

Date and Time: Friday, May 3, 2024 4:03:00PM EEST

Job Number: 223445089

Documents (81)

1. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

2. letters to the editor

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

3. Weighing the threat of an Islamic A-bomb Would an apocalypse be embraced?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

4. Africa After War: Paths to Forgiveness - Ugandans welcome 'terrorists' back

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

5._TOURING THE HOLY LAND

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas



Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

6. Other views

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

7. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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8. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

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9. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

10. The Future of the Jihadi Movement: a 5-Year Forecast

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Content Type

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

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11. Readers' views

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

12. Penny is a plus for Pinellas residents

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

13. Looking back: A diary of events for 2006

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

14. Saviours in a strange world

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

15._The Planner

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

16. Review: IRAQ: HOW THE GOOD LAND TURNED BAD: This week marks the fourth anniversary of the start of the Iraq War, the defining issue of the decade. But what is life like for ordinary Iraqis at the epicentre of this tumult? The Observers Foreign Affairs Editor has been travelling throughout Iraq over the past four years and here he reflects on a war that has broken lives and political reputations. Will it ultimately break the country?: Who said what in the war of words

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

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Sep 30, 2007

17. Self-righteousness the mark of the terrorist - US and THEM

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

18. Staying In: Your Home Entertainment Guide

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

19. The stars, the stunts, the stats bring 'em on

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

20. The great New Year trivia quiz New Year Quiz Have you been paying attention during 2006? Can you remember what David Cameron said about hoodies in July? Or what the dwarf planet previously known as 2003 UB313 became in September? Or even who won 'I'm a Celebrity???' earlier this month?

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

21._2006. The year in pictures: Part 1

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

22. 34 to watch in 2007 Political figures, entertainers top soon-to-be familiar faces

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

23. The greening of the red, white and blue: ONE MAN'S PLAN / More Americans than ever identify themselves as greens, but the dirty little secret is they are fooling themselves and will have to do much more in order to preserve their way of life - and the planet

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

24. The Power of Green

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

25. Islam, Terror and the Second Nuclear Age

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

26. Crush Hamas DAILY STAR SAYS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

27. Crush Hamas DAILY STAR SAYS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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Sep 30, 2007

28. Crush Hamas DAILY STAR SAYS

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

29. Hamas to continue using cartoons as propaganda

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

30. Israel kills Hamas's top rocket man

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

31. 20 WOUNDED IN GAZA CLASHES

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

32. Militant 'Mickey' gets chop

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

33. Gaza. Protesters injured

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

34. Video captures white-hot hate that is Fuelling Gaza conflict

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

35. Deal on unity Palestinian government likely

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

36. Women as shield

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

37. Palestinians shelve anti- Israel kids' show

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

38. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

39. Cities making news in The Global Village

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

40. Top of the World

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

41. Caption only: A cry for order

Client/Matter: -None-



Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

42. Romania: 30 Romanians stuck in Gaza

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

43. Cities: Making news in the global village

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

44. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

45. Gaza refugees are trapped in tunnel In brief

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

46. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

47. Gaza Strip: Female suicide bomber attacks Israeli soldiers

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

48. Mosque pair shot

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

49. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

50. LETTER: THE BIG ISSUE - WELCOME HOME

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

51. ISRAELI TROOPS KILL 2 WOMEN

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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News Publication Type: Newspapers; Timeline: Sep 30, 2006 to

Sep 30, 2007

52. World ignores unfolding tragedy

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

53. Palestinian teachers end strike

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

54. McCain camp apologizes for criticizing Mormons

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

55. Ictu call for Israel boycott

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

56. Palestinians call for revenge as 18 are buried

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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Sep 30, 2007

57. LETTERS TO THE EDITOR The Mideast blame game

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

58. PICK OF THE DAY

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

59. MP backing musicians in visa wrangle

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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Sep 30, 2007

60. Left-wing dreamers

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007

61. INSIDE

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

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Sep 30, 2007

62. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-



Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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63. TOP OF THE WORLD

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

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64. Top of the World

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

Content Type Narrowed by

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65. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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66. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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67. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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68. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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69. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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70. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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71. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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72. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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73. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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74. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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75. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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76. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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77. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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78. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

Narrowed by:

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Sep 30, 2007

79. Lijden, strijden, heilig worden

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Content Type Narrowed by

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Sep 30, 2007

80. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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81. No Headline In Original

Client/Matter: -None-Search Terms: Hamas

Search Type: Natural Language

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Sep 30, 2007



Weekend Australian

December 9, 2006 Saturday

All-round Country Edition

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Section: FEATURES; Letters; Pg. 18

Length: 2204 words

Body

MATP

An early withdrawal would lead to a monstrous bloodbath

MOST TALKED ABOUT

IRAQ: WHAT NEXT?

THE letters published yesterday so critical of the tragic situation in Iraq were, largely and typically, nothing more than personal attacks on GeorgeW. Bush and John Howard and offered not a skerrick of constructive advice on how to solve the horrendous problems that exist in that tortured country. Indeed, it was a case of the clueless berating the clueless.

Anyone with half a brain would realise that to cut and run from Iraq now would inevitably lead to a bloodbath of monstrous proportions that would spread to large segments of the population that, at this time, live in comparative peace; for example, the Kurds. Government officials would be summarily executed, as would many of the thousands of Iraqis who serve in the army and the police force. The refugee problem would be enormous -- and disastrous for neighbouring countries such as Jordan and Kuwait. Renewed infrastructure would be destroyed and a reviving economy shattered.

So my challenge to the clueless armchair critics is this: put up or shut up. Personal attacks (undoubtedly politically driven) have never solved serious problems. Remember, if we run from Iraq, our enemies will come after us with renewed confidence and enthusiasm.

Deric Davidson

Bunbury, WA

THE US administration and Congress is now debating how to solve the Iraq problem.

The Australian Government deplores any suggestion of cut and run, but Australia cannot cut and run because we were never really there. The US has a population of 300 million and 140,000 troops in Iraq. Australia has a population of 20 million and 700 troops, serving in a quiet backwater. If we had a commitment proportional to the Americans, we would be providing about 9000 troops, doing the hard yards in Baghdad and inevitably taking casualties.

We are not committed to democracy in Iraq; we have a token presence designed to preserve a relationship with Washington.

Nick Beaumont

Caulfield East, Vic

JOHN Howard keeps repeating that "if we leave Iraq, the reputation of the US will suffer, we'll encourage terrorism in the Middle East, there will be regional instability, a spur to insurgents, etc". I thought the coalition of the willing had already achieved these outcomes.

M. Penman

Ashgrove, Qld

ANY request to embed Australian troops with Iraqi forces was bound to receive short shrift from John Howard ("We spurn US on new Iraq role", 8/12).

It may be the best way to train the Iraqis, and the Prime Minister may be on the record repeatedly talking up the importance of Australia's training role, but putting our troops in a situation fraught with political risks for the Howard Government is not on the PM's agenda. He would never risk Australian casualties so close to an election.

If the whole Iraqi mess weren't so awful, we could have enjoyed a good chuckle when the Prime Minister claimed in parliament this week that, "The Leader of the Opposition is chained to a policy that would have disastrous consequences." He was positively inviting us to make the obvious response, "The Prime Minister is chained to a policy that already has had disastrous consequences."

Agnes Mack

Chatswood, NSW

THE Iraq Study Group has suggested resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as one of its recommendations for solving the crisis in Iraq ("Change war plan, Bush told", 8/12). I hope it has explained how the creation of a Palestinian state will stop Iraqi Sunnis and Shi'ites slaughtering each other or, for that matter, prevent the Iranians and Syrians from trying to overturn the democratically elected government in Lebanon. I also hope it has explained how Middle East peace may be achieved when the <u>Hamas</u> Government in the Palestinian territories has made it abundantly clear that it will never accept peace with Israel, or even Israel's existence.

Justin Lipton

Melbourne, Vic

IN the single sentence -- "getting the troops home has been the object of the US campaign from day one" -- your editorial ("Fresh eyes provide new ideas for Iraq", 8/12) has deftly, if inadvertently, highlighted the dismal ignorance and naivety at the core of the disastrous decision to invade Iraq, so aptly expressed by George W. Bush, in July 2003, when he said about threatened insurgent attacks on US troops, "Bring them on."

So, what might have been the clues giving pause to the notion that the abrupt removal of Saddam Hussein by military invasion could be followed by the rapid installation of a stable, secular liberal democracy?

I suggest the following: a passing knowledge of the history of the place; a glimmer of understanding of the deeply enduring and bitter ethnic and religious divisions amongst its people; some appreciation of the overwhelming influence of Islam among its population; Iraq's location in the heart of the Middle East; and the fact that prolonged military occupation can usually be counted on to have profoundly negative effects on both the occupied and the occupiers.

Your newspaper must bear a lot of responsibility for boosting the invasion folly and venomously denouncing those who opposed it -- on what can now be seen as very good grounds. Indeed, getting our troops home should now be our top priority.

Clive Huxtable

Beaconsfield, WA

Hanson's shock value and

voter appeal are spent coin

ONCE again we are witnessing a half-baked tilt at federal politics by Pauline Hanson. What's the point?

Ten years ago, Hanson was able to bank a million voters for her cause. Foolishly, she was suckered in by carpetbaggers and subsequently destroyed a marvellous opportunity for real change. What her supporters wanted was the virgin innocence of commonsense politics battling to right serious wrongs. In the end, she proved that she was essentially a media junkie craving attention.

Hanson's only real track record is the way she used people and then moved on. Loyalty, that which she demanded of others, was not reciprocated. Had she remained with her grassroots support, she would have been an established politician today, commanding a reputation for vision. Instead, she allowed herself to be used as a litmus test which John Howard exploited.

Whilst I have no doubt that "another Hanson" is needed, Pauline's shock value and her appeal have all spent themselves. As I warned her in 1996, before the onslaught of the Davidian agenda: "You seize the opportunity now or loose it." Today Pauline Hanson is yesterday's news.

Bruce Whiteside

Miami, Qld

IT'S good to hear that Pauline Hanson has decided to toss her hat back into the political ring. Although the major parties tried to sink her with dirty tactics, I hope she will bring honesty back into Australian politics.

Walter Christy

Shearwater, Tas

IT seems that Pauline Hanson is blowing her trumpet once again in the hope of being heard. This time, one of her merry tunes is Muslims and their impinging on the rights of other Australians to enjoy their own culture, such as singing Christmas carols, swimming at public pools and so forth.

Leaving aside the issue of what an Australian is, as a Muslim, I have participated and continue to participate in Christmas activities. I don't have any objections to such activities. As far as I am aware, this is the general sentiment shared by the great majority of Muslims. As for swimming in public pools, if arrangements for Muslim **women** to swim in private is problematic, then so is any other activity which seeks to cater for any individual group or category of people.

But then I doubt Hanson cares all that much about the implications and truth of her arguments, so long as they get her in the headlines. I'm only hopeful that my fellow Australians will seek to push beyond ignorance and misunderstanding and have a better appreciation of the truth of the matter.

Bilal Rauf

Paddington, Qld

Pubs with rationed beer

WHEN pubs are allowed to open for only six hours a week and drinkers confined to the equivalent of a sixpack of beer for the same period, and when the sale of carbonated drinks is totally banned, then I will believe there's a drought and that we are short of water. The amount of water we use to make beer and soft drinks must be enormous.

Roger Hooton

Nuriootpa, SA

Absent bloody tourists

SO tourist numbers are down ("So where the bloody hell are the tourists?" 8/12). No wonder. The "Where the Bloody Hell are You" slogan meant to lure overseas visitors is working to keep them away.

The sheer agressiveness of the slogan is enough to raise anybody's hackles. A would-be tourist looking for a place to visit and confronted with this slogan as his/her first point of contact with things Australian, would more likely than not put Australia at the very bottom of any list of attractive places to visit. The witlessness of the instigators of this particular campaign is breathtaking.

Jocelyn Maxwell

Mittagong, NSW

Labor's tomfoolery

IF it wasn't for Michael Costello ("New faces not enough", Opinion, 8/12), we would never have been presented with an accurate assessment of this week's Labor tomfoolery. Costello is on the money when he says, "Hewson, Downer, Latham and Rudd: there is a lesson here. Inexperienced Opposition leaders are no match for tried and tested incumbents."

How could Kim Beazley's success at putting Labor 12 percentage points ahead of the Government in the opinion polls be consequently rewarded with such utter disloyalty and poor judgment from his colleagues?

Labor had forgotten that Beazley would most likely have won the 2001 election but for September 11 and Tampa. Now, in 2006, Beazley was again set to take Labor to victory at the election due next year. However, the unbridled ambitions of Kevin Rudd and Julia Gillard and the subversive activities of their supporters have certainly put paid to that.

Bruce Power

Gosnells, WA

IT'S wildly unfair of Michael Costello to claim that Kevin Rudd has left Alexander Downer "completely unscathed". Rather, Rudd has relentlessly pursued the Government over the AWB bribes scandal and kept foreign affairs on the agenda and in the public mind.

If Costello is serious about wanting Labor to win the next election, he really needs to take a chill pill and calm down. The election of the Rudd/Gillard team to the Labor leadership certainly isn't the end of the world; indeed, it can probably only be good for the ALP. The fact that Rudd has, in three days, given the public more idea of what policy agenda he stands for than Beazley managed to do in two years says something, for a start.

Ben Cook

St Lucia, Qld

Only a Yorkshireman

WITH due respect, Norman Hazell (Letters, 7/12), only a Yorkshireman could come up with your unrealistic solutions to the plight of the England Test team.

Yes, Flintoff is being asked to do too much but Vaughan is not, and will not, be fit for Perth. Yes, Boycott is a splendid tactician and a fighter, but his management skills are unproven. And, yes, Shane Warne's bowling in Adelaide was negative but tactically superb and within the rules. I'm not sure that the Central Yorkshire Cricket League plays five-day tests with attendant rules and conditions, so what Umpire Hazell would have allowed is irrelevant.

Let's get on to the next Test in Perth. This is cricket at its best. It's only a game, but what a great game!

Ian Houston

Sorrento, Vic

(formerly of Lancashire but decidedly

Australian)

FIRST BYTE

letters@theaustralian.com.au

Pauline Hanson is short of money again. Come on, suckers, dig deep.

Ian Semmel

Maleny, Qld

The reason John Howard hasn't paid tribute to the Yellow Wiggle, J. Bassett (Letters, 8/12), is because most of the Wilggles' fans are under 10 and, therefore, aren't eligible to vote.

Steve Turbit

Dharruk, NSW

Brian Burke's whinge ("The Godfather Part II", Features, 8/12) that the West Australian Corruption and Crime Commission spotlight on his political and business dealings has made life difficult for him and his family, is reminiscent of the man who, when being sentenced for the murder of his parents, asked for leniency on the grounds that he was an orphan.

Michael Kellock

Foster, Vic

Why would the bikini marchers go to St Mary's Cathedral or a Hillsong service, Harold Crouch (Letter, 8/12)? Have the clerics at those churches also compared semi-naked <u>women</u> to meat left out for the cats? And do they also expect all <u>women</u> to dress like nuns?

Jason Foster

Windsor, Vic

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Weekend Australian

November 11, 2006 Saturday

All-round Country Edition

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Body

MATP

MOST TALKED ABOUT

BUSH, HOWARD AND IRAQ

It's inevitable that the US President will change policy

ACCORDING to John Howard, there is no fundamental change in US policy on Iraq ("Rumsfeld's head rolls as Bush admits 'thumping' loss", 10/11). The Prime Minister says he knows that for a fact. In Rumsfeld-speak, does this qualify as a known known or an unknown known?

Mr Howard is probably the only leader left in the coalition of the willing who still believes that strategic change is not necessary to resolve the horrendous mess in Iraq. By holding to this untenable viewpoint, he demonstrates he is as stubborn and ignorant of the real world as Donald Rumsfeld was during his tenure as US defence secretary.

Because of the crushing defeat of the Republicans by the Democrats in Congress, in the coming weeks and months even George W. Bush will gradually change his policy on Iraq. The President knows that if he does not, the result will be total civil war across the country, increasing US casualties and another thrashing for the Republicans in 2008. The British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, knows the dangers, which is why he wants all British troops out as soon as possible.

Richard Slater

Berowra Heights, NSW

JOHN Howard tells us that to withdraw from Iraq would hand a victory to the terrorists. He, George W. Bush and Tony Blair handed the terrorists their victory when they invaded Iraq and removed Saddam Hussein. Iraq was, and remains, the biggest blunder. Unfortunately, we are now stuck with it. To withdraw would be a bigger blunder.

Stuart Houghton

Hobart, Tas

AFTER reading their letters (10/11), I can only infer that Howard Hutchins and Bill Anderson arrogantly presume to blame everyone else for the problems of Iraq bar the actual architects of the invasion.

Hutchins also states a few furphies of his own when he claims the US should not be blamed for Saddam Hussein when it's a matter of public record that they supported and supplied him with weapons, intelligence and economic aid during the entire period he was in power from July 1979 to the first Gulf War in 1990. Indeed we have news footage of Donald Rumsfeld going to Iraq to meet him, shake his hand and offer him the US's friendship and support against Iran.

It's also well demonstrated that the US military downplays the killing of Iraqis by its forces and doesn't even bother counting the dead. If people wish to be apologists for this ghastly war, then they should at least do so from a position based on fact.

Mohammed Alfakhrany

Gladesville, NSW

FOLLOWING the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Centre, the US had the sympathy and potential support of most of the world. The Bush administration managed to convert much of this goodwill into a contempt approaching hatred of the US.

Hopefully the new direction the US takes in the wake of the mid-term elections will see this nation, our most important ally, regain some much-needed respect and its place as a true world leader.

Peter Lane

Margaret River, WA

I HOPE the Australian electorate sees the results of the US mid-terms as a challenge. The American people showed a willingness to vote on issues bigger than their incomes and mortgages. They rejected George W. Bush's assertion that he had provided a strong economy and cast their ballots based on the war in Iraq, government arrogance and dismay at the culture of fear sown by the current White House. These issues are replicated here in Australia. If you add AWB, David Hicks, the new IR laws and the sale of Telstra to the list, there are arguably more reasons to vote for change at our next federal poll than there were in the US this week.

John Clover

North Adelaide, SA

AMIDST all the back-slapping by the anti-Bush brigade, gleeful at the loss of the Republican control of Congress, your editorial ("A regime change at the Pentagon", 10/11) reminds us of what a dangerous vacuum there would be in the world if the US was to retreat into isolationism. And which nation would fill that void? There are many that would race to fill the role of hegemon. But the question is, are those nations the ones we in the West want as friends? As allies? Indeed, be careful what you wish for.

A. Khat

Ryde, NSW

JOHN Howard's statement that he knows "for a fact" there is no fundamental change in US policy on Iraq following the mid-term elections, reminds me of Billy McMahon's very public faux pas when informed that Richard Nixon was going to China: "He wouldn't do that without telling me."

David Yabsley

Cairns, Qld

GREG Sheridan, to illustrate how good a friend Donald Rumsfeld was to Australia, says he was heroic for flying 22 hours to get to Adelaide ("Don't read too much into it", 10/11). I beg to differ. Thousands of people take such flights every day of the year. And what about Australian troops in Iraq, and other parts of the world, who leave their families and put their lives in danger to fight wars for careless, abrasive men like Donald Rumsfeld? Are they less heroic? I think not.

Haydn Sennitt

Strathfield, NSW

Judges in Magill case need

time in the 'real world'

FORGIVE my complete ignorance, but isn't a marriage a legally binding union? With that, there is a duty of care, disclosure and a kind of contractual agreement that the union is sacrosanct?

The High Court judges in the case involving "duped father" Liam Magill ("Secret infidelity approved by court", 10/11), if not all arbitrators, should spend a couple of "gap years" in the real world.

As a layperson, I can think of a swag of reasons why disproved paternity should be just cause for non-payment of child support. For the cheating partner, how about theft by deception and breach of contract, just for starters? The rights of the child to know its biological heritage? Parents using innocent spouses in such a way are despicable.

This issue needs to be revisited. Fraud of this nature -- child support by deception for someone else's child -- is one very serious chink in the family-values mantra chanted by John Howard. Can we have some sanity and probity for all Australians, please?

Darrell Morrison

Portland, Vic

WHY worry that allowing homosexuals to marry detracts from the sanctity and meaning of marriage? After the High Court decision in the Magill case, there's not much meaning left. As a wife, I'm free to have flings, get knocked up, and then tell lies to my husband. The court stands behind my right to have no obligations, no honesty, and no penalty.

Legally, is there anything a woman is obliged to do within a marriage?

Joanne Nova

Ballajura, WA

I WAS shocked one day when I was told by a senior counsel, who later became a judge, that the lay concept of fairness and equality played no part in the law, which was all about applying common law and enacted law to the case before the court and that was that. Fairness, as lay people understood it, had absolutely nothing to do with the matter. So if some unlucky bunny ends up paying for the upbringing of a couple of cuckoos in the nest, tough titty, old feller, you've been robbed but nothing will be done about it.

Alan Logan

Ringwood, Vic

Lacking Viagra's power

ONE wonders if Gardasil protected against penile and prostate cancer, instead of cervical cancer, it would have been listed, no questions asked, on the Pharmaceutical Benefits Scheme faster than you can say "Viagra" ("Vaccine subsidy if price is right", 10/11).

Meg Walsh

Banyo, Qld

TOO little is made of primary prevention of cervical cancer. The human papilloma virus is clearly associated with this cancer, and the virus is largely transmitted by sexual interactions. It would make more sense, and be a lot cheaper, if young people practised safer sex. Public health messages need to be louder and clearer on this.

Trevor Kerr

Blackburn, Vic

WHEN it comes to self-serving political advertising, the Government can squander hundreds of millions of dollars. But if it's for a world-leading vaccine to eradicate cervical cancer, it has to carefully count its pennies to protect the taxpayer but not *women*.

Garry Bickley

Elizabeth Downs, SA

Two visions for our future

I WELCOME Noel Pearson's contribution to the debate on the impact of market fundamentalism on Australian life ("Menace of a material world view", Inquirer, 4-5/11).

Pearson argues that my contribution may be ill-timed because there's such a strong constituency today in support of market principles. What I've argued is that the problem with market fundamentalism is that it places markets first and human beings last.

Social democrats come from the tradition which has always said that the disciplines of the market can be maintained in tension with the principles of social justice.

Pro-market social democrats come from a tradition which is shaped by Adam Smith, John Maynard Keynes and, in Australia's own case, by economists such as Nugget Coombs. This tradition has always accepted market disciplines but equally recognised the impact of market failure, public goods (such as education, health and the environment) as well as the role of the enabling state in producing a decent society.

For these reasons, social democrats' long-standing tradition of social justice has always been compatible with the disciplines of the modern market. In fact, a properly functioning market economy requires these social justice principles to be properly applied.

The alternative vision for Australia's future is an unrestrained capitalism produced by the sort of market fundamentalism that we see alive in Friedrich Hayek, Milton Friedman and Margaret Thatcher. Remember, it was Thatcher who said that there was no such thing as society.

I believe that Australians are ready for a full debate between these two visions for our future. Australians want a strong economy. But they also want a strong economy tempered by the dictates of a just society.

Kevin Rudd

Parliament House, Canberra

Stick to the facts

MATT Price's article about my Senate estimates appearance ("Aunty and co face Neo-Connie's wrath", Inquirer, 4-5/11) was full of errors and misrepresentations.

For example, Price selectively took one of the many instances I put to SBS about the way it uses soft, friendly language for those on the Left. If he had reported me in context, he would have noted my concern, for example, that an SBS TV joint venture described David Hicks as a "freedom fighter".

The ABC has conceded that various Middle Eastern groups are indeed terrorist groups and the questions reflected our concern that the ABC reporters' descriptions don't reflect that fact. If Price detected a tone of exasperation at estimates, it might have been when SBS declared that it wouldn't allow its reporters to label such groups as Jemaah Islamiah terrorist because SBS wants to remain linguistically neutral. The Government has officially listed Hezbollah and *Hamas* as terrorist organisations and he should know that.

Price also misrepresented me when he wrote that I accused the ABC of "sympathising with terrorists". I was quoting the ABC's own news and current affairs rule book, a fact Mark Scott acknowledged. There were many more misrepresentations but your space limits prevent me listing them. My skin is thick enough to cop the over-the-top attack on me, but please, Matt Price, stick to the facts.

Senator Concetta Fierravanti-Wells

Parliament House, Canberra

FIRST BYTE

letters@theaustralian.com.au

You forget, David Durrant (First Byte, 10/11), that our cricketers, and footballers of various codes, get paid vast amounts of money, and are therefore bigger than the game itself.

Ron Stone

Highgate Hill, Qld

David Stone (First Byte, 9/11), take Martin Washer's \$1000 bet. Then put \$300 on a drawn series (current odds \$8), and \$300 on England winning the series (\$6). Your worst result will be a \$200 profit.

Luke Tannock

White Gum Valley, WA

Please, C. Dicker (First Byte, 10/11), stop suggesting rich entertainers such as Bono apply for positions at our national entertainment centre (aka Parliament House). The place already has a leading song-and-dance man who is ably backed by a well-versed chorus.

Col Shephard

Yamba, NSW

It's dollars to doughnuts that John Howard is kicking himself he hasn't already handed over to Peter Costello now that a new wind is blowing through Washington. Time to smell the roses, Prime Minister?

David William Hall

Southport, Qld

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Weighing the threat of an Islamic A-bomb; Would an apocalypse be embraced?

The International Herald Tribune
October 28, 2006 Saturday

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Body

For nearly 50 years, worries about a nuclear Middle East centered on Israel. Arab leaders resented the fact that Israel was the only atomic power in the region, a resentment heightened by America's tacit approval of the situation.

But they were also pretty certain that Israel, which has never explicitly acknowledged having nuclear weapons, would not drop the bomb except as a very last resort. That is why Egypt and Syria were unafraid to attack Israel during the October 1973 Yom Kippur War.

Today the nuclear game in the region has changed. When the Arab League's secretary general, Amr Moussa, called for "a Middle East free of nuclear weapons" in May, it was not Israel that prompted his remarks. He was worried about Iran, whose self-declared ambition to become a nuclear power has been steadily approaching realization.

The anti-Israel statements of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, coupled with Iran's support for Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u>, might lead one to think that the Arab states would welcome Iran's nuclear program. After all, the call to wipe the Zionist regime from the map is a longstanding cliche of Arab nationalist rhetoric.

But the interests of Shiite non-Arab Iran do not always coincide with those of Arab leaders. A nuclear Iran means, at the very least, a realignment of power dynamics in the Gulf. It could potentially mean much more: a historic shift in the position of the long-subordinated Shiite minority relative to the power and prestige of the Sunni majority, which traditionally has dominated the Muslim world.

Many Arab Sunnis fear that the moment is ripe for a Shiite rise. Iraq's Shiite majority has been asserting the right to govern, and the lesson has not been lost on the Shiite majority in Bahrain and the large minorities in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. King Abdullah of Jordan has warned of a "Shiite crescent" of power stretching from Iran to Lebanon via Iraq and, by proxy, Syria.

But geopolitics is not the only reason Sunni Arab leaders are rattled by the prospect of a nuclear Iran. They also seem to worry that Iran might actually use nuclear weapons if it gets them.

A nuclear attack on Israel would engulf the whole region. But that is not the sole danger: Sunnis in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere fear that the Iranians might just use a nuclear bomb against them.

Weighing the threat of an Islamic A-bomb Would an apocalypse be embraced?

Even as Iran's defiance of the United States and Israel wins support among some Sunnis, extremist Sunnis have been engaging in the act of takfir, condemning all Shiites as infidels. On the ground in Iraq, Sunni takfiris are putting this theory into practice, aiming at Shiite civilians and killing them indiscriminately. Shiite militias have been responding in kind, and massacres of Sunni civilians are no longer rare.

Adding the nuclear ingredient to this volatile mix will certainly produce an arms race. If Iran is going to get the bomb, its neighbors will have no choice but to keep up. North Korea, now protected by its own bomb, has threatened proliferation and in the Middle East it would find a number of willing buyers.

Small principalities with huge U.S. Air Force bases, like Qatar, might choose to rely on an American protective umbrella. But Saudi Arabia, which has always seen Iran as a threatening competitor, will not be willing to place its nuclear security entirely in American hands.

Once the Saudis are in the hunt, Egypt will need nuclear weapons to maintain its relevance in the regional power balance and sure enough, last month Gamal Mubarak, the second son of President Hosni Mubarak and Egypt's heir apparent, very publicly announced that Egypt should pursue a nuclear program.

Given the increasing instability of the Middle East, nuclear proliferation there is more worrisome than almost anywhere else on earth. As nuclear technology spreads, terrorists will enjoy increasing odds of getting their hands on nuclear weapons.

States including North Korea might sell bombs or give them to favored proxy allies, the way Iran gave Hezbollah medium-range rockets that Hezbollah used this summer during its war with Israel. Bombing through an intermediary has its advantages: Deniability is, after all, the name of the game for a government trying to avoid nuclear retaliation.

Proliferation could also happen in other ways. Imagine a succession crisis in which the Saudi government fragments and control over nuclear weapons, should the Saudis have acquired them, falls into the hands of Saudi elites who are sympathetic to Osama bin Laden, or at least to his ideas.

Or Al Qaeda itself could purchase ready-made bombs, a feat technically much less difficult than designing nuclear weapons from scratch.

So far, there are few nuclear powers from whom such bombs can be directly bought: As of today, only nine nations belong to the so-called nuclear club. But as more countries get the bomb, tracing the seller will become harder and harder, and the incentive to make a sale will increase.

The prospect of not just one Islamic bomb, but many, inevitably concentrates the mind on how Muslims whether Shiite or Sunni might use their nuclear weapons.

In the mid-1980s, when Pakistan became the first Islamic state to go nuclear, it was still possible to avoid the awkward question of whether something distinctive about Islamic belief or practice made possession of nuclear technology especially worrisome. Most observers assumed that Islamic states could be deterred from using nuclear force just like other states: by the threat of massive retaliation. In the past two decades, however, the way violence is discussed and deployed in the Muslim world has profoundly changed, particularly with the rise of suicide bombing.

In historic terms, this development is new and unexpected. Suicide bombing has no traditional basis in Islam. It became a tool of modern terrorist warfare only in 1983, when Shiite militants blew up the U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon.

What makes suicide bombing especially relevant to the nuclear question is that, by design, it unsettles the theory of deterrence. When the suicide bomber dies in an attack, he means to send the message "You cannot stop me, because I am already willing to die."

To make the challenge to deterrence even more stark, a suicide bomber who blows up a market or a funeral gathering in Iraq or Afghanistan is willing to kill innocent bystanders, including fellow Muslims. According to the prevailing ideology of suicide bombing, these victims are subjected to an involuntary martyrdom that is no less glorious for being unintentional.

If an Islamic state or Islamic terrorists used nuclear weapons against Israel, the United States or other Western targets, like London or Madrid, the retaliation would cost the lives of thousands and maybe millions of Muslims.

But following the logic of suicide bombing, the original bomber might reason that those Muslims would die in God's grace and that others would live on to fight the jihad. No state in the Muslim world has openly embraced such a view. But after 9/11, the possibility can no longer be treated as fanciful.

We urgently need to know, then, what Islamic traditions might say about the bomb. Of course, there is no single answer to this question. Nevertheless, contemporary Muslims are engaged in interpreting their tradition to ascertain how and when nuclear power may be used. Their writings, contained in fatwas and treatises that can be found on the Web and in print, tell a fascinating and disturbing story.

The last two decades have seen a challenge to the Islamic tradition of warfare under law, a challenge driven mostly by the attempt to justify suicide bombing despite its evident inconsistency with Islamic tradition, including the principle of protecting **women**, children and fellow Muslims.

The reaction to 9/11, which has, so far, been the high-water mark of suicide bombing, illustrates the difficulty of reconciling suicide bombing with Islamic law. The 9/11 attacks were certain to kill and did kill <u>women</u>, and Muslims, all in direct contravention of classical jihad principles. Since the whole point of 9/11 was to announce and embody jihad on the international stage, the attacks quickly became the centerpiece of a high-stakes debate about whether they qualified as legitimate acts of jihad.

The position of the Muslim scholars and observers who condemned the 9/11 attacks was simple and consistent across the Sunni-Shiite divide: This was not jihad but an unlawful use of violence.

As for bin Laden, his thought had developed gradually. In early pronouncements, before 9/11, he spoke as if the killing of <u>women</u> and children was inherently an atrocity. After 9/11, however, bin Laden began to suggest that American civilians were fair game.

In Saudi Arabia in particular, radical Muslim scholars with much more learning than bin Laden have sought to develop legally persuasive justifications for civilian killings. Probably the most sophisticated effort from a legal standpoint is a document titled "A Treatise on the Law of the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction Against the Unbelievers," written in 2003 by a Saudi dissident named Sheik Nasir bin Hamad al-Fahd. Fahd, a theorist rather than an activist, is currently back in prison, as he has been off and on for almost a decade.

The treatise begins with the assumption that the world's Muslims are under attack. But how are today's Muslims supposed to defend themselves, given their military inferiority? Fahd's response is that, if they have no other choice, they may use any means necessary including methods that would otherwise violate the laws of jihad. "If the unbelievers can be repelled" only by using weapons of mass destruction, then "their use is permissible, even if you kill them without exception."

Lest his argument prove too much, Fahd tempers it by the claim that the Muslims fighting the jihad may not inflict disproportionately more harm on the enemy than the enemy has inflicted on them. That raises the question of the extent of American guilt.

"Some Brothers have added up the number of Muslims killed directly or indirectly by [American] weapons and come up with a figure of nearly 10 million," the treatise states. This total, Fahd concludes, would authorize the use of weapons of mass destruction to kill 10 million Americans.

But would an Islamic state be prepared to take the jihad to the enemy even if it would result in what amounts to collective suicide through the destruction of the state and its citizens? If the leaders of Iran or some future leaders of

a radicalized, nuclear Saudi Arabia shared the aspiration to martyrdom of so many young jihadis around the world, might they be prepared to attack Israel or the United States, even if the inevitable result were the martyrdom of their entire people?

The answer depends to a large degree on whether you consider Islam susceptible to the kind of apocalyptic, millennial thought that might lead whole peoples, rather than just individuals, into suicidal behavior.

It is important to note that for all his talk of the war between civilizations, bin Laden has never spoken of the End of Days. For him, the battle between the Muslims and the infidels is part of earthly human life, and has indeed been with us since the days of the prophet himself. Even he might not be prepared to unleash a global nuclear conflagration on the expectation that a better order would emerge once many millions of Muslims and infidels died.

With respect to Shiite eschatology, there is greater reason for concern. Iran's Shiism is of the "Twelver" variety, so called because the 12th imam in the line of succession from the prophet disappeared into a state of occultation or being hidden from which he is expected to return as the mahdi, or guided one. The mahdi's appearance will usher in a golden age of justice and peace to be followed by the Day of Judgment.

Moktada al-Sadr's Shiite militia in Iraq is called Mahdi Army. Recently, Ahmadinejad contributed to renewed focus on the mahdi, by saying publicly that the mission of the Islamic revolution in Iran was to pave the way for the mahdi's return, and by visiting the mosque at Jamkaran, on the outskirts of Qom, where, according to one tradition, the vanished imam was last seen. Some reports suggest that youth religion in Iran increasingly focuses on venerating the vanished imam.

Yet although a renewed Shiite messianism does create some cause for concern about the potential uses of an Iranian bomb in particular because it suggests that Ahmadinejad may be more a utopian than a realist it is almost certainly a mistake to anticipate that Iran would use its nuclear power in a way that would provoke large-scale retaliation and assured self-destruction.

Ahmadinejad surely understands the consequences of using a nuclear bomb, and Shiite Islam, even in its messianic incarnation, still falls short of inviting nuclear retaliation and engendering collective suicide.

Noah Feldman is a law professor at New York University and adjunct senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations.

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Africa After War: Paths to Forgiveness - Ugandans welcome 'terrorists' back

Christian Science Monitor October 23, 2006, Monday

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Dateline: PATONGO, UGANDA

Highlight: In the first of a four-part series, the Monitor examines how Africans are developing a unique form of

reconciliation based on community and forgiveness.

Body

Today a doe-eyed 20-something named Betty Atto, a former member of one of the world's most-brutal rebel armies, finally gets to take her first step toward redemption - toward the forgiveness she now seeks from the people she terrorized for so long.

It's a sun-drenched afternoon here in Africa's heartland, and Betty stands beneath a "blessing tree," fidgeting with the pleats in her fanciest skirt. She's waiting with 400 other former rebels for a ritual to begin that will welcome them back into their community.

"We did bad things," Betty says of her six years in the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), a group infamous for chopping off lips and other body parts of civilians - and forcing children to become sex slaves and soldiers.

Today's main event involves Betty and other ex-rebels stepping on an egg - an act that symbolically breaks open a new life and returns them to innocence. It's the first step in a long process of earning forgiveness from their community. And it stands as one example of how African notions of justice differ from the approach typical in the US and other Western nations.

Indeed, Western civilization - with its emphasis on individual rights and responsibilities - might tilt toward severely punishing people like Betty and her one-time commander, LRA chief Joseph Kony. After all, Mr. Kony presides over a "terrorist" group largely responsible for as many as 200,000civilian deaths during two decades of war. Last year, the International Criminal Court (ICC) in the Hague issued indictments for Kony and his top commanders for crimes against humanity and war crimes.

Yet here in Uganda, there's serious talk of reconciling even with Kony if peace talks succeed. Such an impulse echoes Nelson Mandela's famous forgiveness of his South African captors. It emerges from a unique continental ethos of communalism, in which the desire to punish individuals for their crimes is balanced against the need to restore wholeness to the community - to unite victims, perpetrators, and their families. Indeed, it's often a practical response enshrined in tribal jurisprudence: Villages in small, poor communities need every last person to survive. These days, the tendency is often magnified by the spread of Christianity - with its focus on forgiveness - across the continent.

Africa After War: Paths to Forgiveness - Ugandans welcome 'terrorists' back

But Africa's reconciliation ethos now faces several difficult tests. The number of major armed conflicts on the continent has fallen, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, from 11 in 1999 to just three in 2005. Yet the aftermath of war is not simply peace. As conflict-weary societies such as Burundi, Rwanda, and Liberia start to rebuild, a common conundrum looms: How to reconcile bitter enemies so all can move forward, while also ensuring justice for those who committed atrocities.

If these nations succeed - as South Africa largely did a decade ago - they may stand as models of how victims and their attackers can move out of the violent past. With its "uncomfortable commitment to bringing the perpetrator back into the family," says Alex Boraine, deputy chair of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, "Africa has something to say to the world."

* * *

It wasn't as if Betty Atto wanted to become a "terrorist."

During a raid on her village when she was a teenager, she was kidnapped and forced to become a sex slave and soldier in a rebel group the US has labeled a terrorist organization. If she dared refuse an order from a commander, she faced almost-certain death. So, gradually, she became an active member of the LRA, which, diplomats point out, has killed more people than Al Qaeda (not including insurgents in Iraq), Hizbullah, and *Hamas* combined.

Then, early one morning in 2004, after six years of captivity, she and three others made a risky escape, running through high grass to a Ugandan Army barracks.

Suddenly, Betty was free. But her homecoming was complicated. During her absence, her two brothers had been killed by the LRA - the same army Betty had been forced to join. It contributed to "many problems" Betty has with her family and community. Fellow villagers mutter "terrorist" as she and others walk past.

In some ways, the war in northern Uganda is a vicious family feud. The LRA is dominated by the Acholi ethnic group. When rebels began their quest to overthrow the Ugandan government in 1987, they had tacit support from many Acholis, who complained of economic and political marginalization by the government. But amid wartime destruction, civilian support waned. Then the LRA turned on villagers, raiding their houses for recruits and food and killing or maiming resisters. It is one of the world's worst humanitarian crises. Most of the region's 2 million displaced survivors now cluster for safety in fetid camps rampant with alcoholism and crime.

But recently the LRA has lost momentum, in part because of declining support from its longtime sponsor, Sudan. A cease-fire was signed in August as a prelude to a comprehensive peace agreement that so far remains elusive.

This weekend, Uganda's president Yoweri Museveni met LRA negotiators in Sudan for the first time since the talks began in July. Although the meeting reportedly consisted of a bitter, five-minute exchange, his appearance was intended to demonstrate the government's commitment to the talks.

The moves toward an accord have meant an influx of ex-rebels coming home. Increasingly, the Acholis face a tough decision: How to treat the returning "terrorists" who are often members of their own ethnic group - and even their own families. A poll last year by the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) in New York highlights the problem: 76 percent of Ugandans want wrongdoers "held accountable," yet 65 percent support amnesty for ex-LRA members.

Betty, meanwhile, feels the hostility. She constantly, almost reflexively, looks over her shoulder in fear. Sometimes she considers going back to the LRA. At least there she has a "husband" - a rebel commander who made her his wife. She has a lot riding on today's egg-stepping ceremony.

Indeed, the ritual's practical purpose is to begin to reunite families and communities divided by war - to help siblings, parents, and cousins resume lives together. Then they can try to lift themselves out of the region's crushing poverty.

Sounding unsure, Betty says of the ritual, "I hope it will help."

* * *

Ugandans, and other Africans, don't usually advocate instant forgiveness - a snap absolution of sins. The process can take years. In one case in northern Uganda, for example, a murder in 1977 wasn't resolved through traditional means until 2005.

But in all cases, restoring harmony is paramount.

If, for instance, a man from one clan kills a man from another clan, traditional justice dictates an immediate separation of the two groups. Members of each clan don't dare draw water from the same well or go to the same market. It's a cooling-off period meant to avoid revenge killings.

Then the wait begins. The perpetrator is never forced to divulge his crime. Instead, many Ugandans believe that spirits - or departed ancestors - will punish him until he confesses. If a string of misfortunes befall a person, it's assumed he's covering up a misdeed.

Seen from this paradigm of truth-getting, the logic of Western justice seems flawed. As many here see it, when Western lawyers duel before a judge or jury, they're simply trying to outsmart each other - and avoid having the truth about their client come out. Latim Geresome, an adviser to the Acholi paramount chief, says of Western justice, "You stand up and swear on the Bible to tell the truth, the whole truth, and then it's lies, lies, lies all the way."

Here, once the wrongdoer confesses, shuttle diplomacy begins: An elder mediates an agreement by which the perpetrator's clan agrees to pay the victim's clan a certain amount. Traditionally, the currency was cows. Now it's often cash.

When a deal is struck, every member of the perpetrator's clan pitches in to fund the settlement. All in the group are seen as responsible for allowing the perpetrator to err. So punishment is distributed. Each family is assigned an amount. "A child does not belong to the parents alone," Mr. Geresome explains. "And the crime has affected the whole clan," so all must pay.

With details arranged, a final ceremony is set. One ritual involves each group bringing a goat to a neutral spot. Each animal is cut in half, and two halves are swapped. Symbolically, this creates two goats that are whole again.

