhibits and displays at the new Yad Vashem museum will provide invaluable insights. Indeed, for Israelis the lessons of our tragic past are never permitted to be anachronisms; they are always relevant and reflective of our current reality.

In the coming days, Jews around the world will celebrate our most joyful festival of Purim. The holiday, like so many others in our tradition, commemorates the miraculous redemption of the Jewish community of ancient Persia from a wicked antisemite, Haman, who was obsessed with our people's physical and spiritual destruction. Haman, who had managed to ingratiate himself with the all-powerful monarch of the day, utilizes his connections and good will to convince the king to fix a calendar date upon which to murder all the Jews of the vast Persian empire.

Like other fanatical haters throughout the ages, this viceroy employs the classic antisemitic logic to whisper his case in the king's ear: "There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the peoples in all the provinces of your realm. Their laws are different from every other people's. They do not observe even the king's laws; therefore it is not befitting the king to tolerate them. If it please the king, let it be recorded that they be destroyed." (Book of Esther III:8-9)

Through a complex series of wondrous and providential coincidences, however, a Jewish heroine, Esther, is chosen to be queen and the stage is set for her to foil the conspiracy and turn the tables on Haman. As this admirable <u>women</u> of valor vacillates over the life-threatening risk she must personally subject herself to in order to save her people, she is pointedly probed into action by her uncle: "Do not imagine that you will be able to escape in the king's palace, any more than the rest of the Jews.... And who knows whether it was just for such a time as this that you attained your royal position." (Book of Esther IV:13-14) Esther is charged to sacrifice herself if necessary, but most of all she must act.

As such, in our worldview it is a clear line that unifies the ancient Persian tyrants who sought our destruction centuries ago to the murderous Nazis who practiced genocide against us, to the current Islamic suicide bombers who have devastated our Israeli cities, to the modern-day rulers in Persia who scurry to secure an Iranian nuclear weapon with which to destroy our people. All of these, we understand, must be confronted and fought.

In the Israel of my childhood, we used to say about certain people that they "came from there." I use this expression now, knowing that the "there" we whispered about - the Shoah - is not just one place. And we see that even those who "came from there," even they cannot always remember everything. The names. The faces. The loved ones. The world that was - and was destroyed.

None of us could possibly remember the 6 million names. But each of us can assume the responsibility for one personal memory, of an individual or a family. To get to know intimately the story of a single community.

This is the intent of Yad Vashem's new museum - to personalize this complex contemporary story and simply teach it so its universal lessons can be absorbed by all. For Jews, the past merits remembering not solely as an eternal memorial to our past suffering, but also as a shining beacon and guide for all of humanity to avoid the tragedies and horror once again in our shared futures. Indeed, in each generation to remember, and to never again forget.

Load-Date: June 14, 2006



#### GUEST COLUMN: Gadhafi is hardly ready for a peace prize

Windsor Star (Ontario)

April 5, 2004 Monday Final Edition

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Section: EDITORIAL; GUEST COLUMN; Pg. A6; Column

Length: 1107 words

Byline: Tom Donnelly and Vance Serchuk

#### **Body**

He's hardly a replacement for outgoing Spanish Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar, but the latest addition to the Bush-Blair alliance in the war on terrorism is -- we're not making this up -- Col. Moammar Gadhafi.

Visiting Tripoli recently, British Prime Minister Tony Blair offered a "hand in partnership" to the Libyan leader once described by Ronald Reagan as "the madman of the Middle East." In the post-Cold War world, anything's possible.

The fight against al-Qaida is making for all sorts of strange bedfellows. Last month, Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld extended "appreciation" for Uzbek strongman Islam Karimov's "strong support" in allowing American aircraft access to bases near Tashkent. As the autocrats of the Islamic world -- our friends and our enemies -- make their judgments about the post-Iraq limits of acceptable international behavior, they are watching most intently to see how the United States deals with Libya.

Washington Post.

It's easy to understand why Blair and President Bush, under fire for the war in Iraq, would be anxious to declare victory when it comes to Libya.

But let's not go goofy for Gadhafi just yet.

Yes, Libya's renunciation of its clandestine WMD programs is unquestionably a good thing for U.S. national security interests. And Gadhafi's acceptance of responsibility for the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 and other airline bombings, is overdue, as are the reparations to which he has agreed. But these are far from the sum total of Libyan offences demanding redress.

The president's own policy, the so-called Bush Doctrine, argues that six decades of "Western nations excusing and accommodating the lack of freedom in the Middle East did nothing to make us safe." The core truth behind the Bush Doctrine is that the character of a regime matters as much as, if not more than, its armaments.

By that measure, Gadhafi has a long way to go to be anything like a reliable partner. As the Bush administration contemplates the extent to which it wishes to rehabilitate him, it cannot ignore two issues in particular: his destabilizing meddling in African politics and the desperate need for fundamental political reforms in Tripoli.

In recent years, as Gadhafi's brand of pan-Arabism has lost its allure, he has substituted a kind of "pan-Africanism" as the path to Libyan greatness. Legitimate African leaders such as South Africa's Thabo Mbeki have kept their distance and Secretary of State Colin Powell has decried Gadhafi's "destructive role in perpetuating regional conflicts in Africa."

#### GUEST COLUMN: Gadhafi is hardly ready for a peace prize

As one U.S. official has explained, "If it were anywhere but Africa where he was meddling, we would scream bloody murder. Because it's Africa, we tend to shrug and let it go."

Gadhafi has already gotten away with murder in Africa -- lots of it. His regime has provided training, funding and support for many of Africa's most notorious dictators and thugs.

In the midst of last summer's crisis in Liberia, as the United States and the international community labored to get then-President Charles Taylor out of power, Gadhafi dispatched a planeload of ammunition and arms to prop up his old ally, in contravention of a UN Security Council resolution.

According to news accounts, the resupply included rocket-propelled grenades, missiles, mortars and AK-47 ammunition. Libya had cultivated ties to Taylor since the late 1980s, when it was instrumental in fostering Taylor's insurgency against the Liberian government.

Gadhafi also rushed to the rescue of Zimbabwean president Robert Mugabe in the summer of 2001, when it appeared that Mugabe's brutish regime was finally teetering on the brink of collapse. As Mugabe battled domestic unrest and an increasingly dysfunctional economy while international news attention focused on his "ethnic cleansing" of white farmers, Gadhafi contributed \$1 million to Mugabe's reelection coffers and negotiated a deal to provide Zimbabwe -- which is suffering from fuel shortages -- \$360 million a year in oil.

As Douglas Farah, one of the most astute observers of the African scene, has reported in The Washington Post in the past, Gadhafi trained numerous African revolutionary leaders in the 1980s, including such brutal despots as Foday Sankoh of Sierra Leone, Laurent Kabila of the Democratic Republic of Congo, Idriss Deby of Chad and Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso.

Further African adventurism by Gadhafi is not simply a humanitarian concern; it has become a serious national security problem. Not only has Gadhafi's support for bloodthirsty and corrupt dictators exacerbated Africa's own internecine struggles for power, it has helped create openings in the form of failed states that al-Qaida, *Hezbollah* and other Islamic terrorists can and have eagerly exploited.

In addition to Gadhafi's ambitions in Africa, there is the equally pressing problem of internal political conditions in Libya.

The State Department's annual report on human rights describes a country in which torture, arbitrary arrest, violence against <u>women</u> and "extra-governmental organizations ... that exercise control over most aspects of citizens' lives" are the norm. Independent institutions do not exist.

Gadhafi's Green Book, which lays out his political theories, is the basis for society. According to the nonpartisan Freedom House, whose annual watch list catalogs repression around the world, "Political trials are held in secret, with no due process considerations. ... The death penalty applies to a number of political offences and 'economic' crimes, including currency speculation. ... Libya actively abducts and kills political dissidents in exile. The public practice of law is illegal."

The regime in Tripoli is weak. Now is the time to apply greater pressure, not to back off.

To sweep Gadhafi's domestic outrages under the carpet would also undermine the local forces of freedom in the rest of the Middle East, especially those in Iraq and Afghanistan, who have partnered with us in an effort to create a more just and humane political order.

The most telling charge against the Bush Doctrine and the most widely accepted evidence of American hypocrisy, is not the failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. It is the supposition that the Bush administration's recent rhetoric about democracy is a fig leaf designed to cloak our thirst for oil or to do Israel's bidding.

Blair was quite right to say in Tripoli that Gadhafi's rehabilitation is "a very, very important signal for the whole of the Arab world." The question is whether he and President Bush are willing to push for greater changes before engaging in a fuller rapprochement.

Load-Date: April 5, 2004



# 'Arab Spring' of democracy owes thanks to George Bush

The Sun Herald (Sydney, Australia)

March 20, 2005 Sunday

Late Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 15

Length: 1071 words

**Byline: MIRANDA DEVINE** 

#### **Body**

IT HAS been amusing watching the tortured knots various pundits have contorted themselves into trying to deny that the flickerings of freedom in the Arab world have anything to do with US foreign policy post 9/11 and, especially, the dreaded George Bush.

Since the invasion of Iraq, a series of events, remarkable when taken together, have occurred in the Middle East, prompting optimists to predict an "Arab Spring" of democracy.

There was Iraq's "purple revolution", as Bush has dubbed it, after the purple-ink-stained fingers of voters. Under the calm leadership of Grand Ayatollah Ali Husaini Sistani, the Shiite majority which won the elections is busy involving the Kurdish and Sunni minorities in the democratic process, which keeps proceeding, despite the expectations of Western doomsayers.

Then there was Lebanon's "cedar revolution", when people-power toppled the Syrian puppet government, although by last week, nine days later, the old prime minister, Omar Karami, was back in power and Syrian-backed <u>Hezbollah</u> supporters were out in numbers. But Syria is pulling out thousands of troops as well as its intelligence agents and last week a reported 1 million democracy activists took to the streets of Beirut, some carrying signs that read, "Thank You, George W. Bush."

In Saudi Arabia municipal elections were held, for the first time. In Kuwait, protesters rallied outside Parliament to demand <u>women</u> be given the vote. "<u>Women</u>'s rights, now," read the placards. In Egypt, Hosni Mubarak promised a free presidential election. And while Libya isn't anywhere near democracy, a few days after Saddam Hussein was arrested, leader Muammar Gaddafi renounced his weapons of mass destruction. All a crazy coincidence?

ABC journalist Monica Attard appeared on Richard Glover's 702 radio program on Thursday to declare the so-called Arab Spring had nothing to do with Iraq, not "by any stretch of the imagination". Those who claim a link do so because it "suits their propaganda purposes". So why now? asked Glover. Attard thought the Arab news network Al-Jazeera and the flowering of regional media might be responsible. In UK's The Guardian, Timothy Garton Ash had someone else in mind, asking: "Has Osama bin Laden started a revolution in the Middle East?" Anyone but Bush.

But at a lunch of pastrami on rye in Sydney on Friday, Israel's former ambassador to the UN, Dore Gold, had a different view. As president of the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs think-tank, he has been adviser to Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and long involved with high-level negotiations in the Middle East, including those in

#### 'Arab Spring' of democracy owes thanks to George Bush

1996 among the US, Lebanon, Syria and France to create the Monitoring Group for Southern Lebanon. So you might say he knows what he's talking about.

Gold says it is too early to write a history book chapter titled "Arab Spring", not even a chapter titled "Late Winter", as one wag suggested.

But, "I think the Iraq war and the fall of Saddam Hussein has ignited something across the region . . . A psychological wall has come down. When an Arab dictatorship collapsed from an assault by coalition forces, perhaps that put a lot of dictatorships on notice.

"In order to defeat terrorism you have to do more than win militarily.

"You have to set conditions which make the ideology of militant Islam less palatable and give an alternative. Only by promoting this democratic ideal can you offer young people a different vision and pull away the outer rings of support for organisations like al-Qaeda."

Last week's agreement in Cairo between Palestinian factions and terrorist groups is a step forward. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, unlike his late predecessor Yasser Arafat, now "realises the use of terrorism by Palestinians is completely self-defeating".

There is not yet talk of peace, only of Tahdi'a, says Gold, which means a period of "calm" in Arabic. But, "Am I optimistic? Yes, there is a basis to feel good." As for the United Nations, it has failed to resolve international conflicts, and shown itself impotent in the face of genocide in places such as Rwanda and Bosnia.

The emerging alternative is a "realignment of global politics [which] involves a coalition of US and its allies in coalitions of the willing".

Australia is in the box seat, along with Britain, Israel, India, Japan, South Korea and Singapore.

Gold's informed and commonsense assessments show you don't have to be a Pollyanna when looking at the Middle East, but neither do you have to deny reality.

Pay TV cashes in on Easter 'gift'

JUST when Channel Seven was smoking on the audience front, it pulls Desperate Housewives off the air for three whole weeks. The excuse is Easter, a holiday which lasts all of four days.

The real reason, of course, is the antiquated non-ratings period, when the free-to-air networks cram repeats and garbage down our throats. Only these days we don't have to reward their arrogance. We have choice.

Brendan Moo, head of publicity for Foxtel, sees the non-ratings period as a gift, with viewers flocking to subscription TV. "We celebrate," he said on Friday.

This Easter, Foxtel plans many stunts to woo free-to-air refugees: Fox 8 has a marathon of Australia's Next Top Model. And Fox Classics is running all 255 episodes of M\*A\*S\*H.

Moo, a former Nine publicist, says non-ratings periods are meaningless. "It's treating the viewer with disdain."

Nine's short-sighted programming arrogance over the years has ended up costing it viewer loyalty, and now the same is happening at Seven. Surely it's not the hallmark of that nice David Leckie, Seven's chief executive, formerly of Nine?

We can stand it

SO pregnant <u>women</u> in "Rude Sydney" can't find a bloke to stand up for them in the bus, allegedly. Why so helpless?

#### 'Arab Spring' of democracy owes thanks to George Bush

Surely 21st-century babes don't need to play the Renaissance damsel in distress waiting for Sir Walter Raleigh to spread his cloak over a puddle. No, pregnant post-feminist strap-hangers must assert themselves. Lean over a seated fellow passenger and simply ask: "Could I please have your seat because my legs are killing me?"

Most men would be happy to make themselves useful, especially after years of being told chivalry is chauvinism. So would most *women*.

But where are the demands for able-bodied <u>women</u> to stand up for men with beer-guts? After all, a well-developed gut is a load roughly equivalent to a full-term baby, even twins, and there's no nine-month miracle cure. How their legs must ache.

# **Graphic**

PHOTO: FREEDOM: Lebanese protesters in Martyrs Square in Beirut. Picture: AFP

Load-Date: June 20, 2007



#### ARAB LEADERS ARE COMING AROUND TO US MINDSET

The Scotsman

March 22, 2003, Saturday

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Section: Pg. 15

**Length:** 1020 words **Byline:** Dennis Ross

# **Body**

WHILE many European leaders remain deeply fearful of the fallout from a war with Iraq, many Arab leaders in the Middle East began several weeks ago to adjust to what they perceive to be a new reality.

Consider Egypt's press, which has been emphasising that Saddam Hussein is bringing the conflict on himself. In his trip to Berlin, the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, emphasised to his hosts that it was time to get the conflict over and remove Saddam. In Washington, a high-level Egyptian delegation made it clear recently that they would not oppose us and, in anticipation of our emphasis after the war, also suggested that Egypt did have a serious, if measured, approach to internal reform.

The Saudis, though more circumspect on the war, have also indicated a greater willingness to permit US operations out of the kingdom during the conflict. Crown Prince Abdullah is now openly calling for a new charter on reform to be adopted by the Arab League. Both the Egyptians and Saudis seem to have anticipated President Bush's speech in which he proclaimed that the liberation of Iraq might be a springboard to broader transformations in the region. And both seem to see the way the wind is blowing in the area - and they intend, at least tactically, to be on the right side of those winds.

They are not the only ones. Jordan publicly announced that an American contingent would come to the country to man Patriot missile batteries. Contrast this posture with Jordan's posture during the Gulf war 12 years ago. Syria's behaviour is even more surprising. Not only has it been restraining <u>Hezbollah</u> of late, but as if to convey that it will not be a problem, Syria has withdrawn 4,000 troops from Lebanon.

What is going on? The political culture in the region has always put a premium on power and adjusted to it. The Arab leaders in the Middle East have accepted that Saddam will be removed. For them, it is a given.

Does that mean that we don't face hostility from the so-called Arab street? No, but it means that no-one is out there defending Saddam. And it also means that the anger was bound in some ways to become more pronounced at the point when our build-up to war was increasing, when the anticipation of the Iraqi people paying a terrible price was most acute, and yet when the results of the war could only be an abstraction.

Assuming the war goes well, anger among Arab publics is going to abate once Saddam has fallen and pictures of Iraqis rejoicing over their liberation are beamed throughout the Arab world. Who in the Arab world will say that President Bush was wrong as images of a people released from the enduring hell of Saddam's rule are appearing on their television screens? Similarly, who will say war was a mistake when Iraqi scientists emerge from the woodwork to reveal the chemical and biological agents he has denied having?

#### ARAB LEADERS ARE COMING AROUND TO US MINDSET

But anger abating is not the same as the anger going away. The liberation of Iraq will create a window for us and for the region. If our liberation begins to look like an occupation, if our use of democracy continues to look like only a slogan, and if we continue to appear to be indifferent to the sourness created by the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, we will find that regime adjustments are temporary and hostility toward us is more permanent.

To avoid that eventuality, we must act in several ways. First, with regard to post-war Iraq, we must move quickly to internationalise our peacekeeping responsibilities. If we are to look like liberators, not occupiers, Tommy Franks must not become the new governor of Iraq.

To meet our responsibilities for law and order and the provision of services in an environment in which the administrative structure in Iraq has collapsed, we must prepare the ground for others to join us, perhaps with different roles and responsibilities in different regions of Iraq, relatively quickly after the war. And we will want to establish an inclusive Iraqi institution - an executive council - representing all groups, including the returning exiles, that will work in tandem with the peacekeepers and the international administration.

Second, we must be advocates for reform in the region. We must be humble, acknowledging that one size does not fit all and that we don't have a blueprint that we are trying to impose. But we must also be true to our values, making clear that tolerance, the rule of law and inclusion of <u>women</u> are the best pathways to progress. We must also be clear that we will not remain silent when reformers are suppressed or jailed - even if our friends are doing the suppression.

Third, we must show we are serious about defusing the devastating conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. After the war, Arab leaders are going to come to President Bush and declare that he proved what he could do in war, now he must prove what he can do for peace. They will be right to say that we must invest seriously in peace efforts and not simply go through the motions. But so must they.

The time for Arab leaders to offer slogans, but no serious investment, is past. Now they must be prepared to help Palestinian reformers delegitimise and confront those Palestinians who refuse to give up terror as their instrument. They must publicly endorse executive power being put in the hands of a Palestinian prime minister - practically reducing Chairman Yasser Arafat to a ceremonial figure only. They must provide real economic assistance to the Palestinian Authority. And they must reach out to the Israeli public by sending delegations to Israel to explain what Israel will gain in any peace and what they require in return.

If Arab leaders, led by the new troika of Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia, act in this fashion, President Bush will have a critical prerequisite for success. Though not a substitute for what Palestinians and Israelis must do on their own, Arab leaders stepping up to their responsibilities will make those behaviours more likely.

Dennis Ross was Middle East co-ordinator in the Clinton administration and director of the Policy Planning staff during the first Bush administration.

Load-Date: March 24, 2003



#### Where the Evil Empire Is Us and the Veil Liberation

The New York Times
June 3, 2005 Friday
Late Edition - Final

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Length: 1023 words

Byline: By WILLIAM GRIMES

# **Body**

Faith at War A Journey on the Frontlines of Islam, From Baghdad to Timbuktu By Yaroslav Trofimov Illustrated. 312 pages. Henry Holt and Company. \$26.

Immediately after the collapse of the World Trade Center, Yaroslav Trofimov's editor at The Wall Street Journal handed him a big assignment: go forth into the Islamic world and take its temperature.

For the next three years Mr. Trofimov, an American-educated Ukrainian who speaks fluent Arabic and holds an Italian passport, traveled from Cairo to Kandahar, from Tunis to Timbuktu. When coalition forces rolled into Iraq, he put on protective gear and followed in a rented GMC Yukon. He tagged along with American and Afghan soldiers hunting for the Taliban on the Afghan-Pakistani frontier. Everywhere he went, he made a point of talking to ordinary Muslims, not just about the World Trade Center attacks but about their lives, their faith and what many Muslims see, in apocalyptic terms, as a global religious struggle between Islam and the West.

The stylishly written, keenly observed dispatches that make up "Faith at War" deliver mostly bad news. The United States is regarded, across large swaths of the Muslim world, with a mixture of suspicion and hatred that military action in Afghanistan and Iraq has fanned to a white-hot intensity. Moderate Muslim voices are being drowned out by the screaming of fanatics.

This may sound like an old story, but Mr. Trofimov makes it seem fresh. He supplies the particulars, with faces and names. When Raghda Mahroughi, an Egyptian woman, responds to the attacks on the World Trade Center by saying, "I just hope there were a lot of Jews in that building," the sentiment seems doubly shocking because of who she is (a university student) and where she is (in a McDonald's frequented by Cairo's yuppies).

"Often those with the most bloodthirsty ideas were the well-to-do and the privileged who have had some experience with the West -- and not the downtrodden and ignorant 'masses' that are usually depicted as the font of anti-Western fury," Mr. Trofimov writes. "Sometimes those who know us best hate us most."

American support for oppressive regimes ranks high on the list of Muslim grievances. Mr. Trofimov finds a fascinating case study in Tunisia, a secular society in which <u>women</u> are guaranteed equal rights, abortion is legal and ultra-Orthodox Jews enjoy religious freedoms denied to fundamentalist Muslims. "We are much closer to the Italians and the French," a government official tells him.

#### Where the Evil Empire Is Us and the Veil Liberation

Well, not quite. Zine el-Abadine Ben Ali, Tunisia's prime minister, has imposed secularism with an iron fist, exiling or imprisoning dissidents, while courting American support by taking a soft line on Israel and protecting Tunisia's tiny Jewish community. As in Iran under the shah, liberal opponents of the regime find themselves allied with Islamists, and the veil, paradoxically, has become a symbol of liberation. When he checks into his hotel in Tunis, Mr. Trofimov cannot help noticing that someone on the staff has programmed the television so that the first thing to come on is Al Manar, the *Hezbollah* channel.

Mr. Trofimov tends to pick up on little things like this. Who knew that Tomahawk missiles smell like a new car? In Afghanistan, Mr. Trofimov's eye for the odd detail leads him to a workshop in Kandahar where street artists, free from Taliban rule, decorate motorized rickshaws with the Afghan version of heavy-metal art: roaring lions, princesses on horseback or Rambo on a rampage, sometimes all three crowded into the same painting.

The details, however colorful, never cohere into a big picture. Mr. Trofimov deals in vivid tableaus, chance encounters and spontaneous conversations. Context can suffer. When he describes a carful of Saudi men who pull off a country highway and stone a colony of baboons for the fun of it, the incident sticks in the mind but does not explain much. Loutish fans throw beer cups at Yankee Stadium. What, if anything, does that say about the United States?

Some themes do emerge. One is the extraordinary success Saudi Arabia has had setting up schools all over the Muslim world to propagate its particular brand of fundamentalist Islam. In Bosnia, to take an alarming example, Saudi-financed "renovations" of Begova Dzamina, a 16th-century mosque in Sarajevo, involved scraping down decorative tiles, stripping ornaments and covering the walls with white plaster. Young Bosnians, sent to Saudi Arabia and inculcated with the puritanical Wahhabi version of Islam, have returned to preach fire and brimstone and radicalize Bosnian Muslims.

Mr. Trofimov's second big subject, developed in the military chapters of the book, is the American effort to export democracy to Iraq and Afghanistan. Here he tips his hand. He is scathing about American foreign policy and tends to sneer at the people who carry it out, military and civilian, who, with few exceptions, appear clueless about the land they have invaded and tone-deaf to local sensitivities. Every day, and in every way, as Mr. Trofimov tells it, America is creating new enemies.

"So, is this liberation or occupation for you?" he often asked Iraqis on the street during the initial stages of the war. Obviously, he had made his mind up even if the Iraqis had not. Before long, he no longer has to ask. "Even if you turn this country into heaven, we don't want it from you," a tribal chief tells Bob Silverman, the American civilian administrator in Tikrit. "Just go away from Iraq and leave us alone. We've had enough of you and can't stand it no more."

Just when the picture seems bleakest, Mr. Trofimov heads to Mali. One of the poorest countries in Africa, Mali is more than 90 percent Muslim, yet democracy flourishes (a feminist ran for mayor of Timbuktu), church and state remain separate, and the local version of Islam is sunny and mild. "Here it is a secular country," the country's top cleric tells Mr. Trofimov. "If you like to drink, you can drink. It doesn't matter to me."

It's a happy thought. After Mr. Trofimov's disheartening tour, readers may feel that they really need that cocktail.

http://www.nytimes.com

# Graphic

Photo: Yaroslav Trofimov (Photo by Chrystyna Czajkowsky/Henry Holt)

Load-Date: June 3, 2005



# Mideast Mix: New Promise of Democracy and Threat of Instability

The New York Times

March 1, 2005 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 10

Length: 1068 words

Byline: By STEVEN R. WEISMAN Dateline: WASHINGTON, Feb. 28

# **Body**

Less than six weeks after President Bush's Inaugural Address appealing for democratic reforms in the Middle East, the United States is coping with an unaccustomed problem: a region churning with fresh demands for democracy, fresh opportunities and fresh potential for instability.

In Egypt, perhaps the United States' most important ally in the Arab world, President Hosni Mubarak announced over the weekend that there would be contested presidential elections later this year.

In Lebanon, a population long resigned to Syrian dominance is suddenly demanding that Syria remove its forces and take its hands off a political process it has controlled by force and intimidation.

Administration officials say Mr. Bush's calls for democracy in the region have been secondary to the ripple effect of the elections, however imperfect, held by Palestinians and Iraqis in January, and the open, messy but still invigorating political jockeying among those peoples after the balloting.

"You can't dismiss the argument that the themes we're hearing from Washington are helping to cause changes in the Middle East," a senior State Department official said. "But you have to give the main credit to the elections in Palestinian areas and in Iraq. The Iranians, the Syrians and the Iraqis have to be reacting to the elections."

By almost any measure, there is an unusual amount of turbulence throughout the Middle East right now, and administration experts are not sure whether all of it will work in the United States' favor.

Besides the situation in Egypt and Syria, Iran is engaging in increasingly serious negotiations with Britain, France and Germany over possible steps to dismantle what is suspected as a nuclear weapons program. The Bush administration remains undecided over a European request to join in the talks in a more direct way.

Many experts argue that there is not much time to test Iranian intentions. Some European diplomats say that if progress is not made quickly, Iran could walk away from the talks by the summer, resume uranium enrichment and other activities suspected of serving as a cover for making nuclear arms -- and blame the West for its actions.

There are other timelines measured in months that could also pose dangers.

#### Mideast Mix: New Promise of Democracy and Threat of Instability

In Iraq, which remains very unstable, a suicide bomber on Monday carried out the deadliest attack since the fall of Saddam Hussein, killing at least 122 people. Baghdad is having trouble forging a political consensus on a new government drawing together the victors in the election.

Indeed, American and Arab officials say that Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice had to cancel plans to visit Iraq this week, in part because there was no government for her to meet. She did not want to meet with Iraqi politicians, including those from the interim government that still holds power, and send an unintended signal that the United States favored one group or another.

"There's a deadline for writing a constitution by November, and they aren't even ready to sit down and write," an American official said. "What was Condi Rice going to do in Iraq this week? We didn't even know who she was supposed to talk to. If she met with someone, it would be seen in Iraq as an endorsement."

Still another short timeline -- also driven by successful elections, this time by Palestinians -- is compelling the Palestinian president, Mahmoud Abbas, to assemble a credible security and political team in Gaza and parts of the West Bank before Israel starts its planned withdrawal of forces and settlers from those areas in July.

Ms. Rice will be in London on Tuesday for a meeting on Palestinian reform, with also hopes of getting several oil-producing Persian Gulf countries to come up with the \$400 million they have promised to support the process.

A measure of the volatility in the region occurred Monday when David F. Satterfield, a deputy assistant secretary of state for the Middle East, arrived in Beirut, Lebanon, only to find that the entire pro-Syrian government had resigned and thousands of people were out in the streets protesting Syrian influence.

Arab officials have attributed the changes in Egypt and Lebanon to internal forces rather than pressure from abroad, despite Washington's sense that it can claim credit for much of the change.

Ms. Rice, traveling to London, praised Mr. Mubarak for instituting a contested presidential election.

"Look, the United States has a clear agenda about political reform and democratization," Ms. Rice said. "It couldn't be clearer."

She said various leaders were beginning to understand that those issues were "going to be a part of our dialogue wherever we are and whenever we engage those countries."

But many experts fear that overdoing the pressure on Syria could backfire, with violent consequences like an assassination comparable to the one two weeks ago of the former Lebanese prime minister, Rafik Hariri.

"If the United States pushes Syria too far, it could end up losing the support of the Europeans or of other Arab countries," said an Arab diplomat, who noted that France had supported a lesser role for Syria in Lebanon but had rejected the American call to punish *Hezbollah*, the radical Shiite group in Lebanon backed by Syria and Iran.

Whatever happens, administration officials say Mr. Bush, Ms. Rice and their top aides are unlikely to back off now from their insistent demands that the Muslim world, and indeed Russia and China and other less-than-democratic governments, do more to allow for the exercise of freedoms in their midst.

On Monday, for example, it was widely noticed at the State Department that a new acting assistant secretary of state in charge of the Middle East took up her duties on her first day in office: Elizabeth Cheney, daughter of Vice President Dick Cheney and a longtime advocate of reforms, particularly <u>women</u>'s rights, in the region.

In the first Bush term, Ms. Cheney was in charge of the Middle East Partnership Initiative, which channeled money to reform efforts. Now she is the principal deputy in the department that oversees the region, and the acting director of the department because there is a vacancy in the No.1 job.

"Liz Cheney has made it clear the importance she attaches to reform in the region," a colleague said. "She's going to play a prominent role in setting benchmarks for the kind of changes that the administration is looking for."

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photo: Opposition demonstrators waved Lebanese flags in Beirut yesterday during a celebration after the Syrian-backed government resigned. (Photo by Hussein Malla/Associated Press)

Load-Date: March 1, 2005



# What is Hamas?: It's a terrorist group, according to some. But to Abu Shaheh Safdi, it pays for school, buses, clothing for his brother's children

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

June 17, 2003 Tuesday Final Edition

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**Length:** 973 words **Byline:** IAN FISHER

Dateline: GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip

#### **Body**

To most Israelis, Hamas is a terrorist group and little more, the core of Palestinian hatred that explodes against 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 saviour. It pays for the children's school, buses, 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."

**New York Times** 

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. 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, which has grown over 32 months of renewed violence here, to rival more mainstream political groups, like Yasser 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 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 ceasefire against Israel that would allow growth to the new peace plan pushed by the Bush administration.

For several days, this looked unlikely: Following the killing last week of five Israeli soldiers by Hamas, which had just rejected the peace plan, Israel tried to kill a Hamas leader, Abdel Aziz Rantisi.

What is Hamas?: It's a terrorist group, according to some. But to Abu Shaheh Safdi, it pays for school, buses, clothing for his brother's children

Hamas struck back with a suicide bombing, in which 17 Israelis were killed. After that, Israel and Hamas vowed allout war. In a storm of bombs, bullets and missiles, 60 Israelis and Palestinians died in one week.