In a society still heavily reliant on groups of people to haul water, build houses, and do other tasks, normal life could fall apart if two groups were forever separated. Reconciliation is crucial, explains Erin Baines, a Canadian researcher working in the region. "It's all about ensuring the unity and harmony of the clans."

* * *

The prelude to the egg-stepping ceremony includes a phalanx of about 30 dancers with ostrich-feather headdresses who are high-kicking, shout-singing, and beating drums in a raucous display for the tribal chiefs.

The royal dance seems like a throwback to primal times. Yet peeking out from beneath the dancers' cow-skin skirts are nylon gym shorts like those sold at Target - stamped with names such as "Sport Collection."

Traditionally, the egg-stepping ceremony was used to welcome villagers home from long journeys. Now Acholi chiefs are trying to adapt it to help salve, or end, Africa's longest civil war. And many Ugandans put great faith in age-old methods. In the ICTJ poll, 30 percent of residents said peace could be achieved through dialogue; 26 percent through amnesty, forgiveness, and reconciliation; 14 percent through military means; and just 5 percent through justice.

The dialogue-and-reconciliation focus, including the ceremonies, is "part of a cultural revival," says Dr. Baines. By sponsoring the rituals, she explains, the chiefs are saying, "We're really trying to put our house in order" - in a traditional African way.

Africa After War: Paths to Forgiveness - Ugandans welcome 'terrorists' back

They're also trying to head off the imposition of Western-style justice: The ICC issued arrest warrants for five top LRA leaders last October, trying to end the conflict by punishing the individuals responsible. The move raised hackles among tribal chiefs, who see it as contradictory to their conciliatory approach. Yet their traditional method has major flaws. With so many atrocities, for instance, it's not clear which perpetrators hurt which victims, and one-on-one reconciliation is impossible.

There's also plenty of skepticism. "The ICC is a good idea," says Edward Ochken, a dissenting chief. After all that the LRA leaders have done, he adds, "No one can say they should not be tried." Indeed, 66 percent of residents say top commanders should be punished, according to the poll. Many, however, distinguish between the leaders and young soldiers who were following orders.

Yet, according to the survey, 22 percent would forgive even the top LRA leaders. In a community full of traditional beliefs, spirits are often assumed to be controlling people. A wiry ex-rebel named Samuel Watmon explains how he would approach Kony, the LRA's mystical leader: "I would say to him, 'It was a ghost that was leading you, so let's forget about the past.' "

* * *

As the sun grows hotter, the returnees, including Betty, wait in long, snaking lines for their official welcoming to begin. With a forceful stomp, the first ex-rebel in line sends bits of shell and yoke splattering. Hundreds of onlookers cheer.

One by one, the former rebels step on the ever-dwindling remains of the egg. Then they pass through a gantlet of smiling chiefs who shake their hands vigorously. Many <u>women</u> returnees carry babies who were born in the bush, often as a result of rape. When they arrive at the egg, the avuncular elders insist the children's feet be placed on the egg, too. A spirit of reconciliation is in the air.

Afterward, as night falls, Betty relaxes. "I feel cleansed," she says. After a day of being welcomed and celebrated, she adds, "Some of the bad things in my heart: they are gone."

What is the LRA?

- * The Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) emerged in the late 1980s among northern Uganda's Acholi ethnic group, who have long complained of being neglected by the government.
- * Led by Joseph Kony, the LRA is one of Africa's most brutal rebel armies, uprooting some 2 million people and abducting about 25,000 children as soldiers and sex slaves.
- * Five of its top commanders are wanted for war crimes by the International Criminal Court.
- * Most LRA members are now in two camps in Sudan. A cease-fire was signed in August. But negotiations for a permanent peace deal between rebels and the Uganda government have stalled.

Source: Reuters, BBC.

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Body

A mission to understand decades of distrust between Palestinians and Israelis transpires into an unforgettable journey

Two summers ago, I met Lara Karam while writing an article about Creativity for Peace, a three-week program in Glorieta that seeks to promote peace and understanding between Palestinian and Israeli girls. Lara is a Greek-Orthodox Palestinian who lives in Ramallah, in Israel's West Bank. I listened to her tell stories about military occupation, living in a constant state of fear and the difficulty of seeing eye-to-eye with Israeli girls.

Back then, Israel was as foreign as an uncharted planet to me, and the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis was even more baffling. So I decided to educate myself on the situation. In December 2006, I asked two friends of mine to join me on a trip to Israel. Conveniently, my girlfriend also happened to be studying in Jerusalem at Hebrew University during the spring semester. After a short stay in Greece, we flew to Tel Aviv on May 21 and returned to the United States on June 2. What we experienced was far from anything we had anticipated.

Passport problems

We were trying to get from the West Bank to Jerusalem after a day exploring Ramallah when our sherut, a shared minibus, stopped at Qalandia checkpoint. Qalandia is one the West Bank's largest checkpoints, separating the Palestinian territories from Israel.

A robust Israeli soldier carrying an M-16 over his shoulder climbed aboard to check our passports. Patrick Rice, my traveling companion and college roommate from Occidental College, handed him our passports, confident our American status would allow us to pass with ease.

"Your visa is not visible on the passport," the soldier said, pointing to the stamp we had received upon entrance at the airport in Tel Aviv. The amount of time we were legally allowed to tour Israel was illegible on both of our passports. "I cannot let you pass. I'm sorry."

Patrick and I sat there, perplexed for a moment. We tried explaining to the soldier it was not our fault the passport hadn't been stamped clearly, but he merely shook his head and said he could not grant us entry without a proper visa. Patrick and I exchanged worried glances as we began pondering what life would be like living in the West Bank. I pictured my girlfriend, who had warned us against going, folding her arms and saying, "I told you so."

The soldier soon exited the vehicle to discuss with his superiors. As we waited, I stared out the window toward the infamous West Bank barrier wall, noticing the stark contrast between the two sides. On the Palestinian side, filth

and trash littered the streets, which were dotted with potholes and neglected medians. The Israeli side was neatly groomed, with flawless sidewalks and traffic lights. It was like looking at a border between a Third World country and a developed country. Where Juárez meets El Paso came to mind.

Eventually, a <u>female</u> soldier entered the sherut and began asking a series of questions. What is our nationality? Why did we visit Ramallah? Whom did I know there? The strangest was, "Are you Christians?" I looked at Patrick, an agnostic, who shrugged. I said I was raised Catholic, which appeared to satisfy her so she handed us our passports and waved the driver on. Half relieved and half irritated by the inconvenience, Patrick and I took a deep breath and relaxed back into our seats.

When we returned to our hostel in the Old City of East Jerusalem, we learned that two Palestinian gunmen had opened fire on an Israeli patrol unit near the Qalandia checkpoint, wounding four Israelis, around the same time we were crossing. It became clear to Patrick and me that we were in the middle of one of the modern world's longest and most bitter conflicts. The complexity of the situation and the danger involved began to sink in. It was no longer just another clip on the evening news — it was reality and we were witnessing it.

When I began planning a backpacking trip to Israel, friends and acquaintances often asked one of two questions: Are you religious? Do you have a death wish? The answer to both, of course, was no. Two buddies from college, Erik Quezada and Patrick, and I simply wanted to travel. Using money we had saved from past summer jobs, we spent 13 days touring the Holy Land.

None of us is of Jewish descent. But that doesn't mean we couldn't enjoy eating kosher meals, attending a Shabbat dinner and floating on the Dead Sea. So we did exactly that.

Shalom, Israel

Had it not been over religion, we soon discovered what might inspire so many different factions to spill blood fighting over this land. Israel is a beautiful country that extends from the snow-capped mountains in the Golan Heights to the desolate Negev Desert in the south. Despite how small it is (the country is about the size of the state of New Jersey), Israel affords a variety of landscapes and scenery.

We arrived in Tel Aviv at 4:20 a.m. on May 21, not knowing a word of Hebrew besides "shalom." By the time we reached our hostel, it was almost 6 a.m. and check-ins weren't allowed until 11. Tired, jet-lagged and unfamiliar with the area, we walked a block and slept on the beach.

Within four hours, Erik had been asked to show his passport three times by the local Tel Aviv authority. Erik, who is Mexican-American and of dark complexion, noticed several beachgoers eyeing him suspiciously and pointing to him as they spoke with the police. Patrick and I, who are both fair, were never asked to show any form of identification even though we were sleeping adjacent to Erik.

In Israel, racial profiling appeared to be blatant, but I knew that was the way it had to be. Although slightly irritated by the incident, we recognized the necessity for such security measures in a city that has experienced multiple suicide bombings.

After a night in Tel Aviv, we spent the next two days touring the north. A friend of mine named Chen Blecher, who lives in Timrat, a small agricultural community between Nazareth and Haifa, offered to drive us to the major sites and attractions, including the Sea of Galilee, the Basilica of Annunciation (where the Archangel Gabriel visited the Virgin Mary) and the Bahá'í gardens.

Chen and I have known each other since we were 15 years old, and although we're the same age, our experiences have been drastically different. All Israeli citizens, including <u>women</u>, must serve in the military at least two years when they turn 18. It was shocking to see boys and girls my age holding M-16s as they casually hung out with friends or shopped at the mall.

For almost two years, Chen, who has yet to see combat, has been training in the Israeli Air Force to become a helicopter pilot. Soon, he must decide whether he wants to continue training or attend college instead. If he decides

to continue, he'll be obligated to serve nine more years. As a friend, I wish he'd steer clear from the violence, but I understand the attraction in pursuing a career in aeronautics.

Upon arrival, Chen's family provided us with two gigantic meals within three short hours of each other. We stuffed ourselves with hummus and pita bread and washed it down with Israeli beer. Throughout our time in Israel, it seemed, we were constantly eating one meal after another, even if we weren't hungry.

At 10 p.m. Chen's mother promptly sent us to bed and said she'd wake us up in an hour. I wasn't sure if late-night naps were a unique Israeli custom, so I asked Chen what was going on. He said we were resting before we went to the nightclub.

"Why so late?" I asked.

"Late? We'll be early if we make it there by one," Chen said. Apparently I was novice to the Israeli party scene.

The next night, we caught a bus to Jerusalem, the crux of the Western world's three largest religions.

40-year anniversary

We wanted to learn about the cultures and traditions of Palestinians and Israelis as much as we wished to gain a better understanding of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Interestingly, our trip nearly coincided with the 40-year anniversary of Israel's Six-Day War, in which Israel obtained the Golan Heights, the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, East Jerusalem and the Sinai Peninsula. The war might have guaranteed the survival of Israel as a state, but it also brought decades of occupation, illegal settlements, intensified Palestinian nationalism, suicide bombings, a separation wall and a culture of distrust. During our trip, we observed many of these tribulations.

When I told Lara that we were visiting Ramallah, she encouraged me to visit the West Bank. She has seen her share of violence. Five years ago, her family returned home from Jerusalem to find her grandmother's apartment barricaded by Israeli tanks and soldiers, who were using the building as a sniper post. Her hometown was facing one of the worst military occupations ever.

Fortunately, such occurrences have become less frequent in Ramallah. Occasionally, however, firefights between Fatah and *Hamas* militia have played out in the streets of the city. Many people warned us against visiting Ramallah, describing it as an unsafe breeding ground for hatred against Israelis and Americans alike. We decided to take the risk and see the occupied West Bank, a short distance from East Jerusalem.

Ramallah, considered the capital of the Palestinian territories, is a community rich in culture and excitement. The streets were chaotic and bustling with pedestrians, who made no effort to yield to traffic. We ate traditional Arabic food, including falafel, kebab and Arabic coffee. We even visited the tomb of former Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat at the PLO headquarters.

Unfortunately, Ramallah is not typical of how the majority of Palestinians live. Most of the region is ravaged by economic sanctions from the Israeli government. Today, more than 50 percent of Palestinian families live below the poverty line, which many attribute to the international boycott on the Palestinian government.

Lara and her friends talked about the impact the separation barrier is having on Palestinians by restricting their ability to travel freely within the West Bank. In some cases, the barrier has separated farmers from their land. The wall, which has been under construction since 2002 to prevent suicide bombers from entering Israel, was spray-painted with phrases such as "stop the racist wall," "stop apartheid" and "justice for Palestine."

From Lara's house we were able to see the nearby Israeli settlements of Beit-El and Psagot, which are accessed by private Israeli roads. The settlements in the West Bank have been criticized internationally for inhibiting the creation of a viable Palestinian state.

Our day in Ramallah concluded with some Arabic ice cream called bouzat haleeb, which is a gummier version of traditional ice cream. As we ate on a nearby hilltop, we watched the sun set behind the Tel Aviv skyline on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea nearly 10 miles away.

The proximity of everything in Israel never ceased to amaze us.

Are these your high heels?

We spent the remainder of our time in Jerusalem making day trips to the Dead Sea (the Earth's lowest point), the Ein Gedi (an oasis in the Judean Desert) and climbing the Masada, an ancient Jewish fortress that was taken over by the Romans.

Visiting the historical sites in Jerusalem alone can be exhausting. So on our last day, we treated ourselves to an afternoon basking on the beach in Tel Aviv.

Leaving Israel was grueling, however. Expectedly, the Ben Gurion Airport in Tel Aviv has a most intense and meticulous security. Each passenger must undergo a series of questions before placing their belongings in an X-ray machine. Passengers are then required to completely unpack their luggage in front of an airline security officer.

My baggage situation was a little unique; I was carrying a bag home for my girlfriend, who, during her stay at Hebrew University, and had accumulated more than she could handle.

As the officer began digging through her bag, pulling out a pink vest, a purse and a couple of Cosmopolitan magazines, I started to wonder if the officer was getting the wrong impression. Finally, she picked up a pair of high-heels.

"Is this yours?"

I thought she'd never ask.

"Definitely, not," I said and explained my situation to her.

To make matters worse, I had a Palestinian headscarf in my other bag, which I had purchased in Ramallah. For this, they were a little less forgiving.

An officer immediately asked me to follow him into a private security room where I was asked to perform the standard procedure of removing all metallic objects from my pockets and walk through a metal detector. Why I was forced to do this over a souvenir, I can't understand. Finally, I was allowed to board the plane and return home to New Mexico.

An emerging culture of distrust

Throughout Israel, I sensed an undeniable culture of animosity and distrust between Palestinians and Israelis. Visiting friends from both sides helped me realize that the conflict has become a battle over identity in addition to land.

When I asked Chen if he thought the war would end soon, he said, "It's not a war. It's security. Maintaining security will never end." Lara, on the other hand, said attacks against Israel would stop if the occupation ended and the wall was taken down.

In general, we found that both sides can be extremely biased and highly nationalistic. While I sympathize with both groups, it was difficult to completely agree with either side. At times I felt I had to be careful with my words. In front of Lara, I wasn't sure whether to refer to the region as Israel or Palestine. With Chen, I avoided discussing the human-rights record of the Israeli military.

Aside from the bitterness and tension, I found Israel to be one of the most beautiful and culturally rich countries I have ever visited. In particular, both Palestinians and Israelis love to feed you and make you feel at home, with the

exception of Tel Aviv on a Friday morning, when people are cranky and probably hung over from the night before. In that case, you're better off waiting your own table.

For the sake of my friends and the wonderful people we met throughout our trip, I maintain hope that Israel and Palestine will one day coexist without the threat of violence.

Conor L. Sanchez, a former Generation Next contributor, is a student at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

Graphic

1. Conor Sanchez pauses in front of a view of the Old City in Jererselum from the Mount of Olives.

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Body

Pakistanis intensify protest over Rushdie's knighthood

Pakistani protests over the presentation of a knighthood to Salman Rushdie were escalating to ever-more shrill and offensive heights. Incited by demagogic remarks from some of Pakistan's hard-line politicians, crowds in the streets of Islamabad were burning effigies of the Queen while the Senate, Pakistan's upper house of parliament, approved a unanimous resolution demanding that Britain withdraw the honor from the author of a "blasphemous book." The Pakistani legislature may be thought to be within its rights to express what it describes as its "annoyance over blatant disregard for the sentiments of Muslims." But it is of another order entirely for the religious affairs minister of Pakistan, a country that regards itself as an ally of the West in the war on terror, to incite violence within the United Kingdom.

Mohammed Ijaz ul-Haq may have been forced to "clarify" his inflammatory suggestion that suicide bombing was an appropriate response to the Rushdie knighthood, but the Pakistan government has, as yet, offered no official condemnation of his statement. Nor, apparently, has the British Government called for one. Even allowing for the diplomatic delicacy of dealing with an ally, it seems peculiarly feeble to limit our response to these ugly threats to an expression of "deep concern" from Britain's high commissioner.

- London Daily Telegraph

Gonzales deserves a vote of no confidence

A no-confidence vote for Alberto Gonzales is long overdue.

But our Congress just couldn't do it. In fact, members of Congress couldn't even agree to debate a nonbinding resolution of no confidence in our embattled attorney general. Pathetic. And, predictably, partisan.

The majority of Republicans, with the help of a few Democrats and one Independent, sunk the resolution, despite their criticism of Gonzales, who is suspected of firing nine U.S. attorneys for purely political reasons. Gonzales' defenders contend the fuss itself is what's purely political.

It is true U.S. attorneys serve at the pleasure of the president and that George Bush's administration was hardly the first to fire any. But it seems just as certain several of the most recent slate of terminees were targeted for reasons other than poor performance, as contended.

... Alberto Gonzales has done little during his tenure but erode American liberties and steadily advance unwarranted increases in executive power. In the latest flap, he has done nothing but obfuscate through convenient "memory

lapses," some of which make one wonder whether he even knows how to do his job. To date, five members of his department have resigned, most recently Mike Elston, a fella whom some of the ousted attorneys accuse of trying to compel their silence.

A vote of no confidence is the least of what Gonzales deserves. Not all symbolism is empty.

- Montrose (Colo.) Daily Press

Following a visit to Capitol Hill by President Bush, there was renewed enthusiasm for an Immigration Reform bill that had been abandoned by Senate leaders a couple of weeks back. Now, if you believe Senate Majority Leader Harry Reid, and Republican Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, the comprehensive legislation may yet be revived and adopted by the Fourth of July break. ...

One of the better planks of the current immigration bill is that it would require all U.S. companies, through the Department of Homeland Security, to do a much better job of verifying immigration status of potential employees. This part won't work, however, unless everyone plays by the same rules, unless everyone obeys the same set of laws.

Otherwise we'll have more of the same, confusion and unfruitful rhetoric and a hodgepodge of legal wrangling with no clearly defined precedent. ...

President Bush has stood up on this one, in the face of opposition from his own party. He has done so because he realizes immigration reform is an issue of vital importance for national security, for economic stability, both now and into the future.

He knows also that the longer it lingers, the longer it hangs in the wind to be thrashed about on talk radio and in blogland, the more complicated and divisive it will become.

This country does not need any more of that. It cannot afford it.

- Herald News, West Paterson, N.J.

Among the most frustrating aspects of the Duke lacrosse case was that the weakness of the prosecution's case was evident practically from the start. If Durham District Attorney Mike Nifong had been more restrained in pursuing the case, three young men might not have been traumatized, a travesty of justice might have been avoided - and Nifong might still be district attorney. ...

Nifong, during the hearing on his disbarment last week, continued to suggest that something illegal had occurred at the party. His obstinacy and his apparent inability to accept the fallout from his actions undoubtedly played against him in the hearing. ...

The three young men were the real victims in this case. But they were not the only ones.

Duke University, which reached an undisclosed financial settlement with the players, saw its campus torn apart by this inflammatory case and its reputation sullied as a result of its overreaction to the accusations. Justice also was a victim in this case, done in by what has aptly been described by prosecutors as Nifong's "tragic rush to accuse." ...

- The Herald, Rock Hill, S.C.

Ha'aretz, Tel-Aviv, Israel, on the Erez crossing:

Many Israelis are watching the television news these days with feelings of powerlessness and shame. They see hundreds of haunted and frightened <u>women</u> and children crowding into the corridor of the Erez crossing and asking to be allowed to flee Gaza through Israel to the West Bank in order to save their lives. But the defense establishment sees something else: It sees wanted terrorists about to blow themselves up and Iranian agents. The

defense establishment apparently has its own vision, which does not let emotional or humanitarian considerations confuse it or cause it to change its rigidly made-up mind. The pictures at the Erez crossing remind any person who still tries not to forget harsh scenes of locked, sealed gates from the previous century.

... The fear that dangerous <u>Hamas</u> operatives might infiltrate into the West Bank is not baseless. But the Shin Bet security service presumably knows how to properly screen those seeking to pass - if that is what Jerusalem decides to do. In the dark days before the Holocaust, it was similarly argued, not without justification, that the German and Austrian refugees fleeing for their lives could include moles seeking to assimilate into the countries through which they passed and sabotage them. It must be hoped that Israel's first, cruel and unreasonable response to the disturbing scenes on the Gaza border will not be its last word. Ministers Daniel Friedmann and Gideon Ezra, the latter of whom has great security experience, have both spoken out in favor of a wiser and more humane policy.

From time to time, Israel dispatches rescue expeditions to disaster areas - the work of nature or of man. ... All these expeditions were organized by the beautiful Israel. It is unclear, unreasonable and inhumane that here of all places, right in our backyard, Israel should insist on revealing its closed, ugly face. Let the gates be opened immediately, and Israel will appear as it should be.

Winnipeg Free Press, Winnipeg, Canada, on Afghanistan:

A report on the murder of a Canadian aid worker in Afghanistan last summer should give serious pause for reflection to Canadians who think that this country's combat role there should be ended and replaced by aid and reconstruction work.

Mike Frastacky, a Vancouver carpenter, was building a school in northern Afghanistan when he was killed by antigovernment forces - hauled from his bed, tied up and shot three times after the terrorist leader gave the order, "Kill the infidel."

A report on the incident by Afghan security investigators reveals that the killers were terrorists affiliated with the Taliban or its extreme Islamist ally Hezb-e Islami, and that his death was a planned, political murder rather than a random act of violence. He was killed because he was doing reconstruction.

This is the threat that every aid and reconstruction worker in Afghanistan lives with on a daily basis, and their situation seems likely to become more dangerous rather than less as the Taliban becomes increasingly violent in its efforts to regain power. ...

These events emphasize the importance of a continued combat role for Canada and its NATO allies in the Afghan war. ...

Maintaining Canada's will to fight that war, however, is certain to grow more difficult as casualties mount. ...

There are indications that the terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan are experiencing increasing difficulties in finding recruits among Afghans themselves and have been replenishing their ranks with Chechens, Uzbeks and Arabs, veterans of various Asian wars and jihads. That may be an extension of the war, but it is not one that should discourage Canada. ...

Chicago Tribune, on the surge:

The "surge" is a success.

The "surge" is a failure.

Come September, it is likely that you'll be hearing both verdicts from politicians, analysts and your neighbors. And it's likely that evidence in Iraq will support either conclusion. That's because success and failure hinge on definitions

and expectations - how much better or worse is Baghdad? - not to mention rough statistics and anecdotes that tell at best only a sliver of the story.

Those who see success will probably point to subsiding violence in some parts of Baghdad and the undeniably positive alliances with Sunni tribesmen in Anbar province against Al Qaeda. Those who discern failure will find rising numbers of sectarian killings, suicide car bombings and an Iraqi parliament frustratingly unable or unwilling to set aside sectarian agendas to build a minimally functioning democracy.

There are few things more perilous than predicting events in Iraq. But absent a huge change in momentum, it seems likely that no matter what the statistics and arguments, September will bring political pressure for another shift in American strategy.

The "surge" has shown that more troops can bring a measure of security to some neighborhoods in Baghdad. But it has also shown the limits of such forces in the absence of effective Iraqi political leadership. ...

On the Net:

http://www.chicagotribune.com.

June 17

The Kentucky Enquirer, Fort Mitchell, Ky., on American's foreign language skills:

More than 200 million Chinese elementary and secondary students are studying English, a required course in all primary schools. Meanwhile, just 24,000 American students are studying Chinese.

As American companies fight to retain their dominant spot in tough global markets, the language imbalance could prove to be as big an economic issue as the trade imbalance.

But besides impeding commerce, the lack of foreign language skills adds to cultural ignorance and hinders communication just as the U.S. faces strained relations around the globe.

The seriousness - and growing implications - of America's pitiful foreign language program is evidenced by the Bush administration's 2006 creation of the National Security Language Initiative. The program has sent more than \$80 million into U.S. schools for targeted study. ...

The languages the Bush administration says are critical to national security and economic development - Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, Japanese, Russian and Korean - combined enroll less than 1 percent of U.S. high school students.

Schools will respond to higher state requirements and increased parental demand for foreign language offerings, but there's a critical role for American businesses as well. Offering targeted financial support for teacher recruitment and training, curriculum and testing development, and language enrichment programs would be a great way to help grow a bilingual and culturally sensitive work force....

...

On the Net:

http://news.enquirer.com

June 18

The Gazette, Colorado Springs, Colo., on the resignation of North Carolina District Attorney Michael Nifong:

Friday saw the welcome resignation of Durham County District Attorney Michael Nifong, who was under investigation by the North Carolina State Bar for ethics violations stemming from dubious charges of rape and sexual assault brought against three members of Duke University's lacrosse team.

It remains to be seen if Nifong's license to practice law will be pulled. But his ethics trial and resignation is at least a rare and welcome moment of accountability for a public employee who seems to have abused his power in ways calculated to advance his political campaign and encourage the polarization of a community.

Although it is far too early to tell whether it will serve as a warning to other prosecutors in the country who are sometimes tempted to abuse their power, it suggests a certain self-correcting mechanism that still abides in the American justice system. ...

On the Net:

http://www.gazette.com

June 16

The Watertown (N.Y.) Daily Times, on FEMA storm aid:

The Federal Emergency Management Agency says it paid too much to Gulf Coast hurricane victims - about \$485 million.

The agency has been trying to recover the money from people it says should not have been assisted, according to USA Today.

The other day, a federal judge in New Orleans told the agency to stop hounding storm victims for money until it can better explain to people what they owe. ...

Sen. Mary Landrieu, D-La., said: "FEMA should aggressively pursue cases of fraud and misuse of funds, but I think they have to keep that effort separate from harassing taxpaying, hardworking storm survivors to pay back money FEMA either put in their hands or encouraged them to take."

That is certainly true. People on the Gulf Coast are having a hard enough time rebuilding and recovering from Hurricanes Katrina, Rita and Wilma. The last thing they need is the government demanding they return money the agency paid them after the storms.

Even if FEMA overpaid people, did the agency inform them that the money might have to be returned? Would it have made a difference?

People in distress are going to use funds provided them by government, private agencies or caring individuals. That is what the money is for.

It is unconscionable for the government to return many months or years after a natural disaster and ask a storm victim to give back the money. ...

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On the Net:

http://www.watertowndailytimes.com

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The Australian (Australia) March 27, 2007 Tuesday All-round Country Edition

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Body

MATP

John Howard is engaging in untruthful scare tactics

MOST TALKED ABOUT

WORK CHOICES

IN his latest defence of Work Choices, John Howard claimed the IR reforms had not penalised any employees and warned that if they were reversed, Australia would be going back to "stagnant jobs growth" ("PM vows no IR backdown", 26/3).

Really? The period 1998-9 to 2003-4 under the previous industrial relations system was a "golden age" of strong productivity, employment and real wage growth. Since the new legislation was implemented a year ago, these indicators have generally shown less buoyancy -- not more.

The Prime Minister can put a plausible case for his reforms. He can argue that, over time, they will make it easier for the fringe jobless to enter the workforce and that the pain caused to many low-paid workers will be only transitional. He can also argue that while there are other policy means of achieving the same employment outcomes, they would involve an "unacceptable" increase in the tax burden. Many economists will challenge even such an assessment as much too rosy. But at least it would be an honest defence. Instead, John Howard is engaging in untruthful scare tactics.

Fred Argy

Nicholls, ACT

THE claims by the Howard Government that the buoyant job market is due to the Work Choices legislation are not supportable without factual statistics regarding AWAs. It's more logical to conclude that the favourable job situation is due mainly to the economic boom resulting from high commodities exports. Until the job market moves into a position closer to equilibrium, the effects of Work Choices cannot be fully evaluated.

The Government's reluctance to release detailed information on AWAs places greater doubt on its positive claims about the Work Choices legislation.

Ray Sanderson

South Yarra, Vic

THE faith of the Howard Government in the stupidity of voters is touching. It quotes figures on AWAs as if they are true across the board. Mine workers in booming Western Australia are doing well, and good luck to them. But I suspect I'm not the only employee to ask what that's got to do with my pay and conditions?

Marcia Turner

Gosford, NSW

THE big problem for the Howard Government on IR is that it appears to believe its own spin. John Howard, Peter Costello and Joe Hockey trot out statistics purporting to show that employees are financially better off under Work Choices. That cuts no ice with individuals who draw their conclusions directly from the size of their pay packets. The same individuals would also be better placed than any government spin doctor to make a risk assessment of their employment security and financial prospects.

Agnes Mack

Chatswood, NSW

AFTER the NSW election result, is there anyone who'd bet there won't be a huge taxpayer-funded "public education" publicity campaign before the upcoming federal election to tell us how wonderful Work Choices really is?

Gordon Drennan

Burton, SA

IT was interesting to hear NSW Premier Morris lemma announce that his re-election was all about voter concern over Work Choices: he's five minutes back in the job and the spin starts again. At least we know what to expect.

Labor's re-election was not about Work Choices, but a choice between an incompetent and arrogant premier who has managed to run the state into the ground while lurching from one crisis to the next, and an opposition leader who can't run his own party, throws away a winning lead by sheer incompetence and would, in all possibility, have messed up the NSW economy even more.

R. Sherriff

Winmalee, NSW

I REFER to Laurie Oakes's interview with Morris lemma on the Nine Network's Sunday program in the wake of Labor's re-election in NSW, specifically to Mr lemma's comments alleging that voters at Wattle Grove in the Menai electorate in Sydney's south complained to him about the federal Work Choices legislation.

As Mr Iemma was aware, I was also near the door of the Wattle Grove polling booth on Saturday. If these claims were true, why didn't Mr Iemma refer those voters to me, as I am their federal member and Work Choices is federal legislation? As I was only a matter of steps away from Mr Iemma, why didn't those voters also take the opportunity to raise their concerns with me?

In the two hours or so I was at this booth, the single constituent who raised Work Choices with me subsequently agreed her concern was not about this legislation at all. Putting it into perspective, since the legislation was introduced 12 months ago, only 14 constituents out of almost 90,000 have raised any concern with me regarding Work Choices.

Danna Vale

Federal Member for Hughes

AS someone who was giving out how-to-vote cards last Saturday, the most common message I kept hearing from voters was, "We will give Morris one more chance, we hate John Howard's industrial relations laws".

Con Vaitsas

Ashbury, NSW

Iran is copying Hezbollah's ploy in Israel-Lebanon war

IN taking 15 British sailors and marines as prisoners on what appear to be trumped-up charges of trespassing into Iranian territory ("Iran may charge Brits as spies", 26/3), Iran is copying the tactics of <u>Hamas</u> and Hezbollah in the recent Israel-Lebanon war. It's looking for bargaining chips (in case of sanctions against its nuclear enrichment program) and point-scoring to show its own people that it's not afraid to take on the might of the West. Britain (and the US) must respond firmly but with a well-thought-out strategy that shows the Iranians that such behaviour is a very punishable offence.

E.Moses

Melbourne, Vic

THE capture of British military personnel by Iranian forces adds to the pictures painted by the pro-invasion lobby of the aggressive nature of Islamic states. It might be more sensible to view this action from the Iranian perspective.

George W. Bush has denounced Iran as part of the "axis of evil" and threatened to bomb and/or invade the country in very explicit terms. The fact that he has backed away from such threats now does nothing to reassure the Iranians who, despite their public bravado, would have to be scared witless by the possibility. With Britain acting as President Bush's deputy in the Iraq atrocity, any British forces wandering close to Iranian territory are going to be seen as a very real threat, or at least as an opportunity to send a warning to the US that Iran will not readily allow territorial incursions.

Keith Gregg

West Perth, WA

THE Shatt al-Arab has long been a disputed waterway at the head of the Persian Gulf between Iran and Iraq. The British made a treaty with Iran in 1937, whereby the Shatt went almost entirely to Iraq, the frontier line following the low-water mark on the Iran side in several places. From 1965, Iran has sought a new treaty whereby the waterway would be equitably divided, the frontier line passing along the median line. Border sinuosities based on rivers are like theological arguments: it's what you want to believe.

Mike Fogarty

Weston, ACT

UK friend and ally Saudi Arabia should threaten to dramatically lower the price of oil, which would wreck Iran's economy and foment the ouster of the volatile Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. The mere threat by the Sunni oil sheiks will do more to secure the release of the British sailors from the Shi'ite clerics than waves of cruise missiles.

Dan Piecora

Kirkland, WA

Labor's union hacks

IT looks like Greg Combet could enter politics at the next election. Do we need another union official to join the swelling ranks in Canberra? We already have Simon Crean, Jennie George and Martin Ferguson -- all past secretaries or presidents of the ACTU -- sitting in parliament. Bill Shorten, national secretary of the Australian Workers Union, is an endorsed Labor candidate for a Melbourne-based seat at the next election. Isn't it time that the ALP looked to broaden its recruitment pool for candidates beyond union hacks looking for a sinecure in the federal parliament?

Robert Pallister

Punchbowl, NSW

Indigenous entrepreneurs

IF Kevin Rudd has suddenly discovered that economic development is the key to the problems of indigenous communities ("Labor to push Aboriginal economic development", 23/3), he should start by convincing the Labor premiers to reform their Aboriginal land acts.

Currently, potential indigenous entrepreneurs cannot leverage their assets such as homes and buildings to secure loans to establish or expand businesses, because someone else owns the land and other restrictions apply. Home ownership is important, as more than 70 per cent of new businesses are financed by loans on homes in the rest of Australia. The premiers should revise legislation to allow freehold in township areas, or at least 99-year leases. They should adopt the ACT's approach, including the right of renewal of leases at any time. This gives both entrepreneurs and lending institutions confidence and security because leases come to resemble freehold.

Trevor Lee

Indooroopilly, Qld

No ifs and no buts

THE AFL's ludicrously ineffective three-strikes policy and the fact that footballers are handsomely paid with too much time on their hands can all be drawn together in one major policy change.

That is, if a player is found to have taken drugs and is tested positive, then the team losses 4 points immediately. No ifs and no buts. It's a team game after all and the team should suffer. If you want players to look after their mates, the clubs to exercise their responsibility and the AFL to be serious about drugs in sport, then introduce this change and see how quickly the house is brought to order.

Such a change would reinforce the team and club culture as paramount over the cult of the individual. Come on, AFL.

Michael O'Neil

Belair, SA

Gratuitously grinding axes

KEITH Windschuttle's article ("Breaking the shackles", Inquirer, 24-25/3) was an interesting and welcome account of the anti-slavery efforts of many of the British involved in the colonisation of Australia.

One factual correction: the British were not the first people in the world to abolish the slave trade; that honour belongs to the French, who, in 1794, at the height of the Revolution, abolished not only the slave trade but slavery itself, though it was re-established later when the Revolution took a turn to the Right. Nevertheless, this common error does not much diminish the worth of the article, nor the credit due to the British abolitionists whom it rightly celebrates.

What a pity, therefore, that Windschuttle could not resist the chance to take a swipe at leftist historians whom he blames for the omission in our historical narrative of the anti-slavery work of the early British colonists, an attack in dubious taste which spoiled an otherwise good article.

There are many reasons why aspects of our history are neglected, and scarcity of resources is at least as important as any bias. Rather than devoting space to a whinge about leftist historians, The Weekend Australian might better use its pages to present to a wider audience some of the fascinating but undeservedly neglected stories in our history, without feeling it necessary to provide an accompaniment of the discordant sound of gratuitously grinding axes.

L.M. Salter-Duke

Spotswood, Vic

Depth of Hilali's damage

I FEEL sick to think that I failed to raise my voice to express outrage at the comments by Muslim cleric Sheik Taj Din al-Hilali and that he has now been left as mufti of Australia, even if for a short period ("Hilali to be stripped of mufti title", 26/3).

Not that the Muslim leaders would have listened to me, but perhaps if our society as a whole had expressed its views more widely, the leaders would have understood the depth of the damage that Sheik Hilali has caused.

As the mother of a 16-year-old girl at the time of the Sydney gang rapes and having heard stories of young girls on our beaches being told to cover up by middle-aged Muslim men, I'm outraged at this presumption.

I'm sure if I were the parent of one of the young men who committed the rapes and who now languishes in jail, I would also be outraged at the mufti's remarks. He is showing the worst kind of leadership, justifying such heinous acts against **women**.

Sheila Davis

Mudgeeraba, Qld

PNG: another Zimbabwe?

AUSTRALIANS should stop worrying about the Mugabe regime in Africa and turn their attention to the emergence of a similar situation on our doorstep as Papua New Guinea spins out of control into fiscal collapse and bankruptcy.

PNG is showing all the signs of a melt-down into the chaos and tribal disorder which produced Zimbabwe's current rampant inflation and dictatorial rule. International criminal syndicates, including the feared Asian Triads, are now firmly established in PNG with links to corrupt politicians and senior public servants and everything from a driver's licence to a logging concession for millions of superfeet of rare rain forest timber is for sale if you have the right contacts.

Brian Darcey

Cairns, Qld

FIRST BYTE

letters@theaustralian.com.au

I'll try to be quick -- I'm on the internet, e-mailing this. I live 30 minutes by car from the Adelaide GPO. People out my way get 20kb/s, a third the speed of the cheapest modem, and have to redial every 5 minutes. All you people who don't like your 500kb/s, can you send it our way when you get your upgrades? Thanks.

Garry Trethewey

Cherryville, SA

Glenn Milne (Opinion, 26/3) reckons Peter Debnam's incompetence and lack of competitiveness was his undoing on Saturday. Is that true, or was it because he bears a striking resemblance to Frank Spencer?

Doug Cadioli

Victoria Point, Qld

Labor's victory in NSW proves you should never underestimate the power of the complacent voter.

B. Worrall

Mosman, NSW

And I thought South Australian politics was the national laughing stock.

Peter Robin

Maylands, SA

Santo Santoro told The Weekend Australian that he took an overdraft on his home and a personal loan to raise \$700,000 to fund the share trading that torpedoed his political career. Then he overlooked the whole thing. Hello?

David Harris

Manly, NSW

Swans fans may be livid (Letters, 26/3) that Ben Cousins was allowed to whip them in the 2006 grand final, but at least it proves one thing: so-called recreational drugs do not undermine or detract from a footballer's playing skills. If anything, the manufactured high fills a player with gusto and bravado. Quite clearly, these drugs must be prohibited in sport. One strike and you're out.

Greg Jones

Kogarah, NSW

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Body

MATP

Pessimists should aim for peace and pluralism in Iraq

MOST TALKED ABOUT

RETHINKING THE WAR

I HAVE opposed the Iraq war from the beginning but I would love to have been proved wrong by the rapid establishment of a stable, functioning democracy. The tragedy is not an appropriate occasion for point scoring and exploitation of Iraqi military and civilian deaths as propaganda fodder.

Opponents of the war must honestly face a number of facts. First, the outcome of any war is only inevitable from the point of view of hindsight. History is replete with conflicts that were won or lost in contradiction to forecasts.

Second, the military eradication of an evil system can be tragically and astronomically costly in casualties. Third, we Westerners suffer from short attention spans. We are notoriously impatient for instant outcomes.

Even some of the most pessimistic of us might live to eventually see peace and pluralism in Iraq. I, for one, hope so.

Bill James

Bayswater, Vic

AFTER the attacks of September 11, all Americans, and much of the rest of the world, stood ready to assist. But President George W. Bush squandered that goodwill.

Mr Bush, searching the other day for an example of post-9/11 sacrifice, pointed out that everybody pays taxes. The result of this attitude is a US whose standing around the world has been lowered.

The goodwill can be recovered, but it requires from the Bush administration a less selfish attitude -- a US that listens to the rest of the world and to the UN, a US that works seriously at resolving the suffering in the Middle East, rather than dividing the world into good guys and bad guys, and a US that is a good international citizen, rather than an arrogant, lone superpower determined to impose its views.

Benjamin Thomson

Essendon, Vic

IT was with incredulity I read of Robert Kagan and William Kristol's answer to the Iraq dilemma - send in more troops (Opinion, 14/11). They suggest 50,000 to "secure the Iraqi capital". Guys, you could send in another 200,000 troops -- it won't make much difference to the end game. How long before the US realises that military might won't win all conflicts?

Roy Stall

Mount Claremont, WA

DOUGLAS Kirsner (Letters, 13/11) needs reminding that the coalition invaded Iraq supposedly to address the imminent threat posed by Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. While the claim that Saddam Hussein was a genocidal dictator squared with the premise for invasion, it was not the raison d'etre. No less an authority than Paul Wolfowitz, then US deputy secretary of defence, said in 2003 that for bureaucratic reasons the US settled on one issue -- WMD because it was the one thing everyone could agree on.

Dr Kirsner implies that this war would already have been won if only Donald Rumsfeld wasn't so incompetent; if only the Iraqi army had not been disbanded; if only there were more boots on the ground. These musings mask the probability that Iraq would still be in a civil war even if these ideal strategies were employed following the overthrow of Saddam. Dr Kirsner states that we can't afford to lose this one. Nobody likes to lose but that's where this is heading.

John Katiforis

Glen Iris, Vic

NO amount of spin by apologists for the US-led invasion of Iraq can justify the fact that the removal of a genocidal dictator was in itself a crime. The invasion was unauthorised by the majority of the UN Security Council; it was opposed by the Vatican and other world religious bodies; it generated anti-war protests on a huge scale; and it has deepened the divide between Islam and Christianity at a time when relations between the two threatens to engulf the entire world in a battle of apocalyptic proportions.

The challenge for the Democrats is whether they can steer the US towards what the Iraq Study Group has called "a new equilibrium of interests". This would not only open up a dialogue with Syria and Iran, it would include the beginning of a new world order where the US no longer leads by the power of force but by moral example.

Dr Vincent Zankin

Rivett. ACT

THE fallout from the mid-term elections has been outstanding. All of a sudden, pro-war commentators are speaking out against the war -- they realise it's a quagmire. They now criticise the flawed policy although it was glaringly obvious three years ago.

Why didn't they speak out before? Do they sense a change in the political wind? They want to look as if they got it right even though they have been wrong since John Howard took us into an illegal and immoral war.

David Anthony

Cairns, Qld

NOW that the US, Britain and Australia are considering ways out of Iraq, the full realisation of their bad decision to invade is hitting home. If the coalition leaves, Iraq could destroy itself in a civil war, with the possibility that Iran, Syria and Turkey will try to pick off their areas of interest.

If the coalition stays -- and increases its troop commitment, as a gambler doubles up to win back his losses -- many more would be killed. Of course, with 500,000 troops on the ground, the coalition might just defeat the terror gangs and establish a stable, democratic state. But who would bet on it?