Rantisi, recovering from wounds, said on Sunday that Hamas would halt suicide bombings inside Israel, but with conditions that include 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," 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 <u>women</u> and to stop destroying our houses."

Whether Hamas is actually willing to honour a ceasefire that might give the peace plan a chance goes to the very heart of what Hamas is as a group.

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 to accept one state for Israelis, one for Palestinians. In 1997, it was added to the U.S. list of terrorist organizations. Canada added it to its list of such groups last year.

"Let's remember the history of Hamas and the history of its mother organization," said Ziad Abu Amr, the Palestinian minister of culture in charge of negotiations with Hamas. "Violence is a tactic. We had flare-ups, and we had periods of attacks and counter attacks. But they can refrain from these suicide attacks and other attacks if there is an alternative."

But in the past 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 Haider Abdel Shafi, once a top PLO negotiator. "They deprived us of the sympathy of the world."

Still Shafi said he believed Hamas has 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 a militant or terrorist doctrine.

- - -

Hamas, Since Its Founding

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.

1988-1992: Period known as the "war of knives." Hamas members kill members of the Palestine Liberation Organization and several Israeli soldiers.

1989: Israel arrests and jails Hamas's spiritual leader, Sheik Ahmed Yassin.

1991-1992: Hamas kidnaps several Israeli soldiers, leading to expulsion of leaders to Lebanon. Contact with <u>Hezbollah</u> increases Hamas's knowledge of explosives.

1996: Israelis kill Yihye Ayash, Hamas leader known as "the Engineer." Hamas responds with suicide bombings that help elect a Likud prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, who promises to fight terror groups. Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian leader, begins crackdown on Hamas leadership.

1997: 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.

What is Hamas?: It's a terrorist group, according to some. But to Abu Shaheh Safdi, it pays for school, buses, clothing for his brother's children

2003: Of nearly 100 suicide attacks since 2000, Hamas has carried out the greatest number.

**New York Times** 

# **Graphic**

Color Photo: ODED BALILTY, AP; A general view of a bus explosion carried out by a Hamas suicide bomber in downtown Jerusalem last week. Israel is demanding Palestinian Prime Minister Mahmoud Abbas forcefully crack down on militants, but a faceoff with the popular and well-organized Hamas would be a very difficult battle for the new premier's hobbled security forces, analysts say.

Load-Date: June 17, 2003



# In Iraq, Give Peace a Chance

The New York Times
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Length: 1029 words

Byline: By Yitzhak Nakash

Yitzhak Nakash is a professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies at Brandeis University and the author of "The

Shi'is of Iraq."

#### **Body**

When American marines stormed into Baghdad a year ago, Amer al-Minshidawi, a leading cleric in the Saddam City neighborhood, told worshipers that after being liberated it was the "duty of Shiites in Iraq to teach the world that Islam is a religion of peace, tolerance and love." A year later, however, such gratitude has all but evaporated -- and that Shiite enclave, now called Sadr City, has given birth to an insurgency led by the young cleric Moktada al-Sadr that has spread through southern Iraq.

Thus far, most Shiite moderates have not joined Mr. Sadr's Mahdi Army. They have followed the calls for restraint issued by the most revered Shiite cleric, Grand Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani. Nevertheless, with Mr. Sadr now in the shrine city of Najaf -- where Ayatollah Sistani also lives -- Shiites are growing increasingly restive. If unchecked, the uprising could evolve into a full-scale Shiite revolt that, coupled with the fierce Sunni resistance in central Iraq, would make the American presence in the country untenable.

Brig. Gen. Mark Kimmitt, a spokesman for the American command, told reporters that the Coalition Provisional Authority "will attack to destroy the Mahdi Army." But a battle with Mr. Sadr would only exacerbate the crisis and could lead to an all-out revolt. A more sensible course would be to defuse the crisis through negotiations that neither humiliate Mr. Sadr nor allow him to dictate the agenda.

America's best bet is Grand Ayatollah Sistani. He is the pre-eminent religious leader and alone has the authority to rein in Mr. Sadr and steer Iraqi Shiites away from revolt. A compromise would be in America's interest as well as the ayatollah's: by taming Mr. Sadr, he would further consolidate his own power among the Shiites.

The two clerics represent different generations and sensibilities, as well as competing schools of thought within Shiism. Mr. Sadr derives his standing from the legacy of his father, Muhammad Sadiq al-Sadr, who was gunned down by the Baathists in 1999. He wants to establish an Islamic government throughout Iraq, using grass-roots mobilization. In his mind, politics should serve religion, so he does not accept any separation between church and state.

By contrast, the elderly and seasoned Ayatollah Sistani belongs to the quietist school within Shiism. Although he has a vision of what an Islamic government should be, he is not inspired by Iran. His emphasis is on ensuring government accountability and the protection of religion.

#### In Iraq, Give Peace a Chance

It is a mistake to think of the current crisis as simply an attack by Mr. Sadr on the occupation. In fact, a crucial struggle is under way for the leadership of the Shiite community, its loyalties and resources. Nevertheless, there is a real possibility that this struggle could end in compromise.

Ayatollah Sistani clearly has the clout and political acumen necessary to reason with Mr. Sadr. While the young firebrand has been unintimidated by the coalition authority, he has acknowledged Ayatollah Sistani's religious seniority and shown no interest in directly defying the elder cleric -- an act that would cause a rupture within Shiism. Mr. Sadr probably also realizes that an all-out war between the Shiites and the coalition forces would end in defeat and tarnish Shiite dreams of leading the new Iraq. Thus he may well accept a compromise brokered by the ayatollah, provided it gave his movement a political future.

America's wisest move would be to urge Ayatollah Sistani to begin talks with Mr. Sadr at his home in Najaf. Such a meeting would signal Mr. Sadr's recognition of the grand ayatollah as the supreme Shiite leader. Any compromise would inevitably have to include a statement by Mr. Sadr renouncing violence and instructing his militiamen to return power in the cities under their control to the Iraqi police. In return, the coalition authority would agree not to attempt to arrest Mr. Sadr or to provoke him in the future. It would also permit Mr. Sadr to re-open his newspaper, Al Hawza, which was shut down last month, provided it stops inciting violence.

The coalition should also agree to let Iraqis handle for themselves the legal proceedings relating to the murder last April of the cleric Abdul Majid al-Khoei. The killing is believed to have been carried out by Mr. Sadr's supporters.

Any compromise will also require implicit recognition by all parties that Mr. Sadr's supporters will be allowed to participate in Iraqi politics just as the Shiite organization *Hezbollah* does in Lebanon.

The discussions could also be used to make progress on larger issues relating to Iraq's political future. One is a commitment by all the major Iraqi groups -- Shiites, Sunnis and especially the Kurds -- to set a date for dissolving their militias. Unless all sides disarm, Iraq could become a second Lebanon, dominated by the politics of militias and arms.

Another issue is the wisdom of the June 30 deadline for transferring sovereignty to Iraqis. Coalition forces will need to provide security throughout Iraq in order to proceed with elections to the assembly, if possible, by next January, as stated in the interim constitution. In addition, some parts of the constitution need renegotiation. The powers vested in the Iraqi presidency need clarification, as do the meaning of federalism and the guarantees of minority and <u>women</u>'s rights. There must be a relaxing of the veto powers given to minority groups by the interim constitution -- powers that could in effect paralyze Iraqi politics.

For its part, the Bush administration must show that it will accept an Islamic government mainly in the Arabdominated parts of Iraq -- one that will not necessarily take the form of an Iranian-style Shiite theocracy. Washington must also accept the principle that only a legitimate Iraqi government, backed by an elected assembly, will have a mandate to negotiate the future of the American presence in the country.

By seeking compromise, the United States could give clerics like Amer al-Minshidawi a chance to prove that an accommodation between Islam and the West is not only desirable, but also attainable.

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: April 10, 2004



# GROWING UP IN A WAR ZONE The documentary 'Promises' offers a children's-eye view of the Palestinian-Isra eli conflict

Daily News (New York)

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**Byline: BY NANCY MILLS** 

# **Body**

HOLLYWOOD - A movie rejected by the Sundance Film Festival usually doesn't end up getting an Oscar nomination. But that's exactly what has happened to "Promises," a 90-minute documentary that explores the lives and feelings of Palestinian and Israeli children. Its Best Documentary nod surprised even its makers, B.Z. Goldberg, Justine Shapiro and Carlos Bolado.

"We were stunned when we won the Audience Award at the Rotterdam Film Festival last February, beating out 'Memento' and 'Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon," Shapiro says. "Nothing prepared us for that. As a result, film festivals all over the world started to inquire about the film."

"Promises," which took six years to complete, went on to win awards at nine other festivals. What makes the film so compelling is its "cast" of children between the ages of 9 and 13.

"A lot of people questioned our decision to focus on children so young," says Shapiro (who hosts and co-writes the TV travel series "Lonely Planet"). "But we knew they could express their feelings articulately and originally, fusing what they absorbed from their parents with their own experiences and spirit. They liked that we respected them enough to ask them hard questions."

Adds Goldberg, who was born in Boston but grew up outside Jerusalem, "A lot of these kids are heavily politicized, and not just by their parents. They know what's going on all over the world. Headlines will impact them. The connection between politics and daily life is one of the things that make these kids so adult at a young age."

Shapiro, Goldberg and Bolado filmed nearly 100 children, compiling 200 hours of footage, in 1997 and 1998. They eventually focused on seven of the children - six boys and a girl - and added an epilogue shot in 2000.

The children in the film, which opens Friday, provide a cross-section of political views and ingrained resentment; their honesty and naivet often reflect the worst of what's happening in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

"I live in Beit-EI," says Moishe Bar Am, a son of Jewish settlers. "We fight because this land is ours. If I could make my future, all the Arabs would fly away. The Jews would stay, and the temples would be rebuilt. ... We have our Army to protect us. We have our firing range. And if the soldiers aim poorly, it's okay because they might shoot an Arab."

GROWING UP IN A WAR ZONE The documentary 'Promises' offers a children's-eye view of the Palestinian - Isra eli conflict

Mahmoud's family has owned a spice and coffee shop in the Muslim quarter of Jerusalem's Old City for three generations. "This is my land," he says. "I was born and raised here. You have no right to take it. I support Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u>. They kill <u>women</u> and children, but they do it for their country. The more Jews we kill, the fewer there will be - until they're almost gone."

"There are some very sad and disturbing things in 'Promises,' but they're shown in a way that reaches out to both sides," says Laurie Brand, professor of international relations at the University of Southern California. "'The film's even-handed, and the filmmakers don't heavily editorialize. They allow you to draw your own conclusions. The children speak for themselves, and there's a diversity of opinions and a spectrum of approaches to what peace might be and how to go about obtaining it."

A specialist in Middle Eastern politics, Brand adds, "My experience is primarily with Palestinians, and over the past 25 years I've spent a fair amount of time in refugee camps in the East Bank. These expressions seemed familiar to me, but what is new is seeing the interaction between the kids."

Actress Debra Winger was an early supporter of the film project and helped secure some funding through Norman Lear. Other monies came from the Independent Television Service, the National Endowment of the Arts and many other foundations, along with 300 friends of the directors.

#### Strong scenes

Goldberg, who speaks Hebrew and Arabic, became a unifying thread in "Promises," despite his initial resistance.

"B.Z. was so fantastic with the kids," says Shapiro. "He really became the narrator who pulled all these disparate pieces together. He'd be sitting next to the camera talking to the kids, and there would be this incredible energy between them."

This connection, which continues today, led to numerous strong scenes in the film. The most moving is a friendly meeting between Israeli twins Yarko and Daniel and a Palestinian boy, Faraj, and his friends at an Arab refugee camp, where they eat together, talk and play soccer.

The film was as eye-opening for Goldberg as it was for the boys.

"I was very resistant to making this documentary because I knew I'd have to change," he says. "I had a fairly liberal upbringing in Israel, but I didn't know anything about Palestinian daily life and I didn't want to know.

"I had to open up to the fact that, like the film does for an audience, these people who were my 'enemies,' and also my partners in peace, were also human beings like me. The same thing happened to me with 'the settlers.' I grew up being taught that they're lunatics and you want to hate them. I went there and saw that they're wonderful people with political opinions that aren't so wonderful.

"I had to become open to the complexities. I wanted to see things in black and white terms, and I wasn't able to any more after the film was over."

Not everything the children say in the film is unequivocally resentful. The following comments come from the epilogue:

"Peace between you and me is impossible unless we get to know each other," says Mahmoud. "Our fathers are at war, and if I don't know you, I can't have peace with you."

"In the movie, you asked me to respond to questions as an Israeli, but I have my own concerns, like friends and volleyball," says Yarko. "I want there to be peace here. I really do. I just don't deal with it day to day."

GROWING UP IN A WAR ZONE The documentary 'Promises' offers a children's-eye view of the Palestinian - Isra eli conflict

# **Graphic**

MAKING FRIENDS Yarko (l.), an Israeli, and Faraj, a Palestinian.

Load-Date: March 11, 2002



# BOOKS OF THE TIMES; The Saudis' Brand of Islam and Its Place in History

The New York Times

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Byline: By RICHARD BERNSTEIN

# **Body**

THE TWO FACES OF ISLAM
The House of Saud From Tradition to Terror
By Stephen Schwartz
312 pages. Doubleday. \$25.

In April 2002, eight months after the attacks of Sept. 11, a Saudi cleric named Sheik Saad al-Buraik, preaching in a mosque in the Saudi capital of Riyadh, called for the enslavement of Jewish <u>women</u> by Muslim men. "Do not have mercy or compassion toward the Jews," Mr. al Buraik said. "Their <u>women</u> are yours to take, legitimately. God made them yours."

Mr. al-Buraik, it is important to note, was a member of the official Saudi delegation that accompanied Crown Prince Abdullah during his visit to President Bush in Crawford, Tex., at the end of April 2002. And Stephen Schwartz argues in "The Two Faces of Islam" that the closeness to power of one who proclaims Jewish <u>women</u> to be Muslim slaves illustrates the deep hypocrisy and corruption of politics in Saudi Arabia, a country that promotes and fosters an extreme, intolerant, terroristic Islamic cult even as it presents itself, in Crawford and other places, as pro-Western and moderate.

It has always been thus there, Mr. Schwartz contends, or, at least, it has been thus since the 18th century when an obscure, vengeful, narrow vagabond-cleric named Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab became the spiritual leader of a Saudi tribe, the House of Saud, that eventually became masters of most of the Arabian peninsula. Mr. Schwartz's book is essentially a history of Wahhabism, which is still Saudi Arabia's official, exclusive and, in Mr. Schwartz's view, darkly medieval religion.

His central theme is that Wahhabism has over the centuries waged a bitter struggle against all other variants of Islam, most particularly the tolerant, peaceful, poetically mystical schools of thought that, in Mr. Schwartz's view, are the true and admirable historic Islam. Moreover, he maintains that Wahhabism, which gave rise to Osama bin Laden and the Afghan Taliban among others, is the most dread menace faced in the world today by the forces of tolerance and pluralism, whether Muslim or otherwise.

"Wahhabism exalts and promotes death in every element of its existence, the suicide of its adherents, mass murder as a weapon against civilization, and above all the suffocation of the mercy embodied in Islam," Mr. Schwartz

#### BOOKS OF THE TIMES The Saudis' Brand of Islam and Its Place in History

writes. "The war against Wahhabism is therefore a war to the death, as the Second World War was a war to the death against fascism. But triumph over death is the victory of life."

As that paragraph indicates, the emphatic Mr. Schwartz, a journalist and scholar who writes for several American publications, minces no words. The 4,000 members of the Saudi ruling family are, as he puts it, "a vast mafia of princely parasites." He holds the Western oil companies, especially the Aramco partners and "the American political and media elites that have served them," responsible for "the continuation of dishonesty and injustice in Arabia."

Contrary to the standard view of him, Mr. Schwartz writes, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini of Iran is at the opposite end of the spectrum from Wahhabi extremism and actually represents "the pluralist face of Islam."

All of these assertions will bring rejoinders from those who have different views, but Mr. Schwartz's opinions are not just forcefully expressed; they are also born out of a sophisticated and informed vision of history, and he merits both an open mind and a close reading. His book demonstrates a comprehensive mastery of history and historical connections, as well as a deep humanistic concern for those who have been oppressed by Wahhabi ruthlessness.

When, for example, Mr. Schwartz turns to the powerful influence of Wahhabism during the years of the anti-Soviet "holy war" in Afghanistan, he not only shows that he understands Afghan politics, but he also makes a strong case that the American failure to understand the complexities of global Islam are one of the main reasons that Afghanistan fell into the Taliban-bin Laden camp.

In Mr. Schwartz's version of events, the Americans failed to understand that "two faces of Islam" were present in Afghanistan from the beginning. "On one side, there was the bright aspect of Sufi traditionalism, ever renewed, happy, filled with love of God and humanity," he writes. "On the other was the ugly visage of Wahhabi fundamentalism, narrow, rigid, tyrannical, separatist, supremacist and violent." The Taliban, the products of Saudi-financed Wahhabi schools in Pakistan, clearly represented this second visage, and Mr. Schwartz contends that they could have been avoided altogether had American policymakers only understood that.

But Mr. Schwartz argues that "Islam, especially in the days of Khomeini, remained too alien and frightening" for the State Department to make such distinctions. Or, if American policymakers did make distinctions, he says, they made the wrong ones, preferring the Saudi-backed guerrillas to anyone who echoed Khomeinism. Still, Mr. Schwartz writes, "The real exporters of international Islamic extremism were the Saudis," though "the Saudis did not miss the opportunity to stoke the Western fear of Iran in order to bolster their false image as Arab 'moderates.' "

One might argue here that Khomeinism, which dispatched the terrorist <u>Hezbollah</u>, or Party of God, into the world, did its share of exporting extremism, as it did when it called on good Muslims to execute the writer Salman Rushdie for the crime of blasphemy. And while Afghan traditionalism may have been filled with love of God, over the centuries it produced its share of blood-letting even without the help of the Saudis. In other words, some of what Mr. Schwartz writes makes you want to argue with him, or at least raise some questions.

Nonetheless, there is an admirable shrewdness, a suffer-no-fools briskness, to his analysis, and he has that ability to make the hard-to-see historical parallels. Among the most interesting of them: in the first half of the 20th century, the Saud-Wahhabi alliance came to supreme power in Saudi Arabia by cleverly aligning itself with British imperialism; how similar that now seems to the Saudi ability to enlist unwitting American support for putting into power the Wahhabi faction in Afghanistan (at least until it was dislodged after Sept. 11). It is fascinating suggestions like this that give "The Two Faces of Islam" some of its value -- along with its more general ability to engage the mind, making it grasp matters in a new way.

http://www.nytimes.com

# Graphic

# BOOKS OF THE TIMES The Saudis' Brand of Islam and Its Place in History

Photo: Stephen Schwartz (Lorenzo Casanova/Doubleday)

Load-Date: November 8, 2002



# Roger Franklin: Dollars dry up for IRA

The New Zealand Herald March 19, 2005 Saturday

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Section: NEWS; World

Length: 1036 words

# **Body**

As Irish-Americans like everyone to know, they love having something to celebrate - one reason why, when New York's sons of Erin marched up Fifth Avenue to mark St Patrick's Day, it was just possible to wander through the crowd and believe that the merrymakers were aware that this year, for the first time in a long time, there was something truly worth toasting.

It wasn't the lapel pins urging strangers to "Kiss Me, I'm Oirish" that brought a hopeful smile. And certainly not the spirit of a tribal get-together that manifests itself, year after year, in the plastic ectoplasm of souvenir dealers' hearts and shamrocks.

Not the green beer, either, nor even the red-haired toddlers, all freckles and snub noses, done up as leprechauns - although as the upcoming generation of Irish-Americans, those kids perhaps stand to gain the most from the watershed change of heart that the past few months have witnessed.

Finally, after at least a century and a half of revering half-truths and starry-eyed lies about brave rebels and perfidious Albion, Irish-Americans may just be prepared to acknowledge that the murderous realities of the land their forefathers fled demand a little more insight than can be gleaned from romantic tunes about the men behind the wire.

And more importantly, to admitting the role Americans have played in making sure Belfast's body count continued to grow.

Actually, the most encouraging indication of a break with the past was to be found not in New York, but in an empty chair in Senator Teddy Kennedy's office in Boston, a few hundred kilometres to the north. That was where, up until this year, visiting Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams could count on holding court as an honoured guest.

But not this week. This time Senator Ted slammed the door in Adams' face, told him to take a hike and not to return until the IRA, of which Sinn Fein is the political arm, honoured its 1998 promise to lay down the guns.

It is almost unthinkable that it could have happened, that the Democrat elder who represents the largest and most assertive Irish-American constituency in the country, should side with bitter enemy George W. Bush, who cancelled Adams' customary invitation to the White House.

But happen it did, and the consequences of both men's decisions could help to liberate Northern Ireland from its addiction to violence - and Irish-Americans from the curse and corruption of their own sympathetic myths, for it has long been a basic truth that Irish Catholics fire the bullets Americans pay for.

#### Roger Franklin: Dollars dry up for IRA

The classic example: at the turn of the last century, the world's first practical submarine was designed and built in New York by a former Christian Brother from Galway, John Phillip Holland, who wanted it shipped across the Atlantic and unleashed against the Royal Navy.

The vessel never left the States because of feuding among the emigre leaders, who fell out over control of the nickel-and-dime donations of "gullible scullery maids", as one contemporary commentator put it. But the audacity of the ambition that inspired Holland's "Fenian Ram" still testifies to America's enduring role as the IRA's most lucrative source of financial and moral support.

They still raise money today at Irish bars and shindigs, although only a portion of it actually reaches its destination, according to the FBI.

The G-men should know, since for almost 20 years their Boston office turned a blind eye to the scams of Irish mob boss, serial killer and confidential informant "Whitey" Bulger.

As a series of court cases and congressional hearings have revealed, South Boston's now-fugitive crime tsar would collect millions, load a few cases of old guns on a trawler and send them off to Ireland - but only after telling the coastguard where to intercept it. The donations Bulger didn't spend vanished into his own pocket.

A lot of those American dollars do get through, of course. But now, thanks to Kennedy's political bravery in rejecting Adams, the killers' cash flow may become just a little harder to sustain.

As New York's pro-Adams Irish Echo lamented in an editorial, "American officialdom and significant sections of Irish-America, outraged at recent developments, have been abandoning the republican movement."

A Pittsburg newspaper explained why: Irish-Americans, some at any rate, are finally recognising the IRA as "a Hibernian *Hezbollah* run by godfathers in green".

Chief among those "recent developments" was the January slaying in a Belfast bar of Robert McCartney, and the stink over the cover-up that his sisters and fiancee lay at the feet of the IRA.

The "people power" campaign they launched at home hasn't brought the killers to justice, but it achieved something almost as significant by banishing Gerry Adams from the inner circle of American political influence.

Instead of seeing Adams, both Bush and Kennedy met instead with the McCartney <u>women</u>, whose presence "in Washington on this St Patrick's Day", as the Massachussetts senator noted, "sends a very powerful signal that it's time for the IRA to fully decommission, end all criminal activity and cease to exist as a paramilitary organisation."

St Patrick's Day in New York can often end in a hangover, so while the signs are hopeful, it's still too early to bet that American sympathies will evaporate entirely.

At an Irish fraternal dinner, for example, the head of the NYPD patrolmen's union, Patrick Lynch, fawned over Adams, the guest of honour.

What he said of the Ulster cops trying to solve the McCartney murder was little short of obscene: "I don't consider them police officers. They are soldiers who are trying to keep our people down."

This year, though, his remarks drew only muted applause.

Later, when Irish-American rock band Black 47 did a St Patrick's Day gig at a downtown club, the crowd sang lustily along with songs about rebel glory, IRA martyrs and the purity of the "fanatic heart". Nobody rattled the cup for the IRA, however.

From the big signs of change in Boston and Washington to smaller ones in a New York club, there is at last reason to hope that the venerable American inclination to give butchers the benefit of the doubt is finally and mercifully subsiding.

Roger Franklin: Dollars dry up for IRA

And on St Patrick's Day, that was definitely worth a toast.

Load-Date: March 18, 2005



# Palestinian Ends Defense in Murder Trial

The New York Times
September 30, 2003 Tuesday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 6

Length: 1083 words

Byline: By JOHN F. BURNS

Dateline: JERUSALEM, Sept. 29

# **Body**

A top leader of the Palestinian uprising suggested today at his trial for orchestrating the killing of Israelis that the Israeli occupation of Gaza and the West Bank could lead to Israel's being submerged in "one state for two peoples" -- with Jews and Palestinians living under common rule.

Marwan Barghouti, a top aide to the Palestinian leader, Yasir Arafat, is charged with murder in attacks that killed 26 Israelis in the first 18 months of the uprising, which began three years ago. He faces a possible life sentence when the Tel Aviv district court pronounces its verdict, probably in November.

But today he closed his own defense in a yearlong trial that has become a focal point for Israelis and Palestinians with a mocking prediction that he would be released soon in a prisoner exchange.

"Put together a commemorative book, because this is history," he told the Israeli prosecutor, Devorah Chen, according to the reporter from Reuters, one of those admitted to the courtroom under a pool arrangement. "I'll be out soon enough." The remarks, the report said, were greeted with cheers from a group of European lawmakers attending the trial. Mr. Barghouti is accused of leading Al Aksa Martyrs Brigades, an offshoot of Mr. Arafat's Fatah movement.

Speaking in nearly fluent Hebrew learned during extended periods in Israeli prisons, and pausing only occasionally to seek help from the three-judge panel in finding the right word, Mr. Barghouti made no plea for acquittal or mitigation. At one point, he lowered his head in memory of the 2,700 Palestinians he said had been killed in the uprising.

Other counts, including those kept by human rights groups, put the number of dead at about 2,600 Palestinians and 800 Israelis.

"I am against killing innocent people, against murdering innocent <u>women</u> and children," Mr. Barghouti said. "All along, I have said that I opposed military operations, but we have to fight Israeli occupation in the territories. We want freedom and a state, just like the Israelis."

Mr. Barghouti, considered by many Palestinians to be a possible successor to the 74-year-old Mr. Arafat, used the courtroom to speak to Palestinians, and to world opinion. A longer version of his speech was distributed to

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Palestinian news agencies. He said Israelis had prejudiced the chances of securing a lasting peace in a Jewish state by denying Palestinian demands for a viable independent state of their own, and by using such force in responding to the uprising.

"Today, three years have passed, and I hope that the Israelis have learned that the Palestinian people cannot be brought to yield with force," he said, according to notes distributed by the Reuters reporter. "If an occupation does not end unilaterally or through negotiations, there is only one solution, one state for two peoples. How can the Jews who suffered and survived the Holocaust allow themselves to resort to such insufferable and unacceptable means against another people?"

Mr. Barghouti, a West Bank farmer's son who joined Mr. Arafat's Fatah group when he was 15, was among those who worked with Mr. Arafat on reaching the 1993 Oslo accords, which established Palestinian authority in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967. He was seized by Israeli troops in April 2002, and accused of being one of the principal organizers behind the wave of armed attacks and suicide bombings aimed at Israelis.

At one point, Mr. Barghouti traded barbs with the chief judge, Sara Sirotta, who demanded he stick to the issue at trial. "We are not here for a historical overview," she said. "If it were in our hands, we would issue an injunction for peace."

Mr. Barghouti replied, "Why don't you get up and say, 'I am against the occupation?' "

Israeli officials have denied in recent days that the 43-year-old Mr. Barghouti would be included in a complex prisoner exchange involving Israel, Iran and <u>Hezbollah</u>, the Iran-backed guerrilla group based in Lebanon. Israeli officials have acknowledged negotiating for an exchange that would include freeing hundreds of Palestinians and two Lebanese guerrilla leaders from Israeli jails in return for a kidnapped Israeli businessman and the bodies of three Israeli soldiers.

Mr. Barghouti offered his account of what Palestinians have endured since Israeli troops, seeking to curb the uprising, returned to wide areas of the West Bank and Gaza.

"Occupation ruins the life of an entire people because it is a total negation," Mr. Barghouti said. "It stifles the air that humans breathe. To live under occupation is a life without dignity, without anything. How many <u>women</u> have given birth at checkpoints?" To laughter in the court, he added, "Some even ended up naming their children Machsom,' " a Hebrew word for roadblock.

"We are not tourists in this land," he added. "We have lived here for thousands of years and will continue doing so. There is room for both of us."

If Israelis fail to make peace, Mr. Barghouti suggested, they will find power among Palestinians shifting to others more radical than Mr. Arafat. His list of possible successors included Sheik Ahmed Yassin, the spiritual leader of Hamas, which is considered responsible for many of the suicide bombings against Israelis; Abdel Aziz Rantisi, another senior Hamas leader -- and himself. "Now Yasir Arafat is the leader of the Palestinians, and if not Arafat, then Yassin, and if not Yassin, then Rantisi, and if not Rantisi, then Barghouti," he said.

Mr. Arafat has spent more than 21 months in his headquarters in the West Bank town of Ramallah, trapped by Israeli troops and, recently, under threat of deportation or even assassination by the Israeli government of Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Over the weekend, reports circulated that he was ill with what Palestinian officials variously described as a serious bout of flu and as a stomach ailment. On Sunday night, a Palestinian ambulance arrived at the compound, apparently carrying medications.

Today, Mr. Arafat was visited by his personal physician, Dr. Ashraf al-Kurdi, a Jordanian sent by King Abdullah II of Jordan. Dr. Kurdi pronounced Mr. Arafat "in good health despite living in unhealthy conditions" -- much of the headquarters now lies in rubble, destroyed by Israeli tanks in retaliation for Palestinian attacks for which the Israeli government blamed Mr. Arafat.

#### Palestinian Ends Defense in Murder Trial

Mr. Arafat himself, appearing before reporters for the first time in days, descended the steps slowly and pronounced himself fit. "Our illness is over now, thank God," he said.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photo: Marwan Barghouti leaving court in Tel Aviv yesterday. A top aide to Yasir Arafat, Mr. Barghouti is charged with murder in attacks that killed 26 Israelis in the first 18 months of the three-year-old uprising. (Photo by Getty Images)

Load-Date: September 30, 2003



# <u>A NATION CHALLENGED: TELEVISION; At Arab All-News Channel, Western</u> <u>Values Prevail - Correction Appended</u>

The New York Times
October 12, 2001 Friday
Late Edition - Final

# Correction Appended

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section B; Column 1; Foreign Desk; Pg. 7

Length: 938 words

Byline: By JOHN KIFNER

Dateline: DOHA, Qatar, Oct. 11

### **Body**

"We are a new trend in the Arab world," Ibrahim M. Helal was saying tonight in a corner of the busy newsroom of Al Jazeera, the satellite television channel now known all over the world for broadcasting Osama bin Laden's defiant speech on Sunday. "Using the Western style, we have broken many taboos.

"Of course," added Mr. Helal, 32, the network's chief editor, "we upset most of the other Arab states."

On the back wall of the compact newsroom, a bank of 16 monitors displayed potential feeds -- a Marine general giving a briefing at the Pentagon, a Muslim cleric, an Afghan refugee on a horse riding past a ruined building with a child behind him, President Bush. The journalists at a dozen workstations, equipped with computers that display technical information and story lists in English and scripts in Arabic, included Gulf Arabs in spotless white dishdashas, a Sudanese with a distinctive loose turban, men in casual Western dress and <u>women</u> in pantsuits, their hair uncovered.