George Bennett

North Sydney, NSW

Scientists still disagree over

causes of global warming

IT is frustrating to note that politicians, this time British Environment Secretary David Miliband (Opinion, 14/11), often argue for a low-carbon economy but never acknowledge the controversy in scientific circles about the cause of global warming. The often-claimed consensus only lives within the circles of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

The honest and credible approach should be to perform a risk analysis -- taking into account the chance that humans may not be the drivers of global warming as well as the likely benefits of a warmer world -- the outcome of which should serve as an indispensable part of any economic cost analysis.

Only then we can have a meaningful debate about the application of the precautionary principle to justify action. Not on the basis of a report such as that delivered by Nicholas Stern.

Unfortunately, most politicians appear to believe that the manmade case is a given. Since they cannot be that ignorant, I can only conclude that it is opportunism that makes them jump on the bandwagon of environmentalism, in the perception that environmentalism and global warming alarmism are sleeping in the same bed.

Dr Chris Schoneveld

Clifton Beach, Qld

THE zeal of the Blair Government shows no sign of letting up with its latest mission to cure global warming, as David Miliband proclaims: "Climate change is the defining global issue". This is so because he says so, and based on a report made to measure by Nicholas Stern which offers not a skerrick of empirical evidence that warming and change is occurring outside the natural cycle over which we can have no influence.

David William Hall

Southport, Qld

DAVID Miliband claims that the scientific evidence on climate change is overwhelming. But the IPCC's warming estimates for 2100 are based not on science but on economic modelling, with highly contentious assumptions about the relationship between economic growth and the increase in greenhouse gases.

The world is so variable that medium-term economic forecasts looking three to five years ahead have limited accuracy. Yet the IPCC depends on 100-year forecasts. Even worse, these forecasts have been demonstrated by experts, such as former Australian chief statistician Ian Castles, to have serious flaws which exaggerate growth and emissions. Some of the modelling results are incredible. However, the IPCC has flatly refused to revisit its modelling.

We don't know what the course of global warming will be in the next 100 years. We do know that climate is, and always has been, highly variable, and can pursue policies that increase our ability to respond to changing climate and economic circumstances rather than policies based on a view of what may or may not be the situation in the 22nd century.

Michael Cunningham

West End. Qld

Booze should be labelled

SO, the federal Health Minister, Tony Abbott, wants to have warning signs put on soft-drink labels. That's a very good idea, Mr Abbott, and while you're at it, isn't it about time that warning labels were also put on Australia's favourite beverage consumed by adults and teens alike?

I'm talking about alcoholic drinks, of course. Alcohol is more than just a beverage. It is a drug and an addictive drug at that. It also contributes towards obesity and numerous medical conditions, plus death. We are warned on cigarette labels, and even prescription drug labels, but where is the warning on ethyl alcohol labels? The World Health Organisation says that cigarettes hold 4.1 per cent of the global burden of disease and alcohol 4 per cent. And we've all seen the outcome when people have too much alcohol -- domestic violence, assaults, vandalism, fatal car and boat accidents, and much more. Yes, it's time that warning labels were put on bottles, cans and cartons of alcohol as well as cigarettes and soft drinks.

J. Nentwig

Coffs Harbour, NSW

Deaths in VietnamFOR those who are interested, there were 501 Australian deaths in the Vietnam War. Among these serving defence personnel, 25 were killed accidentally, 74 were non-battle deaths, six were missing believed dead. There were also seven civilian deaths.

The figures include suicide (how many?), murdered (fragging) and death by stupidity. These are all listed (except for civilians) on the honour roll at the Australian War Memorial in Canberra.

Chris Moore

Perth, WA

Amazing sex in the '60s

BY dismissing the 1960s sexual revolution, John Duley (Letters, 14/11) is trivialising that amazing decade. No, sex was not invented then, but that era certainly saw the start of a cataclysmic change in mainstream sexual morality -- and this was not simply due to the invention of the contraceptive pill.

How much benefit would the pill have been to unmarried <u>women</u> if all doctors had kept the '50s moral standard of only providing birth control to those with a wedding ring? How would the pill, of itself, have led to the growing calls for legalisation and social acceptance of homosexuality? Or, for that matter, calls for an end to censorship of "obscene" films and pictures? Dr Duley is insulting the feminists, gay rights campaigners and others who fought to change such laws and social mores, and ignoring the huge ways in which they have changed the lives of many.

No, the anti-war marches were not the most significant aspect of the '60s. Wars and their protest movements come and go; it was the sexual revolution, along with the feminist revolution, that wrought the most significant and lasting changes on Western culture.

Anna Blainey

East Melbourne, Vic

SBS should name terrorists

GEOFF Chappell (Letters, 14/11), broadcasters (government or otherwise) should call Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> terrorists organisations simply because they are terrorist organisations. Any group that deliberately and specifically aims to cause as much civilian death as possible for political gain, and rejoices when it happens, are terrorists. The fact you can't see that, suggests you have been watching SBS or ABC for too long and therein lies the problem.

Just what do the Islamists have to do before you will concede they are terrorists? Right now, it seems firing rockets at civilian population centres, kindergartens and houses, with impunity, isn't enough to earn them the title. Perhaps if they blew up more Australians? For if we do not win this war, that is certainly on the horizon, and I for one would be more than happy for the broadcasters to help prevent it by opening your eyes to it now.

Daniel Lewis

Rushcutters Bay, NSW

Petty to attack senator's silkTHE criticism of the elevation of Senator George Brandis to silk is petty and small minded (14/11). It does nothing to recognise the contribution that successful professionals make to Australia's public good by forgoing well-paid careers to stand for parliament.

I would have more regard for the opinion of the unnamed senior lawyer criticising the senator's elevation if he or she had put their name to their opinion.

Paul Scarr

St Lucia, Qld

Happy ending in Tasmania

MATTHEW Denholm's article ("Boys ordered off island by fellow Aborigines", 13/11) did not point out that there has been a positive conclusion to this story. The lease to the Indigenous Land Corporation has now been terminated. No one has been compelled to leave Clarke Island. Full, unencumbered title to the property has now vested in the Aboriginal Land Council of Tasmania as a result of the ILC's actions.

The ILC is pleased with this outcome. As a state-funded body, the primary responsibility for the ALCT lies with the Tasmanian Government. However, the ALCT also has the option to make an application to the ILC for funding to support diversion programs being run on Clarke Island.

Shirley McPherson

Indigenous Land Corporation

Adelaide, SA

FIRST BYTE

letters@theaustralian.com.au

Some blokes from my church and I are wildly growing our moustaches as part of Movember, a charity event held every November when participants grow facial hair. We're mid-way through and things are going swimmingly. But the untimely visit by the cringe-worthy Borat is making us Mo-Bros recoil with embarrassment.

Hendry Wan

Matraville, NSW

With all this talk about surrogate motherhood, I'm reminded of the story my Irish grandmother told me of the girl, who announced to her mother, "Mum, I'm pregnant," and her mother replied "Mary, are you sure it's yours?".

Frank Bellet

Petrie, Qld

Dr Jim Green (Letters, 14/11) really should put his title on letters to the editor. As national nuclear campaigner for Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth, I doubt if he has much to contribute to a debate on the use of nuclear power.

Andrew Nicholls

Geraldton, WA

It seems the real Phillip Adams is trying to stand up (Opinion, 14/11). He senses a natural event, global warming, will justify all his writings. He is clearly moving from atheism toward agnosticism.

Grant Gascoigne

Mitchelton, Qld

Sylvia Jones (Letters, 14/11) reminds me of my reason for quitting academe. Bertrand Russell said two things that bore out my experience: "We are faced with the paradoxical fact that education has become one of the chief obstacles to intelligence and freedom of thought," and "People would rather die than think."

Greg Hamilton

Macksville, NSW

In my letter (14/11) you referred to me as a former Test umpire. I am, of course, a former Test player (21 Tests).

Tom Veivers

Bongaree, Qld

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Body

MATP

MOST TALKED ABOUT

AIRHEADS

Educators don't like students who display originality

I WAS amused and relieved to read the extract from Shelley Gare's book The Triumph of the Airheads (Inquirer, 11-12/11). In 1989, I was a mature-aged student studying English at a university in Western Australia.

This was a time of excitement because postmodernism was a new concept for me and meant that the meaning of texts and how they were interpreted could be varied to "fit important social indicators". So, there were Marxist, feminist, colonialist and various other interpretations of a single text. French philosophers exercised our minds. They were explained as showing that the meaning of the author was irrelevant and that "truth" was a fabrication.

However, because I was 30 years older than most of the other students, I found it difficult to accept the postmodernist idea that a comic, a Mills and Boon novel and advertisements were all considered literature. To me, they were merely methods of self-interested communication. In spite of this, I managed to achieve good marks and was offered a place to do honours. For this, it was decared, I must demonstrate originality of thought.

My first essay as an honours student was an interpretation of Henry James's The Turn of the Screw. I demonstrated originality of thought and the postmodernist attitude towards truth by using the first chapter to interpret the main text that followed.

Because my essay was "unusual but interesting and an excellent piece of writing", my supervisor decided to leave the marking to more experienced minds. My work was passed from hand to hand. Nobody, it seemed, could give me a fail or a pass, or even a mark.

When it finally arrived back, the professor who had made the final proclamation (50 per cent) remarked that I was "obviously of high intellect" but, because I had used no primary sources apart from James himself, the essay was not considered "rigorous".

Since then, while acknowledging that I am not an expert, I surmise that educators prefer their students to be replicas of themselves. They do admire originality of thought, but only if it stays within the parameters of an

accepted form. They do not like to be challenged in the agreed way of doing things. As Gare so efficiently points out with her example of whole-word teaching of reading, this is a disaster for education as a whole.

Sylvia Jones

Bridgetown, WA

ONE cannot agree more with Shelley Gare's assertion that too much of today's debates about education is airheaded tosh as her own piece is a powerful contributor to just this kind of nonsense. Gare exhibits no understanding of the concerns of adolescents or of education in the 21st century. Unlike a generation ago, we are now educating a much wider range of students for a workplace demanding a greater variety of knowledge and skills than previous generations ever needed to learn at school.

Young people today have access to unprecedented levels of entertainment in family environments that are more variable. All teachers know that unless you engage a student by what is interesting to them, you can not lead them on to new horizons. Why should they bother? They have the world at their fingertips. Instead of berating schools for postmodernism, deconstructionism and being new age -- none of which feature in the mainstream curriculum -- perhaps it might be more helpful to go into a school and see what actually happens in a real classroom rather than simply recycling the over-exposed ideas of a minority of vociferous critics.

Eva Gold

St Ives, NSW

SHELLEY Gare's piece on airheads was a great read. Ever heard of one of these new age exam questions asking a student to discuss a matter from a "socially, politically or economically conservative" point of view?

The reality is that the airheads are trying to teach them to think inside a containment that has dimensions of Marxism, feminism and racism and to express themselves in the language of the PC catechism.

How can kids be taught to think outside the square if they do not know what a square is? How can they think outside the box if they have to keep their minds inside the PC box?

Alternatively, maybe I am just not sitting under the right sort of crystal or my pyramid is at the wrong angle.

M. Seward

Gravelly Beach, Tas

THING is, Shelley Gare, there will always be a drongo who doesn't know where Tasmania is. Ask a teenager to outline the plot of a popular movie or TV show and you'll get a reasonable summary complete with characterisations. Just because that teenager has not read Othello does not mean she does not understand the nuances of jealousy and love. But ask them to find Hobart on the atlas and you'll score some blanks.

Weren't there any airheads at your school back in the 1960s, Shelley? My parents thought popular culture was superficial and always told me so. But that didn't stop me growing up to appreciate books and music. Airheads in my day argued the merits of Elvis Presley over Johnny O'Keefe. It was lightweight stuff, but we were kids having fun. Teenagers today are bright enough and clever enough to match your generation, Shelley, for energy, imagination and initiative.

David Millar

South Melbourne, Vic

DON'T despair -- it's not as bad as you think. You only require 25 per cent of the population to run a country. The rest can be illiterate, as they are simply consumers.

Bill Hudnott

Albany Creek, Qld

Sex was not discovered

in the swinging '60s

KEITH Windschuttle is keen on demanding historical facts, an admirable trait but he should apply it to himself (Opinion, 13/11). He makes five unsupported assertions. The 1960s were not primarily about sex, though it may have seemed so to Mr Windschuttle when he was a leading member of the Left at Sydney University and possibly concentrating on the <u>female</u> lefties he now decries. The advent of the contraception pill may have brought some increase in promiscuity but sex existed before Mr Windschuttle discovered it.

I suggest the '60s revolution, as he calls the non-event, was primarily driven by the Vietnam War and caused the emergence of the generation gap.

The radical feminist movement was not about telling <u>women</u> to throw out their husbands -- it had far wider themes. The revolution in the divorce law was not a uniquely Australian event. It is hardly likely that Lionel Murphy and Elizabeth Evatt influenced similar laws in other Western nations.

Welfare for single mothers provided desperate mothers with a buffer against poverty. Recent evidence from Britain shows that forcing parents to work has reduced greater contact time with their children and it is this that is responsible for the juvenile delinquency plague. The legacy of forcing single parents into work can cause greater social dislocation among children of single-parent families in the future.

The rise in unemployment in the '70s and early '80s was not peculiar to Australia. It was also bad in Britain. It was a world phenomenon and was not solved by Australian neo-liberalism.

The repeated use of the word revolution suggests an emotional obsession retained from Mr Windschuttle's leftist days -- did anyone except him and the Beatles believe there was truely a revolution then?

Dr John Duley

Nerang, Qld

Hicks's chance of a fair trialWHEN we contemplate John Howard's great Australian value -- a fair go for everyone -- should we regard David Hicks as an exception, or does he not really exist?

The federal Government abandoned Mr Hicks nearly five years ago. Both Mr Howard and Philip Ruddock know as well as anyone that Mr Hicks has never had, and never will have, any chance of a fair trial at Guantanamo Bay, yet they maintain the childish pretence to the contrary. The pretence continues, year after year after year.

The fact that the Americans would not permit one of their own to be treated so despicably seems entirely lost on our Government. For Australia it is all an international embarrassment. For its citizens it is very sad.

Ian Barker, QC

Berry, NSW

THE Prime Minister has said that David Hicks is innocent of any crime in Australia. Our ally, after five years, has still not proceeded with anything remotely approaching a fair trial and their hamfisted attempts to do so have been rejected by their highest court. This, after it had been decided long ago that no US citizen would ever be subjected to the now-discredited process.

The PM has a responsibility to both the citizens of this country, whether he likes them personally or not, and the law of the land, whether he agrees with it or not. Other countries have done it and we must do it, too. Mr Hicks must be

returned to this country as soon as possible to ensure we remain true to our principles and that we can defend a fellow citizen for the simple reason that, while we disagree with his actions, he is innocent of any crime under Australian law.

Chris Mangan

Bracken Ridge, Qld

Nuclear hypeFORMER NSW premier Bob Carr says that "fourth generation reactors are safe". In fact, fourth generation nuclear power reactors are non-existent. The hype surrounding these non-existent reactors has attracted scepticism and cynicism even from within the nuclear industry, with one industry representative quipping that "the paper-moderated, ink-cooled reactor is the safest of all" and that "all kinds of unexpected problems may occur after a project has been launched".

Mr Carr also says that "in 30 years, spent fuel won't be a problem, it will be recycled". Such schemes would require reprocessing plants as well as fleets of plutonium-fuelled fast-neutron reactors to transmute radioactive waste, thus rendering it less harmful.

Richard Lester, professor of nuclear science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, argues that the reprocessing and transmutation schemes outlined in the US Government's global nuclear energy partnership, amount to an "appealing vision, but the reality is that GNEP is unlikely to achieve these goals and will also make nuclear power less competitive". According to Steve Kidd, a director of the World Nuclear Association, the GNEP proposals have been received politely but coolly by the nuclear industry.

Dr Jim Green

Melbourne, Vic

ABC not a mouthpiece

DOES Senator Concetta Fierravanti-Wells (Letters, 11-12/11) really mean that government-funded broadcasters ought to describe Hezbollah and <u>Hamas</u> as terrorist organisations because that's what the Government says they are? These broadcasters are not government mouthpieces. Many people disagree with the Government and some would count it the broadcasters' duty to strive for language that conveys the breadth of opinion. Where the senator sees bias, others see healthy independence.

It's bad enough that this Government wants to restrict what we can read if we want to inquire into the nature of terrorism and attempt some informed appraisal of the Government's policies on terrorism. That the Government would also like to dictate the language of such inquiry and appraisal, including that issued by the ABC and SBS, seems all too plausible. Thank you, Matt Price, for exposing it to ridicule.

Geoff Chappell

Brisbane, Qld

Murray a series of dams

YOUR photos of the Murray ("Worst drought for 1000 years? Hardly ...", 11-12/11) does not represent the real situation. The only lock that had been constructed on the Murray was at Blanchetown, South Australia, before your photo at Nyah in 1923 was taken. The other 12 locks were constructed after 1923. The people fishing at Nyah recently were, in effect, fishing on a dam. The Murray is being held in a series of dams.

Jo Marshall

Bridgewater, SA

Umpires raises his finger

I TOTALLY disagree with Cricket Australia and those journalists defending Darrell Hair's umpiring. Throughout his career he has been a controversial figure. Donald Bradman was critical of him. There have been many incidents and umpiring decisions that have provoked far greater controversy than normal from an adjudicating official.

During my own Test umpiring career the best umpires were invariably those who were the least noticed.

There are many who see Hair falling into the category of those umpires who seem to believe that spectators come to matches to see them umpire. Why does Cricket Australia want to continue the controversy by appointing him to officiate in our domestic cricket?

Tom Veivers

Bongaree, Qld

Treaty provisions a mysteryTHE new treaty with Indonesia should give any organisation working on human rights issues in West Papua cause for concern. Hopefully, Alexander Downer takes note of the last couple of sentences in your editorial (13/11), "nor must the treaty be used to limit freedom of speech in Australia". Statements from a former Indonesian presidential adviser suggesting that the treaty demands suppression of private support for Papuan independence are completely out of place and must be rejected without delay.

Mr Downer has implied that the first security treaty with Indonesia failed because the agreement had not been subject to any public debate and had not proved to be a sustainable document. In discussing the proposed new treaty last June, Mr Downer stressed that "this whole process will be very transparent", and "people will be able to make public submissions, long before this treaty is formally ratified. To allay fears, why not publish the treaty so we know to what the Government is committing us?

But like much of the debate on West Papua, the discussion of the treaty ignores the West Papuans. By signing a treaty with Indonesia the West Papuan issue will not disappear no matter how much Mr Downer might wish.

Joe Collins

Australia West Papua Association

Mosman, NSW

FIRST BYTE

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It seems that in NSW, the presumption of innocence does not apply in cases where a politician is involved. I agree with Morris Iemma. Why let principle get in the way? Let's presume politicians are guilty of almost everything right across Australia.

Grant Boydell

Beaumaris, Vic

What to stop people spending their baby bonuses on luxury goods in instalments?

Mokhles K. Sidden

South Strathfield, NSW

How soon before China owns the US? At the rate it is accumulating US debt, the Chinese will be able to just walk in and demand the lot without a shot being fired.

Keith Russell

Mayfield West, NSW

I suspect that TV stations believe that those plumes rising from cooling towers consist of CO2 rather than water vapour.

Gordon Thurlow

Sandy Bay, Tas

Michael Bodey ("Cup lifts Seven out of ratings blues", 13/11) mentions a rating figure of 2.272 million. This is shows up the inadequate system of ratings -- it doesn't include pubs, clubs and parties. Surely the true figure is much higher.

Matthew Weiss

Coogee, NSw

Sneering and mean-spiritness was the very staple of the ABC's The Glass House. Thank God it's gone, I say.

G. Sanders

Waterford, WA

John Howard should emulate Emma Tom's visit to Aussie prisoners in Bali (Features, 13/11) by spending a little time with David Hicks in Guantanamo Bay.

John R. Wilson

Daisy Dell, Tas

There is an obvious reason for George W. Bush to ditch Dick Cheney. As a lame duck, he has to worry about working with a hunter who mistakes humans for birds.

Philip Machanick

Taringa, Qld

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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Body

This forum was developed from a panel at the recent meeting of the American Political Science Association in Philadelphia.

Jarret Brachman

Director of research, Combating Terrorism Center, U.S. Military Academy

The Salafi jihadi movement poses the most significant ideological challenge to Western democratic liberalism since the collapse of Soviet communism. While the scope of this ideological challenge is comparatively smaller than that of communism and fascism, there is ample reason to believe that the jihadi ideology will persist for decades to come. The United States defeated its historical ideological rivals by bringing the wealth of national resources to bear against them. Throughout the 20th century, the nation's leading scholars helped policy makers understand and exploit the points of tension among Mao, Stalin, Tito, and Marx; among Hitler, Mussolini, and Hirohito. Western governments waging today's "long war" against the jihadi ideology, however, have not applied the hard-won lessons learned from past ideological struggles.

Five years after September 11, 2001, relatively few scholars have found ways to participate in government counterterrorism efforts, in large part because the government has classified an inordinate amount of information that could be usefully mined by academics. Those scholars that do interact with law-enforcement, military, and intelligence agencies have to face academe's internal prejudice lingering from the Vietnam era: Scholars may be marked by their academic colleagues as co-opted, affecting prospects for tenure and general professional standing.

In seeking to reverse this tide, the Combating Terrorism Center at West Point has initiated a number of projects bringing scholarly expertise to bear on policy challenges related to counterterrorism. At the recent American Political Science Association conference held in Philadelphia, the center, with support from the U.S. Air Force Institute for National Security Studies, brought together a panel of experts on jihadi terrorism in order to provide a five-year forecast in this long war.

Over the past five years, the jihadi movement has evolved into an organic, self-sustaining global insurgency. The movement seeks to reach the hearts and minds of average Muslims frustrated with the dominant political, social, and cultural order and with the perceived reluctance of Arab regimes and Islamic establishment scholars to implement Islamic law.

Anyone anywhere can now access the ideology at virtually any level of intellectual sophistication. For those seeking pure "entertainment," snuff films of beheadings or improvised explosive devices killing U.S. forces in Iraq pervade the Internet. Kids can play jihadi video games or watch jihadi cartoons. Those who want to access more-scholarly

discourse can visit Al Qaeda's virtual library holdings of thousands of books on Western military strategy, the history of the jihadi movement, the role of **women** in waging violence, and countless other topics.

The knowledge and the practical skills needed to become producers, not simply consumers, of the violent jihadi ideology are widespread. The quality of jihadi strategic literature continues to improve, as do the technological sophistication and quantity of propaganda being posted online. The number of ways for Muslims to participate in the jihadi movement increases.

In short, while bin Laden's Al Qaeda may begin to alienate Muslims who are frustrated with the wanton bloodshed, the jihadi worldview that Al Qaeda has promoted since 9/11 will continue to spread worldwide. The need for scholarly participation in the next five years of struggle against the global jihadi insurgent movement cannot be overstated.

Peter Bergen

Senior fellow, New America Foundation; author, Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden (Free Press, 2001) and The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al-Qaeda's Leader (Free Press, 2006)

Today the U.S. military and NATO are engaged with the Taliban on a scale not seen since the winter of 2001, both because coalition forces are pushing into areas that were formerly no-go and dominated by the Taliban, and because religious warriors have regrouped substantially over the past few years. In the past three months, U.S. military officials estimate that coalition forces have killed more than a thousand Taliban, while the religious militia has in turn killed dozens of coalition soldiers and hundreds of ordinary Afghans, creating a climate of fear in much of the country.

The key to the resurgence of the Taliban can be summarized in one word: Pakistan. The Pakistani government has proved unwilling or incapable (perhaps both) of clamping down on the Taliban. Unless that changes, Afghanistan will be plagued by instability for years to come.

To the extent that Al Qaeda has a new base it is in Pakistan. From there Al Qaeda's leaders, Osama bin Laden and Ayman al-Zawahiri, have released a stream of audio and videotapes -- 18 so far this year alone -- that pump up their base and incite violence against Westerners, Americans, and Jews.

Al Qaeda has also succeeded in reconstituting itself to some degree on the Afghan-Pakistan border. Evidence can be seen in the advice, assistance, and personnel Al Qaeda is offering the Taliban in its campaign of suicide attacks in Afghanistan, as well as in the London bombings of July 7, 2005. The two lead suicide bombers in the London attacks recorded suicide "wills" with Al Qaeda's video production arm, As-Sahab, and received bomb-making training in Pakistan, according to British officials.

Al Qaeda has also been able to deepen its cooperation with Kashmiri militant groups such as Lashkar-e-Toiba and Jaish-e-Mohammed -- for example, sharing training facilities and safe houses. The Kashmiri issue is also being mobilized by Al Qaeda in Pakistan to bring in recruits.

The fact that Pakistan is the new training ground for Al Qaeda recruits is deeply worrisome and indicates that Al Qaeda "the organization" will continue to be a significant threat. Terrorist plots have a much higher degree of success if some of the cell's members have received training in bomb making and operational doctrine.

The 11 people charged in August with conspiring to blow up planes using liquid explosives are all British citizens. So were the terrorists who attacked London in 2005, almost all of the plotters who allegedly conspired to detonate a fertilizer bomb in England in 2004, the suicide bombers who attacked a beachfront Tel Aviv bar in 2003, and an alleged Al Qaeda operative who, along with would-be shoe bomber Richard Reid, planned to explode a plane in the fall of 2001.

For terrorist organizations like Al Qaeda, ethnic Pakistanis living in Britain make perfect recruits, since they speak English and can travel on British passports. Indeed, in the wake of August's high-profile arrests, it can now be argued that the biggest terrorist threat to U.S. security emanates not from Iran or Iraq or Afghanistan but rather from Britain, our closest ally.

Five years after the attacks on Washington and New York, we face a world of ideologically driven home-grown terrorists -- free radicals unattached to any formal organization -- in addition to formal networks such as Al Qaeda that have managed to survive despite the tremendous pressure brought to bear against them since 9/11. And they now feed off and strengthen one another.

Ambassador Barbara K. Bodine (ret.)

Visiting scholar, Persian Gulf Initiative, MIT Center for International Studies

Whether Al Qaeda as we know it will still be with us in five years is not the question. The questions are what variant of jihadism will we face, what tools do we have, and can we adapt or will we just fight the last war?

The forces that drive jihadism will not be resolved in five years: the social alienation, political marginalization, and economic stagnation in the region that fuel extremism; footage of U.S. soldiers in Iraq or Israeli soldiers in Lebanon. The demographic distortions within the Muslim world will have increased, not subsided. In virtually all Arab states, well over 50 percent of the population is under 30 years old, often undereducated and underemployed. The same holds true for many Muslim communities in Europe. The need to define a personal and social identity and a political structure in a complex world, perhaps most intense among those living outside Muslim-dominated countries, will still rage. There may be genuine progress toward political and economic reform within the Muslim world, but there will not be resolution.

There are two probable trend lines to consider. First, because of specific historical and perhaps ethnic/sectarian roots, jihadism will turn inward with greater violence against regimes in the region in a drive to cleanse the power structures. Its popular appeal will be fueled by systemic corruption and civil anarchy. The Algerian civil war, the Union of Islamic Courts in Somalia, the Taliban, even the <u>Hamas</u> electoral victory are part of this trend. Violence against Americans and the West will increasingly be collateral damage, a means to discredit the ruling elite, destabilize the economy, and force draconian security measures that delegitimize the regime further. The goal is a pure Islamic state, a caliphate.

Second, the alienation and self-radicalization of diaspora Muslims will continue. The driving force is not to establish an Islamic state in Britain or the United States, but a need to punish and humiliate the West through a kind of honor killings. Jihadis are not glorious warriors but criminals. The scale of death they seek to inflict, the rage they reflect, and the measures they are willing to employ go well beyond those of any common criminal or organized criminal gang, but at the end of the day, what they seek is murder and should be called such. Power struggles within the region and U.S. policies may provide rallying cries for recruiters, but the roots will be in underemployment, perceived (and real) racism, and a search for identity.

Traditional counterterrorism policy recognized four interdependent players: law enforcement, intelligence, diplomacy, and the military (specifically, special operations). To detect, deter, disrupt, and defeat transnational terrorism required broad bilateral and international cooperation and agreement; actionable intelligence developed collaboratively and shared effectively; the ability to identify, apprehend, and prosecute; and the military as a credible threat.

Over the past few years, the balance, in rhetoric and resources, among the four has become skewed. The objective now is to destroy, not defeat. We lead with the military. The others support. But Israel's inability to destroy Hezbollah and the centrality of intelligence and law enforcement to the defeat of the August airline bomb plot underscore the need to reassess the long-term effectiveness of our approach.

If there is to be effective, aggressive, international collaboration to detect, deter, and defeat jihad movements, we need to recalibrate that balance -- to understand the roots, not just the manifestations; to use the broad range of tools to pre-empt, not just respond. We need to lessen the yawning governance gap in the region and the pervasive corruption that is both its cause and consequence. If we do not counter the forces that drive jihadism now, and will drive it in five years, then we risk having this same conversation in 10.

Jessica Stern

Lecturer in public policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University

Specialists on the perception of risk tell us that people tend grossly to underestimate the probability of unlikely threats but overestimate the likelihood of dangers that are easy to imagine or recall. Most of us who were alive on September 11, 2001, have difficulty forgetting the shock of what we saw -- passenger jets flying directly into those two tall buildings, people jumping from the windows, some of them holding hands as they jumped to their deaths just before the buildings fell. With such images in our collective mind's eye, we are prone to overreact.

Every longtime student of terrorism has experienced this issue of distorted perceptions in his or her own career. Before September 11, we were seen as eccentrics, perseverating about a supposedly nonexistent threat. Afterward, we were seen as Cassandras, our views suddenly taken very seriously. But the fact is that the threats we study have remained largely the same.

Because we tend to underestimate low-probability threats, then overreact to visible threats, we should give more study to how our values and understanding of capabilities -- both ours and our enemies' -- affect our intelligence analysis and actions.

From what I've seen during fieldwork in Europe, it seems that the jihadi idea is spreading way beyond the terrorists who are attacking us. It is now a "cool" way to express dissatisfaction with the status quo -- with globalization, with America's dominant role in the world, with the power elite -- whether that power elite is real or imagined. The jihadi idea has become a kind of gangsta rap. We Americans are smug about how badly Muslims are treated in Europe and how the resentments European Muslims feel could never be stirred to such a fever pitch here. But in the United States, as elsewhere, oppressed minority urban "honor cultures" can easily blend and morph into this protean international jihadist identity and mind-set.

The Iraq war only exacerbates that. The goal of the Al Qaeda movement is to expand the "jihadi current" around the globe. According to their literature, the jihadists were aiming to provoke us into attacking a Muslim country. This would, in their view, enhance their moral authority because they could present themselves as liberators of an occupied people. And it would reduce our moral authority, since we would be occupiers.

We fell right into their trap -- we attacked a Muslim country that had nothing to do with the 9/11 strikes. The Iraqi insurgents, together with the international jihadists who have joined forces with them, are now getting the best possible training in urban warfare and terrorism. They are training against the world's most powerful military. And it certainly is not the case that we are fighting them over there so we don't have to fight them at home, as President Bush keeps telling us. After we leave Iraq, some of the terrorists now training against our military will come here and kill American civilians. It will be relatively easy for European jihadists, now fighting in Iraq, to get into America because they have European passports.

When we consider policy options such as going to war, we need to assess the full portfolio of risks we face. If you take an aspirin to relieve a headache, but you end up with a debilitating stomachache that keeps you bedridden --worse off than you were before you took the pill -- it probably wasn't the best remedy. This is what we've done in Iraq. We removed a vicious tyrant from power. That was an important achievement. But by going into Iraq, ill-prepared to create a functioning state, we increased terrorism not only there but throughout the world.

The Future of the Jihadi Movement: a 5-Year Forecast

Substate terrorism will remain the major threat to national security in our lifetimes. But it will be a roving, constantly changing threat, and we need more-flexible intelligence communities to counter it. Instead, right now, for every shift in the nature of the threat, we form a new bureaucracy. The Arabists and linguists hired in response to 9/11 may not be as helpful in countering homegrown European jihad as urban sociologists or criminologists. Intelligence agencies should have the mechanisms to hire and dismiss academics and other experts on a far more flexible contract basis.

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Body

9//11 in schools

David Piper has certainly entertained and informed the readers of this editorial page for the past few years with his worldly and anti-American beliefs. Now, he pretends to be a teacher and wants to systematically judge teachers based on one event - the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11, 2001.

As a real teacher in Prince George's County for the past four years, I am proud and amazed that Mr. Piper is suddenly an expert at teaching children without having ever taken one education class. He also strives to have students in public schools understand how America's policies in other parts of the world force someone to hijack a plane and subsequently steer it into a building full of innocent people of all faiths, creeds and religions.

Furthermore, Mr. Piper then proceeds to bemoan and criticize the lack of "critical thinking skills" of today's students. Therefore, I have a few critical thinking skills questions for Mr. Piper and those like him who want to insert their political beliefs/agendas into the classroom. I truly hope that these questions are "critical" enough for Mr. Piper:

- 1. What should the primary role of the U.S. military be protecting the security and vital interests of the United States or serve as a "peacekeeping" role, i.e. handing out food/supplies in Third World countries?
- 2. Explain how "model" democracies such as Guatemala, Grenada and Haiti have been negatively impacted by U.S. foreign policy.
- 3. Pretend you are a reporter for the Washington Post, Los Angeles Times or Blade-News. What questions would you ask of the often misunderstood leaders of *Hamas* and al Qaeda?

In closing, I hope that in a future letter, though I doubt it, Mr. Piper reveals the titles of the books that he feels teachers and other uninformed people should read and thereby lead to an "understanding" of how we as a country are at fault and to blame for the actions of others. I know personally, that it would truly be an insightful lesson.

ROBERT PIPER

Glenn Dale

More on 9/11 view

I would like to comment on the recent letter to the editor from David Piper (Readers' views, Sept. 20).

Apparently Mr. Piper has a very serious and intense hatred for America and Americans. He is highly critical of our elementary school teachers teaching world and U.S. history from an American point of view - perhaps we should teach from an Iranian or North Korean point of view?

He mentions that our U.S. foreign policy somehow contributed to 19 radical murderers hijacking planes and killing innocent civilians - I don't recall our foreign or any other policy stating that we should hijack planes, strap bombs on our children and <u>women</u> and killing civilians (oh, and by the way, one of the planes crashed in a field in Pennsylvania, not into a building).

He mentions that our teachers are nothing more than puppets; perhaps he should visit some of our schools and see how dedicated and hard working our teachers are instead of evaluating from his armchair. He mentions "illegal actions by our government in Guatemala, Granada and Haiti." What is he using as a basis for that statement?

Perhaps he should mention our military in helping a free world fight to combat evil in World War I, World War II, Iraq, Korea, Vietnam and other places so that he has the freedom to express his views in a newspaper?

He mentions that our teachers are "too busy checking e-mail on one of the free laptops that Prince George's County teachers get." Even if a teacher sometimes checks e-mails, I thought that was the purpose of current technology for our teachers to better communicate and do their jobs more effectively. Maybe we should go back to manual typewriters and carbon paper? He mentions that, because of everything being so horrible in our schools, his children are homeschooled - I guess we can expect hatred of America from his children in the future?

Finally, if Mr. Piper hates America and our teachers so much, I suggest he relocate to North Korea, Iraq, Iran or one of those lovely countries to express his views. But I suggest he watch his back, or rather his head, because that is what will happen to him for expressing "anything" over there.

DAVID BOONE

Bowie

'Watch your speed'

Mike Crampton brings up an important issue that needs to be addressed in our great city (Readers' views, Sept. 20).

Most individuals would not consider stealing something but do not hesitate to break the law and endanger others by speeding - even in front of a high school where upwards of a thousand kids may have just a learner's or provisional driving permit. Not only is this dangerous, what kind of message is it sending our youth?

Adults don't hesitate to voice complaints of teenagers being unruly, aggressive driving by those admonishing them only increases the likelihood of such behavior. There are plenty of courteous drivers in Bowie and they have a right to be protected by the laws that are in place.

A glaring opportunity is available to the Bowie police force now - make Bowie one of those places where people say "watch your speed when you get there."

ELAINE BEAL Glenn Dale Teen library behavior

Charles Siegman is rightly concerned about the problem posed by disruptive behavior of some teenagers at the Bowie Library. In his letter of Sept. 13, he views the presence of the county sheriff's patrol car at the library entrance as a "silent passive deterrent" to unruly behavior, which library staff and patrons are unable to deter.

Siegman's observations are valid, but there is a disconnect between this approach and the goal of imbuing the majority of teenagers with self-respect. The presence of the patrol car at the library entrance superimposes the appearance of a juvenile reformatory upon a temple of learning. The challenge for the Bowie community is to find

an alternative approach. There is a program adopted by several municipal jurisdictions that can be tailored to meet the problem of unruly behavior at Bowie Library.

Bowie's city government might well consider the concept of a senior volunteer patrol, similar to that embraced by the city of Wyoming, Mich., a community of about 70,000. The program is a joint enterprise of Wyoming's municipal government, its senior population and its business community. The program was launched in 1996 at a modest cost of about \$80,000 a year. It has won first prize for volunteerism in Michigan's Municipal Achievement Awards.

At one time, Wyoming's program had 60 senior volunteers who provided services equivalent to 11 full-time employees. Among the services provided are monitoring at-risk students, school monitoring, conducting safety programs, house checks for vacationing residents, delivering food to the frail elderly and handicapped parking enforcement. Funds allocated to the program are spent on vehicles, equipment and uniforms.

If Bowie were to adopt the concept of a senior volunteer force, monitoring teenage behavior at the public library could be one of its assignments. The senior volunteers would be ready and available as mentors, a radically different picture for the "under siege" presence of a sheriff's patrol car.

Details on Wyoming's program may be obtained from its city hall, at 616-530-7296. It is a program worth considering by Bowie's city government, the Greater Bowie Chamber of Commerce and our community's senior citizens.

PASTOR B. SISON

Bowie

Society of laws?

Am I missing something? We claim to be a society of laws, regulations and common sense, but there seems to be a serious disconnect on some things.

We have chosen to hold gun manufactures accountable for the misuse of their products, but I have yet to see an ad on TV or in the papers claiming "Our guns can kill more people than our competitor" or "use our gun in your next illegal activity and we'll give you a rebate."

Everyday ads flash across our TV screens touting the speed capability of automobiles - "60 mph in four seconds" or "we build our cars for Autobahn speeds." Why? Most states prohibit speeds in excess of 65 mph, so who cares? You utilize the speeds that your vehicle may be capable of and you're breaking the law. Sorry! It's no different than if you're randomly shooting your firearm in the air not knowing the result. There is the potential that somebody is going to die. Is the manufacturer of that deadly vehicle held accountable? Fat chance!

People, wake up, it's no different. In fact, if you think about it, you have to take a test, both written and physical, before you can operate a car. With a gun you simply have to prove you have no criminal past. A car is potentially a very deadly weapon. In fact, if you try to run someone down that's exactly how you're charged - assault with a deadly weapon or attempted murder. I'm sorry, but when you drive to the potential of the vehicle that you own you put yourself and others at great risk. And, it is most likely that in those last moments lying in the wreckage of the car you were driving and just killed the entire family in the car you hit at 100 mph you're going to ask yourself, Why me?

MIKE CRAMPTON

Bowie

Handicapped parking

With no real desire to continue the discussion about the handicapped parking, I felt that I should respond to Phil Powell's Sept. 20 letter.

As a parent of a handicapped child, I have a handicapped hanger for my car. Since we often use different vehicles for transporting my daughter, we don't have permanent handicap plates.

However, I must point out that it is illegal for me to use that hanger when I am not transporting the handicapped individual. I am sure there are those who use them anyway, but it is not permitted. I thought Mr. Powell should know this.

BRUCE WILLS Bowie Political gains?

What have City Council Districts 3 and 4 gained from Bowie's redistricting 10 years ago? While those of us in the lower districts were able to champion some nice minority "firsts" titles in the city government, we really haven't fared well beyond that at all.

District 3 first gave us Gail Booker Jones, whose intensity has been missed, but we became concerned with the public allegations of her usage of racial epithets towards, and physical confrontations with, the family of District 4's current representative, Michael Lyles.

Voters ousted Ms. Booker Jones for Todd Turner, who has a recurring appearance of "conflicts of interest" due to his political employment with the county. We were aware of his employment prior to his election and elected him anyway. Now Mr. Turner is not able to participate on our behalf on all matters, and therefore our interests are not being represented.

Voters in District 3 have limited representation at best. District 4's first foray yielded a nonresident felon, Michael Bannister, who continued to represent us from a jail cell after assaulting his wife. A much more distinguished Mr. Lyles was wisely selected (by the City Council, not the voters) to replace District 4's initial reprehensible mistake.

Soon afterwards, however, Mr. Lyles motioned to give all council members a raise effective at the next term - except for the mayor. Oddly enough, well into his first elected term, Mr. Lyles raised the motion to increase the mayor's wages as well, at the next term - and guess who is running for mayor? Mr. Lyles.

Mr. Lyles opposed the police force (which most residents voted for), partially due to the property tax increase that would most heavily affect his constituents in the large homes in his south Bowie district. Yet, he continues to push for the expensive and limited benefits of a duplicate service in a city of Bowie public transportation system. We managed, despite Mr. Lyles' efforts, to avert the congestion that would be created by 866 residences at the former Maryland Science and Technology Center site, but now are faced with the possibility of a fleet of empty buses parked in the right lanes of our packed thoroughfares, at an estimated cost of \$2 million per year.

Mr. Lyles' ambitious campaigning is further a reflection, and even acknowledgement, of the lower districts' apathy. His goal of \$100,000 in funding is in fact necessary when so few voters in Districts 3 and 4 turn out - and Mr. Lyles rarely ventures north of Route 50. Those monies are needed to mobilize his district, and introduce him where voters care to vote.

The opportunity created by redistricting has largely been wasted on us and by us, resulting in an embarrassing selection of self-serving council members from our neighborhoods. We would be fortunate to be represented by some of the previously defeated candidates from Districts 1 and 2.

BRYAN DILLON

Bowie

Councilman Turner

Yet again, City Councilman Turner has displayed a complete and total disdain for ethics - and, in a larger sense, he has shown a comparable contempt for his constituents. Last week, a Blade-News article disclosed that pencils with his name and office, which were being used as campaign materials, were being handed out in an elementary school. It appears the recipients of these materials were the school children, for heaven's sake.

Is this how far down our city elections have sunk? The last city election was characterized by more money, by more shady dealings between development interests and candidates on the take, than any in the history of this city. And many knowledgeable observers have prognosticated that this upcoming city election will be even worse. One candidate for mayor has already proclaimed he would raise over six figures to get elected.

If this school campaigning incident is permitted to stand locally, in my view, it needs to become the subject of a federal investigation. In the past, campaign materials for partisan races found their way to teachers and school employees on school grounds, allegedly by virtue of teachers unions and other organizations. Although Turner's City Council race is not a partisan race, this incident represents a new, far more threatening development - direct, unmistakable political campaigning in our schools, this time directed at our children.

Whatever political persuasion we happen to be, we cannot permit this kind of sleazy politics to get a toehold in our children's classrooms. The principal of this school, who apparently was aware of this situation, should be fired or transferred immediately by Superintendent Deasy. A parents meeting should be called at this school by the superintendent, where Mr. Turner should apologize to the whole school community for the episode. He should then do himself, his family and his constituents a favor by announcing he is withdrawing his candidacy for the seat he presently holds.

I, and I believe a great many Bowie residents, would respect Todd far more for this course of action, which really is the only means of redressing the serious damage this incident has done to the perceived efficacy of our city government.

MICHAEL P. MCARDLE

Bowie

Election hype, hyperbole

It seems that election years provide the electorate with a lot of hype and hyperbole.

I would suggest that voters look for actions as well as campaign literature in their search to find the best candidate. A good place to have started would have been last week's board meeting when our officials turned out en masse to fight Heather Iliff's ill-conceived resolution that would have eliminated three proposed high schools from the Capital Improvement Program. Chief among those schools was the proposed new Bowie high school slated for construction in the not too distant future.

I would also commend the entire state delegation for standing together under the leadership of Sen. Doug Peters in calling for the board to vote no on Ms. Iliff's resolution. Kudos should also go to the mayor and those councilmen who stood with him in presenting the city's testimony to the board and to the staff who showed up with them.

As for the Board of Education we may need to look closely at why board members Donna Beck and Rosalind Johnson chose to support Ms. Iliff's resolution and to question their support for districts outside their own. Ms. Beck was elected to an at-large position, Ms. Johnson to District 1. While Bowie doesn't fall into Ms. Johnson's district, one of those proposed high schools does.

I would suggest that each and every one of us request to be sent the debriefings from future board meetings through our e-mail accounts so that we can learn what the school board is doing to and for us.

DEBORAH SELL

Bowie

Backs Valentino-Smith

About 33 years ago I was a Sacred Heart Church CCD teacher. There were two 11-year-olds in my class who were extremely bright and full of questions and in my mind destined to become very successful adults. I was correct in my evaluation of them.

The young boy became a naval officer and now works doing research for the U.S. Navy. The young girl, Geraldine Valentino, went on to earn degrees in nursing and law. She also married, adding Smith to her name, and became the mother of young children. She has been a Bowieite all her life. She is intelligent, she is hard working, she knows the community and on Nov. 6 she will have my vote for the Bowie City Council at-large seat for which she is running.

DOMENIC C. CETRONE

Bowie

Fan of Chief Perez

Thank you for your outstanding coverage of the first anniversary on the job of Bowie Police Chief Catherine Perez. The reports were both informative and positive.

As an unabashed fan of Chief Perez, I want to extend my congratulations to her and her staff on the ongoing efforts to build a Bowie police department. She and her staff have done a great job so far, and I continue to look forward to additional successes.

I could not read the report, however, without recalling the incredible effort led by Mayor Fred Robinson to create the Bowie Police Department and the efforts of Michael Lyles to oppose our new and outstanding department. This matter clearly highlights the difference between these two candidates for mayor, and those differences could not be more dramatic.

Mayor Robinson sees challenges, faces them, identifies solutions and alternatives, and takes recommendations to the voters for approval. Mr. Lyles sits on the sidelines and complains. This makes a selection between these two candidates pretty easy in my mind. I am clearly supporting Mayor Robinson for re-election.

IRV RESNICK

Bowie

Supports Polangin

I am proud to recommend Diane Polangin as councilwoman for District 2 for the city of Bowie.

Diane is a 45-year resident who has not just lived here but has taken an active interest in all aspects of the life of this city. Diane is a creative problem solver with strong convictions. Whenever someone in our community has a problem, her door is open whether it is at home or at her office. Diane works hard for her constituents as a citizen, and I am certain she will work as hard for her constituents if elected to the City Council. Diane would be a responsible advocate for the city. She has a mind for business, having her own income tax and bookkeeping service for 13 years; she would be very careful how the city tax dollars are spent. She would serve the city well. I encourage readers to vote for Diane Polangin Nov. 6.

ANGELA R. BROWN

Bowie

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St. Petersburg Times (Florida)

March 10, 2007 Saturday

0 South Pinellas Edition

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Body

Penny for Pinellas

As a local elected official for the past 22 years, I have had the privilege of working to improve the infrastructure and enhance the quality of life for our citizens and visitors to Pinellas County. I was on the St. Petersburg City Council when the citizens of Pinellas County approved the Penny for Pinellas 1-cent sales tax in 1989.

I remember what life was like here before that happened. No Bayside Bridge, no Pinellas Trail, congested highways, and summer rains that brought constant flooding to our neighborhoods. I believe our citizens have a much better quality of life today, and the Penny projects are directly responsible for that.

As a county commissioner, I realize that taxes and insurance have had a negative effect on our citizens. And with the help of the state Legislature, we hope to bring some real relief to our citizens. However, the Penny for Pinellas is too important to our county to let it fall by the wayside.

Pinellas County government has made some cuts. We lowered our millage rate to the lowest it has been since 1991. Since property values began a significant incline in 2003, tax revenues have gone up about \$163-million. Critics claim the county spent every cent. We didn't. We saved \$110-million so that we can strengthen our reserves to help keep government functioning effectively after an emergency, such as a hurricane. The state now takes an extra \$28-million each year in mandates for things like jails and juvenile justice, and we put \$22-million into services demanded by our community like rent vouchers for the working poor, more code enforcement and affordable housing for employees across the county who are priced out of a home.

We recognize there is much more work to be done, and we need the Penny for Pinellas to get it done. The Penny provides funding for better transportation, continued drainage improvements and public safety improvements. And the way to fund our county's infrastructure projects while providing property tax relief is having our tourists and other visitors contribute about one-third of Penny funds. Tourists don't help us with our property taxes but they do support the Penny for Pinellas. And that is an absolute reason why the Penny renewal is so important for our county.

As the St. Petersburg Times said in recommending a yes vote Tuesday on the Penny renewal: "Without the Penny, property taxes would rise, further straining the budgets of property owners."

Pinellas County voters have twice before demonstrated their knowledge of the power and the accomplishments of the Penny for Pinellas. By again renewing the Penny we will continue our road to improvements throughout Pinellas County.

Robert Stewart, Pinellas County commissioner, St. Petersburg

Preserve our quality of life

There have been many letters recently published in this newspaper from citizens voicing their displeasure with local taxing authorities. I am sympathetic with their frustrations and can agree on many of their points. When emotions have reached the level that now exists, it is natural to lash out at any suggestion of additional taxes and oppose all efforts to do so, no matter how rational the reasons. Unfortunately the Penny for Pinellas renewal proposal is in this situation.

On Tuesday, voters have an opportunity to demonstrate their pride in the quality of life that exists in Pinellas County. As someone who has seen and experienced public facilities throughout this country, I believe what has been achieved here in Pinellas County is second to none. As a prime example just look at our county park system. It is generally recognized as the finest in America. And who hasn't enjoyed biking, skating, jogging or just walking on the Pinellas Trail? And our many recreation centers, athletic fields, libraries, fire stations and other public infrastructure have been expanded and modernized when many communities are curtailing or shutting theirs down.

But much more needs done. Roadways must be widened and improved, additional parking facilities are required, extensions to the Pinellas Trail developed, senior facilities constructed, libraries renovated and expanded, fire stations reconstructed and modernized, bridges rebuilt to aid traffic flow and evacuation, and undeveloped land acquired to be preserved for future generations.

I don't suggest the additional penny sales tax has been the sole source of funding for every quality of life improvement over the last 20 years. But few can dispute that the Penny program has provided the impetus and a majority of the wherewithal for the hundreds of projects accomplished to date.

Let's keep moving forward. Let's keep our county the leader it has become. The Penny for Pinellas renewal deserves everyone's support. Vote "Yes" next Tuesday.

William Kiser, Clearwater

Why decide now?

The Penny For Pinellas is certainly not just one penny, unless you've only spent \$1. In effect it's a \$1.94-billion giveaway to the cities and county for a wish list. I guess they called it the Penny for Pinellas because the amount sounded insignificant. City and county governments indicate they need those dollars to take care of a multitude of projects, some of which haven't even been thought of yet. St. Petersburg calls it "infrastructure to be decided." That term describes \$5-million.

This money is such a windfall for government that it is sometimes tough to figure out where it's all going. I will try and highlight some. The county will receive \$40-million to remodel and renovate government buildings. There's \$18-million for sensitive land acquisition (didn't Brooker Creek teach us anything about government's ability to handle land management?). St. Petersburg gets \$2.1-million for improvements to the Pier (this has the earmarks for another loss). Another \$4.5-million is for Mahaffey improvements. Didn't they just renovate? Now they want improvements? Sunken Gardens gets \$3.6-million (is this place still around?). And the list goes on.

I say with all the uncertainty about tax reform, why must we vote on this now? If an increase in the state sales tax in the 2.5-to-3 percent range takes effect, do we want to have an additional 1 percent?

Everybody needs to live on a budget. I know I do. So why not the city and county government? I think they should live off the same raises that everybody else gets. A lot of these projects sound nice, maybe 50 percent of them, but can we afford them at this time? I think not. I say let's wait and see if meaningful tax reform takes place, and then we'll address our wish list again.

David Simpson, St. Petersburg

Amenities close to home

Recently, I had the opportunity to hear Pinellas County Commissioner Susan Latvala speak to a group of citizens in Dunedin regarding the Penny for Pinellas tax. She addressed many issues, but one comment that particularly hit home for me was that the tax seemed to be aimed at those citizens least able to afford it.

I am definitely one of the citizens of Pinellas "least able to afford another tax," and so I cannot afford to take my family on vacations to beautiful destinations or expensive theme parks. This is exactly why I am voting for continuing the Penny!

People should take the time to look around them and see all of the beautiful parks, beaches and other amenities available in our community that have been made possible by the Penny for Pinellas. Our area is a beautiful vacation spot for many people from all over the world and the money that those people spend contributes because they pay the extra penny too!

My advice to the citizens of Pinellas would be to do a little research and see exactly what the Penny has done to improve our quality of life before voting. A lot of you will be surprised!

Shelley Beyer, Largo

What's in a name?

Penny for Pinellas will probably pass, but likely because of the alluring alliteration of its name, not from the public's diligent demands for the program's promoted projects. Is this tax a rose - sweet-smelling by any name? Would citizens support "Cash for County" or "Growth for Government"? Would "Penny for Hillsborough" have half a chance? Keep in perspective, a penny saved is a penny earned. A penny taxed is a penny taken.

Cameron Fuller, St. Petersburg

Patients vent in Congress - March 6, story

The bureaucracy trap

Sadly, it's not just recent war veterans who are stuck in the quagmire of bureaucracy that is our VA system. My loved one is a disabled Vietnam War veteran who has been waiting since 2003 for his disability claim to be approved. He earned a Bronze Star for combat, but his military records were destroyed in a fire at a records center many years ago. Other than his Bronze Star, which is documented on his discharge papers, there is no record that he was in battle while in Vietnam. Without this, the VA cannot approve his disability claim.

After several appeals for help, the VA is searching for daily activity records from his military unit between 1967 and 1969. Can you imagine what an enormous this task is? Without this written proof, his claim will not be approved. Shouldn't his Bronze Star be enough evidence of bravery in combat?

Our Vietnam-era warriors are still being treated like liars, cheats and pariahs. What can be done to give them the dignity and treatment they deserve?

Deborah Wiss, St. Pete Beach

A tale of questionable care

The disgraceful treatment of our wounded goes far beyond Water Reed and other military and veterans centers in the United States. A good friend was wounded through the shoulder in Iraq. He was flown to the Army hospital in Germany.

Within a few days of his arrival, his temperature spiked, his wife was sent for, and last rites were administered. Death seemed imminent.

Luckily, a local German doctor was on the floor and looked in on him. This doctor immediately recognized that the soldier suffered from the same bacterial infection that killed many of our young soldiers during Vietnam.

A disagreement erupted between the military doctor and the German physician. The military physician insisted this bacterial infection was no longer recognized and was inconsequential in 2006.

Thank God the wife spoke up and begged the German doctor to treat her husband. Clearly, she was seeing firsthand what happens to soldiers under U.S. care. At her insistence, the soldier was moved to a German facility, treated for the infection, and is now safe and sound back home.

This is the story of only one soldier, but it is a case of recovery or death. It's not a list. It's not a number. It's one grieving family losing one precious son or daughter and feeling the pain of it forever.

Melanie Woods, Palm Harbor

Shameful neglect

I have been reading the recent stories of the problems with the VA followup support system with disgust and incredulity.

Here in St. Petersburg, we have a VA hospital with a several hundred million dollar computer system that had to be scrapped. We have a congressman who has occupied office for nearly 40 years and styles himself as a supporter of wounded veterans. Well, I suppose we know how far that support goes within his party.

I find it outrageous that no congressman, Democrat or Republican, walked through Walter Reed or any of the VA hospitals to raise a stink about the followup care that our troops receive. Enlisted personnel would be court-martialed and put in jail for such dereliction of duty. The people responsible for this will probably get a medal from the president.

Shame on you, Congressman C.W. Bill Young. Shame on Congress. Shame on the president.

Bob Tankel, Dunedin

Try volunteering

I am a registered volunteer at Bay Pines VA Medical Center, and my husband has received more than 40 years of great care and service through the VA system. I think it's high time that people understand that there are thousands of veterans who are treated daily, and millions each year.

Instead of complaining, maybe those who voice negative opinions about veterans health care would like to volunteer and really see how our veterans are treated. Maybe they would find out how wonderfully the VA is taking care of our veterans - especially at Bay Pines.

Instead of whining about problems they read in the paper, they could find out what it's really like. The only negative is that they might be sorry they didn't find out sooner how wonderfully our veterans are being treated.

Pam Pagac, Seminole

Intelligence conference draws criticism March 6, story

On Intelligence Summit, Times has a 'hidden agenda'

The Times severely attacked my charity's reputation as a respected intelligence forum. Our Web site recently surpassed Jane's as the most widely read source of intelligence news in the world. The Times failed to disclose that their principal source of criticism, Victoria Toensing, has a personal conflict of interest with one of our advisory board members.

Toensing claims that this is "not a mainstream conference with recognized names in the field." It is a matter of public record that our advisory board has included two former heads of the CIA, the head of British Joint Intelligence, senior officials of the Mossad, the former director of the Congressional Task Force on Terrorism, the former director of the Indian Counter Intelligence Service, generals of the U.S. Army and Air Force intelligence services, not to mention our academic experts. They are, we submit, reasonably qualified to speak about the intelligence community.

The Times has nearly every fact in this story wrong. They said that our Intelligence Summit falsely claimed the Konica Minolta company as one of our sponsors. In fact, we would like to thank the Konica Minolta company for graciously loaning us the large printing, copying and collating machine which we are using to produce the program and other documents for the Intelligence Summit. If the Times ever bothered to show up at the conference before running their smear story, we would have let them take a picture of it.

The Times did not bother with thorough fact checking and rushed this brutally defamatory story into print because of a special deadline. Their reporter knew (because I told her) that on Wednesday March 7, the Intelligence Summit was going to make public a major expose on Sami Al-Arian. For many years while the St. Petersburg Times defended Al-Arian, he and his friends were operating a stolen car ring, smuggling vehicles from Tampa Bay to Iraq for car bombs to kill American soldiers or to be sold for cash to help fund terrorism.

The Times should have disclosed to the public that their other principal source quoted for this story, Nihad Awad, was the partner of Sami Al-Arian. Both men were leaders of the IAP (the Islamic Association for Palestine), which was closed down for being a front for the *Hamas* terrorist group (Americansagainsthate.org/cw/profiles_cw.php).

It is clear that the Times has a hidden agenda. They are consistently on the side of the Islamic extremists. IHEC and the Intelligence Summit stand proudly on the side of the Islamic reformers. Instead the Times just took Awad's word that our Islamic speakers "promote anti-Muslim bigotry and hatred." The other members of the press who were here, from the Wall Street Journal to CNN, know what a sad and cruel slander the Times has printed against these fine Muslim leaders, many of whom ignored explicit death threats to speak out against terrorism.

I warned my board that if we moved our Intelligence Summit from Washington to St. Petersburg that we should expect to get attacked by the St. Petersburg Times. In 2002, the Times was extremely critical of me after I sued Sami Al-Arian and exposed his terrorist ties. Shortly afterward, the Times apologized over the phone for their many errors, but not in writing. I have asked the Times to investigate both instances and print my response. The Times has allowed me this limited space, not enough to even begin rebutting all their errors.

John Loftus, president, IHEC, host of the Intelligence Summit and the Secular Islam Summit

Intelligence conference draws criticism March 6, story

Secular Muslims snubbed

The story's emphasis on a tax status filing technicality and mischaracterization of conference participants illustrates how elements at the Times cooperate with those who attempt to smear, demean and silence those who stand up for free Muslim societies and Islamic reform.

A broad range of participants, from Afshin Ellian, a professor at law from the University of Leiden in Holland, to Irshad Manji, author and documentary filmmaker of Faith Without Fear, cannot simply be condemned as "everyone known for damning Islam" with no opportunity for those participants to respond.

This article is a low point for the St. Petersburg Times and advocacy journalism.

Martin Altner, Clearwater

Intelligence conference draws criticism March 6, story

Telling omissions

The Times report of this event was an extraordinary journalistic tour de force: in two pages of coverage, your readers did not learn one word of what happened or what was said at this conference. Happily, we did not have to rely on the Times to learn what was going on in our own backyard; CNN, the Wall Street Journal and other national media reported extensively on the remarkable declaration issued by a group of Muslim intellectuals: calling upon Muslims worldwide to embrace a philosophy that honors the distinction between church and state, recognizes equal rights for <u>women</u>, and demands respect for the equality of all peoples, Muslim and non-Muslim. The "St. Petersburg Declaration," as it was called, was read out in Farsi and Arabic, as well as English - and even Al Jazeera broadcast its announcement to the Muslim world.

But your team of reporters was focused on telling us not what happened in St. Petersburg, but what we should think about what happened, and why we should ignore it. While we learned nothing about the event from your report, I am sorry to say we did learn a great deal about the St. Petersburg Times.

Barry Augenbraun, St. Petersburg

Intelligence conference draws criticism March 6, story

Unrepresentative group

I regret to say that I am convinced the so-called "intelligence conference" will do nothing more than further alienate the moderate Muslim community. I can only see evil coming from it because the overwhelmingly vast majority of Muslims are not represented by this group of individuals, nor can they sympathize with them.

Graphic

PHOTO, Times (1993): The Bayside Bridge, which provides motorists with an alternative to traveling on crowded U.S. 19, was built in part with money from the Penny for Pinellas. PHOTO, Getty Images: Spc. Jeremy Duncan testifies before a House panel about problems at Walter Reed.

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Looking back: A diary of events for 2006

The Telegraph-Journal (New Brunswick)

December 30, 2006 Saturday

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Byline: THE CANADIAN PRESS

Body

Here is a brief look at the major news events of Canada and the world in 2006: JANUARY 10 - Iran removes UN seals from its nuclear enrichment facility at Natanz, effectively ending a freeze on the process that can produce fuel for nuclear weapons.

- 12 At least 363 Hajj pilgrims are killed and more than 1,000 injured in a stampede during the stoning the devil ritual in Saudi Arabia.
- 15 Canadian diplomat Glyn Berry is killed, three Canadian soldiers injured in suicide bombing in Afghanistan.
- 23 Stephen Harper's Conservatives win slim minority in Canada's 39th general election, ending 12 years of Liberal rule. Defeated prime minister Paul Martin resigns as Liberal leader.
- 25 Frank McKenna resigns as Canada's ambassador to the United States. <u>Hamas</u> wins huge majority in Palestinian parliamentary elections as voters rejected the longtime rule of the Fatah party.
- 26 Hudson's Bay, Canada's oldest company, accepts \$1.5-billion friendly takeover offer from U.S-based Maple Leaf Heritage Investments, headed by Jerry Zucker.
- 29 Seventy-two miners are trapped after underground fire at potash mine in Esterhazy, Sask. All are rescued after 30 hours.
- 30 Trial of accused serial killer Robert Pickton officially begins in New Westminster, B.C.

FEBRUARY 1 - In final report on the federal sponsorship scandal, Justice John Gomery proposes rules to make government more accountable and transparent. French and German newspapers republish caricatures of the Prophet Muhammad in an effort to defend freedom of expression, re-igniting anger of Muslims who were outraged when a Danish newspaper first printed the cartoons five months earlier.

- 2 Sea King helicopter with five crew members aboard crashes in ocean off Denmark; all are rescued.
- 3 Red Sea ferry sinks after fire breaks out, killing 1,000 of the 1,400 people aboard.
- 6 Stephen Harper is sworn in as the 22nd prime minister of Canada.

- 14 Former Ontario premier Mike Harris tells judicial inquiry into the 1995 police shooting of a native protester that he uttered a profane slur at aboriginals at a meeting with police just before the shooting.
- 17 At least 1,800 people believed dead in mudslides caused by torrential rains in the Philippines.
- 22 Insurgents detonate bombs inside one of Iraq's most famous Shiite shrines in Samarra, destroying its golden dome and triggering reprisal attacks on Sunni mosques.
- 24 Rodney MacDonald, 34, becomes Canada's youngest premier when he is sworn in Nova Scotia.
- 28 Canadian Brig.-Gen. David Fraser takes command of coalition troops in southern Afghanistan.
- MARCH 1 Marshall Rothstein is confirmed as the newest member of the Supreme Court.
- 2 Cpl. Paul Davis, and Master Cpl.

Timothy Wilson are killed when their armoured vehicle runs off the road in Afghanistan. Former Beatle Paul Mc-Cartney and his wife Heather stage a seal hunt protest on ice floes in the Gulf of St.

Lawrence.

- 5 Underdog Crash, directed by Canadian Paul Haggis, wins best picture honours over Brokeback Mountain at the Academy Awards.
- 11 Former Yugoslav leader Slobodan Milosevic, on trial for war crimes, is found dead in a prison cell in the Netherlands.
- 12 In his first foreign trip since taking office, Prime Minister Stephen Harper pays surprise visit to Afghanistan.
- 13 C.R.A.Z.Y., the movie of a gay youth coming of age in 1960s Quebec, wins 10 awards at the Genie Awards.
- 16 Long-awaited first session of Iraq's new parliament lasts about 30 minutes before being indefinitely adjourned because of a deadlock between political parties.
- 22 The B.C. ferry Queen of the North goes off course, hits a rock and sinks off the coast of Prince Rupert, B.C. All but two of the 101 people aboard are rescued.

Basque militant group ETA announces permanent ceasefire to end a decades- long campaign of terror aimed at winning independence for the northern Spanish region.

- 23 Canadian hostages James Loney and Harmeet Sooden and a Briton, Norman Kember, were freed after being held for four months in Iraq.
- 28 Former Liberian president Charles Taylor, facing war crime charges, is captured on the run in Nigeria. Acting Prime Minister Ehud Olmert's Kadima party wins 28 of 120 seats in the Israeli election, more than any other party. Massive protests and a nationwide public transport strike hit France over a new youth employment law.
- 29 Pte. Robert Costall, 22, killed in a firefight in Afghanistan.
- APRIL 4 Alberta's Ralph Klein, the country's longest-serving premier, announces plans to step down by the end of the year.

Three Canadian-Venezuelan brothers found dead outside Caracas after being kidnapped by men dressed as police.

5 - Gail Vickery is named Alberta's first *female* chief judge.

Looking back: A diary of events for 2006

- 7 At least two suicide attackers wearing <u>women</u>'s cloaks blow themselves up in a Shiite mosque in Baghdad, killing at least 85 people and wounding more than 164. London court rules that author Dan Brown did not steal ideas for his massive bestseller The Da Vinci Code from a nonfiction work.
- 8 The bodies of eight men with ties to the Bandidos biker gang are found stuffed in four abandoned cars near Shedden in the worst mass killing in recent Ontario history. Other gang members are charged in the killings.
- 10 Federal government makes it illegal for anyone in Canada to support or help the Tamil Tigers, fighting for an independent state in Sri Lanka.
- 11 Iran announces it has successfully enriched uranium for the first time.
- 20 Ontario Provincial Police try and fail to end a 52-day occupation of a southwestern Ontario construction site by aboriginals claiming it is their land.
- 22 Cpl. Matthew Dinning, Bombardier Myles Mansell, Lt. William Turner and Cpl. Randy Payne are killed by roadside bomb in Afghanistan. It is the Canada's worst one-day combat loss since the Korean War.
- 27 Federal government announces it has reached framework deal to end the longstanding softwood lumber dispute with the United States.
- MAY 1 Federal government calls public inquiry into the Air India tragedy.
- 2 In his first federal budget, Finance Minister Jim Flaherty announces GST will be cut by one percentage point on July 1.
- 3 U.S. federal jury rejects death penalty for al-Qaida conspirator Zacarias Moussaoui, sends him to prison for life for his role in the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks.
- 5 In the first slaying of a Windsor police officer on duty, Const. John Atkinson is killed while approaching two drug suspects at a convenience store in Windsor, Ont.
- 10 Federal cabinet approves \$2-billion deal to compensate former students of aboriginal residential schools for physical and sexual abuse.
- 15 Iraqi officials formally charge dictator Saddam Hussein with crimes against humanity.
- 17 Federal government announces plans to kill the long-gun registry, as well as an immediate one-year amnesty so owners of rifles and shotguns will not have to register them. Capt. Nichola Goddard dies in Afghanistan, the first Canadian woman to be killed in action while serving in a combat role. House of Commons vote 149-145 to extend the deployment of Canadian troops in Afghanistan to February 2009. Former Beatle Paul McCartney and Heather Mills announce they are separating.
- 19 Nepal declares itself a secular state, ending its unique status as the world's last Hindu kingdom.
- 25 Former Enron chiefs Kenneth Lay and Jeffrey Skilling are convicted of conspiracy to commit securities and wire fraud in one of the biggest business scandals in U.S. history.
- 27 Earthquake in Indonesia kills almost 6,000 people.
- 31 Bans that prohibit smoking in all enclosed workplaces and public places take effect in Ontario and Quebec JUNE 2 Seventeen suspects arrested in Toronto area in biggest terrorism-related raid in Canada.
- 6 Chuck Guite, former head of the federal sponsorship program, is found guilty of five counts of fraud totalling \$1.5 million, which he later appealed.
- 7 Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, the founder of al-Qaida in Iraq, killed in American raid near Baghdad.

- 8 Former aboriginal leader David Ahenakew's conviction for promoting hatred against Jews overturned, new trial ordered.
- 11 The Drowsy Chaperone, a Canadianborn musical celebration of Broadway's past glories, wins five Tony Awards.
- 21 Ed Byrne, natural resources minister in Newfoundland and Labrador, resigns post after audit raises questions about financial irregularities within the provincial legislature.
- 22 Prime Minister Stephen Harper offers formal apology and compensation for head tax applied to Chinese immigrants between 1885 and 1923.
- 29 **Women** vote for the first time in history in the Kuwait election.
- JULY 1 Canadian and U.S. trade officials work out final wording of the Canada- U.S. softwood lumber agreement reached in April. China opens first Beijing- to-Tibet railway, the highest-altitude railway in the world.
- 4 In so-called keepsake scandal, report by Newfoundland and Labrador auditor implicates four politicians of overspending on office budgets by about \$3.4-million.
- 6 Prime Minister Stephen Harper meets U.S. President George Bush during his first official visit to the United States. Official recount holds up presidential election result in Mexico, giving conservative candidate Felipe Calderon the victory.
- 7 -Two Saskatchewan RCMP officers are shot and seriously wounded after responding to a domestic disturbance in the hamlet of Mildred. They later die of their wounds; manhunt leads to the surrender of a suspect.
- 9 Cpl. Anthony Boneca, 21, killed in battle in Afghanistan.
- 11 Eight bombs hit seven trains on a commuter rail network in Mumbai, India, during evening rush hour, killing more than 200 people and wounding 700.
- 12 To retaliate for the Hezbollah's capture of an Israeli soldier, Israel bombs southern Lebanon and sends ground troops over the border for the first time in six years. It starts 34 days of fighting that kills 855 Lebanese and 159 Israelis.
- 13 Cormorant search and rescue helicopter crash off the eastern tip of Nova Scotia during a training exercise, killing three men and injuring four others.
- 17 Undersea earthquake triggers tsunami on Indonesia's Java island, killing about 700 people.
- 19 Canadian government charters seven ships to evacuate Canadians from Lebanon as the war between Hezbollah and Israel escalates.
- 19 Jenna Lambert, 15, of Kingston, Ont., born with cerebral palsy, becomes the first woman with a disability to swim across Lake Ontario.
- 22 Cpl. Francisco Gomez, 44, and Cpl.

Jason Patrick Warren, 29, are killed by suicide bombers in Afghanistan.

- 25 Israeli bombs destroy UN observer post on the border in southern Lebanon, killing four peacekeepers, including one Canadian.
- AUGUST 1 After having surgery, Cuban leader Fidel Castro temporarily cedes power to his younger brother.

- 3 Four soldiers are killed and 10 injured in Canada's bloodiest day to date in fighting in Afghanistan. The dead are Cpl. Christopher Reid, Sgt. Vaughan Ingram, Cpl. Bryce Keller and Pte. Kevin Dallaire.
- 5 Master Cpl. Raymond Arndt is killed in Afghanistan.
- 9 Master Cpl. Jeffrey Scott Walsh killed in Afghanistan while on patrol, apparently in an accidental discharge of a firearm by another Canadian.
- 10 British authorities arrest 24 men accused of being part of a terrorist plot to blow up aircraft heading to the United States using explosives smuggled in hand luggage. The arrests lead to tough restrictions on bringing liquids onboard flights.
- 11 Cpl. Andrew Eykelenboom is killed in Afghanistan.
- 13 The 16th International AIDS Conference opens in Toronto, attended by more than 30,000 delegates from 170 countries but not Prime Minister Stephen Harper.
- 14 UN-brokered ceasefire ends Israel- Hezbollah combat in Lebanon.
- 21 Former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein's trial begins in Baghdad on charges of genocide for a military campaign against Kurds in 1988.
- 22 Cpl. David Braun is killed in a suicide bomb attack in Afghanistan. Parti Quebecois Leader Andre Boisclair sworn in as a member of the Quebec legislature.
- 24 -International Astronomical Union approves new definition of planet, stripping Pluto of its status and placing it in a new category known as dwarf planets.
- 27 A Canadian-built commuter plane crashed on take off at Lexington, Ky., airport, killing 49 people, including two Canadians.

Toronto-bred Kiefer Sutherland and his action series "24" walk off with top honours at the Emmy Awards.

27 - Ecuadorian Maria Esther de Capovilla, believed to be the world's oldest person, dies at age 116.

SEPTEMBER 3 - Four Canadian soldiers - Sgt. Shane Stachnik, Warrant Officer Frank Robert Mellish, Pte. William Cushley and Warrant Officer Richard Francis Nolan - are killed at the start of Operation Medusa, an anti-Taliban offensive into the Panjwaii region in Afghanistan.

- 4 A U.S. warplane mistakenly fires on Canadian soldiers, killing Pte. Mark Anthony Graham.
- 6 U.S. President George W. Bush admits for first time the CIA operated clandestine prisons outside the United States.
- 7 British Prime Minister Tony Blair promises to resign within a year. U.S. formally hands over control of Iraq's new military to Prime Minister Nuri al- Maliki's government.
- 9 Canadian astronaut Steve MacLean and five crewmates lift off on the shuttle Atlantis on a mission to resume construction on the International Space Station.
- 13 Kimveer Gill, 25, randomly opens fire at Dawson College in Montreal, killing 18-year-old Anastasia DeSousa and wounding 20 others. He kills himself after being shot by police.
- 15 Ford Motor Co. announces plans to close two plants, one of them in Windsor, Ont., cutting 10,000 salaried jobs as part of a restructuring. Canada announces another 200 troops and 15 battle tanks will be sent to Afghanistan, bringing the total Canadian military contingent in Afghanistan to 2,500.

Looking back: A diary of events for 2006

18 - Public inquiry concludes RCMP provided Americans with inaccurate evidence against Maher Arar, a Canadian citizen who was deported from the United States to Syria in 2002, where he was tortured as a terrorist suspect.

Suicide bomber on a bicycle kills Pte.

David Byers, Cpl. Shane Keating, Cpl.

Keith Morley and Cpl. Glen Arnold in Afghanistan.

Liberal Shawn Graham bests Bernard Lord's two-term Conservative government in an election and becomes premier of New Brunswick.

- 20 Commons unanimously apologizes to Maher Arar for Canada's involvement in his deportation from the United States to Syria.
- 21 Prime Minister Stephen Harper makes his first address to the UN General Assembly in New York, appeals for more help in Afghanistan.
- 25 Air India inquiry opens in Ottawa.
- 26 Former Enron financial whiz Andrew Fastow receives six-year prison term for his role in the 2001 collapse of the energy giant.
- 28 RCMP Commissioner Giuliano Zaccardelli apologizes to Maher Arar and his family for the force's role in his deportation.
- 29 Pte. Josh Klukie killed in Afghanistan.
- 30 Five people are crushed to death when an overpass in Laval, Que., collapses.
- OCTOBER 2 Five Amish schoolgirls are massacred after gunman enters their one-room schoolhouse in Pennsylvania.
- 3 Sgt. Craig Gillam and Corp. Robert Mitchell are killed in Afghanistan.
- 5 Premier Rodney MacDonald announces his government will not appeal Nova Scotia Supreme Court decision striking down regulations stopping Sunday shopping.
- 7 Trooper Mark Andrew Wilson killed by roadside bomb in Afghanistan.
- 9 North Korea conducts its first test of a nuclear weapon.
- 14 Sgt. Darcy Tedford and Pte. Blake Williamson are killed in a Taliban ambush.
- 18 Outspoken MP Garth Turner is suspended from the Conservative caucus, accused of breaching party confidentiality with entries on his Internet blog. Norwalk virus is blamed for making more than 300 students ill at Mount Allison University in Sackville, N.B., and 60 at St.

Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S.

- 27 Quebec Inuit vote overwhelmingly in favour of a massive land claim agreement that gives them ownership of 80 per cent of the small islands in the waters off their northern shore and a share of offshore resource royalties.
- 30 Government task force recommends the Canadian Wheat Board give up its monopoly on Canadian wheat and barley sales and compete with other companies on the open market. Cpl.

Michael Seeley of Fredericton is killed by insurgents while on patrol with U. S.

forces in Iraq.

- 31 Federal Finance Minister Jim Flaherty announces new tax on income trusts, sparking outrage because the Conservatives had promised during the election campaign they would not tax the trusts.
- NOVEMBER 1 Canadian Brig.-Gen. David Fraser officially hands over control of NATO operations in Afghanistan to the Dutch.
- 5 Saddam Hussein is found guilty of crimes against humanity for a campaign against Shia Muslims in 1982 and sentenced to death.
- 7 Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega is named winner of the presidential election in Nicaragua. Republicans suffer stinging losses in the U.S. mid-term elections, losing control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate to the Democrats.
- 8 U.S. Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld resigns.
- 15 Major storm knocks out power and causes flooding in B.C.'s Lower Mainland and boil-water advisory for about two million people in the Vancouver area.
- 18 Actors Tom Cruise and Katie Holmes are married in a Scientology ceremony at a 15th-century castle in Bracciano, Italy.
- 22 More than 70 people are arrested in raids that Quebec police say deal a major blow to the Montreal mafia.
- 23 Prime Minister Stephen Harper introduces legislation to make people charged with gun crimes prove they are not a threat to society in order to be freed on bail. Former KGB agent Alexander Litvinenko dies in London hospital of radiation poisoning.
- 27 Motion recognizing the Quebecois as a nation in a united Canada, introduced by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, passes in the Commons by a vote of 222-16. In byelections, Liberals retain Ontario riding while male-prostitute- turned-priest wins for BQ in Quebec.

Rare winter storm dumps up to 50 centimetres of snow on B.C.'s Lower Mainland. Chief Warrant Officer Bobby Girouard and Cpl. Albert Storm killed in Afghanistan.

- 28 Auditor General Sheila Fraser says Ron Stewart, former CFL star, made more than \$325,000 in questionable claims and improperly cashed out vacation entitlements when he was ombudsman for federal prison inmates.
- 30 After 22 years in prison for murdering his wife, former Saskatchewan cabinet minister Colin Thatcher is granted full parole.
- DECEMBER 1 Pope Benedict XVI ends four-day trip to Turkey that is seen as a landmark to reconciliation of Islam and Christianity.
- 2 Liberal delegates choose Quebec MP Stephane Dion as their new federal leader at Montreal convention.
- 3 Ed Stelmach is elected Alberta Conservative leader, replacing Premier Ralph Klein.
- 6 Iraq Study Group report, a sweeping rejection of current U.S. policy in Iraq, recommends pulling out most U.S. combat troops from the country by 2008.
- 7 Giuliano Zaccardelli is forced to resign as RCMP commissioner after misleading parliamentary committee probing Maher Arar case.
- 12 In response to the release of a second report into the Maher Arar affair, Public Safety Minister Stockwell Day announces an inquiry into the cases of three men who suffered a fate similar to Arar.

Looking back: A diary of events for 2006

- 13 Bernard Lord announces resignation as leader of New Brunswick's Progressive Conservative party.
- 15 Hurricane-force winds knock out power in southern British Columbia, leaving about quarter-million people in the dark.
- 19 Federal government fires the head of Canadian Wheat Board, Adrian Measner, after he openly disagrees with Conservative policy.
- 20 Canadian troops launch first major offensive in Operation Baaz T'suka in the Panjwaii district of Afghanistan, in an area believed to be a gathering point for Taliban forces.
- 22 Olympic champion Myriam Bedard is arrested in Maryland over allegations she abducted her 12-year-old daughter.
- 26 Alleged Russian spy who used the name Paul William Hampel is deported from Canada to Russia. At least 260 people die after gasoline pipeline explodes in Lagos, Nigeria.
- 28 Somali troops backed by Ethiopian forces enter Mogadishu, ending six months of domination of the city by an Islamic movement.

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Body

Many Jews had a lucky escape during the Holocaust when Arabs risked their own lives to rescue them. Deirdre Fernand reports

nny Boukris was just a child when the soldiers came knocking at the door. The year was 1942, and German troops were occupying her town and her homeland of Tunisia. Boukris lived with her parents, Jacob and Odette, in the seaside town of Mahdia, along its eastern shore. She and her brothers and sisters wanted for nothing. Jacob, a Jewish businessman, was doing well; they could even afford a maid.

All that changed with the fist at the door. Since the arrival of German troops that year, the family had suspected something would happen. They had stocked up on food, packed their family heirlooms into a boxroom and placed a bookcase in front of the door.

All to no avail. The soldiers inspected the house, found the hiding place and took all their precious belongings. Anny minded her stamp collection being confiscated. Their house was being requisitioned as a barracks, the soldiers said, and they had only an hour to leave. Anny's father kept his wits about him. He quickly arranged for his family to find refuge in an old factory nearby. Aunts and uncles joined them, and although the living conditions were far from satisfactory for everyone, they all felt safe enough.

A few weeks later came another knock at the door. This time the caller was no German but a local man, the son of a wealthy landowner. "You are all at great risk," he told them. "You must leave straight away." In the middle of the night he drove them to his farm, about 20 miles away. There they stayed hidden for four months, until the Germans had been driven out of the country and they could return home. It was only then that Anny came to understand the significance of the rescuer in the night.

The man was 32-year-old Khaled Abdelwahhab, a prominent and well-connected Arab from Mahdia, who made it his business to fraternise with German officers so he knew what was going on. Handsome, sophisticated and educated in the West, he made an agreeable companion and would sit drinking with them into the early hours. He knew, for instance, which brothels they frequented, which <u>females</u> they lusted after. He had also heard tales of local girls, many of them Jewish, being abducted for sex and never being seen again.

One night, one of the soldiers confided to him that he had his eye on a beautiful Jewish woman with blonde hair and blue eyes, whom he was going to take away "for his own pleasure". When Abdelwahhab realised that the blonde he intended to rape was Anny's mother, Odette, he sprang into action. He plied the soldier with drink, and when he eventually fell into a stupor, Abdelwahhab drove directly to the farm and whisked everyone to safety. "We left like

that," Anny recalled. Abdelwahhab, who later married and had a daughter, became a lifelong friend of the Boukris family. Forever an honoured guest, he was always invited to celebrate the sabbath with them, sitting down to share chicken couscous and memories. There, around that table, they would talk of the war. Arab and Jew shared a special bond.

Abdelwahhab's heroism in saving Odette from abduction and rape and rescuing her entire family from persecution and possible death would have been forgotten were it not for the efforts of one remarkable historian of the Middle East, Robert Satloff. A 44-year-old American of Jewish descent, he has devoted the past four years to searching out lost heroes of the Holocaust. Not just any heroes, but Arabs such as Abdelwahhab. "He could so easily have been killed if the German officer had found out that he had tricked him to save a Jewish woman," he says. Executed swiftly, perhaps, or tortured to death in any of the 104 "punishment" camps then being built across the Sahara.

Satloff's quest for good men took him not to Europe, where 6m perished under the Nazis and where virtuous men like Oskar Schindler and Raoul Wallenberg risked everything to save lives, but to the shores of North Africa, where France's possessions of Morocco, Tunisia and Algiers and its Jewish population had fallen to the Germans.

"We all know the horrific stories of the Jews who died in Europe under the Nazis," he says. "I wanted to look at the long reaches of the Holocaust. Persecution was not just a European story. I wanted to investigate what happened to Jews living among Arabs when the Nazis arrived. Their stories have been overlooked for far too long." He reminds us that had allied troops not driven the Germans from the African continent in 1943, then the 2,000-year-old Jewish communities of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and maybe Egypt and Palestine too, might have met the fate of their brothers in Europe.

The result of his detective work, which drew upon scores of interviews with witnesses and survivors of pogrom, is contained in his newly published book, Among the Righteous. "I set myself a simple goal," he says. "To tell the story of one Arab who saved the life of one Jew." He had in his mind a saying from the Koran: "Whoever saves one life, saves the entire world." This passage echoes the Jewish exhortation: "If you save one life, it is as if you have saved the world."

Satloff, who runs the influential think-tank the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, began to dig in wartime archives and libraries but could find little about the half-million Jews of North Africa. There were bare statistics nearly 5,000 were killed in air raids or as a result of forced labour but few details. Questions hung in the air. What became of the Jewish families in Casablanca and Algiers when the tanks rolled in and the jackboots marched? What happened when Vichy, the collaborationist government of Marshal Petain, brought in anti-semitic laws?

As Sir Martin Gilbert, the respected historian of the Shoah, points out, the fate of Jews outside Europe has only recently emerged as a topic of interest. It was not until 1997 that Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial and library of remembrance, published its first volume on the wartime persecution of Jews in Libya and Tunisia. And it was only last year that three documentaries on the plight of North African Jews aired on Israeli television.