"Make sure you courtesy Jazeera," one of the <u>women</u> barked into a cell phone to a Western television network picking up footage from Jalalabad, inside Afghanistan.

Today's major exclusive was from Tayseer Allouni, the station's correspondent in Kandahar, the Taliban headquarters -- the only reporter there -- with videotape of two American warplanes in a clear blue sky bombing the center of the Taliban's operations. The videotape was later shown on CNN.

In a part of the world where news has always been the news the government wants, true or not, Al Jazeera is truly a phenomenon.

Throughout the Arab world, state television typically leads its newscast each night with the doings of the local potentate, frequently stepping off an airplane or waiting on the tarmac, embracing a fellow potentate. This is interspersed with clips of soldiers and tanks charging into mock battle as martial music plays in the background.

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

But Al Jazeera, whose slogan is "The opinion -- the other opinion," is something different. Its guest interviewees have ranged from the former Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, and the longtime Israeli peace advocate Shimon Peres, to the uncompromising militants Sheik Hassan Nasrullah of <u>Hezbollah</u> and Sheik Ahmed Yaseen of Hamas, and even Secretary of State Colin L. Powell.

Like the shortwave radio broadcasts of the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe that helped chip away at the Soviet empire, it is difficult to black out. Satellite dishes jump off the shelves, and even in countries like Iran that forbid them, there is a brisk business in disguising the discs as part of a garden.

The Egyptian novelist Ahdaf Soueif described the importance of Al Jazeera to the Arab world, writing in the British newspaper The Guardian, that "it is the one window through which we can breathe."

He recalled flipping through the channels in a Cairo hotel room and coming upon a station in Arabic with people speaking "in a way I had only ever heard people speak in private -- away from the censorship and the various state security services that dominate our public discourse.

"Within the Arab world, this channel has made censorship of news and opinion pointless," Mr. Soueif wrote.

Al Jazeera was founded in 1996 as the showpiece of the new emir of Qatar, Sheik Hamad bin Khalifa al-Thani, as a symbol of his plans to modernize.

It leaped to prominence in the last year covering the Palestinian intifada, with viewers throughout the Arab world glued to its broadcasts.

Mr. Helal, an Egyptian, who like much of his young staff grew up working for the BBC and absorbing the traditional news values of the West, said that the emir has protected Al Jazeera from political pressures. The station has 35 bureaus around the world and concentrates unabashededly on such forbidden topics as the absence of democratic institutions, the persecution of political dissidents and the inequality of <u>women</u>.

"Objectivity is our aim," Mr. Halel said.

"But in this part of the world it is very difficult. Some countries, like Egypt and Jordan, that are considered very advanced, the authorities are trying to enforce their point of view. Even receiving reports from Syria or Iraq is almost impossible.

In 1997, when Hafez al-Assad of Syria was elected for the fourth time in an a election in which he won by an official count of 99.9 percent, the station refused to accept the Syrian government's own text. "No way," Mr. Halel said. "Even our own correspondent, she couldn't touch the story. We did it in the studio.

"I mean, he had his negatives," Mr. Halel said of the Syrian ruler. "He lost the Golan Heights and he killed 20,000 people in one of his own cities."

In situations like these, he said, the technique was to protect the reporter in the field by not pressing hostile questions, but rather by restoring balance through narrative in the studio or by presenting critical guests, a strategy often used by mainstream Western news media.

Responding to criticism by Secretary of State Powell that Al Jazeera was broadcasting propaganda, Mr. Halel said: "We learned free speech in America. How can you ask us to hinder it? If we interfere between information and our audience, it is the start of our end."

Asked about Mr. bin Laden's dramatic appearance on Sunday, Mr. Halel first noted that Al Jazeera, alone among Arab stations, had earlier broadcast interviews with Ahmed Shah Massoud, a bin Laden rival. Massoud of the rebel Northern Alliance, was assassinated shortly before the attacks on the United States.

"It was very important to see his account of Sept. 11," Mr. Halel said of Mr. bin Laden's statement. "It was his firstever comment."

#### http://www.nytimes.com

### Correction

An article yesterday about Al Jazeera, the Arab all-news satellite television channel, referred incorrectly to an Egyptian novelist who described its importance in the Arab world. The novelist, Ahdaf Soueif, is a woman.

Correction-Date: October 13, 2001

# **Graphic**

Photo: The newsroom at Al Jazeera, the satellite news channel based in Doha, Qatar. Its uncensored reports make it a respected voice in the Arab world. (Agence France-Presse)

Load-Date: October 12, 2001



# CONNECTIONS; A Gap Between Cultures Crying Out for a Bridge

The New York Times
July 20, 2002 Saturday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section B; Column 1; Arts & Ideas/Cultural Desk; Pg. 9

Length: 1087 words

Byline: By Edward Rothstein

### **Body**

Before children are martyred in the Iranian Ta'ziyeh dramas at the Lincoln Center Festival (the last performances are tonight and tomorrow night), they are stripped half naked. Villains then grab them from behind, lift them off the ground and slit their throats. The children's arms flail. Blood pours. Their bodies shake with spastic tremors and drop to the ground.

Martyrdom is one of the themes of Ta'ziyeh, which Peter J. Chelkowski, a professor of Middle East studies at New York University, has called "the only indigenous drama engendered by the world of Islam." Adult martyrs, garbed in white tunics before certain slaughter, seem less vulnerable, but their deaths can be no less grotesque.

In "The Ta'ziyeh of Imam Hussein," for example, the revered hero is decapitated, an event that, judging from descriptions of performances in Iran, is meant to be horrific, inspiring religious audiences to cry out in despair. Such scenes of death and dismemberment may be the only times when dramatic realism matters in Ta'ziyeh drama.

At Lincoln Center there were, of course, no demonstrative cries from the audience; even the severed head was decorously sanitized, appearing as a bloodless cloth sack. In fact, the strangest part of seeing these plays was to see them received with Western decorum.

One theme of the Lincoln Center Festival has been the interaction of cultures, and it was with that in mind that the festival's director, Nigel Redden, arranged, before last September's attacks, to stage these plays. Intervening events have made the theme still more urgent. But the results showed how many pitfalls there can be in such interactions and how often good intentions miss the point.

The first impulse is to make non-Western drama comprehensible by comparing it to the West's. And strong parallels were evident with medieval Passion plays, with bloody Baroque dramas or with Brechtian stagecraft. Lincoln Center provided a symbolic glossary: the good guys wear green and white, the villains red. Heroes sing mellifluous chant; villains speak; <u>women</u> are played by heavily veiled men. The festival also included Western-style apparatus: lectures, a photo exhibition, a symposium and, on Wednesday, a discussion of aesthetic issues with Susan Sontag and the playwright Tony Kushner.

But at times it seemed as if the impulse was not just to comprehend, but to minimize differences, to find liberal universalism in these folk-religious dramas. Mr. Kushner, for example, thought the plays revealed "a culture that adores children." The plays' director, Mohammad Ghaffari, asserted in a recent interview with The New York Times, that one drama ended with "a powerful statement against war in all its forms." Mr. Redden even explained that the

#### CONNECTIONS A Gap Between Cultures Crying Out for a Bridge

reason English translations were not provided for the Persian texts was to preserve the immediacy of the dramatic experience.

Without any translation, though, the plays could well have been versions of "Cape Fear." Indeed, after stripping away their religious meanings, their social context and their ritualistic settings, almost nothing was left other than undistinguished melodramas spiced by intriguing melismas and mediocre town-band-style accompaniments.

The scholars' accounts in Mr. Chelkowski's 1979 anthology, "Ta'ziyeh: Ritual and Drama in Iran," suggest something very different. The Ta'ziyeh dramas -- there are perhaps 200 extant -- are related to a battle that was the founding trauma of Shiite Islam. About 70 Shiite followers of Hussein, Muhammad's grandson, were massacred by the Sunni caliph in 680 A.D. The men were cut to bits. **Women** and children were taken captive. One Islamic historian wrote that "nobody in the history of the human kind has seen such atrocities."

These martyrdoms became the focus of annual Shiite processions and commemorations, sometimes including what one scholar has described as "living tableaux of butchered martyrs stained with blood." Worshippers would often beat their heads with sharp swords. "One had to stand back to avoid the blood, which spurted in all directions," wrote an observer in Istanbul in 1877.

Ta'ziyeh evolved as a more ceremonial dramatization of these events, but the religious urgency remained. In fact, Mr. Chelkowski has argued, Ta'ziyeh's tales of Hussein's martyrdom are so culturally powerful that they were regularly invoked during the Iranian revolution. Michel M. Mazzaoui, who teaches Persian studies at the University of Utah, has pointed out that in the Shiite community of Lebanon (out of which the terrorist group <u>Hezbollah</u> has arisen) a connection was established between Hussein's martyrdom and "the tragic fate of the Palestinians," while Hussein's arch-enemies became associated with "the alien Zionist movement."

Believers, that is, have regularly made metaphorical connections, using the genre's accounts of martyrdom and religious war to strengthen beliefs and spur action. But that is precisely why these plays are also so disturbing. The welcoming of martyrdom -- in two plays the children actually seem to seek it -- and the promises of paradise for slaughtered innocents uncannily prefigure the cult of martyrdom that now defines Islamic terror, with its photos of white-garbed children in suicide belts, the purification rites of the Al Qaeda hijackers or celebratory tableaus like the diorama of blown-apart bodies exhibited at a Palestinian university in September.

Of course, this is not a matter of cause and effect. The Shiites are, after all, a Muslim minority. Martyrdom is complex and important to most religious traditions. Other interpretations of these plays are possible. The glories of Persian poetry and music may also be latent in these folk dramas, even if they couldn't be sensed at Lincoln Center.

But one impulse in 21st-century New York is to try to look beyond these plays' most obvious meanings and to find others -- to earnestly seek hints of cultural sensitivity and universalism in dramas whose concerns lie elsewhere, or even to suggest that tragic portrayals of martyrdom are statements "against war in all its forms" when they are clearly statements against war in just one of its forms: war waged against the faithful.

Common ground will be found elsewhere. But it is a mistake to strip away religious substance, to leave texts untranslated and to minimize differences just to make the plays seem less discomforting. Such efforts, whether they cultural or in political, mean that in a meeting of cultures, the cultures are not actually allowed to meet.

http://www.nytimes.com

# Graphic

# CONNECTIONS A Gap Between Cultures Crying Out for a Bridge

Photo: In the Persian Ta'ziyeh plays at Lincoln Center Festival 2002, boys are martyred in stylized fashion. (Michael Nagle/The New York Times)

Load-Date: July 20, 2002



# Arafat and the other side of the Mideast equation

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

July 5, 2002 Friday Final Edition

Copyright 2002 Metroland Media Group Ltd **Section:** FORUM; Pg. A11; Opinion

Length: 1042 words

Byline: Harold Pomerantz

# **Body**

Since Community Editorial Board columnist J. S. Porter believes in numbers (Mideast numbers more trustworthy, June 26), let me try a few on him.

According to the most recent statistics, Palestinians have murdered 559 Israelis since Sept. 29, 2000, including 235 by suicide bombings. In addition 4,206 Israelis have been wounded, many of them maimed for life. These statistics if applied proportionally to Canada's population, would mean over 3,000 dead and 24,000 wounded. What would Canadians demand of their prime minister if we were attacked in shopping centres and restaurants, if suicide bombers blew up our buses and trains and if Canadians became targets of drive-by shootings? We certainly would not be talking of peace.

The Hamilton Spectator

In 1993, Yasser Arafat was brought out of exile to lead the Palestinians. Arafat's security force would put an end to terrorism and bring about a true peace. Instead, every single promise Arafat made under the Oslo Accords was broken. He was to renounce terrorism, use his police force to control violence and recognize the right of the state of Israel to exist. In September 2000, Arafat was offered a peace settlement of over 95 per cent of the West Bank and Gaza, a capital in East Jerusalem, control over Muslim holy sites and compensation for refugees who would be resettled in the new Palestinian territory. Arafat turned down the proposal because he would have had to make peace with Israel, and that was something he could not do. Arafat has been fighting Israelis for over 30 years and he isn't about to stop now.

Since 1993, over 90 per cent of the Palestinian people have lived under the Palestinian Authority. If their dreams have been crushed, blame Arafat. Billions of dollars flowed into the Palestinian territory from the United States, the European Community and even Israel. The money that was to be used to build infrastructure and schools, and create jobs was sent to Swiss banks, used to buy weapons and pay for terrorist armies. The terrorist organizations of Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u> were joined by Arafat's own band of terrorists, the al Aqsa Brigades and Tanzim with the aim to murder as many Jews as possible. While deploring the actions of the suicide bombers to the English-speaking world, in Arabic he praised their martyrdom.

Porter is quick to criticize Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon. Everything Sharon does in the Palestinian territory is a reaction to the terrorist attacks on Israeli citizens. The first duty of a prime minister is to protect his people. When Arafat refused to move against the terrorists, Sharon had to. I believe the Israelis have shown remarkable restraint in dealing with the Palestinians. Porter has already acknowledged the superior firepower of the Israeli army; they could have inflicted heavy casualties on the Palestinians had they desired to do so.

#### Arafat and the other side of the Mideast equation

Sharon doesn't have to keep labelling Arafat a terrorist. He is a terrorist and he supports terrorism. It is Arafat who was responsible for the Munich massacre of Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics. It was Arafat who made airplane hijacking a popular sport among terrorists. When it comes to blowing up buses and schools or murdering diplomats, Arafat can say, "been there, done that." It was Arafat who taught Osama bin Laden everything there is to know about terrorism.

There are five million Jews in Israel. There are 200 million Arabs in 21 countries in the Middle East who want to destroy them. Porter writes, " ... even a united Arab military force would be the equivalent of a fly attacking an elephant." Who is the fly and who is the elephant?

Although the Arab states have said they will recognize Israel's right to exist, it is difficult to make peace with people when their religious leaders call for the murder of Jews everywhere, when their children are taught in the schools that Jews are the offspring of apes and pigs, when newspapers print stories of how Jews kill Muslim and Christian children for their blood which they say is needed to celebrate Jewish festivals. The worst anti-Semitism since Nazi Germany flows out of the Arab countries.

While Israel does receive significant economic and military aid from the United States, the Arab countries receive just as much. If the Palestinians need more aid, why don't they get it from their rich brothers in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait? They will write cheques to the families of the suicide bombers, but contribute nothing for economic aid to their poor relatives they say they love so dearly.

Just think of the kind of murder and mayhem the Palestinians could produce if they had Israel's army and military equipment. Is there any doubt of how they would use it? If suicide bombers kill Israeli <u>women</u> and children today, just think of what they could do with planes, tanks and helicopters. The Palestinians are waging war against Israel. They are just not very well armed.

As long as terrorists from Palestinian territory are attacking Israel, an independent Palestinian state, even a provisional one, cannot be created. An independent state would be allowed to purchase arms openly and enter into treaties with avowed enemies of Israel such as Iran, Iraq and Syria. These countries could arm an independent Palestinian state with weapons of war that could attack the major centres of Israel. An independent state would provide a haven for terrorists and it would be difficult for Israel to pursue them without incurring the wrath of the United Nations for invading a sovereign country. For now, two countries living peacefully side by side is the dream of people like Porter, who live in another world, not in ours.

Throughout his article, Porter offered not one criticism of anything ever done by Arafat or the Palestinian people. When the evidence to the contrary is right before his eyes, he refuses to see. Because the Palestinians are poorly equipped to wage war, he tries to justify the suicide bombings and therefore the murder of innocent <u>women</u> and children. In the face of overwhelming opposition, the Israelis fight for their survival. Perhaps Porter reads too much Chomsky and Lerner and should look to other sources than the Guardian for the real truth about the situation in the Middle East.

Harold Pomerantz lives in Dundas.