Then another, larger question began to bother Satloff. Could there ever have been an Arab Schindler? An Arab Wallenberg? As the world remembers, Oskar Schindler, whose story was told by Thomas Keneally in the award-winning Schindler's Ark, was the German factory owner who defied the SS to rescue as many as 1,300 Jews. Wallenberg, a Swedish diplomat working in wartime Budapest, is credited with saving as many as 100,000 Hungarian Jews.

In pursuit of his Arab Schindler, Satloff, who is fluent in Arabic, French and Hebrew, moved with his wife, an economist at the World Bank, and two young sons to Morocco in 2002 and began his research in earnest. He turned himself into a Simon Wiesenthal in reverse: where the legendary Nazi hunter, who died last year, sought criminals to bring them to justice, Satloff sought champions. Over steaming cups of sweet mint tea in houses and cafes, he listened to tales from the past. Some people were eager to speak of their wartime tribulations, as if they had been waiting all their lives to unburden themselves; others were more guarded. Acceptance and suspicion of him went hand in hand.

In the event, he found not one saviour but many. Wherever he went he collected stories about Arabs welcoming Jews into their homes, sharing their meagre rations, guarding their valuables so Germans could not confiscate them, and warning leaders about SS raids. Abdelwahhab, who died in 1997 aged 86, features prominently in his gallery of heroes, along with Si Ali Sakkat, a former mayor of Tunis who hid 60 Jewish workers who had fled a labour camp, and Si Kaddour Benghabrit, the rector of a Paris mosque, who helped 100 Jews evade persecution in 1940. Similarly, the Bey of Tunis, Tunisia's wartime ruler under the Germans, is reported as having told members of his government: "The Jews... are under our patronage and we are responsible for their lives. If I find out that an Arab informer caused even one hair of a Jew to fall, this Arab will pay with his life." As one old gentleman from a small town in Tunisia remarked, "The Arabs watched over the Jews."

Satloff is prepared for such tales of Arab derring-do to stir controversy. Denial of the Holocaust in Arab lands is not uncommon. The leader of Hezbollah, Hassan Nasrallah, has declared to his supporters that Jews invented the "legend" of the Holocaust. *Hamas*'s official website has labelled the Nazi effort to exterminate Jews "an alleged and invented story with no basis". And recently, President Bashar al-Assad of Syria told an interviewer he doesn't "have any clue how (Jews) were killed or how many were killed". So if the Shoah never happened, or has been exaggerated, how can Arabs such as Si Kaddour Benghabrit or the Bey of Tunis have played any part in it noble or otherwise?

It was witnessing the 9/11 attacks that prompted Satloff to embark upon his book. Watching the twin towers collapse, an event he saw from the relative safety of a Midtown office building in Manhattan, he wondered what he, as a Jew, an American and an Islamic scholar, could do to bring together warring ideologies. In his mind, the plume of smoke rising from the towers conjured up the chimneys of the death camps. "I decided that the best thing I could do would be to combat Arab ignorance about the Holocaust," he says. "And the most effective way of doing that was to tell a positive story. Any history that I wrote had to involve the Islamic world and its Arab heroes." As he points out, in a fractured, fragmenting world, dialogue is both desirable and essential.

Today, Schindler and Wallenberg are perhaps the most famous men to have been officially recognised by Yad Vashem as "righteous among the nations". They are just two of the 21,310 Gentiles honoured for risking their lives to save Jews during the Holocaust. Individuals come from Chile and Croatia, Lithuania and Latvia, but there is no representative on that list from Tunisia, Morocco or Algiers. "There are Turkish and Bosnian Muslims cited," says Satloff, "but nearly 60 years after the war, no Arab has ever been officially recognised."

Perhaps the testimonies of <u>women</u> like 71-year-old Anny Boukris, whose mother was rescued by Abdelwahhab, hold the clue. She spent years trying to tell people about her family and the debt they all owed to the dashing young Arab. But none of her neighbours wanted to know. Satloff, who checked her story with several sources, has his own explanation: "I came to the sad conclusion that there are two main reasons that no Arabs have been included among that righteous list. First, many Arabs (or their heirs) didn't want to be found, and second, I think many Jews didn't look too hard."

Officials from Yad Vashem have expressed interest in Satloff's work. Throughout his research he has been in contact with its Department of the Righteous, which scrutinises the credentials of candidates, and he will be making all his files available to them. The final decision to afford the honour is made by an independent public committee comprising Holocaust survivors, lawyers, historians and individuals, and is chaired by Supreme Court judges. "But Yad Vashem doesn't act like a detective agency," says Satloff. In practice, the process of recognition, a painstaking and laborious operation, is usually initiated by Holocaust survivors or their families and that has not yet happened. "So far, the commission has yet to receive a request to recognise a person as 'righteous among the nations' from an Arab country," says a spokesman.

Whatever the outcome, Satloff already has one victory under his belt. By providing documentary proof of their incarceration, he has helped dozens of survivors of 100 labour camps in Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia gain thousands of pounds' compensation from the German government. And if he has his way, maybe Khaled Abdelwahhab, the elegant and good-looking man he calls "the Paul Newman of Tunisia", will become the first righteous Arab. No wonder that after 25 years of writing about conflict in the Middle East, he calls this "the most hopeful story I've written".

In order to understand the bravery of these Arab heroes, it is necessary to put their behaviour in context. As a remark by the philosopher Edmund Burke warns us, "It is necessary only for the good man to do nothing for evil to triumph." There were plenty of men who did nothing.

From the beginning of the second world war, Nazi plans to persecute and eventually exterminate Jews extended throughout a great swathe of Arab lands. Though Germany and its allies controlled this region only briefly, they made substantial progress towards that goal. From June 1940 to May 1943, the Nazis, their Vichy French collaborators and their Italian fascist allies applied in Arab lands many of the precursors to the Final Solution. These included not only laws depriving Jews of property, education, livelihood, rights of residence and free movement, but also torture, slave labour, deportation and execution. Though there were no death camps, many thousands of Jews were consigned to more than 100 brutal labour camps. The very first concentration camps to be liberated by allied troops in late 1942 were in Algeria and Morocco. About 1% of North African Jews (4,000 to 5,000) died under Axis control, compared with more than 50% of European Jewry. As Satloff says, "These Jews were lucky to be in Africa, where the fighting ended relatively early and where boats not just cattle trucks would have been needed to take them to the ovens in Europe."

In this world, Arabs were both willing participants and collaborators. They worked as interpreters, going house to house with SS officers pointing out where Jews lived, oversaw work gangs and guarded prisoners in labour camps. Without a compliant populace, the persecution of Jews would have been impossible.

Were Arabs merely following orders? An interviewer from the US Holocaust Memorial Museum once put that question to Harry Alexander, a Jew from Leipzig, Germany. After his father was taken to Sachsenhausen and his brother to Buchenwald, he managed to escape to France. There French authorities sent him to the notoriously harsh Vichy labour camp at Djelfa in the Algerian desert. "Nobody told them to beat us all the time," he said. "Nobody told them to chain us together. Nobody told them to tie us naked to a post and beat us and to hang us by our arms and hose us down, to bury us in the sand... No, they took this into their own hands and they enjoyed what they did."

Satloff tracked down another survivor of the camps, Morice Tondowski, a 92 year-old Polish-born Jew, to his retirement home in Ilford, Essex. He had joined the Foreign Legion in France but was stripped of his rifle under Vichy's anti-semitic laws and sent to Berguent labour camp in Morocco. Tondowski told him about one of the worst kinds of punishment, the tombeau French for tomb. Prisoners who were judged not to be working hard enough were forced to dig holes and lie in these faux graves for weeks on end, day and night. Surviving only on 175 grams of bread and one litre of water a day, they lay in their own waste. If they made the slightest movement they would be beaten. One of Tondowski's best friends, a fellow Pole, died after weeks in the tombeau. "I think of him all the time," the old man told him.

It is little wonder that Satloff prefers to dwell on the humanity of men like Si Ali Sakkat, another of his local heroes, who died in 1954. He was the Tunisian landowner who came from a noble Muslim family that could trace its lineage back to the Prophet Muhammad. After a career in public service, including a stint as mayor of Tunis, he retired to his splendid 740-acre farm outside the city with fields of grazing sheep and shady olive groves. Not far away from his land was an Axis labour camp. At a critical point of the battle for Tunisia, fighting broke out in a nearby valley. Amid the bombs and gunfire, a group of about 60 Jewish workers seized the opportunity to escape and found their way to Si Ali's property.

"They were lucky to come to his door," says Satloff, who struck up a friendship with Si Ali's grandson. "He didn't hesitate to offer each of them food and lodging. This was a man of ready and simple kindnesses." Opening up his outbuildings and barns for them, the country squire sheltered them for weeks until allied troops, on their way to Tunis, could liberate them.

Just as remarkable are the actions of Si Kaddour Benghabrit. Perhaps the most influential Arab in Europe, he was the rector of the Great Mosque of Paris. Under the noses of German occupiers, he saved as many as 100 Jews by allowing his staff at the mosque to issue them with certificates of Muslim identity, with which they could evade arrest and deportation. Two months after the Germans took control of France, they caught up with the scam and ordered

Benghabrit to stop. When Satloff visited the mosque to investigate this claim, he was shown a letter telling Benghabrit to desist. It read: "The occupation authorities suspect the personnel of the Mosque of Paris of fraudulently delivering to individuals of the Jewish race certificates attesting that the interested persons are of the Muslim confession." For reasons that are unclear, or perhaps because the Germans lacked firm evidence, no action was taken against Benghabrit. He died in the 1960s and is buried in the same holy place that gave so many Jews a lifeline.

In recording these stories, Satloff's work is far from finished. Now back living and working in Washington, a regular on the university-lecture circuit, he is still discovering more heroes. What next? A sequel? A film of the book? "I've only scratched the surface," he says. "We know not all Arabs joined with the European-inspired campaign against the Jews. The few who risked their lives to save them provide inspiration beyond their numbers."

In the final days of his last research trip, he came across the story of a group of Arab shepherds from western Tunisia, who hid fleeing Jews. "When the Germans came looking for Jews, the Arabs would say they are their cousins," he was told. But the race against time is on. Those who lived through the war are dying out. Just eight weeks after telling her story for the first time in 60 years in all its stirring detail from the hammering on the door to the midnight flight Anny Boukris breathed her last

Among the Righteous: Lost Stories from the Holocaust's Long Reach into Arab Lands (Perseus Books, £ 15.99), by Robert Satloff, is available at the BooksFirst price of £ 14.39, including p&p. Tel: 0870 165 8585

Load-Date: December 15, 2006

End of Document



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Section: FEATURES; The Planner; Pg. 10

Length: 3217 words

Byline: Edited by Jade Lee-Duffy

Body

Exhibitions

EDITOR'S PICK

Body Movies in Hong Kong

Part of the Asia Cultural Co-operation Forum 2006, the award-winning interactive media arts installation has toured Rotterdam, Liverpool and London, and features eight local photographers who fuse portraits and the architecture of Victoria Harbour. Today, 7pm-11pm, Avenue of the Stars, TST, free. Inquiries: 2582 0200. Ends today

Glass Book

Vivo (aka Sakura Uchiyama) from Japan creates glass books of song lyrics inspired by her dreams. Today, noon-7pm Kapok, G/F 9 Dragon Rd, Tin Hau. Inquiries: www.ka-pok.com Ends today

Super Lights

Hebei-born artist Yan Lei's abstract paintings with multiple colour schemes interpret the relationships of culture, action and expression. Today-tomorrow, 10.30am-8pm, Gallery on Old Bailey at Pao Gallery, 4-5/F HK Art Centre, 2Harbour Rd, Wan Chai. Inquiries: 9773 9139. Ends tomorrow

Letter to My Mother

Canada-based Virginia Mak's sepia-coloured photos of desires, expectations and disappointments create a dialogue with her mother in Hong Kong. Tomorrow, noon-10pm, Economist Gallery, Fringe Club, Lower Albert Rd, Central. Inquiries: 2521 7251. Ends tomorrow

EDITOR'S PICK

Motel

Photographs of motels along an eerie North American landscape by Steve Payne. Tomorrow, noon- 10pm, Fotogalerie, Fringe Club, 2 Lower Albert Rd, Central. Inquiries: 2521 7251. Ends tomorrow

Kion Logo Icon Symbol

Kion Chan (aka Wai-Keung Chan) produces logos, icons and symbols in simple black and white, exploring the concept of simplification. Today-Wed, 2pm-8pm, Lab Yellow, Flat A1, 8/F Yeung Yiu Chung Industrial Bldg, No. 5, 34 Tai Yip St, Kowloon Bay. Inquiries: www.labyellow.org Ends Wed

Praise of Life

Guangdong-born artist Xu Zhao Qian creates tranquil and romantic paintings of mountains, rivers, flowers, birds and still lifes and has exhibited in Britain, Japan and Sweden. Tomorrow-Fri, 11am-8pm, Galerie Ora-Ora, 12/F 41-43 Graham St, Central. Inquiries: 2851 1171. Ends Fri

Under-layers: Works by Carol Lee

With former works shown at Hong Kong Art Biennial Exhibition, the artist creates a 12-foot long glass table installation and works of newsprint to express the change of time. OC Gallery, G/F Olympian City 1, 11 Ho Fai Rd, West Kowloon, and Central Plaza, 1/F Lobby, Central Plaza, 18 Harbour Rd, Wan Chai. Today-Fri, 9am-9pm. Inquiries: 2132 8718. Ends Fri

Men, I Wish I Knew How to Quit You

Plump and fleshy ceramic figures with humour, satire and cynicism by Rosanna Li Wei-han. Tomorrow-Sat, 11am-7pm, Grotto Fine Art, 2/F 31C-D Wyndham St, Central. Inquiries: 2121 2270. Ends Sat

Breath of Light and Shade

Luxembourg-born artist Gust Graas creates abstract paintings with glowing hues, earthy tones, distinctive textures and faint images of houses and birds. Tomorrow-Sat, 10am-6pm, Kwai Fung Hin Art Gallery, 20 Ice House Street, Central. Inquiries: 2580 0058. Ends Sat

Chinese Contemporary Art

Oils and ink paintings by artists Chen Hong Xin, Hu Hai Tao and Hu Hui, displaying landscapes in vibrant colours and serene portraits. Daily, 10am-7pm, Asia Fine Art at Lee Gardens, Hysan Avenue, Causeway Bay. Inquiries: 2522-0405. Ends Nov 26

Co Chu Pin Hanoi's Old Quarters

The Hanoi resident paints the city's Old Quarters of French-influenced architecture with thick impressionist brush strokes. Mon-Sat, 9.30am-6.30pm, Sun, 10.30am-6pm, Arch Angel Art, 58 Hollywood Rd, Central. Inquiries: 2851 6882. Ends Nov 30

China: The New Generation

Group exhibition of black-and- white spotted sculptures by young Chinese artists. Mon-Sat, 10am-7pm, Sun, 11am-5pm, 82 Republic, 62A Peel St, Soho, Central. Inquiries: 3521 0300. Ends Nov 30

EDITOR'S PICK

Artists and their Models: Masterpieces from the Pompidou Centre, Paris

Features portraits, sculptures and installations by 20th century masters such as Picasso, Matisse, Bacon and Chagall. Daily, 10am-8pm (closed Thu), HK Museum of Art, 2/F Special Exhibition Gallery, 10 Salisbury Rd, TST, \$20HK, \$40HK. Inquiries: 2721 0116. Ends Dec 3

Performing Arts

Suzie Wong

Hong Kong Ballet's swinging 60s production about an artist who falls in love with Suzie Wong. Choreography by Stephen Jefferies. Today, 3pm and 8pm, HK Academy for Performing Arts, Lyric Theatre, 1Gloucester Rd, Wan Chai, \$100HK-\$350HK HK Ticketing. Inquiries: 2105 9724

CLP Light Classics Concert

Hong Kong Sinfonietta with pianist Shirley Ip, who won first prize at the Oxford Music Festival. Today, 3pm, HK Cultural Centre, Concert Hall, Salisbury Rd, TST, \$60HK-\$150HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2836 3336

i.Cherry

Inspired by Chekhov's The Cherry Orchard, Class 7A Drama Group and Shu Ning Presentation Unit perform a tale of power and money in which small companies grow into big ones, and are then taken over. In Cantonese. Today, 8pm, HK Cultural Centre, Studio Theatre, 10 Salisbury Rd, TST, \$120HK, \$200HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2370 1044

Within One Second

A cappella group the A# Singers made up of former Hong Kong Children's Choir members perform classic, jazz and dance songs. Tomorrow, 8pm, HK Cultural Centre, 10 Salisbury Rd, TST; Dec 11, HK City Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central. \$100HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 9033 5876

Make it Mozart

Lior Shambadal of the Berlin Symphony Orchestra conducts the City Chamber Orchestra of Hong Kong with pianist Gerda Struhal and soprano Amelia Watkins. Tomorrow, 7.30pm, the University of Hong Kong, Loke Yew Hall, Pok Fu Lam Rd, \$75HK, \$150HK HK Ticketing. Inquiries: 3420 0107

EDITOR'S PICK

Micallef-Inanga Piano Duo

The award-winning piano duo of Jennifer Micallef and Glen Inanga start the concert with Mozart's Sonata for Two Pianos, followed by Shostakovich's 1953 Concertino. Tue, 8pm, HK City Hall, Concert Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central, \$100HK-\$250HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2268 7321

St Cecilia's Day Celebration

Hong Kong Chamber Music Society presents the artistic director of the Frideswide Ensemble of Oxford, Jane Downer, on baroque oboe and recorder, with David Chung on harpsichord, in a programme of chamber music from 18th century London. Wed, 7.30pm (concert), 9pm (dinner), Pacific Club, Island View Restaurant, Harbour City, Canton Rd, TST, \$250HK, \$470HK (concert and dinner). Inquiries: *chambermus@yahoo.com*

EDITOR'S PICK

The Disco Fever World Tour Village People with Gloria Gaynor and Kool & The Gang

On a 48-city tour, the concert features musicians who launched disco in the 1970s. Thu, 8pm, HK Convention and Exhibition Centre, Expo Drive, Wan Chai, \$380HK-\$980HK HK Ticketing. Inquiries: 3128 8288

Much Ado About Nothing

A one-hour adaptation of Shakespeare's comedy involving sparring lovers, a half-brother and a police officer. In English. Thu-Sat, 6pm and 8.30pm, Fringe Club, 2 Lower Albert Rd, Central, \$80HK (members), \$100HK HK Ticketing. Inquiries: (www.bareknuckle shakespeare.com)

Majestic Drums VIII

The final round of the 4th Hong Kong Synergy 24 Drum Competition features The Ju Percussion Group from Taiwan performing works such as Ghana drumming and Chinese village festive drumming. Fri-Sat,7.30pm HK Cultural Centre, Concert Hall, Salisbury Rd, TST, \$100HK-\$220HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 3185 1679

The Dai Vinci Code

Performance by the Hong Kong Welsh Male Voice Choir. Fri-Sat, 7.30pm, Mariners' Club, Middle Rd, TST, \$325HK, includes dinner. Inquiries: 9222 8226

Grainger Quartet

Following a tour in Australia, violinists Natsuko Yoshimoto and James Cuddeford, with violist Jeremy Williams and cellist Peter Rejto, perform chamber music. Nov 28, 8pm, HK City Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central, \$100HK, \$180HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2836 3336

London Winds

As a regular guest at festivals such as BBC Proms and City of London, the chamber ensemble founded by Michael Collins plays Mozart's Serenade for Winds and Janáèek's Mladi. Dec 3, 8pm, HK City Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central, \$100HK-\$300HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2268 7321

The Singing Violin - Benjamin Schmid Plays Brahms

Benjamin Schmid, the winner of Salzburg's International Prize for Arts and Culture 2006, plays with the Hong Kong Sinfonietta in a night of Joyce Wai-chung Tang's Quicksilver Swirls and Brahms' only violin concerto. Dec 6, 8pm, HK City Hall, Concert Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central, \$100HK-\$220HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2836 3336

Magnificat & Christmas Delights

Hong Kong Oratorio Society presents its Golden Jubilee Concert series with soloists Petrus Cheung, Sam Kan, Ruth Lau, Edith Shih and Penny Chan in a programme including Bach's Magnificat in D, The Little Drummer Boy, White Christmas and carols. Accompanied by the Singapore International School Choir and the Shenzhen Symphony Orchestra. For ages six and above. Dec 14, 8pm, HK Cultural Centre, 10 Salisbury Rd, TST, \$60HK-\$160HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 9463 5217

The Nutcracker

Hong Kong Ballet stages the seasonal ballet set to Tchaikovsky's music. Choreography by Stephen Jefferies. Accompanied by the Hong Kong Sinfonietta. For ages three and above. Dec 15-16, 19-21, 23-25, 7.30pm; (Dec 16-17, Dec 23-26 also at 2.30pm), HK Cultural Centre, Grand Theatre, Salisbury Rd, TST, \$100HK-\$300HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2105 9724

Extra curricular

EDITOR'S PICK

Hiking in Tai Mo Shan

The Hong Kong Natural History Society leads a walking tour of Tai Mo Shan. Today, 9.30am, meet at HK City Hall, Edinburgh Place, Central for bus to start of walk, \$80HK (members), \$100HK (registration required). Inquiries: nimrod@hkstar.com

Farmers' Market in Wan Chai

Produce from local farmers and organic suppliers. Every Sunday starting today (except Dec 10 and Mar 4) until Apr 29, 11am-5pm, Gloucester Rd Park (next to Revenue Tower), Wan Chai, free. Inquiries: www.hofa.org.hk

The Piano Duo - Two Accompanists or Two Soloists?

Lecture demonstration conducted Jennifer Micallef and Glen Inanga who are performing on Tuesday at HK City Hall. Tomorrow, 8pm, HK Cultural Centre, CR2, 7/F Concert Hall Backstage, Salisbury Rd, TST, free (tickets at enquiry counter). Inquiries: 2268 7321

EDITOR'S PICK

Celebrity Chef Cooking Demo

Chef Felix Schoener of The Farm at San Benito in the Philippines gives a cooking demonstration in natural and organic foods. Tue, 5.30pm; Wed-Thu, 12.30pm and 5.30pm, ThreeSixty, 4/F The Landmark, Central, free. Inquiries: 2111 4480

Children's Book Writing Workshop

The Hong Kong Society of Children's Book Writers and Illustrators presents a workshop by Sherryl Clark on writing children's and young adult novels, marketing manuscripts and current market guides. Wed, 6.30pm-9pm, KPMG Professional Development Centre, 5/F Tai Yau Bldg, 181 Johnston Rd, Wan Chai, \$180HK (members), \$210HK. Inquiries: miodebnam@gmail.com

Thanksgiving Commemoration

A service presented by the Hong Kong <u>Women</u>'s Choir to celebrate Thanksgiving. Thu, nov 23, 12.30pm, StJohn's Cathedral, Garden Rd, Central, free. Inquiries: 2537 1777

Film

Hong Kong Jewish Film Festival

International films, dramas, comedies and documentaries on the theme of roots and personal history, including the following two films. Palace IFC, IFC Mall, 8 Finance St, Central, various times, \$55HK-\$75HK, tickets at Palace IFC box office. Inquiries: (www.hkjewishfilmfest.org) Ends today

EDITOR'S PICK

Pesya's Necklace and A Treasure in Auschwitz

Jorge Gurvich's film, Pesya's Necklace, sees a woman travelling on her 80th birthday back to her parent's house in Poland, determined to find a necklace she and her sister hid on the day they were taken to Auschwitz. Yahaly Gat directs the documentary A Treasure in Auschwitz about a hunt for religious texts buried in Poland. In Hebrew, Polish and English with English subtitles. Today, 4.10pm.

From the River to the Sea and 10 Days in Gaza

In From the River to the Sea, filmmaker Pierre Rehov visits Palestinian refugee camps and interviews international analysts to seek the cause for last year's election of the militant <u>Hamas</u>. Dov Gil-Har's 10 Days in Gaza follows the Israeli disengagement from the Gaza Strip in August 2005. Both directors will be in attendance. In various languages with English subtitles. Today, 6pm.

The Art of the Commercials

The best commercials from around the world, including the following three programmes. Various times, Agnes b Cinema, HK Art Centre, 2Harbour Rd, Wan Chai, \$40HK Urbtix. Inquiries: 2582 0273. Ends Dec 10

Programme One: Selections of All Japan Radio and Television Commercials, plus winning ads from the Association of Independent Commercial Producers. Today, 4pm; Nov 30, Dec 2, Dec 5, 7.30pm; Tue, Dec 10, 9pm; Nov 26, 5.30pm.

Programme Two: British Television Advertising Awards 2006, plus a selection of the Asia Pacific Advertising Festival 2006. Today, 5.30pm; Nov 30, Dec 2, Dec 5, 9pm; Thu, Sat-Nov 26, 7.30pm.

Programme Three: Selection of Best International Commercials 2005-2006. Today, Nov 28, Dec 1, Dec 3, Dec 7, 7.30pm; Thu, Sat, 9pm.

MACAU

53rd Macau Grand Prix

The annual event draws F3 racers, touring cars and motorbikes. Today, various times. Inquiries: (853) 796 2268 or www.macau.grandprix.gov.mo

Future Star of Ballet 2006

The Hong Peng Wa Ballet School has students and teachers performing classical ballet and modern dance. Dancers Zhang Jian, Meng Ning Ning, Hao Bin and Huang Zhen from the National Ballet of China will also perform. Today, 3.30pm, Grand Auditorium, Macao Cultural Centre, Av. Xian Xing hai, \$40-\$80 patacas. Inquiries: (853) 285 288 80

Giselle

The National Ballet of China stages the story of mystery, beauty, danger, and death. Fri, 8pm, Grand Auditorium, Macau Cultural Center, Av. Xian Xing Hai, \$50-\$150 patacas. Inquiries: (853) 285 555 55 or www.ccm.gov.mo

Fall for Liszt

The Macau Orchestra plays works by Franz Liszt, including Totentanz and Les Préludes. Fri, 8pm, Macau Cathedral, Cathedral's Square, free (tickets available one hour before show). Inquiries: (853) 399 6633 or www.icm.gov.mo

NATIONAL

BEIJING

Lin Jun Jie Concert

Known as JJ Lin, the singer from Singapore performs hits from his album, Cao Cao. Today, 7.30pm, Great Hall of the People, 180-1,280 yuan. Inquiries: (86 10) 8408 5551

Mysterious Homeland

The Changdu Song and Dance Ensemble presents Tibetan culture with flamboyant costumes, dance and music. Nov 26-27, 7.30pm, Poly Theatre, 14 Dong Zhi Men South Ave, Dong Cheng District, 100-880 yuan. Inquiries: (86 10) 6417 7845 or www.piao.com.cn

Shanghai

The Last Emperor

Liaoning Ballet's version of the story about Puyi. Wed, 7.15pm, Shanghai Oriental Art Centre, Oriental Opera Hall, 100-380 yuan. Inquiries: (86 21) 6217 2426

Piano Masters Concert

Shanghai Piano Forum Series concert features John Perry, Nelita True, Gabriel Tacchino and Sandrine Tacchino. Dec 3, 7.30pm, Shanghai Oriental Art Centre, Oriental Opera Hall, 80-580 yuan. Inquiries: (86 21) 6217 2426

TAIPEI

Wind Shadow

Cloud Gate Dance Theatre, founded by choreographer Lin Huai-ming, presents a dance with visual artist Cai Guoquiang that features modern art installation and performance art covering science, literature and spirituality. Sat, Nov 28-Dec 2, 7:45pm, Nov 26, Dec 2, 2:45pm, National Theatre, I, 21-1, Zhongshan S. Rd, \$400NT-2,000. Inquiries: (88 62) 3393-9888 or www.artsticket.com.tw

Zhu Wen Elope with the Ghost

A love story between a poor young scholar and beautiful <u>female</u> ghost by Chiang Tzu-Tsui Theatre and the Tomoe Shizune and Hakutobo, which combines the elements of Nanguan music and Japanese Butoh. Thu-Sat, 7.30pm, Sat- Nov 26, 2.30pm, Experimental Theatre, I, 21-1, Zhongshan S. Rd, \$400NT-2,500. Inquiries: (88 62) 3393-9888 or <u>www.artsticket.com.tw</u>

Grasslands Legend

The Inner Mongolian Folk Art Troupe present Mongolian poetry, music and dance which gives insights into Mongolian history and national spirit. Fri-Sat, 7.30pm, National Concert Hall, I, 21-1, Zhongshan S. Rd, \$400NT-2,000. Inquiries: (88 62) 3393-9888 or www.artsticket.com.tw

Don Juan - Strauss Cycle 3

National Symphony Orchestra invites Swiss conductor Urs Schneider and Taiwanese-born virtuoso pianist Jenny Lin to present Richard Strauss' Don Juan. Nov 26, 7:30pm, National Concert Hall, I, 21-1, Zhongshan S. Rd, \$300NT-1,500. Inquiries: (88 62) 3393-9888 or www.artsticket.com.tw

REGIONAL

BANGKOK

Bangkok City Music Fest

Outdoor concert of Thai pop gathers stars including Suthasinee "Pat" Budhinan, Pannada Ruengwut, Nantida Kawbuasai, Maleewan Jemina, Dunk-Phankron, Nop Ponchamni and bands including Crescendo. Today, 6pm, Benjasiri Park, Sukhumvit Rd (next to The Emporium shopping centre), free. Inquiries: (662) 717 0440 or www.kpnmusic.com

Bangkok Theatre Festival

Under the theme of Differences in Harmony, this year's festival brings together more than 50 plays and 100 performers, taking over six featured zones around the Khao San Road neighbourhood. The performances range from contemporary to traditional performances, Thai dance, mime and puppetry, in a mix of Thai and English. Tonight, 4pm-9pm, and Sat-Nov 26, Santichaiprakarn Park, Phra Sumen Fort and restaurants along Phra Athit Rd, free. Inquiries: www.lakorn.org

Bangkok International DJ Festival

The inaugural festival has attracted big-name DJs including Jazzy Jeff, Doc Scott, Little Louis Vega, DJ Premier, Axwell, Kid Massive and the cream of local DJ talent. Nov 28-Dec 4, 9pm, Q Bar and Bed Supperclub (both located on Sukhumvit Soi 11). Inquiries: (662) 252 3274 or www.bkkdifestival.com

Singapore

A Bedfull of Foreigners

Classic British farce set in a French hotel with mistaken identities, a double-booked bedroom, inefficient staff and hasty cover-ups. Today, 7.45pm (Sun also at 3pm), Jubilee Hall Theatre, Raffles Hotel Singapore, \$100S-\$120. Inquiries: (65) 6348 5555 or www.sistic.com

Shostakovich Centennial

A Hero's Life

Hungarian cellist Laszlo Fenyo tackles Shostakovich's Concerto No.1, composed for the famed cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, while the Singapore Symphony performs Strauss' Ein Heldenleben ("A Hero's Life"). Thu, 7.30pm, Esplanade Concert Hall, 1 Esplanade Drive, \$11S-\$60. Inquiries: (65) 6348 5555 or www.sistic.com

Putri Gunung Ledang, The Musical

The Malaysian musical, starring Tiara Jacquelina, brings to life the legend of an ill-fated romance between a beautiful princess and a handsome warrior. Fri-Sun, 8pm (Sat also at 2.30pm), Esplanade Theatre, \$35S-\$95. Inquiries: www.sistic.com

Showdown In Singapore

World Boxing Foundation world welterweight championship between Dondon Sultan of the Philippines and Eddie Delic of Australia. Sat, 7.30pm, Suntec Hall 601, \$28S-\$128. Inquiries: www.sistic.com

Hide & Seek

Celebrating Hello Kitty's 30th anniversary, exhibition of interactive games and memorabilia in fashion, music, and motion graphics by 70 international artists and designers. Daily, 10am-10pm, the Art House, 1 Old Parliament Lane, \$15S. Inquiries: (65) 6332 6919 From Fri to Dec 2

Tokyo

The American Violence Tour

Hard core electronic noise with Slogun, Sickness, Incapacitants, Astro and Timisoara. Today, 6pm, Lush, Shibuya, 3,500 yen. Inquiries: (81 3) 3316 6969

Daniel Powter

Performance by Canadian artist, famed for the American Idol theme tune. Nov 29, 7pm, Tokyo International Forum Hall A, Marunouchi, 7,500. Inquiries: (81 3) 3498 9999

Urbtix: 2734 9009

Urbtix/CityLine credit- card booking: 2111 5999

Fringe: 2521 7251

CityLine: 2317 6666

HK Ticketing: 3128 8288

Please e-mail performances and events to <u>listings@scmp.com</u>

Load-Date: November 20, 2006

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Review: IRAQ: HOW THE GOOD LAND TURNED BAD: This week marks the fourth anniversary of the start of the Iraq War, the defining issue of the decade. But what is life like for ordinary Iraqis at the epicentre of this tumult? The Observers Foreign Affairs Editor has been travelling throughout Iraq over the past four years and here he reflects on a war that has broken lives and political reputations. Will it ultimately break the country?: Who said what in the war of words

The Observer (London)

March 18, 2007

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The Observer

Section: OBSERVER REVIEW FEATURES PAGES; Pg. 6

Length: 3241 words **Byline:** Peter Beaumont

Body

There was an IED [Improvised Explosive Device] on the road that held me up. Some of the players could not make it at all. We feel like we are battling in our own war.'

Throughout Iraq's collapse into violence, al-Ansari has continued with his compositions, including one for oboe, two violins, viola and cello called, without irony, The Good Land . It is about Iraq. 'This is still a good land,' he insists. He pauses for a moment of further consideration. 'Maybe the land is good,' he adds, 'but sometimes the people are not good. . .'

'OK,' says my friend Wael, 'I've got a joke for you. . . you wanna hear it? A husband is waiting for his wife to return. It is getting late and he turns to his brother. "Do you think she has a lover?" the husband asks. "Try not to worry," the brother says. "She's probably been killed by a roadside bomb."

The good land breeds a fatalist humour to confront the horror of daily life. I have heard Iraqis tell jokes about suicide bombers; about George Bush and al-Qaeda's dead leader Musab al-Zarqawi, and firebrand preacher Moqtada al-Sadr. Once, not long after the sexual abuse of Iraqi prisoners by US soldiers was revealed, I came across a group of teenage boys playing roughly in a river, a game that involved trying to pull down the other boys' shorts. 'Abu Ghraib,' they told me they called it, after the prison. Wael, who collects these jokes, explains it is 'the Iraqi way to defy the miseries that they are going through'.

And out of its dusty soil, its canals and groves, the good land breeds bombs and corpses too. They are markers on the military maps of Iraq's disintegration. Some of those charts also reveal a hidden picture of Iraq hatched in areas of colour. A month ago, I saw an Iraqi army chart projected on the stained wall of an outpost in a violent suburb of

Baqoubah, north of Baghdad. It is at the epicentre of the most deadly fighting between US forces and insurgents, both nationalist and jihadi.

The projection showed the 'areas of operation' of the rival insurgent groups: a bright patchwork of overlapping kingdoms that impose taxes and deal out their own version of justice - sometimes summary, sometimes through their own courts. On the ground, they are protected by snipers, booby-trapped houses, machine guns and roadside bombs.

We are constantly looking for new metaphors - new ways - to describe Iraq. While we in the West argue about semantics - like whether there is a civil war or not - Iraq's violent disintegration has moved relentlessly to a new phase. The question now is whether Iraq, in large measure and large areas of its territory, has become a 'failed state'. And while there are arguments about what 'failed state' means, there is agreement at least on most of its attributes.

A failed state is one that can no longer provide security and social requirements for its citizens; that has descended into factionalism and warlordism; that cannot guarantee the integrity of its own borders, and lacks the ability to sustain itself. All of which perfectly describes large areas of today's Iraq.

Four million of its people have been displaced, with no indication that this is slowing, despite efforts to encourage families to return under the Baghdad Security Plan.

The country's professional classes - its great well of expertise - have been some of those most vigorously attacked and not simply for their sect or religion, but for being professionals. For as different groups have fought for control of hospitals, ministries and universities, Iraq's technocrats have been violently pushed aside.

The education system, too, has been gutted, both of its teachers and students in Baghdad and the Sunni Triangle, to the north and west of Baghdad, the birthplace of the insurgency. In other, less-violent areas, both Shia and Sunni, armed groups have moved in to insist on a strongly Islamic identity for schools. So those parents who can afford it would rather have their university-aged children educated - and remain - abroad, in Cairo, Damascus or Amman. They are the young people you see at Baghdad's heavily defended airport waiting for their flights, a country's future, queuing patiently to flee.

The health system is slowly imploding in the worst-hit areas, with doctors leaving, notably <u>women</u>, who have been targeted in all the professions. The judicial system is in collapse across the country. The courts are almost non-existent, police officers are widely implicated in sectarian death squads, political killings in the south and other serious criminality including corruption and bank robbery.

Iraqis have their own explanations for this descent into the abyss. The transition to self-rule was too fast, say some, too slow, say others. The Americans were too involved in setting the political agendas. What all agree on is that the 'rebuilding' of Iraq after the fall of Saddam's regime was ill-conceived.

What is also true is that Iraqis of all classes and denominations were long ago sounding warnings about the risk of disintegration.

It is 2005 and I'm at the Russafa amusement park by the river. It is half-deserted despite being holiday time. It's one of my favourite places in Baghdad - a place to see Baghdadis smiling. Although the killing has begun in earnest, the park is still - just - a refuge from the bloodshed for families and courting couples. The scooter boys hang out at the entrance smoking, pulling wheelies and selling short rides up and down the road. A year later, some of these scooter boys will be 'patrolling' Sadoun Street, in the heart of the city, working as scouts for the gangs hunting foreigners to attack in their discreet, 'low-profile' convoys masquerading as ordinary town cars.

Inside the park's metal gates, subsiding concrete paths lead under the eucalyptus trees to the handful of rides and attractions. There is a ghost train and 'pirate ship', the most popular ride, on which the laughing boys dare each other to hang on to the girders as it lurches from side to side. At the ping-pong table, older boys play deadly serious

games surrounded by a small, admiring crowd, while parents stand and watch the youngest children atop the horses of the merry-go-round.

Another jostling crowd of boys tries to grab the guns at the air rifle stall, practising their shots in a country that needs no more marksmen. The scene is dominated by the park's ancient rollercoaster, a bone-shaking ride that takes you up above the Martyr's Memorial. As you climb up with screeching wheels and halt before the drop, for a moment you are level with the shuttling Black Hawks and the little two-man bubbles of the Kiowas as they wheel on their circuits above Baghdad.

Abdel Razik Ahrim, the park's manager, is worried about what the war is doing to Iraq's children. He is worried about the violence, about the ever more wild and disrespectful behaviour of the teenage boys who come to the park. He has his theory about the way in which things are going wrong.

'In a place like Iraq,' he explains, 'democracy has to go through many stages. It has to be a gradual. You cannot switch suddenly from dictatorship to democracy, otherwise there will be bad consequences. People need guidance.' He compares it to the boys running wild in his park. 'It is not the small kids, but the teenagers. In Saddam's time, the gangs were broken up. You couldn't wear a "uniform". Some of the boys were exiled. The misbehaviour comes from the fact they do not understand the concept of freedom - that it requires you to exercise personal responsibility as well. It needs time to settle down.'

But it shows no signs of settling, not even in the midst of the present Baghdad Security Plan and the surge of 20,000 extra US troops. How did this happen? How did the hubristic experiment of Tony Blair and George W Bush to bring democracy forcefully to the Middle East fail quite so wholly. Instead of acting as a 'beacon' to the region, it has dangerously destabilised it. As America's weakness in the Middle East has manifested itself, Shia Iran has asserted itself in Iraq and throughout the region, setting the scene for a power struggle with Sunni Saudi Arabia.

It has been part of a comprehensive US foreign policy failure throughout the Middle East and the wider region. And so Afghanistan is facing yet another war; Lebanon, although now free of Syrian troops, is facing a dangerous political and sectarian crisis, a consequence of US and UK backing for Israel's long-planned summer war against Hizbollah. Palestine, too, is close to civil war following the rejection by the US and its allies of the rsults of free and fair elections, and their failure to engage with *Hamas*. More widely, American and UK policy has alienated young Muslims and encouraged others on the path to jihad and terrorism, a tendency that has been reflected in electoral support for Islamists across the region.

But it is in Iraq itself that the experiment has failed absolutely. A search for items to place on the plus side of the balance sheet in Iraq is a frustrating exercise. Yes, there is a largely free and aggressive media. But its workers are being slaughtered. Yes, you can now use the internet. But only when there is electricity. And only if you can afford it

The consequence of the democratic process has, with bitter irony, been to concentrate power in the hands of those Shia parties whose supporters have been behind the worst of the violence.

Even Kurdistan, often held up as a success story, on close examination harbours dark and dangerous trends. Human rights are abused in the prisons, some of them run with almost no accountability. In northern Iraq, according to senior US military officers, Kurds are pushing forcefully - and sometimes violently - down to expand the area that they control.

Then there are the outright failures. Billions of dollars were allocated for reconstruction, but in the end, you have to ask, what has been achieved? I look around searching for the existence of grand projects: new hospitals, a refurbished electricity grid, modern new universities. And I come away baffled by the waste and maladministration.

But it is in terms of human rights that the Blair-Bush experiment in Iraq has failed most completely. How many people have died is the subject of rancorous debate - but 150,000 is a low estimate in a range that some research

has claimed could top 655,000. You see the bodies dumped on the streets, on rubbish dumps, in canals and in the sewers - sometimes beheaded, at other times bearing the marks of torture.

Did all this go so badly wrong because it lacked legitimacy from the very start? Was it because too few troops were deployed at the beginning to secure and rebuild Iraq? Certainly, allowing the wholesale looting and destruction of the country's key infrastructure was, in retrospect, insane.

I remember the insanity of those days, Basra's entire infrastructure being stripped in the handful of days between its fall and the fall of Baghdad. There are images from then that have stayed powerfully with me: a truck hauling a huge electric power generator at walking pace along a motorway to be broken up for copper, sparks arcing from its skidding base. A few days later and it was Baghdad and the looting of a cache of weapons - ammunition, explosives, grenades and RPGs - hidden beneath the Ministry of Planning, weapons that would later fuel the insurgency.

Mistakes were compounded by mistakes: Paul Bremer's de-Baathification process disenfranchised a whole sector of society, a Sunni minority centred on the Sunni Triangle, which in turn created the conditions for an insurgency that others cheerfully exploited.

But the simplest explanation for this disaster is that the invasion unpicked a complex and brutal state, invested with powerful competitions and contradictions. And having done it, none of its architects had a plan for putting it back together. This was a country arbitrarily conceived by the post-Great War powers, whose competing sectarian and ethnic interests - Kurd, Shia, Sunni - were forever straining apart. Those responsible for tearing it apart again needed to take responsibility for reconstructing it.

That, and the fact that from the very beginning Iraqis of all callings did not want a US-led occupation and were deeply suspicious of its motivations. It was not just that Iraqis were convinced that the Americans coveted their oil; there was also a cultural abyss that made the Americans and their allies seem not just invaders but somehow alien as well.

And perhaps, on the issue of oil, Iraqis are right to be suspicious, watching as the country's new oil law is set to transform its industry from one that is nationalised into one in which large parts of its industry effectively will be privatised, with US and other international oil companies offered some of the most corporate-friendly contracts in the world.

The consequence has been that those behind the Iraq war - as with all the king's men and Humpty Dumpty - could not put the country together again, because they did not understand what they had broken.

And when they tried - through elections and writings of constitutions and an attempt to find a sectarian consensus for effective government - it was to discover that there was little common ground on which to build reconciliation.

So, instead, they quickly brushed the shards together, announced that Iraq was fixed again and again, and then looked on, appalled, as the violence got worse. Now that the whole exercise is teetering on the brink of failure, some of those who supported the invasion most strongly have taken to blaming the Iraqis for their own misfortune, as if they atomised their own state.

War infects a country's consciousness until you cannot speak anything but war, see anything but war, hear anything but war. It measures out the day in its predations. You wake to war and travel through the war. You work and eat by permission of the war. When you sleep it is through the noise of war. It defines what is possible: leisure, education, courtship, friendship, what you can or cannot say. Where - and even who - you can be.

So Baghdad merchants lock up their Karrada stores at 3pm to avoid the kidnap gangs linked to the militias who would trade them for the money that feeds the war. <u>Women</u> stay indoors with their children or close by the neighbourhoods where they are known. Weddings are deferred, mixed marriages break up and educations are left

unfinished. Names are changed by deed poll to hide sectarian identities, while Sunnis place religious pictures on walls in Shia areas for dissimulation.

Thus Iraqi society, in terrible, small increments of loss and denial, is breaking down. All the while, the violence percolates through society, infecting everything it touches.

In the Sunni Triangle, tribes that support al-Qaeda in Iraq are now fighting those who do not, using the war to settle decades-long blood feuds. In the Shia south, which British troops plan to vacate, a war is underway in the vacuum that planned withdrawal is creating, pitting the political parties against each other.

The violence demands new ways of living. A friend of mine lives close to the Sunni stronghold of Ghazaliya. It has been victim of sectarian attacks by Shias from neighbouring Shola, involving assaults by large groups of gunmen. He tells me how his neighbourhood is being transformed by war. These days, he says, the men take turns climbing on the roofs as watchers against attack. He is a peaceful man, but knows that soon it will be difficult for him not to volunteer to join the watches when all the other men are joining. Then he, too, will be sucked into the conflict as a participant.

It is not the only transformation. 'People are afraid to leave the neighbourhood - to go to hospital or shop. They're afraid they might be abducted because they are Sunnis from Ghazaliya. Some builders in the neighbourhood went round asking if there was a doctor who lived there. They want to persuade him that they will build a small clinic, so people do not have to risk travelling far. They also want a shop built so that people can buy basic food.'

As neighbourhoods turn into fortresses, travel becomes ever more difficult for ordinary Iraqis. Among them is taxi driver Jawad, who has to queue for two-and-a-half hours to fill his battered Corona with petrol.

'I'll tell you what I've seen today,' says Jawad, whose father is Sunni and mother Shia, although he identifies himself as a Shia. He grimaces and shows a mouth full of broken teeth. He is 61 with his hair hennaed orange and brushed back. 'The army stopped me at a checkpoint in Dora today. I was leaving my home when they halted me so they could take away a body.'

Jawad has rules that help him to sur vive. He does not drive too early and finishes at 4.30pm before the roads become too quiet and risky. And there are large areas he avoids. 'I avoid areas that are bad for Shias and I try to avoid the Sunni hotspots like Ghazaliya,' he explains. 'Of course, it is a very dangerous job. My car is an old one, so it is not attractive to thieves. . . .' His silence suggests it is only a part of the problem.

He then tells a story that contradicts his 'rules' for staying alive. That is also oddly typical of a city where Shia death squad members will still talk to their old Sunni friends by mobile phone. It is a story that persuades me it is better for him not to publish his surname.

'I was going into an area controlled by the Mahdi Army about a month ago when I see this guy come running barefoot. It is an area where the Mahdi Army were doing sectarian cleansing of Sunnis. He is shouting, "The Mahdi Army want to kill me! They want to kill me!" Then he tells me he is a Sunni who had gone to the area to attack it. This guy is shouting at me, "Please, please for God's sake take me away." And you know, I had my wife and daughter with me. . . but I took the risk and rescued him.'

It is an odd tale that defies the present violent situation as powerfully as al-Ansari and his musicians. It is one of the small and daily acts of courage across all of the communities that, even as Iraq has splintered, has prevented total disintegration.

In the end, I am left with two powerful and contradictory images of the Iraq seen earlier this month, as the beginning of the war's fifth year approaches. Two images that sketch out the country's possibilities.

One is of the main street that runs through Baqouba, the capital of Diyala province. There are craters from roadside bombs that hit the passing American patrols, turning the surface of the carriageway into a moonscape.

The houses and offices are pitted with gunfire; the metal shutters on the abandoned shops are bulging, pregnant where they have been sucked out by many blasts. There are no people on this street. Those you see are hiding in the alleyways afraid of being caught in a crossfire. It is a desiccated scene - all of its life sucked out. For that is what war does.

Then I think of a second scene: a little corner of Baghdad, a Shia neighbourhood close to the Hamra Hotel that I walked through. It is bustling with shopkeepers selling fruit, people mending cars, boys on scooters and children going home from school. River fish flap in a wheelbarrow full of water and men stand talking by the road, refusing to be cowed by the threat of bombs.

As ever in the days and months and years since the invasion, two Iraqs are in competition for the future.

The Iraq at war is winning.

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Length: 3300 words **Byline:** C.R. PENNELL

Body

MATP

The Star of Algiers

By Aziz Chouaki

Translated by Ros Schwartz and Lulu Norman

Serpent's Tail, 2006, 183pp, \$22.95

I, Nadia, Wife of a Terrorist

By Baya Gacemi

Translated by Paul Cote

and Constantina Mitchell

University of Nebraska Press, 2006,160pp,\$43.95

The Attack

By Yasmina Khadra

Translated by John Cullen

Heinemann, 2006, 257pp, \$32.95

Terrorist

By John Updike

Hamish Hamilton, 2006, 310pp, \$45

MOHAMMED Atta, his father said, was afraid of flying. His father was a respectable man who brought his boy up properly. As Egyptians say, he kept the family door closed. These were decent people, with polite children who

were taught to come home after school, to avoid the street and the crowds. Mohammed, shy and tender-hearted, studied hard, became an engineer and furthered his studies in Germany.

He led the September 11 attack on the US.

What inspired him to become a terrorist? All he left behind was some notes on how he should prepare himself for martyrdom. Some of the steps were practical but others showed his great religiosity. This throws light on his frame of mind on the eve of the attack but leaves us blind to deeper motivations. After September 11, there was a rush to explain.

George W. Bush told Congress: "They hate our freedoms." Western journalists and intellectuals described a growing passion for jihad, fired by the need to liberate Palestine or end the economic embargo on Iraq. The failures of US policy in the Middle East explained al-Qa'ida's growth, tactics and ideology. At their best, these were generalisations that did nothing to explain why someone might become a terrorist. So the commentators went back and produced more generalisations, this time based on the aggregated personality of the bombers. The least sophisticated called them cowards, but that foundered on the rocks of credibility: blowing yourself up is stupid and wicked, but it is hard to convince people that it is cowardly.

Another explanation, predictably, was sexual. Supposedly, young male suicide bombers were motivated by 70 virgins waiting in paradise for each martyr in the jihad. This became rather hard to sustain when more and more <u>women</u> became suicide bombers. For them, the commentators turned to an old characterisation of Muslims: a male-dominated society held <u>women</u> subservient and coerced them into suicide.

In November 2004, The Weekend Australian Magazine devoted a cover story to a young Palestinian mother who blew herself up along with four Israeli soldiers. She did it, it was said, to redeem her family's honour after she was accused of adultery. The explanation, in short, lay in Islam. This had the merit of echoing what the jihadists themselves were saying in their numerous publications and on their websites.

There are lots of jihadist websites, talking of the purity, nobility and ingenuity of the fighters. They boast of their military exploits against the US and its allies, Israel, Britain, Australia and the Arab regimes the West underpins: Egypt, Saudi Arabia and the weakling regime in Iraq. All this is expressed in a common language of Islam that every Muslim respects and knows. The websites are peppered with quotations from the Koran, the traditions of the life of the Prophet and the history of the earliest centuries of Islam.

The self-righteousness reveals a lot about how violent jihadists justify themselves but little about what motivates them as individuals.

Both sides agreed that terrorism would be stopped with a change of policy. Osama bin Laden offered to turn off the attacks if the West stopped imposing its will on Muslim countries.

Western commentators split. Some recommended changing the political situation in the Middle East, bringing an equitable settlement between Palestinians and Israelis, and spreading prosperity. Others urged the destruction of al-Qa'ida and other terrorist groups, even of whole states. As for the suicide bombers, some saw them as public heroes, while Western governments concluded that if they were simply acting out of a mad perversity, not susceptible to reason, then they should be treated as criminals, hunted down, isolated and crushed.

They might be further discouraged by banning jihadist literature, as Attorney-General Philip Ruddock did with six books last year. The irrelevance of this tactic, incidentally, is clear from the shelves of the library of the University of Haifa, which has the highest percentage of Arab students in Israel. Books banned in Australia are on open access.

Were we asking the wrong question? Not why did suicide bombers and terrorists take up the struggle in this way, but why did the vast majority of Muslims, in the Middle East and outside it, not do so?

The <u>Hamas</u> bombers in Israel, the September11 hijackers, bin Laden, even Abu Musab al-Zarqawi were acclaimed in parts of the Middle East, but most people did not become terrorists. And many terrorists and suicide bombers did not attack Western targets, but local ones.

That local focus is a clue. The extreme jihadists are a small group, often isolated from the Muslim mainstream. But they can justify themselves by claiming the truth, a transcendent message that raises them above the base laws of society. By choosing their path, they have transformed themselves into the lucky elect who do no wrong. Holiness justifies slaughter because their righteous way is not subject to human laws.

Membership of the elect justifies their earthly actions. The non-elect, no matter how they behave or what they do, can receive no heavenly rewards. Their only hope of salvation is to join the elect. There is nothing new, or uniquely Muslim, about these ideas. In the early 19thcentury, the Scot James Hogg (in his 1824 novel The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner) tried to imagine the thought processes of a murderous saint.

He wrote of two brothers. One, named George, was brought up by his worldly father as a sporty gentleman who would inherit the estate; the other, Robert, was educated by his mother, an ice queen who took refuge in the most extreme Calvinist religion. Robert was convinced that he was predestined to be saved and that George was certain to be damned, so he hounded him to his death. But Robert did not act alone: he was encouraged, motivated, justified by a sinister double that only he could see. The devil? Or an apparition born of his own disordered brain? Was this justified sinner a madman to be pitied, or a murderer to be hated and condemned?

Hogg set his story in the early 17th century, as an account "of the rage of fanaticism of former days". But it resonated with his time, when sects at the edges of Protestantism were splitting away and becoming ever more extreme, as it does with our own.

In 1951 Albert Camus, horrified by the slave camps of Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany, complained, in The Rebel, that their creators had "a perfect alibi: philosophy, which can be used for any purpose -- even for transforming murderers into judges".

The armed jihadists, a more recent generation of inspired killers, have returned to religion as their alibi: using the Koran to justify themselves as the workers of divine judgment. That is why the texts the armed jihadists use matter. The basic texts of Islam, shared by all Muslims, must be interpreted to justify their exclusiveness. Among others, they rely on the writings of Ibn Taymiyya, theologian of preference of the modern armed jihadist movement.

Ibn Taymiyya wrote in the mid-13th century, when Arab Muslims faced two dangers. Although the power of the Crusaders was faltering and their terrain was much reduced, a century and a half of fighting had left scholars such as Ibn Taymiyya with no liking either for Christians or for Muslim rulers who co-operated with them, from weakness or treachery.

From the east came a far greater danger: the Mongols who destroyed the once-great Abbasid caliphate of Baghdad. They claimed to be Muslims but Ibn Taymiyya reckoned they were irreligious apostates who did not enforce Islamic law, made war on fellow Muslims and whose primary loyalty was ethnic. He preached armed jihad against Crusaders and Mongols, and also against internal threats. The Dar al-Islam, the abode of Islam, was threatened from outside and from within: existing Muslim rulers were supine or powerless, unable or unwilling to organise jihad. So jihad was an individual responsibility, to resist the invaders and to recast Muslim society.

Muslims should renew their individual spirituality by purifying themselves and joining the fight against impious and heretic rulers. In words that still resonate with militant Islamists, the individual or community that participates in armed jihad "finds itself between two blissful outcomes: either victory and triumph or martyrdom and Paradise ... all creatures must die".

Ibn Taymiyya was faced with the same problem as modern militant jihadists. Even in a popular cause, such as fighting the Crusaders or the Israelis, the language and rhetoric of religion did not, and does not, motivate more than a few recruits. The elect are small in number and their very exclusivity becomes a mark of their election, which justifies violence. Martyrdom proves their holiness. A very refined example is the Moroccan group Salafia Jihadia. In 2002 the mutilated bodies of its victims started appearing in garbage sacks on the streets of Casablanca. Salafia Jihadia was murdering people who visited nightclubs and did other immoral things.

Whether this was banditry or serial killing is moot, but the killers described it as holy war. Bendaoud El Khili, one of their leaders, spoke of defending a Dar al-Islam that was limited to himself, his family and a few disciples. Only they were holy and therefore had the right, or duty, toattack.

This idea of individual duty ought to concentrate our attention on the jihadists as individuals. Yet they keep slipping out of focus. The fountain point of an individual jihadist's rage must be reconstructed by someone else. There is little autobiography.

Some writers have taken this to its logical conclusion and written it as fiction, as Hogg did, or Joseph Conrad in The Secret Agent. But fictionalising the terrorist causes difficulties of authenticity. How can an author explain how he got into the terrorist's head? Hogg used the lost diaries trick. He said that Robert's story was the printer's proofs of his memoirs, discovered more than a century later, in his unmarked grave deep in the countryside.

Conrad simply ignored the problem, telling his story straight, in the third person. John Updike, in his 2006 novel Terrorist, does the same, but less convincingly. Updike's antihero, Ahmad, is a half-Arab, half-Irish American who finds solace in the Islam of his absent father from the depressed conditions of a semi-derelict former manufacturing town where he lives with his highly sexed mother.

Updike is obsessed with sex and writes about it with unconvincing enthusiasm. For young Ahmad, sexuality becomes the marker between Islam and the West. The 70 virgins are waiting for him while he rejects the sexuality of this world. He is influenced by a repellent preacher of Yemeni origin who inculcates in him a veryuptight form of Islam. He is recruited into ajihadist cell by a libidinous Lebanese-American, who turns out to be a rather obvious agent-provocateur.

All the Muslims are outsiders, foreigners even when they were born in America. None is white and Updike is also obsessed with colour and pigments his characters with the obsessive precision of an apartheid bureaucrat.

There is no literary device, no authenticating fiction to bridge the gap, no discovered diaries or death-cell interview to explain how Updike hears Ahmad's innermost thoughts. So he doesn't: the whole book comes across as though Updike had just finished reading the works of Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian who studied in the US in the 1940s. Qutb found even the sexually repressed America of that time too much for him, full of immorality, seductiveness and vulgarity, and his books rail against it. Updike's book reads as flatly as a quotation, not an exercise in imagination.

There are no insights either from Yasmina Khadra, the Algerian author of The Attack. Algerians have suffered a lot of Islamist violence over the past 15 years, but this novel is set in Israel. Its main character is Dr Amin, an Arab-Israeli doctor. A popular and able surgeon, he is secular, highly educated, rich and living in a nice apartment. He is a poster boy for integration into a progressive society. His wife is beautiful (though we are spared lurid sex scenes), gentle and as modern and progressive as him. Or so it seems until she blows herself up, causing numerous Jewish casualties.

Dr Amin cannot understand this, and many of his former Jewish friends (not all: there has to be a love interest) shun him, believing he must have known what she was about. He didn't, though, so he sets out to retrace her last days and weeks in order to try to understand. And he fails, despite deep conversations with Islamic radicals, all couched in the language of the texts, long on polemic and short on insight. The fictional Dr Amin didn't know much about his wife before she became a suicide bomber and by the end of the book neither he nor the reader is any the wiser.

Perhaps the book falls flat because the author's identity is false. Yasmina Khadra is a woman's name, but the book is written as if through a man's eyes and it does not feel like a woman's writing. There is a reason for this: the name is a pseudonym for a man. A man is pretending to be a woman writing about a man seeking the truth about a woman. Is there too much pretence here? Or is the author simply unable to make the imaginative leap? He is a former Algerian army officer named Mohammed Moulessehoul, who adopted the pseudonym for earlier novels to avoid trouble with his superiors during the Algerian civil war.

This is strange, too, as the name he chose was apparently his wife's: surely a halfway competent intelligence service might have figured that out? But then Moulessehoul was active in counter-terrorism. If his terrorists have no identity, are only figures in a polemic, it suggests he might not have understood the real ones.

A far more convincing figure is Moussa Massy, the hero of Aziz Chouaki's The Star of Algiers. Chouaki is an Algerian exile in France, and like Moulessehoul has no liking for Islamists. Chouaki loves rock music (according to the blurb) and so does Moussa, who wants to break into the Algiers scene. It is not a good moment. The book is set in 1990 just as the Islamists were poised to win national elections, only to be stopped by the military coup that kicked off the civil war.

Moussa lives in a grim three-room flat with 13 members of his family, and music provides an emotional escape. It offers a financial escape too, if only he can succeed. But Islamists close off both escape routes: gradually they take over the area, then his apartment block, and finally his home. Moussa is ground down, not only by the Islamists but by impossible love and assorted Algiers lowlife: bent record producers, untrustworthy nightclub owners, thugs and friends who supply him with a chemical exit from his troubles. Zombretto is a mixture of ethanol and grenadine syrup, and he consumes more and more of it. The story has zing. It is told in the present with a frantic, staccato energy, in a mixture of third and first person, slipping backwards and forwards with no breaks. It is sometimes hard to spot the transitions, but gradually the first person voice fades out as Moussa is exhausted.

Early on in the book he muses on what makes a fanatic: "Actually that's how you end up an Islamist, it's when you get tired. Tired of dreaming, loving, living ... When you are so tired you can't see them coming any more." By the end he is tired enough to join them.

Moussa is by far the most convincing fictional account of the Islamist trajectory because Chouaki imagined a whole person (like Hogg's fanatic Calvinist, Robert), not a grab-bag of poses and polemics. He also describes a society that is so awful that his readers might wonder if he was exaggerating. That is dispelled by another book, not written as fiction at all.

I Nadia, Wife of a Terrorist is the reminiscences of a woman whose husband was an ordinary hoodlum until the armed Islamists saved him from himself. They did not save Nadia, who ended up in a refuge for needy <u>women</u> in Algiers, where she told her story to journalist Baya Gacemi, who wrote it down, edited it and published it in Paris.

Although the story has been through several hands, it retains its personal power. Nadia's trajectory began in the early 1990s in a rural district near Algiers. As a naive 16-year-old she developed a crush on Ahmed, a local wide boy. Her father, a feckless and incompetent man, did what he could to stop the relationship. Algerian fathers have a lot of power over their daughters, but there was no stopping the match once Ahmed changed his lifestyle, became religious and joined the Groupe Islamiste Arme.

The GIA is one of several groups that emerged in the aftermath of the military coup. Some Islamists saw the state as the enemy after it aborted the elections they should have won. The GIA, heavily influenced by "Afghans", Algerians who fought against the USSR in the '80s, had a different target. Not the state but society.

The GIA insisted that "correct" Islamic practice was a prerequisite for overthrowing the state. With the GIA, the jihad came right home. It took to identifying aberrant behaviour -- girls flirting or refusing to wear a headscarf, boys doing compulsory military service, men drinking alcohol -- and killing the miscreants.

Sometimes they cut their throats, but on occasions they issued a warning first. They sent their victim a piece of paper with a standardised accusation that irreligious behaviour would be punished, with a space for the name to be filled in, a date to be added, and an official stamp to be affixed. A pro-forma death threat.

Marriage did not turn out quite as Nadia hoped. Ahmed rose fast in the GIA and became a local commander, an emir. Nadia, too, achieved considerable local status, becoming known as Mother of the Believers. This was the title given to the Prophet's wife Aisha: the GIA was so convinced of its righteousness that its murdering ways were given the cloak of holiness. They were the elect and every action was licit: not just murder but racketeering, theft and rape.

Nadia was never raped, but she was subjected to unremitting demands to prepare huge quantities of food for the fighters on demand, to wash vast amounts of laundry by hand and to flee from one place to another.

The villagers supported the GIA's uprising at the beginning, because they loathed the government too. But it came to disgust them. As their support crumbled, Ahmed and his family (who rarely saw him) were hunted from the land. At 22, Nadia was in a shelter in Algiers and Ahmad was on the run. The awful marriage ended when he was killed and his headless body recovered: the GIA often removed the heads of fallen comrades to make identification more difficult.

This book is not about the mind of a terrorist; it is about the confused mentality of those who were close to the terrorists and supported them. Fear and poverty were counterbalanced by belief, personal satisfaction and affection. Nadia was proud to be called Mother of the Faithful, but bitter about her unremitting toil. She never betrayed Ahmad because "I loved my husband and that's all there was to it. I forgave

him everything."

Yet looking back, she saw the contradictions. "I have to ask myself, does God favour people like Ahmed who never miss saying their prayers but who kill innocent victims?" James Hogg's elect are still with us.

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Body

Californication

All hail the return of David Duchovny to the small screen. While Mulder may have been all about the unknown, Duchovny's latest role, Californication's Hank Moody, is more into the ladies... and the booze... and the drugs... and pretty much anything else that will keep him treading water as a creatively stalled novelist in L.A. While others may kvetch at the amount of knockin' boots going on (Duchovny's prepared for the "Sex Files" and "The Triple X Files" quips), my only nit-pick is the episodes are too short at a mere 30 minutes.

Monday, Movie Central, Ch. 55, 11 p.m.

- - -

 TV

by Ruth Myles

Fri Aug 10

Identity Theft The Cure once sang, "Why can't I be you?" and a whole industry of scammers is trying to make it happen. Identity theft is big business on a worldwide scale. This special divulges how the identity thieves do it. One word of advice? Shred! National Geographic, Ch. 116, 6 p.m.

Intervention Nobody wants to be an addict when they grow up. Find out what went wrong in new episodes of this cautionary reality series. A&E, Ch. 26, 8 p.m.

Jimmy Kimmel Live

David Duchovny is a great late-night guest. He should be, after all that practice on The Larry Sanders Show. Access, Ch. 13, midnight, and ABC, Ch. 5, 1:06 a.m.

Sat Aug 11

Property Ladder Renardo quit his job to do renos. Oh, you silly, silly man. TLC, Ch. 24, 6 p.m.

Frazetta: Painting With Fire

Remember those airbrushed murals on the sides of panel vans, the life-sized Teutonic warriors with flowing hair and bulging muscles looming over scantily clad <u>women</u> simpering at their feet? That was Frank Frazetta's influence. (For those under 30, one of his illustrations graces the cover of Wolfmother's debut CD.) This doc zooms in on the man who illustrated Conan the Adventurer, inspiring artists everywhere. Ch. 46, 7 p.m.

Masters of Science Fiction

Get your Lost fix here (the trippy drama isn't back until February). Terry O'Quinn stars with Elisabeth Rohm in this tale written by blacklisted author Howard Fast (of Spartacus fame). ABC, Ch. 5, 11 p.m.

Sun Aug 12

The Nature of Things

Check out one of the true wonders of the world: the cuttlefish ... They really are amazing, with waves of camouflaging colour travelling rippling over their bodies in the blink of an eye. CBC, Ch. 6, 7 p.m.

Nature: Holy Cow What did you call me? PBS, Ch. 14, 8 p.m.

Entourage "The Young and the Stoned." Yup, that pretty much sums up junior Hollywood. Movie Central, Ch. 55, 10 p.m.

Mon Aug 13

Cribs Like driving by fabulous houses at night that have all their curtains open, but you actually get to go inside to gape at all the fantabulousness. MTV Canada, Ch. 94, 5 p.m.

Heroes Okay, it's not quite the first episode (more like the fourth), but you can still hop on the mythology bandwagon in preparation for the Sept. 24th premiere of Season 2. Global, Ch. 7, and NBC, Ch. 16, 10 p.m.

Hell's Kitchen Phew! This is the last we'll see of Mr. Crankypants himself, Gordon Ramsay... until his new series debuts Sept. 19th. City, Ch. 8, and FOX, Ch. 22, 10 p.m.

The Standard of Perfection

The claws come out at the Cat Fanciers' Association International Cat Show as owners prep their "campaign cats" for the competition of the year. PBS, Ch. 14, 11 p.m.

Tue Aug 14

America's Got Talent Thank God, it's almost time for Jerry Springer to crawl back under his rock for another season. The final eight perform. CTV, Ch. 3, and NBC, Ch. 16, 9 p.m.

Light at the Edge of the World

Rainforests and endangered species aren't the only things disappearing off the face of the planet at astonishing pace: cultures are being washed away in a tidal wave of globalization and homogeny. National Geographic explores four lifestyles that are on the brink of disappearing. History, Ch. 45, 10 p.m.

Wide Angle: Gaza ER And you thought Saturday nights at the Peter Lougheed were bad. The docs and nurses at the Shifa Hospital have to deal with gunfights, no medical supplies and a couple of rival factions known as <u>Hamas</u> and Fatah. PBS, Ch. 14, 10 p.m.

On the Lot Pirate Master walked the plank, but they let this one live? Steven Spielberg really is the 300-pound gorilla in the room. Part 1 of the two-part season finale. FOX, Ch. 22, 9 p.m.

Wed Aug 15

Regis & Kelly Let's see if Def Leppard's Rick Savage can still rock leather pants. CTV, Ch. 3, and ABC, Ch. 5, 10 a.m.

Adventure Lodges of North America Step inside our nation's most spectacular outdoor lodges, from the King Pacific Lodge on the coast of B.C. and Alberta's Sundance Lodge to the La Seigneurie du Triton in eastern Canada, PBS, Ch. 14, 9 p.m.

Turning Points: Road to Partition On the 60th anniversary of the partition of India, this special profiles Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Jawaharawl Nehru and Mahatma Ghandi, the men who led India and Pakistan to independence. History, Ch. 45, 10 p.m.

Reunited: The Real World Las Vegas Why can't what happens in Vegas just stay in Vegas, for Pete's sake? MTV Canada, Ch. 94, 8 p.m.

Thur Aug 16

My Name is Earl Hands down, the best episode from the last season. Earl, his criminal buddies and Camden County's inept police force provide the hijinks in a parody of Cops. NBC, Ch. 16, 9 p.m.

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So You Think You Can Dance Oooh, the final-four dance off! And that's not snarkiness, there's genuine excitement in those words. The results show airs Monday, leaving the dance floor clear for the remaining Fred and Gingers to dazzle us with their moves on Wednesday, with the winner revealed Thursday. Monday, CTV, Ch. 3, 8 p.m., and FOX, Ch. 22, 9 p.m.; Wednesday and Thursday, 9 p.m.

Rockabilly 514 Montreal--with a music scene that's spawned such international hipsters as Arcade Fire, Stars and Aldo Nova (sorry, wrong decade)--also plays host to an underground network of pompadoured greasers and bobbed Bettys kicking it to a rockabilly beat. This homegrown doc tracks a year in the life of the underground goings-on, following a cast of "characters" from a stretched-to-her-credit-card-limit festival organizer, to an-always-on-the-road musician to the team behind the Blue Light Burlesque show. The narrator in the doc sounds disconnected, but everyone on screen is a live wire, electrified by the feel-good rockabilly beat. Tuesday, Bravo!, Ch. 36, 5:30 p.m.

If the World Were a Village

A hit of peace, love and understanding goes a long way, especially if delivered in a kid-friendly package like this award-winning special. It imagines that the world is a village and explores what makes its 100 residents tick by examining their daily lives, languages and religions. Monday, Treehouse, Ch. 17, 12:30 p.m.

Best of Seinfeld Week Recently, on Swerve's regular radio spot (Thursdays on CHQR 770 at 4:45 p.m.; how's that for a plug?), host Mike Blanchard asked me why anyone would want to buy Seinfeld DVDs when the series is on 24/7. This programming stunt lends credence to his point: each character (plus the supporting players!) takes the spotlight nightly on four of their best episodes. From "The Rye" to "The Jimmy," all the hits are here. TVTropolis, Ch. 49, Monday through Friday, beginning at 9 p.m.

Smart Woman's Survival Guide A quirky blend of fact and fiction, this Canuck series is set in the world of lifestyle guru Lana Pearson (Tricia Braun).

Real-life guests aren't the only things that pop up: info bits and bites related to the goings-on materialize at the bottom of the screen. It's handy: while two characters banter over a blenderful of pomegranate martinis, a bubble appears, directing you to an online recipe for the refreshing libation. As for the humour? It runs along the lines of "Botulism is a quicker death than marriage." True that. Saturday, W, Ch. 23, noon.

The Hills/The Hills After Show The bestest part of schlocky reality shows is dissecting the minutia of the neverending inanity with fellow addicts. But what to do when you're the sole suckah? That's where The Hills After Show comes in, dishing on every episode right after it ends with a live studio audience. And there's so much to gossip about! Season 3 kicks off with a heady concoction of friends, former friends, new lovers and the old standby: "I don't ever, ever want to talk to you again," all playing out over an angsty soundtrack. This is, after all, MTV. Monday, MTV Canada, Ch. 94, 8 p.m. The Hills After Show. 9 p.m.

No Pants Day There really should be an exclamation point at the end of that: No Pants Day! Heck, even if you're not eight years old, it's an exciting prospect. Check out bottomless episodes from The Adventures of Jimmy Neutron, SpongeBob SquarePants and more. Wednesday, YTV, Ch. 20.

- - -

Pay Per View/Video on Demand

by Ruth Myles

Shooter Awfully violent, awfully in love with firepower... and awfully good. Mark Wahlberg hits the target as a retired military sniper called upon to help his country. Of course, things go downhill for him from there. Aug. 10: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpressVu PPV; Star Choice PPV.

Pride Terrence Howard leads a team of inner-city swimmers in this flick based on a true story. He plays Jim Ellis, an African-American who was thwarted in his own attempts to break the colour barrier in the pool in the early '60s. Ten years later, he tries it again with his own crew. Aug. 10: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpessVu PPV; Star Choice PPV.

300 Guts, gore and glory flow like beer at an open-bar Stampede bash in this eye-popping big-screen adaptation of Frank Miller's graphic novel. Gerard Butler stars as Leonidas, king of the Spartans and the man who will lead 300 of his bravest countrymen into battle against overwhelming odds. Pay attention with your eyes, not your ears. Aug. 14: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpressVu PPV; Star Choice PPV; Telus PPV.

The Hills Have Eyes 2 (Uncut)

Some National Guardsmen take it on the chin for the rest of humanity when nasty mutants let loose in the New Mexican desert. Aug. 15: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpressVu PPV; Star Choice PPV; Telus PPV.

Perfect Creature

Humans and vamps can live together in harmony: who knew? That's the premise of this alternate take on blood suckers starring Dougray Scott and Saffron Burrows. He's Silus, a high-ranking member of the living dead Brotherhood; she's a cop; they come together to track down a rogue vampire. Aug. 15: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpressVu PPV.

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Black Snake Moan

"Lookin' for love in all the wrong places..." They're playing Rae's (Christina Ricci's) song. After her boy (Justin Timberlake) ships off to Iraq, she's in a hurry to fill that void. That sexual rampage ends with her discarded on the side of a country road, where she's discovered by Lazarus (Samuel L. Jackson). Think this reformed sinner can bring the lost sheep back to the fold? With the help of a heavy-duty chain and a radiator, he just might. Aug. 10: Shaw VOD; Bell ExpressVu PPV; Star Choice PPV.

- - -

Home Movies

by Ruth Myles

New This Tuesday on DVD

Fracture Ryan Gosling shines (again) as a hustling public defender with his foot in the door of the good life. But before he begins his shiny new life with a high-flying law firm, he's got one more case to clear. And really, how hard can it be? Aerospace powerhouse Ted Crawford (Anthony Hopkins) shot his wife and confessed to it. Slam dunk, right? Oh, so, so wrong.

Vacancy The love affair with Luke Wilson is officially over. All the adoration he earned from Bottle Rocket, Rushmore and The Royal Tenenbaums has been whittled away by such dreck as Charlie's Angels: Full Throttle, My Super Ex-Girlfriend and a guest stint on That '70s Show. And this flaccid horror flick co-starring Kate Beckinsale wasn't even the end of the romance with the smart woman's Wilson brother. Nope, the love bus crashed through the guardrail and plunged into the sea of reality when word came down that Luke is co-starring with Jessica Simpson (!) in the upcoming Blonde Ambition.

Wild Hogs Almost \$200 million in baby boomers through the box office can't be wrong. Or was there just nothing else to appeal to the over 40s at the multiplex? Either way, Tim Allen, John Travolta, Martin Lawrence and William H. Macy hit the road as a bunch of suburban bikers looking for adventure. Do you think they'll find it?

Inland Empire David Lynch: genius or serious whack job? See this three-hour film shot on digital video with Laura Dern starring as an actress who becomes so absorbed in her role, she loses her identity--and decide for yourself.

Halloween: Restored Lots of tech speak (4:3 full-frame presentation, THX digital mastering, 35-mm interpositive transfer, Dolby Digital 5.1 soundtrack) equals one big scream-fest from this refreshened classic from John Carpenter.

Welcome to the Grindhouse: Dragon Princess/Karate Warriors Also The Bodyguard/ Sister Street Fighter

Hamlet: Two-Disc Special Edition It's worth it, but be warned: Kenneth Branagh's dazzling take on one of Shakespeare's best-known plays clocks in at four hours, all the better to honour the integrity of the work. This new digital transfer of the original 70-mm print includes a remastered soundtrack in Dolby Digital 5.1 and a commentary track by Branagh and Shakespeare scholar Russell Jackson. (Although you probably won't watch that one right after your first full viewing of the DVD.)

The First Films of Samuel Fuller Who?, you may ask. The American director cited as an influence on the French New Wave school gets the Criterion Collection on his early films: I Shot Jesse James, The Baron of Arizona and The Steel Helmet.

TV on DVD

All Creatures Great and Small: The Complete Seventh Season

Father Brown: Set 2

The Fugitive: Vol. 1, Season 1

Music on DVD

Kiss: Kissology, Vol. 2, 1978-1991

Dave Matthews and Tim Reynolds: Live at Radio City Music Hall

Kiri Te Kanawa: A Celebration Live at the Royal Albert Hall

Now Showing on TV

The Thing John Carpenter and Kurt Russell formed a killer partnership in the 1980s, creating a trio of cult classics: Escape From New York, Big Trouble in Little China and this, an atmospheric monster movie set at an arctic research base. Friday, Scream, Ch. 120, 8 p.m.

The Legend of Drunken Master Jackie Chan at his goofiest, kung-fuiest best. Friday, Razer, Ch. 98, 10 p.m.

Please Don't Eat the Daisies

As bubbly and fun as you remember. Saturday, TCM, Ch. 42, 8:30 a.m.

The Rocky Horror Picture Show Invite the friends over, throw on some toast, stock up on papers, toilet paper and rice, and clear the furniture out of the way so you can really do the Time Warp agaaaain. Saturday, IFC, Ch. 126, 8 p.m.

Little Miss Sunshine In the spirit of maintaining the truce called in the Swerve office regarding this movie, I will refrain from slagging its trite smarminess. So there. Saturday, Movie Central, Ch. 55, 8 p.m.

24 Hour Party People Find out how all those Joy Division, Stone Roses and Happy Mondays tunes you grooved to came to be in this take on the Manchester scene. Saturday, Showcase, Ch. 32, 11 p.m.

Sunshine Ralph Fiennes plays various members of three generations of a Jewish family living in Hungary.

No worries, though, in keeping track of who's who in this epic telling of the follies of human nature. Saturday, History, Ch. 45, 10 p.m.

Dune Ahead of its time (and Kyle McLachlan's second-best role in a David Lynch film). Sunday, City, Ch. 8, 2 a.m.

Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone Ah, when Harry was young and not... Oh, you haven't read the book yet? Never mind. Sunday, CBC, Ch. 6, 8 p.m.

Swept Away The Madonna remake and required viewing for anyone ever thinking of giving Madge another shot at the ol' acting career. (And if they're still not convinced of the folly of their ways, they should check out Shanghai Surprise.) Sunday, Bravo!, Ch. 36, 9 p.m.

Return to Me Picking this romance about a heart-transplant recipient and widow complete my David Duchovny trifecta. Sunday, W, Ch. 23, 5 p.m.

The Year of Living Dangerously

Mel Gibson in his prime, overwhelmed by the intoxicating politics of Indonesia, punctuated by Linda Hunt's Oscarwinning performance as Billy Kwan. Monday, Encore Avenue 2, Ch. 34, 9 p.m.

Anaconda For a killer snake monster movie starring Jennifer Lopez and Ice Cube, surprisingly not horribly bad. Tuesday, WTBS, Ch. 40, 2 a.m.

All Though the Night Gambling man Humphrey Bogart takes on Nazis in New York in this comedic (!) thriller. Tuesday, Vision, Ch. 91, 10 p.m.

Goodfellas 'Cause, really, what says "Wednesday afternoon" better than a Scorsese gangster flick? Wednesday, Encore Avenue 1, Ch. 63, 2 p.m.

The Life and Times of Judge Roy Bean This middling western starring Paul Newman includes a beer-drinking bear. So that's what they're after at campsites... Wednesday, Encore Avenue 2, Ch. 34, 6:45 p.m.

Viva Las Vegas TCM is running a full day of Elvis flicks, but this is the one to catch, with a hip-shaking Ann-Margaret providing plenty of spark with her leading man. Thursday, TCM, Ch. 40, 8 p.m.

Fearless Jet Li's final foray into traditional martial arts territory. Although, really, if he decides to do another one, who's gonna call him on it? He's Jet Li! Thursday, Movie Central 1, Ch. 55, 8 p.m.

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The Lookout Criminally overlooked, this smart suspense drama deserves a second audience on DVD. Car chases, gadgets and CGI? Who needs 'em. Instead, director Scott Frank relies on solid acting, a good story and the moody, grey atmosphere of Manitoba in the winter (billed as Kansas City). Chris (Joseph Gordon-Levitt) had the world at his feet until a car accident rearranged his brain. Now, in order not to forget something, he has to write it down in his ever-present notebook. Did I mention that Chris works at a bank and some lowlifes bring him into their circle of friends? See it, and then you can be the one to tell your friends what they've missed.

Must Watch This Week God Grew Tired of Us

Walking across sub-Saharan Africa couldn't do it. Neither could being strafed by aircraft or living hand-to-mouth in a refugee camp. But being a member of the working poor in America? That strained the bonds between three of the "Lost Boys" of Sudan to the breaking point.

In the affecting, powerful documentary God Grew Tired of Us, filmmaker Christopher Quinn follows the journey of John Dau, Panther Bior and Daniel Pachl (above, with Quinn) as they travel from a refugee camp in Kenya to become immigrants in the States. The three truly were strangers in a strange land, never having used electricity or a modern washroom, or had to turn a key to lock their homes against members of their community.

"They didn't really know what a film crew was. They just looked to us as friends and ultimately, that's what we became," Quinn says of the relationship that developed during four and half years of shooting, most of it in the U.S. "We would get calls from them all the time... the film's over for me, but there's still this incredible reward of being involved in their lives."

There are other benefits as well. God Grew Tired of Us took the Grand Jury Prize: Documentary and the Audience Award: Documentary at the 2006 Sundance Film Festival. And the film delivers a reality check on how you view-and live--your own life. "I've had so many e-mails from people saying that it raised their bar a little, you know? You'd hope that it would last," Quinn says. He relates a story of a woman who saw the film at Sundance, then went back to her hometown and started a day care, tutoring centre and car-pool system for 40 Somali refugees.

And Quinn had another goal in mind. By setting the documentary in America, he knew he'd attract a wider audience than if the story stayed in Africa. But because of the cultural commitment of the Dinka, there was a strong likelihood the immigrants' focus would return to their homeland, and viewers would go along for the ride. It did and we do--and it's a life-altering journey.

Want to get involved? John Dau has set up a medical clinic in Duk County, Sudan.

Visit http://lostboysclinic.blogspot.com to learn more. Closer to home, find the African Sudanese Association of Calgary at www.africansudanese.org.