Load-Date: July 5, 2002



# Marching as to War

The New York Times
May 12, 2002 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section 7; Column 3; Book Review Desk; Pg. 16

Length: 1097 words

Byline: By R. Scott Appleby; R. Scott Appleby, a professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, is the

author of "The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation."

# **Body**

THE NEXT CHRISTENDOM

The Coming of Global Christianity.

By Philip Jenkins.

270 pp. New York:

Oxford University Press. \$28.

MARK your calendar. By the year 2050 six nations -- Brazil, Mexico, the Philippines, Nigeria, Congo and the United States -- will each have 100 million Christians or more. Sub-Saharan Africa will have long displaced Europe as the leading center of Christianity, while Brazil will count 150 million Catholics and 40 million Protestants. And more than one billion Pentecostals, the poorest of the poor, will be spreading their distinctive brand of Christian supernaturalism.

Across the Southern Hemisphere a new wave of nondemocratic states with theocratic pretensions, some of them openly repressive, will compete for regional dominance. When they are not fighting among themselves, these Christian regimes will unite against their common foe, Islam. In 2050, almost 20 of the 25 largest nations will be predominantly or entirely Christian or Muslim; at least 10 will be the sites of intense conflict.

Although Christians will continue to outnumber Muslims, Islam may have the upper hand in the third-world wars. The deciding factor may well be the support provided to oil-producing Muslim regimes by the nations of the industrialized North, whose sentimental attachment to Christianity will be outweighed by economic considerations. Extremists in both religions, meanwhile, will continue to guarantee the absence in the South of <u>women</u>'s rights, freedom of worship and other misbegotten ideas of the secular North, even as Asia and Africa develop significant military capacity, perhaps based on chemical or biological weapons. The coming havoc, in short, will make the bloody religious wars of the 16th century look like calisthenics.

These startling and gloomy predictions are served up in "The Next Christendom," by Philip Jenkins, a budding futurist who, having written on pedophiles and priests and on mystics and messiahs, knows disasters in the making when he sees them. A professor of history and religious studies at Penn State, he sketches the contours of a new Christendom emerging from the convergence of third-world demographic explosion, Muslim and Christian missionary zeal and the hunger of millions of newly urban poor for supernatural deliverance.

#### Marching as to War

Jenkins's forecasts are no less arresting for their occasional flirtation with the absurd -- he would be the first to caution that they may not all be borne out. He must now also be aware that seemingly innocuous events, which could hardly be described as trends, can nonetheless trigger seismic change. (Indeed, Jenkins's earlier research on sexual scandal in the Roman Catholic Church seemed wise in playing down the impact of priestly pedophilia by placing it in comparative context. But his findings did not predict -- could not have predicted -- that a few isolated cases would lead, as they have, to a wider scandal of priestly misconduct and episcopal malfeasance that has significantly weakened the moral authority of the church in the United States.)

Jenkins's more sensational futurist predictions aside, the general scenario is rooted in well-documented demographic, religious and political trends. Already in Nigeria and Sudan, in Indonesia and the Philippines, in Brazil and Guatemala, we can witness the deleterious effects of rapidly growing factions competing for converts, struggling for political power, inciting persecution and striving to legislate and enforce laws drawn from their sacred precepts.

Al Qaeda, the Taliban, Hamas, <u>Hezbollah</u> and dozens of other violent jihadi networks notwithstanding, Islam will not corner the market on religious extremism. Jenkins, if not fully sympathetic to the emerging Christian order, is at least respectful of the right of Christians to remake themselves -- or, as others would say, to manipulate and distort their heritage in much the same way that some Muslims, Hindus, Jews and even Buddhists have ransacked their traditions to legitimize intolerance against outsiders. He argues persuasively that the issues now confronting the Muslim world -- the allure of theocracy as a way of securing political dominance; the rights of minorities; and the penalties for conversion out of the dominant tradition -- will divide and transform the Christian world as well.

The new world of the South will not conform to the vision of liberation theology or other movements for radical restructuring in developing nations that many European and American liberals still cherish. As Jenkins remarks, quoting one writer on Brazilian religion, " 'the Catholic Church has chosen the poor, but the poor choose the Pentecostals,' and the choice rankles." Indeed, Pentecostalism does seem to be the wave of the Christian future. Born early in the 20th century, this Spirit-filled movement, emphasizing the power of personal faith, biblical literalism, visions and prophecy, numbers hundreds of millions of souls in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Its ministers are homegrown products, not seminary-trained missionaries. Apocalyptic visions of extrahistorical justice are more than plausible in societies colored by violence and life-threatening diseases like AIDS. Reliance on faith healers and shamans is also healthier than mounting revolution.

None of this bodes particularly well for Northern Christians. Black missionaries from the Anglican communities of Africa may be inspired to mount huge missionary crusades to re-evangelize the white, affluent "pagans" of England. And the Catholic Church, faced with huge losses to the people-friendly Pentecostals and new indigenous churches, might soon regret its policy of robbing Africa and Latin America of their already inadequate supplies of priests to serve the relatively priest-rich United States.

What to make of all this? Statistics are the stock in trade of futurists, and Jenkins adopts the somewhat dubious methods of these secular prophets: he ventures to predict the future by extrapolating current social chaos and catastrophes on roughly the same scale as population is projected to increase. In the case of third-world Christianity and Islam, more is worse.

Perhaps. But Jenkins is to be commended for reminding us, throughout the often gripping pages of this lively work of synthesis, that the history of Christianity is the history of innovative -- and unpredictable -- adaptations. Those who hope for a future more pacific than the one sketched here might take some comfort in the integrity and autonomy of faith, which is always shaped but never fully determined by social and cultural pressures.

http://www.nytimes.com

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



# Iran's Volatile Experiment: Voters Elect to Proceed

The New York Times
June 10, 2001 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2001 The New York Times Company

Section: Section 1; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

Length: 1061 words

Byline: By ELAINE SCIOLINO

### **Body**

The extraordinary voter turnout and landslide victory for President Mohammad Khatami of Iran illustrates that no matter what his failures, the vast majority of the Iranian electorate believes it still has both a stake in Iran's electoral system and at least some hope for his vision of reform.

Just a week before the election, it seemed as if Iranians might register their frustration with Mr. Khatami's inability to fulfill his promise to create a law-based civil society by simply staying home on Election Day. In fact, the only real political debate during the campaign was not over the troubled economy or the episodic imprisonment of political activists but over whether or not to vote.

Those who advocated a boycott argued that a low turnout would register voter unhappiness with Mr. Khatami, a midlevel cleric who has been thwarted in his efforts to carry out changes, and would eventually weaken the Islamic Republic, where conservative clerics hold the real power and want to preserve their rigid interpretation of an Islamic state.

Those who advocated voting insisted that re-electing Mr. Khatami with an even larger margin than he received in his upset victory four years ago was the only way to strengthen the reform movement.

The surprise in Friday's vote was the enormous last-minute participation and, apparently, an even larger margin of victory this time for Mr. Khatami, whose landslide triumph in 1997 dramatically changed the character and the significance of the electoral process in Iran. For the first time since the revolution, he offered voters an alternative vision of what an Islamic state could be: a more tolerant and participatory system with a fair judicial process, a freer press and more opportunities for young people and <u>women</u>.

The unexpected turnout on Friday once again illustrated the spontaneity, even volatility, of Iran's political system. "It's the volatility of a lively democratic environment," said Farideh Farhi, a political scientist and an author, "and by that I mean the conversation and the politics of persuasion that is taking place among the people. That makes the political situation very, very fluid."

On Friday, Mr. Khatami said his goal was to merge independence, freedom and progress with Iran's Islamic identity. And indeed, Iranians today are experimenting with two volatile chemicals -- Islam and democracy -- not only in politics but also in the press, the cinema, the bazaar, the mosques, the universities and the streets.

#### Iran 's Volatile Experiment: Voters Elect to Proceed

The stakes are high, as evidenced by the powerful backlash unleashed by the ruling conservative clerical establishment against Mr. Khatami's initiatives and the unpredictable repression carried out in the name of Islam.

These experiments were inevitable. Mr. Khatami's election in 1997 exposed fault lines that were present at the creation of the Islamic Republic. "Islamic" implies the rule of God according to the Koran; "republic" means the rule of the people. Arguments among the framers of Iran's Islamic Constitution over issues like secular and Islamic law and the distribution of power between the president and the Parliament were so fierce that they wrote a Constitution that simply incorporated all the contradictions.

The entire government -- with a president, an elected Parliament and a judiciary -- was put inside a theocratic structure whose ultimate authority was a "supreme leader" -- a cleric who controlled the state's enforcement machinery, the police and the military. But Shiite Islam is not very hierarchical, and its clergymen are required to use their judgment on any given issue. So the role of the clerics is to advise and debate -- but not necessarily to govern.

But govern they have done. The question now is the extent to which the conservatives will heed the message of the people in Friday's election and allow political and social changes to proceed.

Already there is concern within the Islamic Iran Participation Front, the leading political reform movement, that too big a win for Mr. Khatami could backfire. They fear the same sort of backlash from the right that marked the aftermath of last year's parliamentary election. Then, voters endorsed Mr. Khatami's program, but Saeed Hajjarian, an intellectual pillar of the reform movement, was shot and wounded by two unknown assailants.

Allies of Mr. Khatami emphasize that given the strength of the opposition, reform in the Islamic Republic will come only very slowly.

"When foreign journalists see me, they ask why hasn't anything changed dramatically in Iran," said Mohammad-Ali Abtahi, Mr. Khatami's chief of staff. "I tell them that democracy has existed in your countries for more than a hundred years. We have just started this path."

In this murky political environment, even Mr. Khatami's landslide is unlikely to translate into changes in American policy toward Iran. Initially, at least some in the Bush administration had hoped Iran's presidential election would reveal important trends that could be built on to refine American policy.

In his Senate confirmation hearings in January, Secretary of State Colin L. Powell called Iran "an important country undergoing profound change from within," adding that the Bush administration would be reviewing the possibility of "greater interaction, whether in more normal commerce or increased dialogue."

Echoing that line of thinking on Friday, a State Department spokesman, Richard Boucher, said the large turnout in the Iranian presidential election seemed to indicate that "there's a great desire for freedom, for openness, for the rule of law, for the better lives for the Iranian people and their children."

But the Bush administration makes a distinction between Iran's ability to hold relatively open elections and what it defines as its unacceptable behavior.

President Bush has said that his real intent in building a national missile defense, for example, is to intercept an accidental launching of one or two nuclear weapons or to deprive "some nation like Iran to eventually say to us, 'And we've got one aimed at Israel.' "

The State Department recently branded Iran the world's most active state sponsor of terrorism because of its support for the Lebanese Shiite militia <u>Hezbollah</u> and militant anti-Israel Palestinian groups. Mr. Bush said in April that he did not envision lifting economic sanctions against Iran "any time soon."

Load-Date: June 10, 2001



# Mideast Parley Takes Ugly Turn At Columbia U.

New York Sun (Archive) February 4, 2005 Friday

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Section: FRONT PAGE; Pg. 1

Length: 1114 words

**Byline:** By SOL STERN and FRED SIEGEL, Special to the SunSol Stern is writing "Israel without Apology" for Encounter Books. Fred Siegel is the author of the forthcoming "Prince of the City: Giuliani, New York, and the

Genius of American Life," also from Encounter Books.

# **Body**

You might think that Columbia University would be on its best academic behavior on the issue of the Middle East conflict these days. After all, several professors in the Department of Middle Eastern Languages and Cultures, known as MEALAC, are credibly accused of anti-Semitism and intimidating pro-Israel students. The university's president, Lee Bollinger, has appointed a committee to look into the charges. But even with the media spotlight on, Columbia apparently can't help itself.

Last Monday night we attended a university panel on the Middle East conflict titled "One State or Two? Alternative Proposals for Middle East Peace." Even the panel's title was a giveaway that we were in for more anti-Israel bias on campus. The "one state" solution is a euphemism for the destruction of the Jewish state - a trope of the most extreme rejectionist elements within the Palestinian movement and their allies in Syria and Iran. Terrorist groups such as Hamas and <u>Hezbollah</u> want to create an Islamic Republic in place of Israel. A few splinter Marxist groups such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, founded by George Habash, offer the Jews a solution that's far more "progressive." They murder innocents merely to replace Israel with a "secular democratic" Palestine.

The scene at Columbia, with Spartacists handing out literature outside the packed auditorium and proponents of Palestinian military victory in the vast majority, was wildly at odds with the hopeful development on the ground, where Messrs. Sharon and Abbas are now scheduled to meet. One of the panelists was Mark Cohen, a Princeton historian of medieval Islam. He gave a measured scholarly presentation on the subject of Arab Muslim anti-Semitism, insisting that attacks on Jews in the Koran had little to do with hostility to Jews. It's a debatable proposition. But professor Cohen never even engaged the issue at hand. He largely served as a prop for the ranting to follow.

Rashid Khalidi, a Columbia professor whose recent book argues that Yasser Arafat was right to reject the best peace deal he had ever been offered, opening the way to four years of bloodshed, presented a tendentious argument for a one-state solution that strained to stay within the bounds of reasoned discourse.

Then Joseph Massad took the floor, and the floodgates of hatred opened wide. Mr. Massad is one of the MEALAC professors accused of demanding of one Israeli student, "How many Palestinians did you kill today?" At the forum, he used the phrase "racist Israeli state" more than two dozen times. He used seemingly universalist language of anti-racism to drive a fascist argument. Mr. Massad is so extreme that he argued that Arafat was in effect an Israeli collaborator for even talking about compromise.

#### Mideast Parley Takes Ugly Turn At Columbia U.

Whatever can be said of this rant, its "academic" content was hard to discern. But to judge by the applause he received, Mr. Massad was the star of the evening. Obviously, Mr. Massad, an acolyte of the dear departed George Habash, isn't worried about President Bollinger's panel, which includes three professors who have signed petitions demanding that all universities divest from Israel.

The final act of hatred came from the Israeli quisling "historian" Ilan Pappe, who has stated openly that his so-called scholarly work is an attempt to create a counter narrative to official Zionist historiography and to undermine the international legitimacy of the state of Israel. He bizarrely insisted that the destruction of Israel would pave the way for enhanced rights for <u>women</u>, and the feminist students in the audience cheered.

Instead of providing an alternative to hatred and extremism from both sides, this panel was a hate-fest masquerading as academic discourse. And this was no aberration attributable only to one misguided student group. In addition to Qanun, a Columbia Law School student group, the panel was cosponsored by the university chaplain, the Student Senate, and two of Columbia's most prestigious academic affiliates: the Middle East Institute, headed by professor Khalidi, and the School of International and Public Affairs. SIPA's dean, Lisa Anderson, was appointed by Mr. Bollinger to the committee looking into the charges against professor Massad - whose dissertation adviser she was.

Coming away from Monday night's hate panel and then looking at this tangled web of conflicts of interest within the university, we realized that the issue of misconduct in the classroom by one or two professors, important though it is, is dwarfed by a more fundamental question: How did a great institution of higher learning allow itself to be transformed into a platform for vicious political propaganda and hate speech directed against one country, Israel?

Surely one crucial moment in this transformation was Columbia's decision to raise \$4 million - including a contribution from the United Arab Emirates - to create the Edward Said endowed chair in Arab studies, and then to give the prize to professor Khalidi. We don't doubt that Mr. Khalidi has academic credentials. Compared to professors Massad and Pappe, he is a model of decorum and moderation. But when Columbia academic officials made this choice they knew they were getting a Palestinian political activist. From 1976 to 1982, Mr. Khalidi was a director in Beirut of the official Palestinian press agency, WAFA. Later he served on the PLO "guidance committee" at the Madrid peace conference.

In bringing professor Khalidi to Morningside Heights from the University of Chicago, Columbia also got itself a twofer of Palestinian activism and advocacy. Mr. Khalidi's wife, Mona, who also served in Beirut as chief editor of the English section of the WAFA press agency, was hired as dean of foreign students at Columbia's SIPA, working under Dean Anderson. In Chicago, the Khalidis founded the Arab American Action Network, and Mona Khalidi served as its president. A big farewell dinner was held in their honor by AAAN with a commemorative book filled with testimonials from their friends and political allies. These included the left wing anti-war group Not In My Name, the Electronic Intifada, and the ex-Weatherman domestic terrorists Bernadine Dohrn and Bill Ayers. (There were also testimonials from then-state Senator Barack Obama and the mayor of Chicago.)

The message sent by Columbia University officials by this choice was that they were determined to honor the memory of Edward Said by continuing to have radical Palestinian activism on campus. That's what they now have in spades. The question is whether it's now possible within the university's public space to even make an argument for the only democratic country in the Middle East.

Load-Date: February 4, 2005



# Israeli troops to withdraw; Soldiers to vacate West Bank except Bethlehem, Ramallah

Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada)

April 16, 2002 Tuesday Final Edition

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Byline: James Bennet

Dateline: JERUSALEM

# **Body**

Israel arrested a top leader of Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, its biggest catch in the West Bank offensive, accusing him of planning and financing terrorist attacks while masquerading as a politician without a military role.

Hours later, Prime Minister Ariel Sharon said Israeli forces would withdraw within a week from Jenin and Nablus, the two West Bank cities with the fiercest fighting. He said in an interview with CNN last night that Israeli troops would be out of Jenin "in a matter ... of days."

Meanwhile, the United Nations' top human rights body voted overwhelmingly yesterday to criticize Israel for what it called "mass killings" during military operations in the West Bank and called for Israel to withdraw its forces. New York Times News Service

The resolution was introduced by Pakistan and co-sponsored by 11 other members among the 53 nations on the human rights commission, including China and Cuba, and gained European support as well.

It "strongly condemns" Israel for "the war launched by the Israeli army against Palestinian towns and camps, which has resulted so far in the death of hundreds of Palestinian civilians, including *women* and children."

But in continued defiance of U.S.-led demands that the military operation end, Sharon said that Israeli forces would remain in Bethlehem and Ramallah until they succeeded in capturing or exiling wanted men whom they had trapped in each city. He made clear that Israel would not negotiate a peace agreement with Arafat, the Palestinian leader.

Sharon said yesterday's capture in Ramallah of the Fatah leader, Marwan Barghouti, was evidence of the value of the Israeli mission.

Palestinians insist that Barghouti is a politician and not a military man. They warned that his arrest was likely to provoke more violence.

The arrest deprived Arafat of a trusted lieutenant while further complicating Secretary of State Colin Powell's effort to arrange a truce here after more than 18 months of fighting.

Sharon said that Israel would try Barghouti, who was brought to Jerusalem for interrogation.

The arc of Barghouti's career, from Israeli prisoner to peace advocate to supporter of the conflict to Israeli prisoner once again, tracks the rise and collapse of hopes for peace between Israelis and Palestinians.

Once popular with Israeli officials, Barghouti is largely regarded in Israel now simply as a terrorist. Binyamin Ben-Eliezer, the defence minister, accused Barghouti of turning Fatah's militia into "the most murderous of the terrorist organizations, committing most of the recent attacks against Israel."

He was referring to Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, a Fatah group that the Bush administration recently added to its list of foreign terrorist organizations.

Members of the group have said that they respect Barghouti, as they do Arafat, but do not act on their orders in conducting attacks.

For Palestinians, Barghouti, 41, a canny, charismatic man with a compact build and an easy smile, has become a popular leader of a fight for freedom, and even a potential successor to Arafat.

Yesterday, Powell flew to Beirut and Damascus before returning here, in a bid to calm Israel's tense northern border. There, rocket and missile attacks by <u>Hezbollah</u>, the Lebanese militant group, have threatened to widen the conflict.

Powell has been stymied so far in his pursuit of a ceasefire. While Sharon says the Israeli military mission is necessary because Arafat has failed to act against violence, Arafat says he cannot act while the operation is under way.

Powell plans to meet with Sharon today and with Arafat tomorrow.

Powell said yesterday that he was exploring Sharon's proposal for a regional summit meeting. Sharon has said that Arafat would not be welcome at such a meeting. To dodge that potential obstacle, Powell said that the meeting could be held at the ministerial level.

The Israeli army has pulled out of some of the areas it invaded in the 17-day offensive, but it has continued moving into new areas as well. Yesterday, Israeli troops entered two villages near Bethlehem, arresting 18 Palestinians before departing. Israeli forces have rounded up thousands of Palestinian men in the operation, screening them for suspected militants. The Israelis have also imposed 24-hour curfews on entire cities, threatening those who step outside with sniper fire.

Major-General Amos Gilad, who coordinates military operations in the West Bank and Gaza, said that curfews remained necessary "to prevent terrorists from going to Israel."

Fighting has eased in the West Bank as Palestinian resistance has all but collapsed. Sharon has offered a deal to about 200 Palestinian gunmen believed to be holed up in the Church of the Nativity, in Bethlehem's Manger Square.

If they surrender, those who are wanted men among them may either be tried in Israel or go into exile.

Two Palestinian policemen left the church and surrendered yesterday. One of them had been seriously wounded and the other was said to be ill, the Israeli army said.

A similar standoff has unfolded in Ramallah, where Sharon says that Palestinians involved in killing Israel's tourism minister last October are hiding in Arafat's office, encircled by Israeli soldiers and tanks. Sharon has demanded that the men be turned over before Israeli troops leave Ramallah.

In Jenin yesterday, aid workers and medics gained access to the refugee camp, the scene of the most ferocious fighting of the operation. Sharon rejected as "a lie" the Palestinian accusation of a massacre in the camp, where the number of dead has not been tallied.

Israeli troops to withdraw; Soldiers to vacate West Bank except Bethlehem, Ramallah

"Every democracy, every army would have been very, very proud of the behaviour" of Israeli soldiers in Jenin, he told CNN.

But what Israel did in Jenin has enraged Palestinians, as did the arrest yesterday of Barghouti, who has repeatedly said that he supported attacks on Israeli soldiers and settlers in the West Bank and Gaza, the lands Israel occupied in the 1967 war. He has said he opposed attacks on civilians inside pre-1967 Israel.

Barghouti was arrested and tortured by Israel in the 1970s, and then was deported. He returned in the mid-1980s to become a student leader at Bir Zeit University in Ramallah, before being deported again for his activism there. He eventually returned to the West Bank as a Palestinian legislator and advocate of the Oslo peace process, and he met regularly with Israeli and American officials.

Along the way, Barghouti developed fluent Hebrew and English, together with political sophistication and a growing following among Palestinians who regarded him as advocate of democracy and an alternative to corrupt, aging officials around Arafat.

Load-Date: April 16, 2002



# On the Tashkent front line, Bush's new best friend

#### The Australian

October 1, 2001, Monday

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Section: LOCAL; Pg. 1

Length: 1028 words

Byline: Lynne O'Donnell

# **Body**

#### **Tashkent**

OBLIVIOUS to the gathering storm, long-legged schoolgirls in blue tunics stroll past the detritus of the Soviet era. Broken-down Ladas and Zuls punctuate row upon row of shabby blond-brick buildings. Young soldiers drill in the harsh afternoon light, barely noticed by a group of passing <u>women</u>, their hair scorched from overuse of dye. The golden steppe rolls towards the horizon, where military supply trucks trundle past tanks kicking up dust on low rises.

This vast country at the heart of Central Asia, on Afghanistan's northern flank, is preparing for war; Uzbekistan is George W. Bush's new best friend, the base camp for his war on terrorism.

MATP

Islam Karimov, who rules from a blue-domed palace in Tashkent, has become a crucial linchpin, quietly pledging his country as the logistical front line.

Karimov's promise has touched off a military build-up in Chirchik, an hour's drive from Tashkent. Here, soldiers in desert fatigues and slouch hats jog in formation past vast parking lots filled with helicopters and fighter jets. US surveillance planes take off and fly south. Huge supply convoys arrive daily. And it was here that US Under-Secretary of State John Bolton met government leaders behind closed doors at the weekend.

Practically alone among Central Asian leaders, Karimov has struck out from Russian vassaldom to embrace the US war on terrorism as a crusade of his own.

But it is difficult to fathom how much support he has among his mainly Muslim population of 24 million. The notion that their country might soon, and for the second time, become embroiled in a

Continued -- Page 10

From Page 1

vicious campaign against an elusive enemy in hostile terrain has not yet intruded on the everyday cares of Uzbeks.

The average man in the street knows little of Karimov's emerging alliance with Washington. Those who do, know better than to criticise the former communist leader, who dates from the Soviet period and has maintained the old state apparatus for controlling the country.

#### On the Tashkent front line, Bush's new best friend

As the US steps up deployment, the Uzbek people are likely to be told as much by their Government as they were when the Russians pushed through this country on their way to a humiliating 10-year attempt to subdue the warriors of the bleak valleys of Afghanistan. Tight control of the media has ensured ordinary people have only been given the barest details of the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington.

Altruism is not the guiding hand in Karimov's generosity to Bush. Uzbekistan is in the grip of a religious revival, like most of Central Asia since the region was cut loose from the Soviet Union. Today, according to the assistant imam of one of Tashkent's biggest houses of worship, the 700-year-old Kukcha mosque, 1700 mosques dot the capital, compared with fewer than 80 a decade ago.

The revival has brought problems for Karimov, as it has for most of Central Asia. He has been forced into security pacts with neighbours, including China, in what until now has been a low-level war against Islamic extremism within his borders. Now he will use the prospect of a guerilla-style terrorist campaign waged by holy warriors from over the border to further consolidate his power.

The US, in exchange, gets his bases, which will be invaluable for American and British special forces as they infiltrate Afghanistan in their search for the number one suspect for the September 11 attacks, Osama bin Laden. The Delta Force, Green Berets, SAS -- all will be able to use Uzbekistan's border facilities as launching pads for their missions into the Hindu Kush.

The attack helicopters they will call on, and the sophisticated technology they will use to direct attacks, are being steadily deployed. Further north, at facilities such as those at Chirchik, the wider effort to support those special forces is being orchestrated.

"Afghanistan is where terrorists of all hues are trained and if investigations in the US show that Afghanistan was the centre that prepared and carried out these monstrous acts, I think there must be reprisals," Karimov said last week. "Uzbekistan wishes to take part in an anti-terror operation in pursuit of its own interests, first and foremost, to ensure its security and blue and clear skies for its people."

Unlike the Gulf Arab states and Pakistan, where governments are generally queasy about public reaction to allowing the US to launch attacks on fellow Muslims from their soil, Karimov can be confident his autocratic secular rule and tight control of information will minimise any backlash in Uzbekistan.

Already intersections in Tashkent are marked by bunkered checkpoints and uniformed guards with stun guns. Car searches appear perfunctory, but these men know who they're looking for.

"A bus full of men with long, wispy beards wouldn't get far," said one young, clean-shaven Muslim man in Chirchik.
"They wear their trouble-making on their chin."

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan is Karimov's chief enemy, a group dedicated to the overthrow of his Government and the establishment of a mirror regime to the Taliban in an Islamic emirate in the Fergana Valley.

The IMU -- named by Bush, as part of his courtship of Karimov, as a terrorist threat second only to bin Laden -- has close links to the Taliban. Heritage Foundation research fellow Ariel Cohen reported last week that bin Laden was recently appointed the Taliban's military commander and chose the IMU's 41-year-old military commander, Jumaboi Khojiyv, as his deputy. If Cohen is right, these appointments could establish a direct link between the Taliban and the attacks on the US.

Whatever the links, the people of Uzbekistan, ignorant of the extent of Karimov's new alliance, face the terrible consequences of the Taliban's declared jihad against any nation aiding the US.

But at the Kukcha mosque on Tashkent's northern outskirts, Imam Musallamkhan sits in front of a huge photograph of Mecca during the Haj and dismisses the Taliban's jihad.

"People here know the right path," he said. "*Hezbollah*, Taliban, they have no training in the real Islam, they use it as a mask for their own actions and what they do is contrary to the teachings of the Koran."

Load-Date: October 1, 2001



# Going to Camp: In Chapter 8, budding terrorist Ressam learns the ABCs of mass murder

The Gazette (Montreal, Quebec)

August 20, 2002 Tuesday Final Edition

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Section: News; Pg. B1 / BREAK; Crime; Series

Length: 1116 words

Byline: HAL BERNTON, MIKE CARTER, DAVID HEATH AND JAMES NEFF

Series: Terrorist Within

# **Body**

Before Ahmed Ressam could leave Montreal and 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 Verdun Catholic parish. 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.

Seattle Times

That, along with a photograph, was all Ressam needed in March 1998 to get a Canadian 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, Ressam said goodbye to his roommates. One of the men even cried as Ressam left to board the bus to Toronto.

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

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

Zubaydah gave 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, Ressam stayed at the Peshawar safe house, talking to other raw recruits, studying the Koran and praying.

Going to Camp: In Chapter 8, budding terrorist Ressam learns the ABCs of mass murder

In late April, Zubaydah gave Ressam an introductory letter and sent him by car over the Khyber Pass into Afghanistan. From there, 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 the Chechen republic of Russia.

Among the 30 or so Algerians were two of 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-Qa'ida training was formalized. There was even a textbook, available in Arabic, French and other languages. The training incorporated methods U.S. advisers had introduced to the Afghans in the 1980s in the war with the Soviets.

Early each morning, 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 practiced with small arms, assault rifles and grenade launchers provided by the Taliban, the Islamist rulers of Afghanistan. They learned about explosives and land mines. Representatives of terrorist groups, including Hamas, *Hezbollah* and Islamic Jihad, gave lectures on their organizations.

As 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-Qa'ida 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, Ressam was unhurt.

That summer, Doha, the Algerian ringleader, visited bin Laden at his base in Kandahar. Doha said he had a newly trained cell of Algerians, based in Montreal, who would be available to cross into the United States and wage jihad.

By September, 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, Ressam left Afghanistan with his notebook, \$12,000 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, Ressam flew Asiana Airlines to Seoul, 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, 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.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service agent checked the name Benni Noris and the passport number against a computerized watch list. Although Canadian authorities had photographed Ressam leaving for an Al-Qa'ida camp, the U.S. INS was clueless.

Going to Camp: In Chapter 8, budding terrorist Ressam learns the ABCs of mass murder

Ressam was allowed to pass.

He took his first look around the United States, 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, Ressam decided it was a perfect place to put his training into action.

- The Terrorist Within continues tomorrow with Chapter 9: "A Bunch of Guys"

### **Terrorist Within**

- See the ticket Ahmed Ressam bought to Frankfurt, Germany: <a href="http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/art/news/nation\_world/terro">http://seattletimes.nwsource.com/art/news/nation\_world/terro</a> ristwithin/airline\_ticket.pdf
- Read excerpts from the Al-Qa'ida training manual: http://www.usdoj.gov/ag/trainingmanual.htm
- Have you missed earlier chapters in this series? Our Web site has an archive of the pieces that have run so far. You can find it at canada.com/national/features/terrorist

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## Bush adds chill to Iraq threat

St. Petersburg Times (Florida)
October 8, 2002 Tuesday 0 South Pinellas Edition

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Section: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

**Length:** 1027 words **Byline:** SARA FRITZ

**Dateline: WASHINGTON** 

# **Body**

President Bush, insisting Iraq poses a genuinely unique threat, said Monday that Saddam Hussein's regime recently has hosted visitors from al-Qaida and that Hussein is exploring ways to launch biological or chemical weapons against the United States.

Bush summoned up these and other details from U.S. intelligence reports in an effort to answer the questions that Congress and American citizens frequently ask about his plans to send U.S. troops into Iraq: Why now? And why Iraq?

Although some of the facts he cited were already known, the president never had pulled them together to draw the bleak and frightening picture he painted for the American people in his televised speech from Cincinnati.

His speech was designed to influence Congress as it begins debating a resolution that would give him broad authority to undertake a military assault on Iraq.