Graphic

Colour Photo: Photo Courtesy Corus; David Duchovny;

Colour Photo: So You Think You Can Dance;

Colour Photo: Rockabilly 514 Montreal;

Colour Photo: Smart Woman's Survival Guide;

Colour Photo: The Hills/The Hills After Show;

Colour Photo: No Pants Day;

Colour Photo: If the World Were a Village;

Colour Photo: Best of Seinfeld Week;

Colour Photo: Black Snake Moan;

Colour Photo: The Lookout;

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End of Document



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Body

The public life

- 1. Spot the faux oddity among the federal Liberal leadership hopefuls:
- a. Bob Rae once sought the Ontario NDP leadership.
- b. Scott Brison once sought the federal Tory leadership.
- c. Martha Hall Findlay once sought the Bloc Quebecois leadership.
- d. Michael Ignatieff spent all but a year or so of his adult life outside Canada.
- 2. Ignatieff's campaign-trail suggestion that Quebec be granted "nation" status, eventually conflated by Stephen Harper into a successful Parliamentary motion to that effect, spurred claims among other cultural groups demanding similar recognition, including:
- a. Leafs Nation
- b. Timbit Nation
- c. Holt's Nation
- d. iPod Nation
- e. Borat Nation
- f. all of the above.
- 3. Canada's Green Party selected as its new leader:
- a. David Suzuki
- b. Al Gore
- c. Elizabeth May
- d. Hedy Fry

- 4. Premier Shawn Graham
- 5. President Felipe Calderon Hinojosa
- 6. Premier Edward (Steady Eddie) Stelmach
- 7. Prime Minister Shinzo Abe
- a. Mexico
- b. Alberta
- c. Japan
- d. New Brunswick
- 8. On his farewell visit with George W. Bush, outgoing Japanese prime minister Junichiro Koizumi prevails on the American president to escort him on a tour of:
- a. the Grand Canyon
- b. the Statue of Liberty
- c. the Everglades
- d. Graceland
- 9. The first woman speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, third in line to the presidency, is:
- a. Diane Feinstein
- b. Olympia Snowe
- c. Nancy Pelosi
- d. Claire McCaskill
- 10. Didn't the Segway (the self-balancing scooter that looks like a lawn mower) get off to a similar start?
- a. line-ups for PlayStation 3, which turns out to be incompatible with many existing PlayStation games.
- b. the Smart car-ette.
- c. Obamamania.
- d. all of the above.
- 11. At about the same time this fall that word leaked of a Harper-government ban on the Martin-era use of "innovation" in industry ministry documents, the U.S. Department of Agriculture unveiled its new euphemism for the 4.4 million Americans it estimates suffer from chronic hunger:
- a. "nutrition-challenged"
- b. "unstable intake"
- c." very low food security"

- 12. Of the December incident in which the First Lady and two other guests wore identical \$8,500 (U.S.) red Oscar de la Renta gowns to a White House reception ...
- a. Barbara Bush
- b. Letitia Baldridge
- c. Bjork
- ... said, "They all should have congratulated one another on their good taste and the fact that they could afford the dress."
- 13. In a sign that the proliferation of online diaries is getting out of hand, which blogger recently ranted in his blog about getting stuck in traffic: "You gibber and you chew your tie and rend your shirt"?
- a. Canadian MP Garth Turner
- b. Cambodian King Norodom Sihanouk
- c. British MP Boris Johnson
- d. U.S. Congressman Ray Cox

Communicator-in-chief

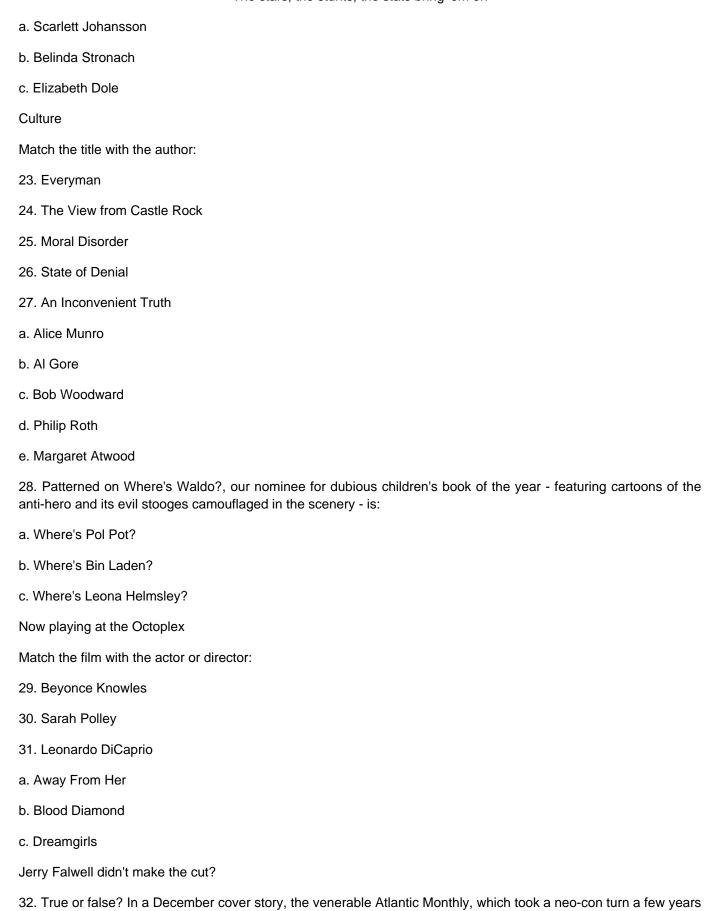
- 14. Spot the faux Bushism:
- a. "I'm the decider, and I decide what is best. And what's best is for Don Rumsfeld to remain as the secretary of defence."
- b. "I aim to be a competitive nation."
- c. "I know Laura was wearing that same Oscar DeRezenta dress as the two other ladies, but I didn't see any need for her to go upstairs and change. Is a dress so important?"
- d. "I was not pleased that *Hamas* has refused to announce its desire to destroy Israel."
- e. "The point now is how do we work together to achieve important goals. And one such goal is a democracy in Germany."
- f. "I think tide turning see, as I remember I was raised in the desert, but tides kind of it's easy to see a tide turn did I say those words?"

But, it's true, we don't know his handicap. In golf, that is.

- 15. Appointed Canadian ambassador to the United States this year, he told Time "I don't know if the current President plays golf. But his father does, and I do know him." Possibly ...
- a. Hugh Segal
- b. Barbara McDougall
- c. Michael Wilson
- d. Perrin Beatty
- ... didn't notice that Dubya had to be interrupted from a round of golf for his reaction to the "friendly fire" death of four Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan by a trigger-happy U.S. jet-fighter pilot, and was on the links when he offered

this curt response to a suicide bombing in Israel: "I call upon all nations to do everything they can to stop these terrorist attacks. Thank you. Now watch this drive."

- As The World Turns
- 16. Which story was so improbable that even the supermarket tabloid Sun didn't publish it?
- a. Global Warming Reveals Ancient UFO
- b. Tora Bora Tourist Tycoons Plan Amazing New Resort: Osamaland!
- c. Retired Army General Says White House Not In Denial About Iraq
- 17. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, president of Iran, is in denial about
- a. the curvature of the Earth
- b. the Big Dipper
- c. gravity
- d. the Holocaust
- 18. The new secretary-general of the United Nations is:
- a. former British foreign minister Douglas Hurd
- b. former South Korean foreign minister Ban Ki-Moon
- c. former French foreign minister Dominique de Villepin
- 19. Next month, German Chancellor Angela Merkel will be only the second woman to host a G-8 summit. The first was:
- a. Tansu Çiller
- b. Kim Campbell
- c. Margaret Thatcher
- 20. In January, Michelle Bachelet was elected first woman president of:
- a. Turkey
- b. Chile
- c. Malaysia
- 21. Who is poised to become the first woman to lead France in the history of the Republic in next spring's presidential election?
- a. Edith Cresson
- b. Segolene Royal
- c. Michelle Alliot-Marie
- 22. The staff of Hillary Clinton, frontrunner to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008, spent several weeks last summer squelching speculation of an affair between Clinton's husband and



back, includes Richard Nixon among its "100 Most Influential Americans Of All Time."

Overhyped non-events of the year

Match the subject with the descriptive:

- 33. Katie Couric
- 34. O.J. Simpson
- 35. The Iraq Study Group
- 36. James Frey
- 37. Barry Bonds
- a. Dismayed that plans to author a book on how he would have murdered his wife and her boyfriend except that he didn't, of course were nixed by Rupert Murdoch, owner of the publisher that tentatively agreed to publish the abomination.
- b. Becomes first sole *female* anchor of a U.S. network newscast.
- c. Its long-anticipated December report says the Iraqi occupation is a mess (who knew?), and goes to agonizing lengths not to lay out a new approach fundamentally at odds with George W. Bush's stay-the-course strategy.
- d. His bestselling memoir, A Million Little Pieces, is exposed as largely fiction.
- e. Alleged steroid user, tax evader and perjurer. Can't we just leave it that he's always been a narcissistic dork?

Uh, no?

- 38. This item is about George Stroumboulopoulos. George Stroumboulopoulos hosts CBC's The Hour. Actually, George Stroumboulopoulos is The Hour, as George Stroumboulopoulos would be the first to explain. A few months after the flop of George Stroumboulopoulos's ABC reality show The One, hosted by too-hip-by-half George Stroumboulopoulos and cancelled after four episodes, a January 2007 Toronto Life puts George Stroumboulopoulos on the cover and asks:
- a. "Can George Stroumboulopoulos learn humility from Mike Bullard?"
- b. "Can George Stroumboulopoulos spare himself the fate of Ralph Benmergui?"
- c. "Can George Stroumboulopoulos, a music geek from Malton, save the CBC?"

Thou no longer shalt

Match the jurisdiction with the bans:

- 39. Wearing denim at school.
- 40. Smoking in indoor spaces.
- 41. Considers fines for putting feet up on park benches.
- 42. Implements a dress code forbidding facial piercings, jeans, T-shirts with logos and exposed tattoos, insisting, according to a city spokesperson, that "We're not trying to limit anyone's freedom of expression."
- 43. The production and sale of foie gras.
- 44. The serving of food containing trans-fats in restaurants.
- a. New York

- b. Calgary
- c. San Bernardino
- d. Toronto
- e. Chicago and California
- f. the state of Western Australia.

Who let the dogs out?

Match the individual with the incident:

- 45. Michael Richards
- 46. Mel Gibson
- 47. Michael Ignatieff
- 48. Wesley Snipes
- 49. Andrew Young
- a. Subjected police officers arresting him for drunk driving to an anti-Semitic rant.
- b. Recanted after saying he didn't "lose any sleep" over civilian deaths in a Lebanese town during last summer's Israeli attacks on Hezbollah guerrillas.
- c. Assigned by Wal-Mart to enhance its image in low-income inner-city districts, the former Atlanta mayor accused consecutive generations of Jewish, Korean and Arab shopkeepers of exploiting customers in black neighbourhoods. The retailer promptly condemned the statements and severed ties with the spokesman.
- d. Exploded at two black hecklers during a comedy club appearance, labelling them with the "n-word."
- e. Charged with income-tax fraud.

No, no,

Mr. Vice-President,

it was my bad

- 50. On Feb. 11, U.S. Vice-President Dick Cheney accidentally shot Harry Whittington, a 78-year-old Texas attorney and friend, in the face, neck and upper torso during a quail-shooting incident on a Texas ranch. Whittington, who later suffered a minor heart attack from the shot pellets lodged in or near his heart, but recovered and was discharged from hospital Feb. 17, later:
- a. joked that Cheney should update his eyeglasses prescription
- b. appeared at a post-incident press conference in a quail costume
- c. issued a statement expressing concern for Cheney: "My family and I are deeply sorry for all that Vice-President Cheney and his family have had to go through this past week ... We hope that he will continue to come to Texas and seek the relaxation that he deserves."

Just so long as Dick remains Earth-bound in his 'undisclosed location'

- 51. Who predicted our worldly woes will end "once we spread out into space and establish colonies, our future should be safe"?
- a. John Polanyi
- b. Stephen Hawking
- c. Steven Spielberg
- 52. Pluto was demoted to the status of "dwarf planet" by an August decision of the International Astronomical Union, because the former ninth planet does not meet the planetary qualification of:
- a. orbiting the Sun.
- b. being massive enough to be a sphere by its own gravitational force.
- c. having at some point had a North American car named for it.
- d. having "cleared its neighbourhood" of dust and other particles with the potential to form "protoplanets."

Fun couples

Match the antagonists:

- 53. Outgoing United Nations secretary-general Kofi Annan.
- 54. Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, who called for the destruction of Israel.
- 55. British comedian and film actor Sacha Baron (Borat) Cohen.
- 56. Then-U.S. Senator George Allen (R-Va.), whose failed re-election bid threw control of the Senate to the Democrats.
- a. the Bush administration.
- b. Kazakhstan.
- c. political campaign operative S.R. (Macaca) Sidarth.
- d. Simon Wiesenthal Center.

It's easy pledging green

- 57. Ranking of Canada and Kazakhstan in a survey of national performance in protecting the environment, publicized by Climate Action Network:
- a. 7 and 122
- b. 23 and 79
- c. 51 and 52

Annals of Commerce

- 58. Which of the following Canadian firms was not acquired by foreign interests?
- a. Inco Ltd.
- b. Vincor International Inc. (Inniskillin, Jackson-Triggs)

- c. Shoppers Drug Mart Inc.
- d. Sleeman Breweries Ltd.
- e. Four Seasons Hotels Inc.
- f. Hudson's Bay Co.
- g. Falconbridge Ltd.
- 59. The world's second-wealthiest man ...
- a. Ted Turner
- b.Warren Buffett
- c. Richard Branson
- d. Donald Trump
- ... donated his \$31-billion (U.S.) fortune to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Film noir

- 60. In the CTV biopic Shades of Black, Conrad Black & Barbara Amiel are played by:
- a. Woody Harrelson and Karen Black
- b. Albert Schultz and Lara Flynn Boyle
- c. John Malkovich and Karen Black
- 61. Depicted as a capricious spendthrift in Shades of Black, Amiel can take solace from the fact that:
- a. there are no nude scenes
- b. there are no newspaper box cards, dating from Amiel's brief stint as editor of The Toronto Sun, that read, "This is where you can pick up Barbara Amiel."
- c. the actress selected to play her is about three decades younger than Amiel.
- 62. True or false: In his 2006 biography of Black and Amiel, U.K. muckraking author Tom Bower writes that new household staff at the Blacks' London home in Cottesmore Gardens would be taken to the roof and instructed by the butler: "Make sure the landing lights are on at all times because Madame takes off from here on her broomstick looking for cats. She needs the lights to guide her return."

S'long

Match the abruptly departed with the circumstances of his exit.

- 63. One of the biggest foreign-policy disasters in U.S. history.
- 64. Fallout from the Maher Arar inquiry.
- 65. Resigned the Harvard presidency under pressure amid a faculty rebellion.
- 66. Alleged irregularities in his expense-account billing.
- a. Giuliano Zaccardelli, RCMP commissioner

- b. Tom Parkinson, CEO of Hydro One
- c. Donald Rumsfeld, U.S. defence secretary
- d. Lawrence Summers, former U.S. treasury secretary

More proof the 'End Times' neareth

- 67. Which of the following 2006 news items is fictitious?
- a. Japan slaughters 35 whales in the name of research.
- b. Iceland defies a global ban and slaughters an endangered fin whale.
- c. Between them, Dell Inc. and Apple Computer Inc. recall 5.8 million laptop computers with potentially faulty batteries after reports of spontaneously combusting Sony-made batteries.
- d. Three teens relieve themselves on Ottawa's National War Memorial on Canada Day.
- e. The CBC accidentally runs a porno flick visible behind a news anchor during a broadcast.
- f. In a promotion drive, a Six Flags amusement park in Illinois permitted queue-jumping for visitors who ate a Madagascar hissing cockroach.
- g. A Malaysian man is informed the telephone account of his deceased father is \$252 trillion in arrears.
- h. A Pakistani cleric publicizes a reward of \$1 million (U.S.), plus a free car, for the assassination of the dozen Danish cartoonists who defiantly depicted the Prophet Mohammed, a severe breach of Islamic law.
- i. Kuujjuaq, Que., a hamlet within the Arctic Circle, places an order for 10 air conditioners.
- j. More than a dozen members of an armed gang toss five human heads onto the dance floor of a bar in western Mexico.
- k Afghanistan's opium crop hits record levels.
- I. Keith Richards, 104, falls out of a palm tree in Fiji.

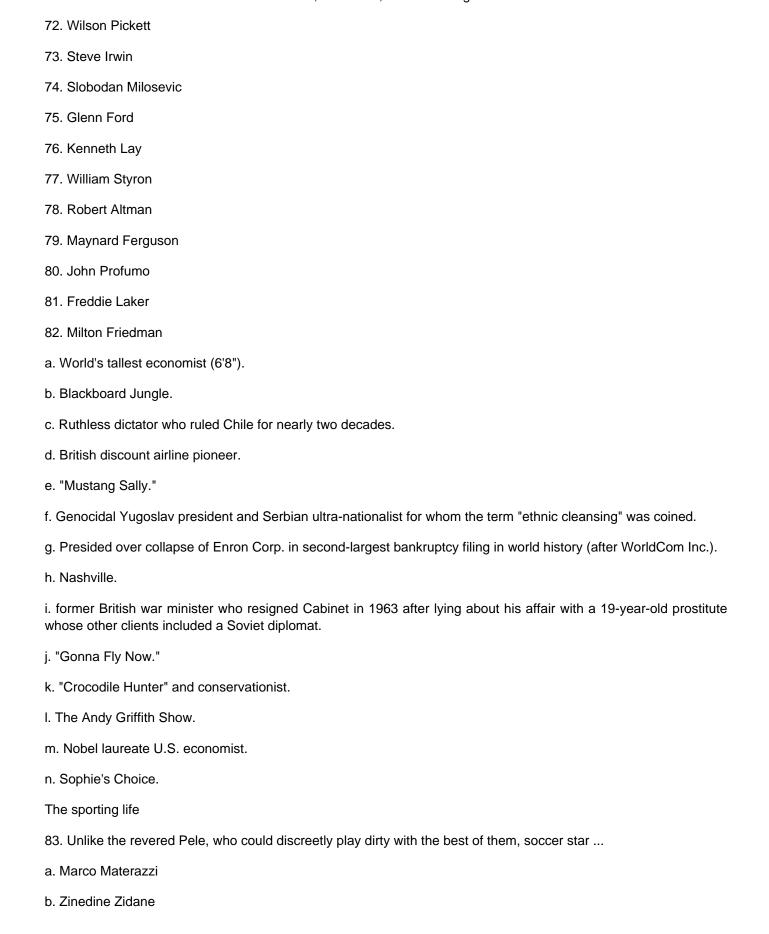
Well, that's a relief

- 68. After lengthy consultations, Pope Benedict XVI decides not to retire:
- a. holy cards.
- b. the Popemobile.
- c. Limbo.
- d. St. Peter.

In memoriam

Match the departed with his or her distinction.

- 69. Augusto Pinochet
- 70. Don Knotts
- 71. John Kenneth Galbraith



- c. David Beckham
- ... managed to get caught on camera head-butting an opponent in the World Cup final in Berlin.
- 84. Name the competition from which Floyd Landis was expelled by his team after testing positive a second time for synthetic testosterone, a banned performance-enhancing substance.
- 85. True or false: A consistent Team Canada lost its matches with each of Switzerland, Finland and Russia by 2-0.
- 86. True or false: In one of its less subtle money grabs, Major League Baseball this year licensed the use of team names and logos on caskets and urns.

Splitsville

- 87. Ellen Barkin
- 88. Whitney Houston
- 89. Heather Mills
- 90. Kim Mathers
- a. Ron Perelman
- b. Paul McCartney
- c. Eminem
- d. Bobby Brown

The Sexes

- 91. In the December Esquire, actress Dana Delany of Kidnapped offers all but which of the following tips for men about dealing with <u>women</u>?
- a. "A private plane will not make up for the fact that you have bad breath."
- b. "If you just listen and let her cry, it will lead to deep, wet, soulful sex. If you like that kind of thing."
- c. "Red roses are best. Any other shade hints at lack of commitment."
- d. "There are two spots on <u>women</u> that need to be touched more: the back of the neck and the lower back. Fireworks."
- 92. In December a California state court rejected a defamation suit brought by which celebrity against US Weekly for asserting she had made a sexually explicit home video with her husband, concluding that the plaintiff has "put her modern sexuality squarely, and profitably, before the public eye"?
- a. Madonna
- b. Britney Spears
- c. Laura Bush

Just what was said

- 93."I sting those who rattle me, so don't mess with me, Condoleezza."
- 94."I don't think I've ever been accused of seducing anyone, including my wife."

- 95. "After all these years of inaction, will the prime minister finally get something done and do something the former government would not, and cancel the subsidies to big oil and big ass big gas."
- 96. "They have skinny bones."
- 97. "Show me just what Muhammad brought ... and there you will find things only evil..."
- 98. "I think I'd just commit suicide."
- 99. "Every decade has an iconic blond like Marilyn Monroe or Princess Diana, and right now I'm that icon."
- 100. "Is that all you guys do, is read these books? You ought to get a life."
- a. Stephen Harper, asked how he lured former Liberal cabinet minister David Emerson to defect to the Tories.
- b. Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez in March, after the U.S. Secretary of State described said his country had become a "challenge to democracy." Chavez was handily re-elected later in the year.
- c. Designer Karl Lagerfeld defending his use of skinny models, insisting that obesity was of much greater concern.
- d. U.S. Senator John McCain (R-AZ) in late October, on the prospect of Democrats regaining control of both houses of Congress, which they did in the Nov. 7 midterm elections.
- e. Jack Layton in Commons debate in December, on federal subsidies to the petroleum industry.
- f. Pope Benedict XVI, who later said he was "deeply sorry" for the comment.
- g. Paris Hilton in July.
- h. Donald Rumsfeld, U.S. defence secretary, admonishing reporters for asking about revelations in the proliferation of Iraq post-mortem books.

Ν

Graphic

She's poised to become the first Speaker of the House in the U.S.Name that flick starring Leonardo DiCaprio.Meanwhile, in overhyped, non-event news ...He played Conrad Black in the TV biopic Shades of Black.You could say this soccer star was the head case of the year.Dana Delany has some advice for you guys. Listen up!George Stroumboulopoulos, host of CBC's The Hour and Toronto Life cover boy.

Load-Date: December 24, 2006



The great New Year trivia quiz; New Year Quiz; Have you been paying attention during 2006? Can you remember what David Cameron said about hoodies in July? Or what the dwarf planet previously known as 2003 UB313 became in September? Or even who won 'I'm a Celebrity???' earlier this month?

The New Review
December 31, 2006
First Edition

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Section: SUNDAY REVIEW; Pg. 22

Length: 3284 words

Body

January

1 News

<u>Hamas</u> (above) won the Palestinian parliamentary elections in January, but which party did it replace in power?

- a Amal Movement
- b Fatah Party
- c Future Party
- d True Path Party

2 Deaths

Tony Banks died on 8 January. What did he once memorably call Tory MP Terry Dicks?

- a "Living proof that a pig's bladder on a stick can be elected to Parliament"
- b "A fat bounder"
- c "The political sewer pipe from Hayes and Harlington"
- d "Obscene, perverted, cruel, uncivilised and lethal"

The great New Year trivia quiz New Year Quiz Have you been paying attention during 2006? Can you remember what David Cameron said about hoodies in July? Or what....

3 Who said it?



- a David Willetts, the shadow Education Secretary
- b Caroline Flint, the Minister of State for Public Health
- c Chris Huhne, frontrunner in the Lib Dem leadership battle
- d Tony Blair

4 Entertainment

In January it was announced that which all-girl pop group were planning a comeback?

- aThe Spice Girls
- b Atomic Kitten
- c All Saints
- d Sugababes

5 Gossip

Which actress and pop star did Vanity Fair report admitting that she had problems with drugs and bulimia?

- a Jessica Simpson
- b Lindsay Lohan
- c Delta Goodrem
- d Dannii Minogue

6 Politics

What did MP Mark Oaten blame for the January rent-boy scandal which forced him to resign from the Liberal Democrat front bench?

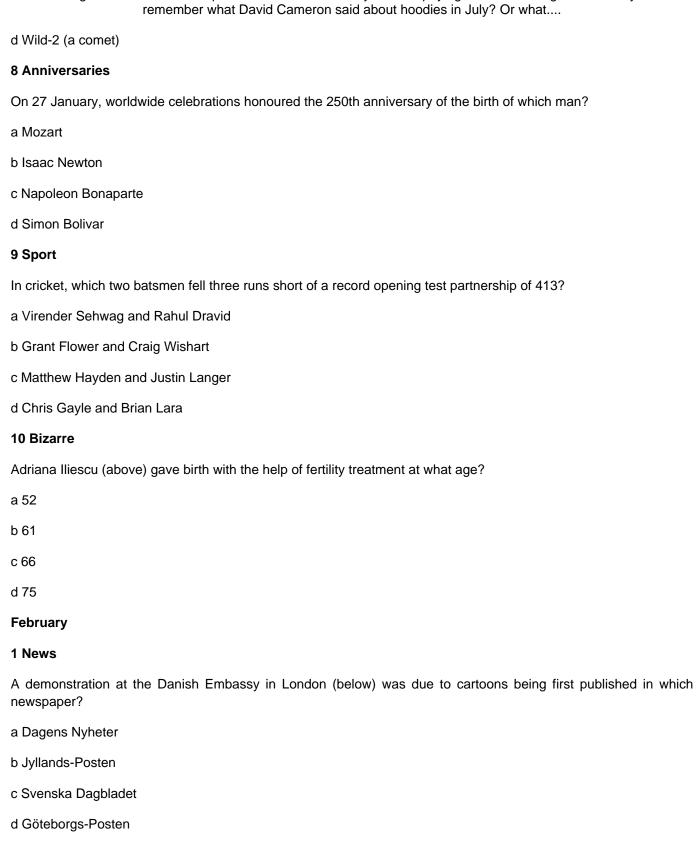
- a The hectic MP lifestyle
- b A mid-life crisis
- c Baldness
- d All of the above

7 Science and technology

The probe Stardust brought particles to earth this month from which heavenly body?

- a Phobos (a moon of Mars)
- b The Sun (via solar flares)
- c Saturn (from its rings)

The great New Year trivia quiz New Year Quiz Have you been paying attention during 2006? Can you remember what David Cameron said about hoodies in July? Or what....



2 Deaths

Which regular Just a Minute panellist from Erith, Kent died?

a Kit Hesketh-Harvey

b Tony Hawks
c Jenny Eclair
d Linda Smith
3 Who said it?
"I'm a patient victim. I put up with everything. I sacrifice myself for everyone."
a James Blunt
b Silvio Berlusconi
c Sven-Goran Eriksson
d Gordon Brown
4 Entertainment
Which band dominated the Grammies, winning five awards?
a U2
b The Killers
c Gorillaz
d Arctic Monkeys
5 Gossip
Which singer was diagnosed with breast cancer this month?
a Sheryl Crow
b Kelly Clarkson
c Shania Twain
d Celine Dion
6 Politics
Which US politician accidentally shot a man while quail-hunting?
a Condoleezza Rice
b Colin Powell
c Donald Rumsfeld
d Dick Cheney
7 Science and technology
In which country did an international team of scientists find a "lost world" containing hundreds of previously

unknown plants and animals?

a Indonesia
b Greenland
c Brazil
d Belize
8 Anniversaries
20 February 2006 was the 20th anniversary of the launch of which of the following?
a International Space Station
b Cassini Probe
c Mir Space Station
d Sputnik 1
9 Sport
Alex Ferguson (above) guided Manchester United to a 4-0 win in the Carling Cup final over which other North-West team?
a Blackburn Rovers
b Bolton Wanderers
c Everton
d Wigan Athletic
10 Bizarre
What was the name of Danish pastries (below) changed to by the Iranian confectioners' union?
a Golden nautiluses
b Holy snails
c Roses of the Prophet Mohammad
d Dutch pastries
March
1 News
Scotland's smoking ban (above right) came into effect, but what is the fine for lighting-up in an enclosed public space?
a £50
b £100
c £500

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Jack Wild, who died this month aged 53, was best known for playing which role?

- a The Artful Dodger
- b Dr Watson
- c Frankenstein's Monster
- d Robin Hood

3 Who said it?

"This is not a clash between civilisations. It is a clash about civilisation."

- a Osama Bin Laden
- b Tony Blair
- c Pope Benedict XVI
- d Victoria Beckham

4 Entertainment

Which film won the best picture award at this year's Oscars?

- a Brokeback Mountain
- b March of the Penguins
- c Crash
- d The Constant Gardener

5 Gossip

Speculation mounted that which celebrity couple were about to marry at Lake Como (right) in Italy?

- a Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt
- b Katie Holmes and Tom Cruise
- c Katie Price and Peter Andre
- d Kate Moss and Pete Doherty

6 Politics

Michelle Bachelet was inaugurated as the first **female** president of which country?

- a Nigeria
- b Chile
- c South Africa

1 News

Who became Israel's interim prime minister after Ariel Sharon's illness?

a Ehud Olmert

b Ehud Barak
c Moshe Katsav
d Shimon Peres
2 Deaths
Which singer was found dead at his hotel room in Cardiff?
a Gene Pitney
b Daniel O'Donnell
c Andy Williams
d Randy Newman
3 Who said it?
"Today's verdict shows this claim was utterly without merit."
a George Michael
b Dan Brown
c Michael Barrymore
d Michael Jackson
4 Entertainment
Which act was the first to have a number one single on computer download sales alone?
a Arctic Monkeys
b Scissor Sisters
c Gnarls Barkley
d Orson
5 Gossip
What name did Chris Martin and Gwyneth Paltrow (below) give to their second child?
a Moses
b Noah
c Apple
d Cherry
6 Politics
Three cabinet ministers found themselves embroiled in controversy - which of the following was not involved?

a John Prescott

b John Reid
c Charles Clarke
d Patricia Hewitt
7 Science and technology
What species of bird was found with avian flu in Scotland?
a Swan
b Duck
c Magpie
d Chicken
8 Anniversaries
Bristol celebrated the 200th anniversary of whose birth?
a Paul Dirac
b Robert Southey
c Blackbeard
d Isambard Kingdom Brunel
9 Sport
Who won the Grand National?
a Hedgehunter
b Numbersixvalverde
c Clan Royal
d Royal Auclair
10 Bizarre
Prince Albert of Monaco became the first incumbent head of state to do what?
a Swim the English Channel
b Reach the North Pole
c Climb Everest
d Run the London Marathon .
May
1 Nows

The United Nations Security Council voted unanimously in May to send a peacekeeping force into which country?

a Sudan
b Iran
c North Korea
d Zimbabwe
2 Deaths
Film director Val Guest, who died this month, was most famous for his work with which company?
a Hammer
b Lucasfilm
c TriStar
d United Artists
3 Who said it?
"We have got to show we are listening to people's concerns and we are going to respond to them."
a Gordon Brown
b George Bush
c David Beckham
d Michael Grade
4 Entertainment
Heavy metal group Lordi (above) won the Eurovision Song Contest for which country?
a Lithuania
b Iceland
c Belgium
d Finland
5 Gossip
The first biological child of Brad Pitt and Angelina Jolie (right) was born in which country?
a Botswana
b Namibia
c Malawi
d Eritrea
6 Politics

In the local elections, the BNP became the official opposition in which council?

a Barking and Dagenham
b Bolton West
c Lewisham
d Solihull
7 Science and technology
This month it was reported that scientists had managed to invent which of the following?
a Invisibility cloak
b X-ray specs
c Flying carpet
d Teleporter
8 Anniversaries
Which organisation celebrated its 500th anniversary in May this year?
a Church of England
b Swiss Guards
c Knights Templar
d Salvation Army
9 Sport
Which Arsenal player scored the opening goal in this year's Champions League final?
a Thierry Henry
b Sol Campbell
c Ashley Cole
d Robert Pires
10 Bizarre
A 400-page report, made public for the first time this month, showed that the Ministry of Defence has found no evidence for the existence of what?
a Ghosts
b The Loch Ness Monster
c UFOs
d God
June

1 News
Which country declared its independence in June 2006?
a East Timor
b Montenegro
c Kashmir
d Eritrea
2 Deaths
Aaron Spelling (above) was a prolific TV producer, but which of these shows did he not produce?
a Charlie's Angels
b Charmed
c Dallas
d Beverly Hills, 90210 3
Who said it?
"I would wish to be judged as an honest man who tried to do his best."
a Sven-Goran Eriksson
b Charles Kennedy
c Donald Rumsfeld
d Charles Clarke
4 Entertainment
Which reality TV show did council tax inspectors announce they were investigating?
a Wife Swap
b Big Brother
c Celebrity X Factor
d The Apprentice
5 Gossip
Who topped Forbes magazine's "Celebrity 100" list of the most powerful stars?
a Tiger Woods
b Oprah Winfrey
c Tom Cruise

d Simon Cowell

6 Politics The Houses of Parliament (right) were sealed off after a scare over what? a Asbestos b Radiation c Anthrax d Carbon Monoxide 7 Science and technology In June, which country was the latest to launch a satellite into space? a Albania b Costa Rica c Togo d Kazakhstan 8 Anniversaries This month marked the 10th anniversary of the bombing of which English city by the IRA? a Manchester b Warrington c Brighton d Blackpool 9 Sport Who won the US Open golf at the Winged Foot course? a Justin Rose b Geoff Ogilvy c Jim Furyk d Sergio Garcia 10 Bizarre Russian police arrested 100 people after mistaking what for a gang fight? a A game of rugby b A Sting concert c A Welsh male voice choir

d A sale at an IKEA store



i news			

Who was the Lebanese Prime Minister at the time of the Israeli attack on his country this July?

- a Tzipi Livni
- b Mahmoud Abbas
- c Fouad Siniora
- d Muhammad Naji al-Otari

2 Deaths

Which fast bowler, who died this month, was the first to take 300 test wickets?

- a Sydney Barnes
- b Fred Trueman
- c Malcolm Marshall
- d Richard Hadlee

3 Who said it?

- "The one who is really guilty must be punished."
- a Saddam Hussein
- b Jeffrey Skilling
- c Zinedine Zidane
- d Nick Griffin

4 Entertainment

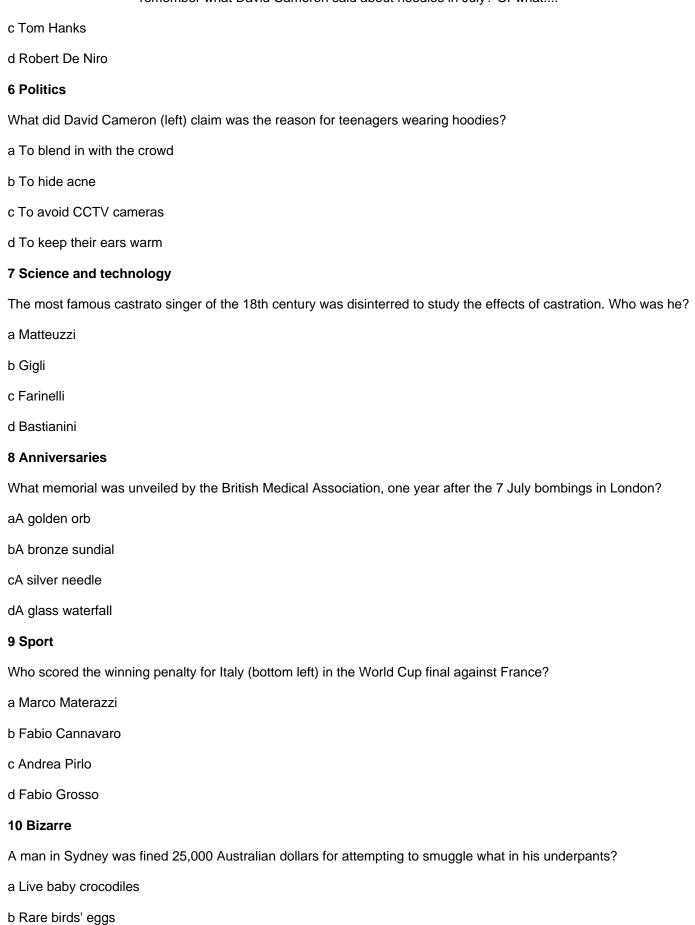
The final episode of Top of the Pops was screened in July, but how long had the programme been running?

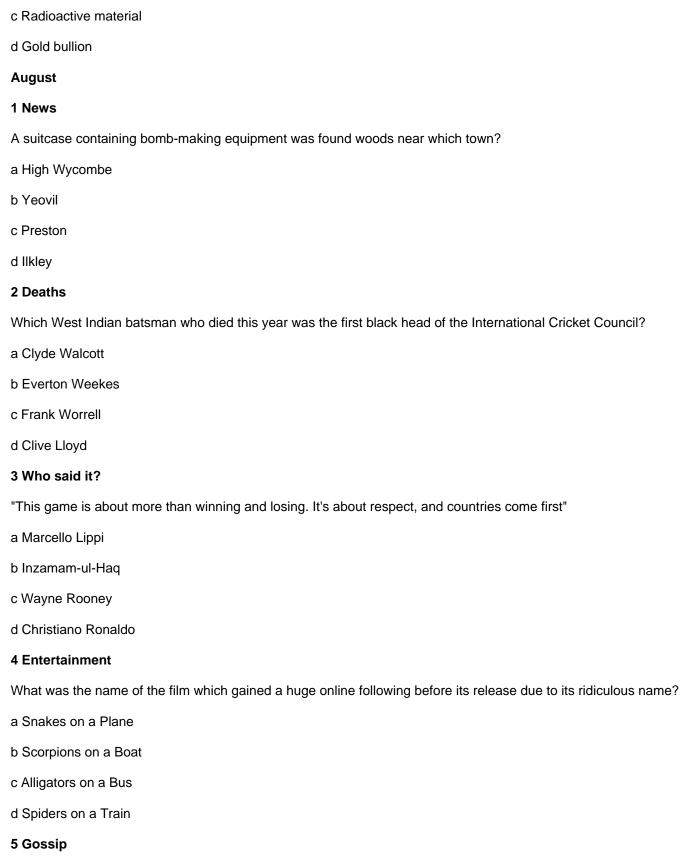
- a 24 years
- b 36 years
- c 42 years
- d 58 years

5 Gossip

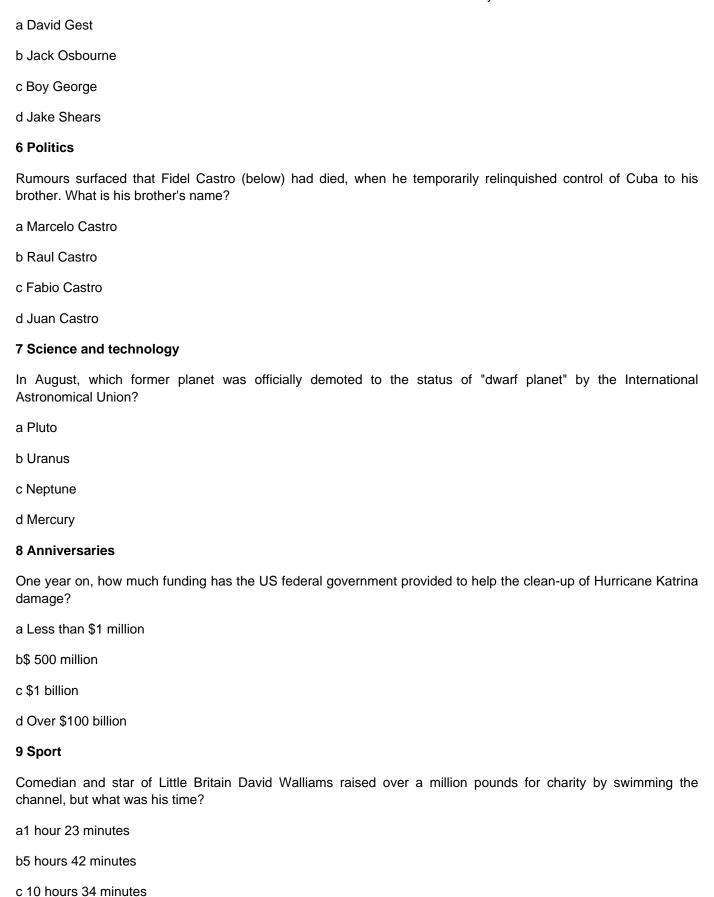
Which Hollywood star was accused of making anti-semitic comments to a policeman who arrested him for drink driving?

- a Mel Gibson
- b Tom Cruise





Which star was forced to spend five days cleaning up New York's rubbish after a pleading guilty to falsely reporting an incident?



d 23 hours 58 minutes

10 Bizarre

A book-keeper from New York was put on trial for stealing \$2.3 million from her employers to pay for what?

- a Plastic surgery
- b Garden gnomes
- c A home-made space shuttle
- d Lottery tickets.

September

1 News

Pope Benedict XVI (above) caused uproar in the Islamic world by quoting an obscure text by which Byzantine emperor?

- a John VI, Cantacuzenus
- b King Sigismund
- c Justinian the Slit-nosed
- d Manuel II, Palaeologus

2 Deaths

Australian Steve Irwin (below) was killed by which animal?

- a Stingray
- b Cookie-cutter shark
- c Portuguese man-of-war
- d Pacific sea snake

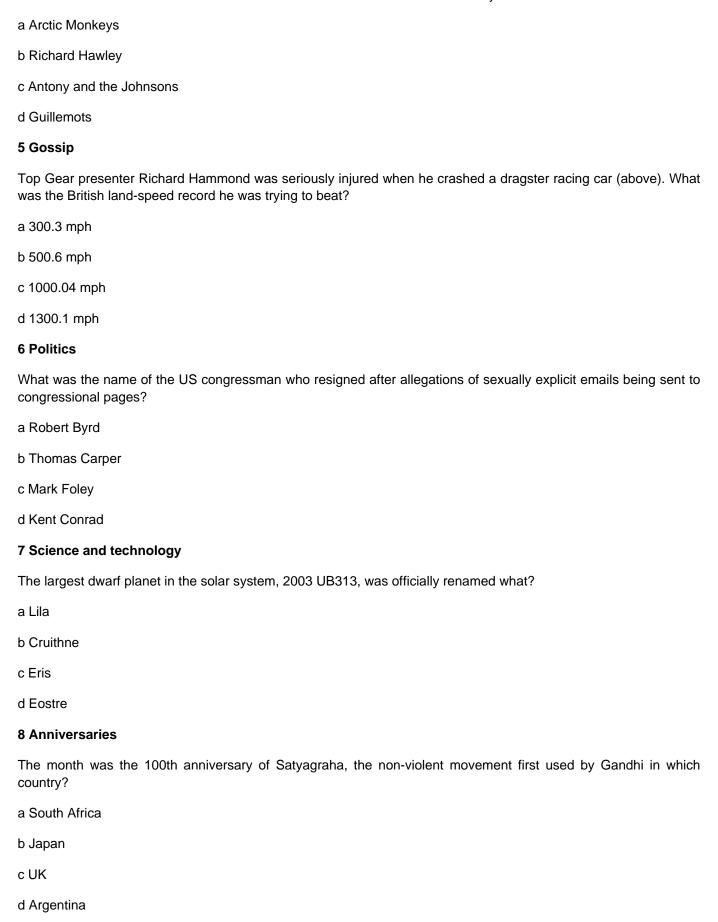
3 Who said it?

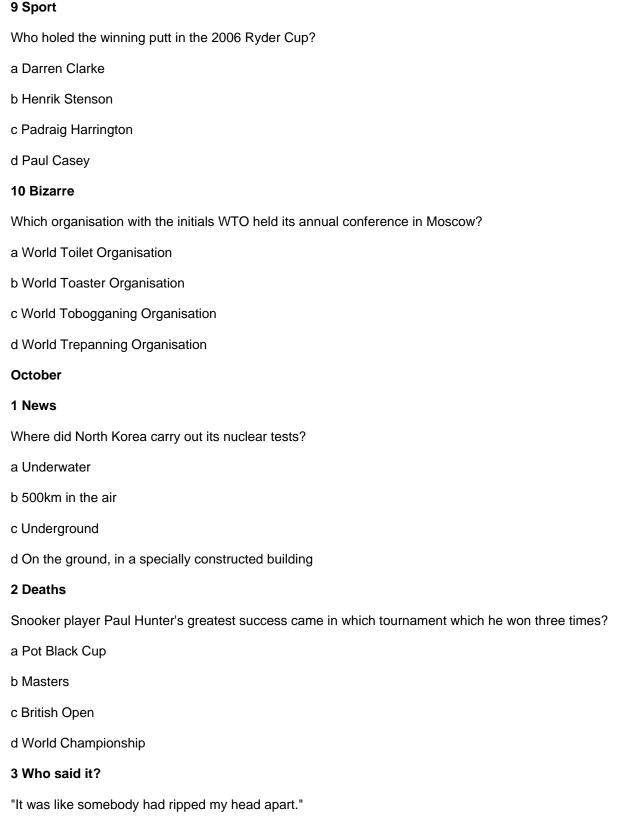
"Lots of people call me Dave. My mum calls me David, my wife calls me Dave??? I don't really notice what people call me."