In answer to the question, "Why Iraq," Bush said: "While there are many dangers in the world, the threat from Iraq stands alone because it gathers the most serious dangers of our age in one place. By its past and present actions, by its technological capabilities, by the merciless nature of its regime, Iraq is unique."

Iraq not only possesses chemical and biological weapons capable of killing millions of people, he said, but it has made some progress in developing ballistic missiles as well as manned and unmanned aerial vehicles to deliver weapons throughout the Middle East or beyond.

"We are concerned that Iraq is exploring ways of using UAVs for missions targeting the United States," he said. "And of course, sophisticated delivery systems are not required for a chemical or biological attack - all that might be required are a small container and one terrorist or Iraqi intelligence operative to deliver it."

In recent days, Bush's critics have been calling on him to finish the war against terrorism before he opens up a new front against Iraq. In response, he said the United States has evidence of high-level contacts between al-Qaida and other terrorist networks and they "share a common enemy - the United States of America."

He said a senior al-Qaida leader who received medical treatment in Baghdad this year has been involved in planning for chemical and biological attacks. He added that Iraq has trained al-Qaida members in bombmaking, poisons and deadly gases."

### Bush adds chill to Iraq threat

Bush portrayed Iraq's nuclear weapons program as being on the verge of a breakthrough.

"If the Iraqi regime is able to produce, buy or steal an amount of highly enriched uranium a little larger than a single softball, it could have nuclear weapons in less than a year," he said. "And if we allow that to happen, a terrible line has been crossed."

Many Democrats, including Sen. Bob Graham, D-Fla., chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee, argue that the threat posed by Iraq does not exceed the wider international terrorist menace that led to thousands of American deaths on Sept. 11, 2001.

Graham, in an interview Friday, said he is convinced that <u>Hezbollah</u>, which receives assistance from Iran and Syria, is "the No.1 threat to the United States" - not Iraq.

In response to the question, "Why now," Bush noted that sanctions and other measures have not discouraged Iraq from proceeding with its program of developing weapons of mass destruction.

"If we know that Saddam Hussein has dangerous weapons today - and we do - does it make any sense for the world to wait to confront him as he grows even stronger and develops even more dangerous weapons?" the president asked.

He insisted such a move would not detract from the war against terror, as Democrats argue. "To the contrary," he said, "confronting the threat posed by Iraq is crucial to winning the war on terror. . . . Terror cells and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil. Our security requires that we confront both. And the United States military is capable of confronting both."

The president said he would not sit idly by until the world has indisputable proof of Iraq's intentions, which he said would come in the form of "a mushroom cloud."

Bush did not explain whether he would proceed with the attack if he fails to get the support of the United Nations. Democrats fear he is prepared to act unilaterally. But he made it clear his intention is both to disarm Iraq and to precipitate the overthrow of Hussein.

A war against Iraq would not be easy, Bush conceded. "Military conflict could be difficult," he said. "An Iraqi regime faced with its own demise may attempt cruel and desperate measures."

He said Hussein's generals "would be well-advised to refuse" orders to use weapons of mass destruction against the United States or any country in the region. "If they do not refuse, they must understand that all war criminals will be pursued and punished."

Even if Congress approves a resolution soon, as expected, the president insisted that does not mean U.S. bombers will be on their way to Baghdad.

"Approving this resolution does not mean that military action is imminent or unavoidable," he said. "The resolution will tell the United Nations, and all nations, that America speaks with one voice and is determined to make the demands of the civilized world mean something."

The president emphasized that the United States has nothing against the Iraqi people.

"America is a friend to the people of Iraq," he said. "Our demands are directed only at the regime that enslaves them and threatens us. When these demands are met, the first and greatest benefit will come to Iraqi men, <u>women</u> and children."

Earlier Monday, Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., urged Bush to exercise the same restraint that Kennedy's brother, President John F. Kennedy, did in refraining from an attack on Cuba during the 1962 missile crisis. He said a preemptive strike on Iraq "is impossible to justify."

## Bush adds chill to Iraq threat

"Might does not make right," he said. "It is unilateralism run amok."

Even those Democrats who support Bush on Iraq, such as Sen. John Edwards, D-N.C., have faulted the president for failing to build sufficient international support for such a move. Edwards, a possible Democratic presidential candidate, called it "gratuitous unilateralism."

# **Graphic**

PHOTO, Associated Press; President Bush appears during a press conference.

Load-Date: October 8, 2002



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

The New York Times

January 18, 2001 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 3; Foreign Desk; Pg. 4

Length: 1014 words

Byline: By DEBORAH SONTAG

Dateline: TEL AVIV, Jan. 15

# **Body**

Far from the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is the artwork of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. And far from the checkpoint closings imposed by Israel are the exhibit openings imposed by artists who shun khaki for leather and guns for glue sticks.

Internationally televised images make it seem as if all Israelis are soldiers or settlers, directly immersed in the daily violence. But of course that is to ignore those who wear nose rings and buff their shaved pates and strive to express their horror and to critique their government with lithographs and manifestoes and fur replicas of the Dome of the Rock.

Tamar Getter, one curator of a new exhibition that opened tonight in a funky old industrial district of Tel Aviv, looked around herself at the end of a very successful evening.

Her own art played a prominent role, including the video in which she and a colleague read aloud the name, age, village and manner of death of every Palestinian killed so far in the violence that erupted in late September. It takes 40 minutes.

"It's pathetic, the entire show," Ms. Getter said, exhausted by the effort of mounting the exhibit and clearly somewhat proud despite her words. "What is it finally? It's not much. The lawyers are doing important work; the physicians are doing important work. Artists are very weak in such moments."

Twelve years after Israeli artists banded together during the first Palestinian uprising for a show lamenting the 21st year of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, they have joined forces to denounce the 33rd.

The exhibit, "Artists Against a Strong Hand," is at Beit Haam, a loftlike space in Tel Aviv's would-be Tribeca, and features the work of 70 artists who were asked to produce something specifically related to the political situation. The works will be sold to benefit Palestinian medical clinics.

Aim Deuelle Luski, 50, a photographer and curator, said he was very happy to include artists born after the occupation began, who are "less heavy than we are, more playful and more cynical." He pointed out one example of the work of the younger generation. It was a miniature Israeli Parliament building made of Lego blocks.

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

The creator, Joshua Simon, who is 21, explained: "It's very small. It's like child's play." Beneath his oversized black glasses, Mr. Simon was very tongue-in-cheek.

Asked if he worked only in Lego, he said: "Mostly, but not only. I also make films. I now have one called 'The Radical,' about people who go to make graffiti on the Wailing Wall. It's about transgression. It's very Godard-influenced."

Ms. Getter, a well-established Israeli artist, talked while down on her knees as she picked up another artist's plaster sharks -- labeled P.L.O., Hamas, *Hezbollah* -- which people kept kicking over.

Early this fall, she said, she was urged to "shake it up" by a friend abroad to whom she had confessed her depression when the uprising began. So she convened a meeting of artists in her yard in Tel Aviv and urged them to formulate a position paper about Israeli policy and to think about an exhibit.

Israeli artists are usually reluctant to get politically involved, for fear that their artwork will be used as political propaganda and, Ro'ee Rosen, an artist, said, for "fear of being banal or cliched."

Indeed, Israeli political expression is not very subtle, and that lack of subtlety could be detected in the exhibition. One poster showed a bouquet of penises under the title, "Enough With the Generals." It made some people laugh aloud, as did a "Jerusalem uber Alles" poster.

"I think the premise gave people license to step out of their skin," Mr. Rosen said. "The show seems so vivid. It doesn't seem glum."

Behind him a videotape loop ran on a television, repeatedly showing a slow-motion scene of Israeli soldiers clubbing Palestinians in a crowd.

Irus -- "like virus, but without the v" -- Nachmias, a young photographer with long, curly hair and a red leather coat, said the eruption of the conflict made her feel like running away from Israel. Her photograph in the show featured an Israeli Arab girl wearing a blindfold, actually during a game, but given what is going on now, the murky context appeared ominous.

"In Tel Aviv they are like this girl," she said. "They are covering their eyes. That's why a show like this is a good thing. It makes people look, and hopefully it makes them see."

A veteran of the Israeli left, Uri Avnery, who wore the Israeli and Palestinian flags entwined on his lapel, studied a house of cards built from the work permits of Palestinians. "This speaks volumes," he said.

The curators' manifesto is intellectual and proudly radical, calling for Israel to end a "50-year monologue" and stop trying to "dictate" a peace agreement to the Palestinians. It urges Israel to "bid farewell to the territories," immediately withdrawing all forces and evacuating all settlements. It calls for Israel to pull out of East Jerusalem.

It asks that Israel strive to become a state of all its citizens by reconsidering the law of return, which guarantees citizenship to all Jews. And it suggests a genuine debate about the Palestinians' demand for the right of return of their refugees.

In the last few months, Ms. Getter said, she turned away from the installation work that she usually does to work with an image that she could not get out of her mind.

It is a news photograph of a Palestinian man rolling a burning tire, which she considered an "icon of the uprising." She has reworked the image in many different posters. In one, she shows the man with a Jewish settler who has a tire over his head, inside a decorative frame that looks like a prayer rug.

"His burning tire is not your halo," the title reads.

As the opening drew to a close, two young <u>women</u> engaged in what appeared to be an impassioned critique in rapid-fire Hebrew of a painting of a sabra cactus. Asked what so intrigued them, Meirav Levy said sheepishly that they were not really talking about the art.

"I was really excited to see that she had finally gotten her belly button pierced," Ms. Levy said of her friend.

http://www.nytimes.com

# **Graphic**

Photos: Among the artworks on display at an exhibition in Tel Aviv is an Israeli flag with a design resembling a sailboat where the Star of David would be. The works deal with the current Israeli-Palestinian conflict. (Rina Castelnuovo for The New York Times)

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# The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

Section: Atlanta & the World;; Brief

Length: 1025 words

## **Body**

Scoring World Cup's big money kicks

Now that Brazil has beaten Germany, World Cup co-hosts Japan and South Korea are counting the yen and won and trying to figure out how to keep making money off their month in the soccer sun.

South Korea estimates its economic gains at 26 trillion won --- about \$22 billion --- and President Kim Dae-jung huddled with his Cabinet last week to brainstorm ways to keep the momentum going. Among the ideas, according to the JoongAng Ilbo newspaper: raising the price of Korean exports, expanding information technology business worldwide, holding international promotional tours and fanning the nation's football craze.

Japan was measuring its success in over-the-top sales of imported beer, thanks mostly to the Irish. Sapporo Breweries told Japan Today that Guinness and Kilkenny sold at triple the usual rate. Sales of British-brewed Bass Pale Ale surged 60 percent, and German Lowenbrau rose 30 percent.

AJC reports and news services

The World Cup inevitably left some political problems in its wake. German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder flew from a G-8 meeting in Canada aboard Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi's aircraft to be with the German team at the final game, but his chief election rival, Edmund Stoiber, flew back to Germany aboard the team's plane.

Brazilian President Fernando Henrique Cardoso was squabbling with his nation's soccer confederation, which had left him off the list of people to visit when the World Cup winners returned home. And South Korea lodged a complaint with the Chinese government over the Chinese media's "distorted" coverage of the better-than-expected performance of South Korea.

\* ON THE WEB: www.koreaherald.co.kr

\* ON THE WEB: /english.joins.com/

\* ON THE WEB: www.japantimes.co.jp/

\* ON THE WEB: www.japantoday.com/

Taking stock, paying fines

Scandal-ridden companies took center stage last week. Not just in the United States. About 2,020 firms in Japan held shareholders' meetings last week, and the focus was on boardroom shenanigans. At JGC Corp. and construction consultancy Nippon Koei Co., questions were raised about a scandal involving lawmaker Muneo Suzuki. Stockholders of Sasebo Heavy Industries Co. accepted the resignation of Arifumi Himeno at their meeting. Hours later, Himeno was arrested over allegations the company fraudulently obtained government subsidies. Japanese companies began holding simultaneous meetings to avoid sokaiya, or corporate racketeers, who threaten to disrupt the meetings.

\* ON THE WEB: www.japantimes.co.jp

Say cheese, not Parmesan

Just because a cheese comes from the Parma region of Italy does not make it Parmesan cheese, the European Court of Justice has ruled. The ruling came in a case against cheesemaker Nuova Castelli SpA of Reggio nell' Emilia, just south of Parma, one of the regions where Parmesan cheese is produced according to standards. The company's pasteurized cheese is sold outside Italy prominently labeled "Parmesan" even though none of the cheese used to make it was Parmigiano Reggiano, which was registered with the EU as a protected name in 1996.

\* ON THE WEB: www.inrometoday.com/

Putin on the Web

After 15,000 hours of work by designers and a three-month anti-hacker security check, Russian President Vladimir Putin has a new version of his presidential Web site, according to The Moscow Times. Interfax reported that within hours, the site had attracted 10,000 hits and several dozen abortive hacking attempts.

\* ON THE WEB: www.president.kremlin.ru/

\* ON THE WEB: www.moscowtimes.ru/

Agreeing on the naked truth

One thing Christian and Muslim leaders seem to agree on in the Middle East is the need to tame the nearly naked billboards of Beirut, Lebanon. "We decided to act after receiving phone calls from concerned citizens who were angry because they don't want their children to see such demeaning pictures," the Rev. Abdo Abu Qassm, president of the Catholic Information Centre in Beirut, told Agence France-Presse. None of the allegedly offensive billboards is in southern Beirut, where <u>Hezbollah</u> militants enforce a Shiite code against <u>women</u> revealing flesh or advertising alcohol.

\* ON THE WEB: www.jordantimes.com/

\* ON THE WEB: www.sudan.net/news

Moscow hotel coming down

Moscow will raze the Hotel Moskva, whose picture is on the label of Stolichnaya vodka, and replace it with a structure based more closely on the architect's original plans. The hotel has been a Moscow landmark since 1935. The two wings have different architectural styles. Why? Soviet dictator Josef Stalin signed off on the hotel blueprint without choosing one of two window styles, so builders, unwilling to question him, built it with two styles.

\* ON THE WEB: www.tourintel.ru/hotels

#### WORLD WRAP

Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad announced that after 21 years in office, he will retire next year. . . . Israel beamed a new Arabic-language satellite channel to the Arab world, launching a battle to win over regional public opinion. . . . A judge in Peru ordered President Alejandro Toledo to submit to a DNA test in a paternity suit. . . . Oddsocks Productions in Britain changed the name of its stage adaptation of the classic novel "The Hunchback of Notre Dame" to "The Bellringer of Notre Dame" so as not to offend people with scoliosis. . . . Gunmen in Mogadishu kidnapped Somali Tourism Minister Ahmed Mohammed Nur Alliyow.

#### QUOTED

"We decided to stop stocking Marlboros and all other American brands of cigarettes, but then someone pointed out that it would be the Egyptian company that manufactured the brands under license that would really suffer. The Americans probably wouldn't notice."

### MAMDOUH ABDULLAH

Son of a Cairo supermarket owner, expressing confusion over a boycott of U.S. goods to protest Washington's Mideast policy.

\* ON THE WEB: www.metimes.com/

**HEAD TO HEAD** 

African leaders hail aid: Chretien unveils renewal plan for a troubled continent as G-8 ends

--- Calgary Herald, June 28: www.canada.com/calgary/

Africans unimpressed

with G8 aid scheme

--- Dispatch (South Africa), June 29: www.dispatch.co.za/

Compiled by Ron Taylor from news services and newspaper Web sites from around the world.

# **Graphic**

Photo: Fireworks glow in Seoul, South Korea, which lost to Turkey for third place in the World Cup but did better than expected. / LEE JIN-MAN / Associated Press; Photo: Hotel Moskva, a Moscow design oddity built in the Stalin era, will be replaced. Its rooftop sign is for Baltika beer. / TANYA MAKEYEVA / Associated Press

Load-Date: July 3, 2002