- a David Walliams
- b David Beckham
- c David Cameron
- d Nicholas Lyndhurst

4 Entertainment

Which act won this year's Nationwide Mercury Music Prize?





a Richard Hammond describing his high-speed crash

c Kim Jong-il describing North Korea's nuclear tests

b John MCather after winning a Nobel prize

d Guy Goma describing his mistaken appearance as an expert on BBC News 24
4 Entertainment
Which BBC show won the highest-ever ratings of any non-sport programme on a digital channel?
a The Catherine Tate Show
b Torchwood
c Planet Earth
d Robin Hood
5 Gossip
Visits by Madonna (below) to orphanages in which country first fuelled rumours that she was planning to adopt a child?
a Rwanda
b Burundi
c Malawi
d Lesotho
6 Politics
George W Bush signed a law authorising the construction of which of the following?
a A fence between the US and Mexico
b A ditch between the US and Canada
c Electric barriers around all US airports
d A net to prevent illegal sea-journeys into Hawaii
7 Science and technology
Which technology giant bought the popular video-sharing website YouTube for a reported \$1.65 billion in stock?
a Yahoo
b Google
c Microsoft
d AOL
8 Anniversaries
This month marked the 25th anniversary of the assassination of which figure?

- a Anwar Sadat
- b John Lennon

c Martin Luther King
d Indira Gandhi
9 Sport
What is the name of the athlete who won Britain's first-ever gold medal at the gymnastics World Championships?
a Annika Reeder
b Shannon Miller
c Imogen Cairns
d Beth Tweddle
10 Bizarre
Canadian troops in Afghanistan were frustrated by Taliban fighters who were hiding in which of the following?
a Thick forests of 10ft-high marijuana plants
b Tents bought in British supermarkets
c The corpses of elephants
d Children's Wendy houses
November
1 News
What was the name of the sushi bar visited by the former Russian spy Alexander Litvinenko (below) before his death from radiation poisoning?
a Itsu
b Saru
c Nobu
d Gyu
2 Deaths
Footballer Ferenc Puskas, who died this month, was an international for which country?
a East Germany
b Bulgaria
c Czechoslovakia
d Hungary

"Long live the people, long live the nation, down with the traitors, down with the invaders, God is great, God is great."
a Saddam Hussein
b Osama bin Laden
c Abu Hamza
d George W Bush
4 Entertainment
Take That (above) hit number one for the first time in more than a decade with which song?
a" My Love"
b" London Bridge"
c "Patience"
d" Bones"
5 Gossip
Who was named "model of the year" at the British Fashion Awards this month?
a Kate Moss
b Naomi Campbell
c Tyra Banks
d Laetitia Casta
6 Politics
Who did the Political Studies Association name as their politician of the year?
a David Cameron
b Tony Blair
c Gordon Brown
d Menzies Campbell
7 Science and technology
Scientists claimed to have trained which animal to sniff-out explosives?
a Cockroaches
b Aphids
c Falcons

d Honeybees

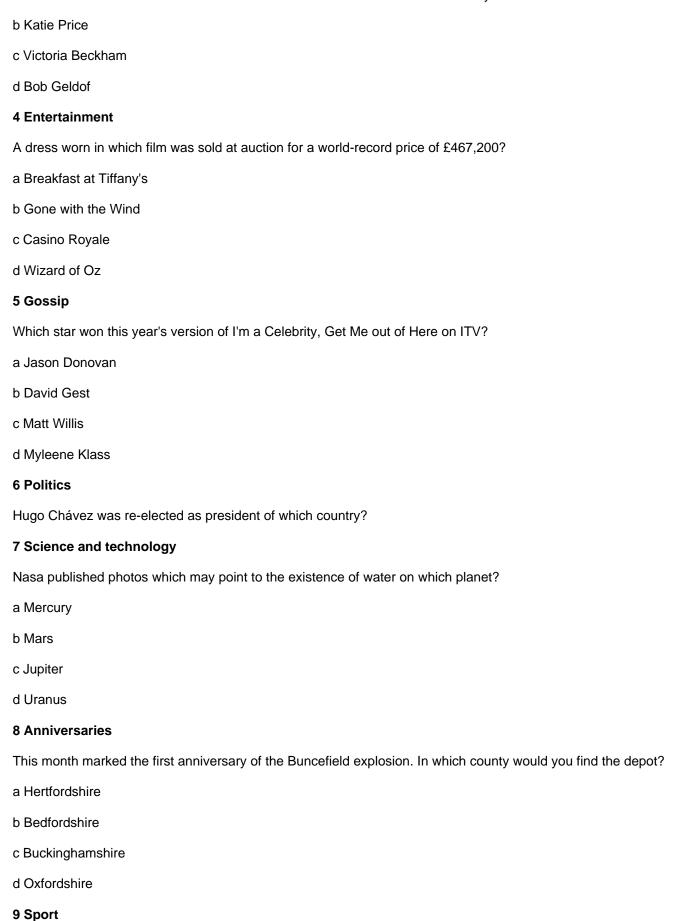
8 Anniversaries Which well-known magazine celebrated its 50th anniversary this month? a Nature b Private Eye c New Scientist d The Economist 9 Sport Where did the first Ashes test take place this year? a Perth b Melbourne c Sydney d Brisbane 10 Bizarre This month saw a new world record set for a gathering of people with the same name. Where did it take place, and for which name? a Cardiff, Jones b Nottingham, Smith c Dublin, Murphy d Mumbai, Singh December 1 News Voreqe Bainimarama took power in which country (its fourth coup in the past 20 years)? a Tonga b Fiji c Samoa d Madagascar 2 Deaths General Pinochet (right) died in December this year, shortly after celebrating which birthday? a 74 b 81 c 91

3 Who said it?

d 96

"Take away politics and religion for world peace. I don't know anything about any of it, but it just seems to cause problems."

a Donald Rumsfeld



What was the name of Zara Phillips' horse, which helped her win gold at the World Equestrian Games and the BBC's Sports Personality of the Year award?

a Camberwick Green
b Stingray
c Toytown
d Mr Benn
10 Bizarre
Spanish police foiled a plot to smuggle cocaine in what?
a rocking horses
b lollipops
c dummies
d nappies

End of Document

Load-Date: December 31, 2006



The Sunday Times (London)

December 24, 2006

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Section: FEATURES; Sunday Times Magazine; Pg. 16

Length: 4081 words

Body

(Photograph) - BOMB SIGHTS

Affluent Lebanese drive round a district of Beirut destroyed by Israeli bombing. Warplanes started targeting Hezbollah enclaves, roads and bridges in mid-July. Thousands fled their homes before a ceasefire was brokered several weeks later. Photograph by GETTY

THE 2006 TIMELINE

January - June

JANUARY 1, 2006

The mother of a British student, Katherine Horton, 21 (right), who is raped and killed on a Thai beach, hears her scream as she is attacked; they were talking on their mobile phones at the time. Two Thai fishermen were sentenced to death for her murder

January 4, 2006

The Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, 77, suffers a massive stroke the second in just over two weeks throwing the Middle East peace process into turmoil. George Bush shares the concerns of the Israelis, saying: 'We are praying for his recovery'

January 7, 2006

Charles Kennedy (left) resigns as leader of the Liberal Democrats after admitting that he is an alcoholic. He says he has been 'inundated' with support from his party, but quits when it is clear that most of his colleagues will resign if he doesn't

January 8, 2006

Prince William, 24, begins his army training at the Royal Military Academy at Sandhurst. His brother, Harry, 22, who is halfway through his officer training, has said that he is looking forward to his older brother having to salute him when he arrives

PASS THE BABY

President Bush quickly returns a crying baby handed to him in July at a dinner with the German chancellor, Angela Merkel

SMALLS TALK

Opposite, top left: with Britain on high terrorism alert in August, Tony Blair hangs out his laundry aboard a luxury Caribbean yacht 14.

PLAY IT AGAIN, SAM

Top, far right: David Cameron larks around with his wife, Samantha, on a family holiday in the Mediterranean in September

HOOP-LA

Right: in May, the deputy PM, John Prescott, runs the country from the croquet lawn of his grace-and-favour country house

OPPOSITE Page: REUTERS. THIS Page: TOP LEFT, SPLASH NEWS; TOP RIGHT, BIGPICTURESPHOTO; CENTRE, ISFPHOTO. BOTTOM RIGHT: REUTERS/ALI JAREKJI

January 14, 2006

Dickins and Jones, one of Britain's oldest department stores, opens and closes its doors for the last time. Fashion pundits say the London store (left) has been suffering from an 'old and stuffy' image. It is expected to be turned into shops, offices and flats

JANUARY 21, 2006

An 18ft bottlenose whale weighing about seven tonnes becomes stranded in the Thames and sparks a massive rescue attempt. But despite rescuers' best efforts to keep it hydrated and move it to deeper water, it begins to convulse and dies

JANUARY 23, 2006

The FA announces that Sven-Goran Eriksson (left) will be leaving as England manager after the 2006 World Cup, two years before his contract ends. The Swede remained optimistic about England's prospects, saying: 'Let's go and win the World Cup'

JANUARY 29, 2006

The Arctic Monkeys' first album, Whatever People Say I Am, That's What I'm Not, becomes the fastest-selling debut album in UK chart history. A spokesman for HMV says: 'In terms of sheer impact, we haven't seen anything like this since the Beatles'

FEBRUARY 1, 2006

Colin Montgomerie, the golfer (left, with a friend), agrees to pay his former wife, Eimear Wilson, a divorce settlement close to £ 12.5m. Their marriage ended in 2004, with Wilson citing 'unreasonable behaviour' owing to his obsession with golf

GENTLE GIANT

Left: a basking shark swims alongside unfazed beach-goers at Porthcurno beach, Cornwall, in July. These plankton-eaters can grow up to 12 metres long

A HALF NELSON

Above: Bob Egan, part of a cleaning-and-restoration team, inspects the damaged face of Lord Nelson on Nelson's Column in London in April

HOME WRECKER

Below: in June, a disgruntled tenant of a caravan park in Bradwell-on-Sea, Essex, takes his anger out on the owner's house using a JCB digger

BOTTOM ROW, LEFT: anna branthwaite. right: epa/hugo philpott. MAIN PICTURE: APEX. TOP RIGHT: john stillwell/pa/EMPICS. centre RIGHT: Copyright of 2006 EASTNEWS/PETER LAWSON

FEBRUARY 7, 2006

The Egyptian-born Muslim cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri is convicted of 11 out of 15 charges, including ones for inciting murder and race hate. The preacher from Finsbury Park mosque has been in Belmarsh prison since May 2004 on terrorism charges

February 14, 2006

With a margin of 200 votes, MPs vote to ban smoking from all enclosed public spaces (left), including pubs, clubs and restaurants, from summer 2007. The health secretary, Patricia Hewitt, said: 'This is going to save thousands of people's lives'

February 16, 2006

The UN calls for the closure of the US detention camp at Guantanamo Bay, alleging that some aspects of the treatment there amount to torture. The US dismisses the call, saying five of the UN investigators never actually visited the camp

GOING UNQUIETLY

Above: security officials restrain the loyalist killer Michael Stone after power-sharing talks at Stormont parliament buildings in Belfast in November

SCORCHED EARTH

Left: a man steps in melted tarmac in Plymouth in July, as soaring temperatures wreak havoc across the UK, causing schools to close, roads to melt and train tracks to buckle

TRIAL AND ERROR

Right: the drug-trial volunteer Ryan Wilson suffers horrific injuries, including damage to his fingers and toes, after the drugs he was given caused an adverse reaction in March

STORM OVER SWEDEN

This scene of devastation after Hurricane Gudrun swept through southern Sweden was a winning entry in Shell's Wildlife Photographer of the Year. With gusts of over 150 kilometres per hour, the storm killed seven, destroyed 75m cubic metres of forest, and left hundreds of thousands of households isolated, without electricity. Photograph by JOCKE BERGLUNA/SHELL WILDLIFE PHOTOGRAPHY

February 17, 2006

An entire village in central Philippines is buried in a landslide following heavy rains lasting 10 days. The death toll is estimated at 1,260. A survivor describes 'boulders bigger than a house sweeping into the village'. A state of emergency is declared

February 20, 2006

In Vienna, David Irving (left), the British historian, is found guilty of denying the Holocaust and sentenced to three years' jail in Austria. He says: 'I made a mistake when I said there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz.' The charge was brought after a speech he made in 1989 89889

February 22, 2006

Lawyers for the Prince of Wales (right) are forced to release one of his private journals, which reveals his views on the Blair government ('all in such a hurry'), on the demise of the royal yacht Britannia, and on Chinese officials ('appalling old waxworks')

February 24, 2006

The mayor of London, Ken Livingstone (right), is suspended from office for four weeks, on full pay, for likening a Jewish journalist to a concentration camp guard. The Adjudication Panel rules that he acted in a manner that was 'unnecessarily insensitive' manner

February 26, 2006

The singer George Michael, 42, is arrested on suspicion of possessing class-C drugs when he is found slumped in his car at 2am in central London. In a statement he says it is 'my own stupid fault, as usual'. He is cautioned for possession of cannabis

February 27, 2006

MUD, BLOOD AND TEARS

As snipers pose a growing threat in Iraq, a US marine is rescued in Karma, in the south of the country, on the last day of October. Clockwise from left: Sgt Jesse E Leach, leader of an assault platoon, walks backwards towards Lt Cpl Valdez-Castillo, a comrade who has been wounded by sniper fire; Leach drags the injured man to safety; covers his wounds; then examines his injuries; and finally lifts Valdez-Castillo as a medical vehicle arrives to evacuate him. He is flown to a military hospital in Germany

February 27, 2006

Fourteen members of an international drug ring, dubbed the 'bling bling' gang (left) because of their lavish lifestyle, are jailed in London for a total of 178 years. Over a period of two years, the gang has imported crack cocaine worth \pounds 50m into the UK networks ever to operate in the UK.

ALL IMAGES: REDUX. BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: GETTY IMAGES/AFP/MARKUS LEODOOTER; CATHAL MCNAUGHTON/W PAROTA

; BEN STANSALL; METROPOLITAN POLICE

March 2, 2006

Sir Menzies Campbell (right), a former Olympic sprinter, is elected leader of the Liberal Democrats at the age of 64. Many felt his age was an issue during the campaign, but Campbell said he could see no reason why he couldn't still be leader at 72

March 4, 2006

Anti-war campaigners criticise Tony Blair for suggesting, on Michael Parkinson's chat show, that his decision to go to war in Iraq would ultimately be judged by God. Reg Keys, whose son was killed in Iraq, said his comments were 'abhorrent'

March 11, 2006

Slobodan Milosevic dies of a heart attack in his cell in the Hague, where the former Yugoslav president has been held since 2001 for crimes against humanity. Serbia's government refuses to hold a state funeral for him and does not attend his supporters' tribute (right)

March 14, 2006

Six men all healthy, paid volunteers end up in intensive care with multiple organ failure after taking part in a clinical drugs trial at Northwick Park hospital. Drug regulators later claim that Parexel, who carried out the trial, failed to follow correct procedures

March 28, 2006

Whitney Houston (left) is 'outed' by her sister-in-law Tina Brown as a crack addict who thinks she's tormented by demons. 'Everyone is scared she is going to overdose,' says Brown. In October, Houston appeared at a gala evening looking radiant

GLITTER SENT TO JAIL IN VIETNAM

Gary Glitter is led away to the cells by guards in Vung Tou, Vietnam, in March. The former glam-rock star began a three-year sentence, having been found guilty of molesting two underage girls

OOPS! I SLIPPED UP AGAIN

Above: Britney Spears trips in Manhattan in May while holding her eight-month old son, Sean. The singer, who has announced she is pregnant again, has faced growing scrutiny of her parenting skills

THE NIGHT BEFORE

Left: Mel Gibson laps up the party spirit in Malibu, California, in July, hours before being arrested on suspicion of drink- driving. The star apologised for anti-semitic remarks he made to an officer during the arrest

TOP LEFT: SCOPE FEATURES. TOP RIGHT: CAMERON LAIRD/REX FEATURES. CENTRE LEFT: REUTERS/IN TOUCH MAGAZINE. BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: RICHARD POHLE; AP PHOTO/PETAR PETROV; BIG

March 28, 2006

Thousands of schools are closed as local-authority workers including cooks and caretakers stage a 24-hour strike (right). Their protest is against controversial planned changes to their pension scheme and to their retirement age of 60

April 3, 2006

The AA says the number of teenage motorists dying in road crashes in England and Wales has risen, despite fewer young people holding licences. It suggests a curfew on teenagers driving late at night, when most accidents involving them occur

April 7, 2006

A swan found dead in the Fife town of Cellardyke is confirmed as the first case of the killer avian-flu virus in Britain since the scare began. After the swan (right) was found, almost 1,000 square miles in Scotland were placed under quarantine

April 11, 2006

The Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, announces to supporters in the holy city of Mashhad that Iran has joined the 'nuclear club' and is successfully enriching uranium. He adds that his country has no ambitions to make nuclear weapons

April 14, 2006

Michael Jackson (left) surrenders control over the Beatles' back catalogue, worth \$1 billion, to stave off bankruptcy. He bought the list in 1985 for \$47.5m, ending his friendship with McCartney, who complained he had to pay to perform his own music in America

SOLE-DESTROYING

Left: the javelin judge Lia Mara Lourenco is pierced in the foot by a javelin thrown during the warm-up of a national athletics championship in Sao Paulo, Brazil, in September. Above: Leicester Tigers' Tom Varndell gains unwanted exposure when Sale Sharks' Elvis Seveali'i tries to stop him in his tracks at the Guinness Premiership final at Twickenham in May

ZIDANE ADDS INJURY TO INSULT

Right: Italy's Marco Materazzi goes down after being head-butted (inset) by France's Zinedine Zidane in the World Cup final in Berlin in July. Zidane who was sent off for the assault said Materazzi provoked him by making insults about his mother and sister. According to a lip-reader, Materazzi called him "the son of a terrorist whore". Left: an unchoreographed move from the Czech Republic's Olga Prokuronova and Karel Stefel at the European Figure Skating Championships in Lyons, France, in January. After the fall, the couple withdrew from the competition, finishing 10th

THIS PAGE, TOP LEFT: REUTERS; TOP RIGHT: EMPICS; CENTRE: GETTY. OPPOSITE PAGE, MAIN IMAGE: AFP/GETTY; INSET: REX. BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: RICHARD POHLE; DANNY LAWSON

; NIKKI HATCHETT

April 18, 2006

Katie Holmes, 27, who is engaged to Tom Cruise, 43 (right), gives birth to their first child, Suri. Cruise, a Scientologist, startled fans when he said Holmes would give birth in silence. In fact it is the medical staff who are asked to remain quiet during Scientology births

April 23, 2006

The former Big Brother star Jade Goody is taken to hospital after collapsing during the London marathon. Earlier she said her preparations were 'eating curry and Chinese, and drinking'. She later said she hadn't had a clue how long the race was

April 24, 2006

At least 23 are killed and 62 wounded in three blasts in the Egyptian Red Sea resort of Dahab (left). Most of the dead are Egyptians on their spring holiday. The attack, thought to be the work of suicide bombers, is the third to hit Egyptian tourist areas since 2004

KICKS AND MISSES

Above: Mike Metzger, 30, sets a world record by becoming the first motorcyclist to complete a back-flip over the fountains at Caesars Palace, Las Vegas, in May. Left: Germany's Nicole Hetzer, 26, wins the <u>women</u>'s 400-metre individual medley freestyle in the Swimming World Cup series in Brazil in February. Far left: Spain's Pablo Ibanez narrowly misses a kick in the head by France's Florent Malouda in the World Cup in June. France won the game 3-

TOP: WPN; CENTRE LEFT AND rIGHT: REUTERS. BOTTOM, FROM LEFT: IAN LAWRENCE/SPLASH NEWS; REUTERS/ALEKSANDER RABI

MEXICAN WAVES

Farmers march on Mexico City in May to fight for land rights, wearing masks of the president, Vicente Fox. The naked protest by male and <u>female</u> farm workers has become an annual event. Photograph by AP PHOTO/EDUARDO VERDUGO

April 26, 2006

John Prescott, 67, admits he had a two-year affair with his secretary Tracey Temple, 43 (left), but says it ended 'some time ago'. The deputy prime minister also says he had discussed it with Pauline, his wife of 44 years, who was 'devastated by the news'

May 4, 2006

Steve McClaren (left) is appointed England's next football manager. The former Middlesbrough boss says: 'I'm results-orientated, and I'm here to do a job, win matches and make sure England over the next four years wins a major trophy'

May 5, 2006

The home secretary, Charles Clarke (left), recently embroiled in a scandal over foreign prisoners, is sacked in the biggest cabinet reshuffle of Blair's career. He chose to return to the back benches. He was replaced by the defence secretary, John Reid replaced him

May 10, 2006

The former supermarket cashier Michelle Dewberry, 26 (second left), wins the reality-TV show The Apprentice. She beat her rival Ruth Badger (near left) to land a £ 100,000- a-year job with Sir Alan Sugar's electronics company Amstrad

RIPE OLD AGE

Right: the Romanian Adriana Iliescu became the oldest woman in the world to have a baby in January last year when she gave birth to her daughter, Eliza Maria, at the age of 66. In May she sent her congratulations to Patricia Rashbrook, the British psychiatrist who became pregnant at 62 years old and who gave birth to a boy in July making her the oldest woman to give birth in Britain

TAKING THE HIGH ROAD

Above: the secretary of state for health, Patricia Hewitt, made an unusual entrance into Downing Street when her car was caught on a hydraulic blocking ramp as she was arriving at a cabinet meeting in March. The deputy prime minister, John Prescott, making his way to the same meeting as his unlucky colleague, looks on with what seems to be a mixture of amusement and sympathy his own car has suffered a similar fate in the past

LIVING ON THE EDGE

Right: the Norwegian daredevil Eskil Ronningsbakken dices with death by doing a handstand stunt 1,200 metres above sea level on a mountain in Norway in protest against George Bush and US foreign policies in May. His previous death-defying stunts have included doing a handstand on top of four stacked chairs on the edge of the bridge between Sweden and Norway at Svinesund, and hanging by his toes off the Eiffel Tower in Paris

BOTTOMS UP

Right: strong winds in June hit Royal Ascot, Berkshire, where the famous race meeting returned after a year out in York while its grounds were redeveloped

BOTTOM ROW, FROM FAR LEFT: RUCKAS PICTURES; CLIVE BRUNSKILL/GETTY IMAGES; JONATHAN LODGE/THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

; EDMOND TERAKOPIAN

. MAIN PHOTOGRAPHS, CLOCKWISE FROM CENTRE LEFT: ALASDAIR MACDONALD/REX; EUROPICS; SINDRE LUNDEVOLD/REX; DAN CHARITY

May 11, 2006

Three animal-rights activists are each jailed for 12 years for 'conspiracy to blackmail'. They waged a hate campaign against the owners of a guinea-pig farm for six years, going so far as to dig up the grave of an 82-year-old woman and stealing the body

May 14, 2006

Geri Halliwell (right) gives birth to a baby girl, Bluebell Madonna. The former Spice Girl says that being a mother is 'like having my own little doll'. The father is the Hollywood scriptwriter Sacha Gervasi, whom Halliwell later banned from seeing the child

May 17, 2006

Sir Paul McCartney and Heather Mills McCartney announce they are to separate after four years of marriage. The couple who have a three-year-old daughter, Beatrice blame constant intrusion into their private lives for ruining their relationship

May 18, 2006

Dee Caffari, 33, becomes the first yachtswoman to circumnavigate the globe the 'wrong way' nonstop. The former teacher faced icebergs and storms on the gruelling 29,000-mile voyage against prevailing winds and currents, which lasted nearly six months

I AM THE WALRUS

In this award-winning shot, taken in October off the coast of Greenland, a clam-eating walrus kicks up a storm in search of its next meal. Walruses are bottom-feeders and use sensitive facial bristles to locate their food on the sea floor, raising clouds of sediment in the process

FOWL PLAY

Right: forsaking its usual diet of fish, in October a pelican in St James's Park, London, decides to make a meal out of a pigeon

ANIMAL SMACKERS

Far right, top: a competitor in Pattaya, Thailand, sets a new cobra-kissing world record in October when he plants a smacker on his 19th king cobra.

Far right, bottom: a gigantic moth sits on a zookeeper's ear when London Zoo launches its walk-through exhibition of tropical butterflies in May

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: GORAN EHLME/SHELL WILDLIFE PHOTOGRAPHY; REX FEATURES; GETTY IMAGES; EMPICS. BOTTOM: BIG PICTURES

May 18, 2006

Lava streams down the slopes of Mount Merapi (left) Indonesia's most active volcano after an eruption the previous day that forced thousands of people living on its flanks to flee their homes. 'I am panicking,' said one villager. 'Merapi appears angry'

May 27, 2006

Angelina Jolie (left) gives birth to a baby girl, Shiloh Nouvel Jolie-Pitt, in a private clinic in Namibia. Brad Pitt is the proud father. Jolie later admitted she was 'terrified' during the labour. The government of Namibia helped to keep the press out of the clinic

June 2, 2006

Abdul Kahar Kalam (left), a 23-year-old of Bangladeshi origin, is shot in the shoulder by police acting on intelligence that there is a chemical bomb in his east London house. No such device was found. Later inquiries cleared the police of any wrongdoing

June 9, 2006

The drug Herceptin (right) is approved for use on the NHS to treat early-stage breast cancer. The decision followed a campaign in which many <u>women</u> threatened to shame their health authority when their primary health trust would not prescribe the drug

June 9, 2006

The day the World Cup kicks off in Germany, three Englishmen become the first hooligans to be arrested, for vandalising a taxi at Cologne airport. The news comes as a Home Office minister urges English fans to respect their German hosts

SILENT WITNESS

Left: a judge ordered Steven Aitken to be muzzled after he made violent outbursts at his trial in Florida. Aitken, who was captured after being shown on America's Most Wanted, received five life sentences in January for his offences, including seven bank robberies

DEMOCRATIC FIGHT

Above: police baton-charge pro-democracy protesters near the Narayanhiti Palace in Kathmandu, Nepal, in April. The 150,000-strong protest took place despite a pledge by King Gyanendra to restore democracy, amid warnings the government is close to collapse

SIEGE MENTALITY

Below: a gang member holds an inmate hostage at a prison in Parana, Brazil, in May. The gang staged a siege at the Campo Mourao prison, holding numerous prisoners and a police officer to ransom, while demanding the release of prisoners in Sao Paulo

BOTTOM ROW, FROM FAR LEFT: AP PHOTO/PURIWOWIYOTO; XPOSURE; AP PHOTO/LEFTERIS PITARAKIS; JEFF J MITCHELL/GETTY IMAGES. main PHOTOGRAPH: WPN/ST PETERSBURG TIMES. TOP RIGHT: AP PHOTO/GAUTUM SINGH. CENTRE RIGHT: WPN/AGENCIA ESTADO

June 10, 2006 The National Theatre production of Alan Bennett's The History Boys wins six prizes at Broadway's Tony awards in New York. 'You are insanely talented people,' Julia Roberts gushed on presenting the best-actor award to Richard Griffiths

June 15, 2006

The British government says the former Liberian leader Charles Taylor could serve a prison sentence in the UK if found guilty of war crimes. He faces 11 charges after allegedly backing rebels notorious for mutilating civilians in the Sierra Leone war

June 19, 2006

A Gustav Klimt portrait (left), which was looted by the Nazis in the second world war, reportedly becomes the world's most expensive painting when it is sold in New York for \$135m. The portrait, Adele Bloch-Bauer I, is known as the Mona Lisa of Austria

June 19, 2006

Sarah Jane Porter, 43, a hairdresser's receptionist, is sentenced to more than 32 months in prison for knowingly infecting her boyfriend with HIV. Her boyfriend described her as 'pure evil' after she allowed him to believe he had passed the virus on to her

BABES IN ARMS

Above: young Palestinian boys dress up as militants and brandish toy guns in Jabalya refugee camp in the Gaza Strip, during the *Hamas* election victory rally in January

FORCES OF NATURE

Right: damage caused by a typhoon in the Philippines in December. Below: a dead swan, thought to be a victim of the H5N1 bird-flu virus, is lifted from an Austrian river in February

BOTTOM: REUTERS/NEUE GALERIE. MAIN PHOTOGRAPH: SIPA PRESS/REX. CENTRE LEFT: REUTERS. CENTRE RIGHT: ROMEO GACAD/AFP/GETTY

June 20, 2006

The pull-out of forces in Iraq begins, amid hopes that hundreds of British troops will be home for Christmas. 'By the end of this year there will be many places where Iraqis can replace Americans, British and foreigners,' says Jalal Talabani, Iraq's president

June 25, 2006

Nicole Kidman marries the country singer Keith Urban in an evening ceremony at a clifftop church in Sydney (right). The priest said he had 'a good feeling about their chances'. Guests included Rupert Murdoch and the actors Russell Crowe and Renee Zellweger

June 26, 2006

Clarence House reveals that Prince Charles paid £ 3.3m in tax last year the first time such a figure has been disclosed. Sir Michael Peat, Charles's private secretary, says Camilla cost taxpayers only £ 2,000 last year. Neither of them receives money from the Civil List

June 28, 2006

A landmark ruling ends the automatic ban on identifying children in family court cases. Fathers' rights campaigners say the ruling will demystify the working of the family courts. Judges stress that publicity will not be allowed to cause distress to a child

THE COMMON TOUCH

Clockwise from above: in September, Pope Benedict kisses a baby on a visit to his Bavarian home town of Marktl-am-Inn; Prince Harry makes a face at a young boy in Lesotho he is there in April to launch his new charity,

Sentebale (Forget Me Not) in honour of his mother, Diana, Princess of Wales; the Queen meets Postman Pat at Buckingham Palace when she hosts the children's summer party in the grounds in June

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: KNA-BILD; PA; TIMES NEWSPAPERS. BOTTOM ROW: CATH MUSCAT/AAP

Graphic

Photo. Caption not available

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34 to watch in 2007; Political figures, entertainers top soon-to-be familiar faces

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Cox International Correspondent

Body

These biographical sketches were compiled by Don Melvin in London, Margaret Coker in Jerusalem, Larry Kaplow in Baghdad, Craig Simons in Beijing, Jeremy Schwartz in Mexico City, Mike Williams in Miami and special correspondents Sabra Ayres in Moscow and Nick Wadhams in Nairobi.

RENE PEREZ

Musician, rapper / 28 / Hato Rey, Puerto Rico

Calle 13 is sold in the reggaeton section of your local record store, but the inventive Puerto Rican duo defies labels. Their first single begins with a klezmer horn, they are known to loop accordions over their beats and their lyrics recall the wickedly clever acrobatics of early Beastie Boys. The group, made up of Perez on the vocals and Eduardo Cabra on beats, has surpassed better-known reggaeton artists like Daddy Yankee and Don Omar, at least in the critics' hearts. They've already won three Latin Grammys and an MTV music video award and have been nominated for a Grammy award. Lately Perez, who studied animation at the Savannah College of Art and Design, has been everywhere, popping up in duets with singers like Nelly Furtado. Look for their sophomore effort in March.

EUROPE

GORDON BROWN

Chancellor of the Exchequer

London

Brown, Britain's finance minister, will almost certainly become prime minister in 2007. The current PM, Tony Blair, has said he'll quit during the coming year; Brown looks unbeatable as the new leader of the governing Labor Party and thus the next prime minister. An intellectual heavyweight, he sometimes has to pay for excess baggage weight because of the academic tomes he takes on vacation. But Brown, a dour Scotsman, faces a couple of key questions as he heads for the top job: Will he distance himself from the United States to avoid the tag of "Bush's poodle," which so damaged Blair? And will he ever learn to smile? He's been practicing lately, but the jury's still out.

VLADIMIR PUTIN'S SUCCESSOR

Moscow

The Russian constitution prevents Putin from running for a third term in 2008. Most observers believe he will handpick a successor. So far, two names have emerged as possible candidates: Sergei Ivanov, 53, the defense minister and first deputy prime minister, or Dmitry Medvedev, 41, a deputy prime minister. Ivanov and Putin share a common background. Both are from St. Petersburg. Both are former KGB agents. Ivanov likes to project the image of a hawk.

Medvedev is a longtime Putin loyalist who is also a board member of the state energy giant Gazprom. With a handsome face and a younger look than Ivanov, he is known as the "softer" of the two potential candidates.

LEWIS HAMILTON

Race car driver

21

Tewin Wood, England

When Hamilton drives for McLaren Mercedes at the Grand Prix in Melbourne in March, he will become the first black person ever to race in Formula 1. Blindingly handsome and blindingly fast, he is regarded as one of the most talented drivers of his generation --- and, many say, an odds-on bet to become as much of an icon as Tiger Woods.

Hamilton has always known what he wanted to do, and he has been groomed as a driver from an early age: He first told McLaren he wanted to race for them when he was 10.

LILY COLE

Supermodel

18

London

Cole, an elfin redhead who's already one of the world's hottest supermodels, remains refreshingly down-to-earth. She accepts only limited assignments so she can concentrate on her studies. She got As in her pre-university exams in English, history, drama, philosophy and ethics; she plans to major in politics. She quit as the face of De Beers after learning the company evicted Kalahari Bushmen to free up land for a diamond-mining operation in Botswana. Plucked from the streets by a talent scout when she was 14, her success so far --- including several magazine covers --- seems staggering. But she'll be even bigger news soon. In mid-2007, the movie "Phantasmagoria: The Visions of Lewis Carroll," directed by rock star Marilyn Manson, will be released. Cole plays Alice.

FERNANDO BOTERO

Artist / 74 / Paris, New York

34 to watch in 2007 Political figures, entertainers top soon-to-be familiar faces

His works have been praised for their depiction of the everyday life and culture of his native Colombia, and his artistic vision and talent have earned him comparisons with Picasso and Rubens. Known for his portraits and sculptures of almost comically rotund people, Botero has become one of Latin America's best-known living artists. He started painting bullfighting scenes in his native Medellin at age 13, selling them for 5 pesos. But Botero is also a scathing critic of politics and governments, as seen in his recent series of shocking portrayals of the torture of prisoners at the infamous Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. With no shortage of injustice and violence in the world, Botero has plenty of inspiration for future works.

SEGOELNE ROYAL

Socialist Party leader

53

Paris

Royal, a breath of fresh air in the stodgy politics of France, is beautiful, glamorous and effective. In November, this native of Senegal won the nomination of the Socialist Party to run for president, garnering 60 percent of the vote compared with 20 percent for her closest (male) rival. Unlike <u>female</u> politicians who emphasize their toughness, Royal, who has four children with her long-term partner, has been photographed wearing a bikini. A committed leftist, she nevertheless emphasizes law-and-order issues and admires British Prime Minister Tony Blair's "Third Way." But she's inexperienced; a recent trip to the Middle East was marred by gaffes. If she defeats the center-right candidate, probably Interior Minister Nicolas Sarkozy, in April, she will become France's first woman president.

SILVA

Singer

17

Vayq, Armenia

Silva Hakobyan, as her name was at birth, grew up in obscurity in a country one-fifth the size of the state of Georgia. From an early age, she felt compelled to sing: It's as necessary to her, she's said, as oxygen. Throughout her childhood, she sang songs written by her brother and sister, honing her craft and entering competitions. Still, few outside Armenia had heard of her. But in December, using the song "I Like," she won the BBC World Service's "Next Big Thing" competition, defeating competitors from around the world. With a voice like an angel and an exquisite pop sensibility, she is likely to release a debut album in 2007; her music is favored to make the transition from unheard to ubiquitous.

TEODOR CURRENTZIS

Musical director, Novosibirsk Opera and Ballet Theatre

33

Novosibirsk, Russia

The young conductor from Siberia is creating a stir from Moscow to Paris. Born in Athens, Greece, Currentzis came to Russia in the 1990s to study music and has stayed, he says, to change the way the world sees classical music. His style of grand arm and hand gestures while conducting has surprised audiences who associate Novosibirsk more with gulags and snow than classical musical genius. His appearance --- tall, thin with flowing, long brown hair --- has wooed many of his *female* fans, and attendees at after concert parties say he is more Rolling Stone than Rachmaninoff. Critics say his ego may be bigger than his talent, but most agree that Currentzis' extravagant style has brought new attention to young, Russian talent.

ILHAM ALIYEV

President of Azerbaijan

45

Baku, Azerbaijan

His critics call Aliyev a dictator who took power after his father's death and a rigged election in 2003. Others see him as a master of a delicate balancing act among Russia, the United States and Iran. As the president of an oiland gas-rich country, Aliyev has the muscle to stand up to Russia, while at the same time enjoy close ties with Vladimir Putin, who was in the KGB with Aliyev's father.

A new oil pipeline opened this year in Baku that bypasses Russia and carries Caspian Sea oil to Europe and beyond. The United States has been promised permission to open a base in the South Caucasus nation. At the same time, Aliyev pledges peace and friendship with neighboring Iran. If tensions between Iran and the United States increase, or relations with Moscow and Washington sour, will Azerbaijan be forced to choose sides?

MIDDLE EAST

MUQTADA AL-SADR

Shiite cleric and political figure

30-something

Najaf, Iraq

The young cleric has built on the respect for his father, believed to have been assassinated by Saddam Hussein's agents in the 1990s, to run an anti-American Shiite movement born in the slums of Baghdad. His Mahdi militia has fought against U.S. troops and been blamed for systematic killings of Sunni civilians and other Shiites. They hold fundamentalist "courts" to punish foes. But he put his proxies into the parliament and provides key support for Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki. His followers lead key ministries that U.S. officials say are corrupt machines funneling money and jobs to al-Sadr's men. With his movement growing rapidly, al-Sadr may hold the key to Iraq's stability or disintegration. Some believe U.S. troops need to go after him and his forces.

TARIQ AL-HASHEMI

Iraq's vice president

64

Baghdad

Al-Hashemi is the highest-ranking Sunni Muslim member of the divided and weak Iraqi government. He has risked the ire of rejectionist Sunnis by taking his religious Iraqi Islamic Party into the government and faced the threat of Shiite extremists who seek to push Sunnis out of leadership. Three of his siblings have been assassinated since April, around the time the new government took office. The gray-haired, English-speaking former business executive threatened to resign this fall unless Shiite Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki reined in militias threatening and killing Sunnis. Such a move would signal the end of the tentative Sunni participation in the government and bring a collapse in U.S.-backed attempts to foster reconciliation between the fighting sectarian factions.

SA'AD KHALIFA

Iraqi comic actor

Dara'a, Syria

Iraqis watch this diminutive funny man who, with the producers and writers at the popular Al-Sharqiya channel, provides a comical take on the mayhem around them. During Ramadan he starred in the nightly show, "Hurry up, He died," which, in Arabic, can be combined to make the same word as, "Governments." He played the last living Iraqi. His spoof news show offered this headline from the day's violence: "Unknown kidnappers took unknown people to an unknown location." He also stars in the hit show, "Caricature." Much of the taping is done in Dubai. One of Khalifa's co-stars was assassinated in Iraq in November.

MAHMOUD ABBAS

President of the Palestinian Authority

70

Palestinian territories

Abbas is skating on the fine edge of political oblivion. He has failed to persuade his rivals in the Islamic party <u>Hamas</u> to give up armed resistance to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. He has also failed to overturn crippling sanctions leveled against Palestinians by the United States, Israel and Europe. Aides say the frustrated Abbas is ready to resign, raising fears that Palestinian politics will take on an even more radical bent. If this occurs, promises in Washington to turn its attention to the Middle East crisis could be too little, too late.

HEBA KOTB

Sex therapist

39

Cairo, Egypt

Kotb is the Arab world's equivalent of Dr. Ruth. Her weekly television show "Big Talk" focuses on all matters sexual: foreplay, impotence and *female* orgasm. A veiled and observant Muslim who was educated in the United States, Kotb's work is nothing short of revolutionary for a culture that shuns open discussion of sex. Kotb operated a private sex clinic in Cairo for two years before expanding her message to the Arab airwaves. Her advice stems from both her scientific and religious background, and she liberally quotes the Quran as well as Masters & Johnson to her call-in listeners. Her aim isn't sexual promiscuity. It's slowing the number of divorces in the region by bringing education, intimacy and a modicum of liberation to the Arab home.

HASSAN NASRALLAH

Leader of Hezbollah

46

Beirut, Lebanon

Nasrallah, a Shiite sheik, has the power to spark --- or avert --- civil war in his small but important country. He also poses an enormous challenge to the Bush administration's commitment to democracy in the Middle East. Nasrallah's Hezbollah party resigned from the U.S.-backed government, demanding more power for Lebanon's historically disadvantaged Shiites. Nasrallah bucks American policy with his cozy relations with Iran and Syria --- but he has publicly called for peaceful protests to change Lebanon's political system. The catch is his Hezbollah guerrillas, whom many Lebanese admire for ending Israeli occupation of their country and others revile for their destabilizing effect. The question is whether Nasrallah will turn to violence if Lebanon's president refuses to share power with the country's largest demographic group.

AMI AYALON

34 to watch in 2007 Political figures, entertainers top soon-to-be familiar faces

Politician and peace activist, former general

51

Kerem Maharal, Israel

Ayalon is the type of politician Israelis are nostalgic for: a career military man, a former intelligence chief and an ardent peace activist. No wonder he's the leading candidate to take over the Labor Party come spring. For more than a year Labor has moved lockstep with the ruling Kadima Party of Prime Minister Ehud Olmert and his policies against immediate negotiations with Palestinians and for deep welfare cuts, angering the party's leftist base. If Ayalon wins Labor's internal elections, he could revitalize peace efforts with his "People's Voice" accord, a document that satisfies most Palestinian demands, opens Jerusalem for all groups and ends Israeli settler presence in the West Bank. From an ex-general's lips, this vision --- like Ayalon's Labor predecessor Yitzhak Rabin's Oslo Accord - could muster support from cynical and war-weary Israelis.

MOHAMMAD ALI ALABBAR

Tycoon and visionary

46

Dubai

Alabbar is the chairman of Emaar, one of Dubai's largest companies, whose construction, education and health care projects are modernizing the Middle East. An economist by training, Alabbar made a fortune by building shopping malls across the region. Now, his new entrepreneurial goals have a more humanitarian bent. By 2010 he wants to operate chains of private U.S.-modeled schools and health care clinics stretching from Egypt to India social services that many regional governments have failed to provide but will be crucial for the region's future economic stability. His vision extends to politics as well. He's one of the few Arab businessmen to have met with Israeli officials about development projects in a future independent Palestinian state.

LATIN AMERICA

FIDEL CASTRO

President of Cuba

80

Havana

After 47 years as a fire-breathing icon of anti-Americanism, Castro may well pass from the scene in 2007. His failure to show at his own delayed birthday bash in December confirmed to most Cuba-watchers that Castro is gravely ill, perhaps with terminal stomach cancer. While Cuban exiles have long hoped for radical change in post-Castro Cuba, experts say that isn't likely. Castro's brother, Raul, 75, has already quietly and firmly taken over, aided by several younger leaders. Expect a big party among exiles in Miami when Fidel finally dies, but little drama on the island itself, other than a huge, somber funeral.

HUGO CHAVEZ

President of Venezuela

52

Caracas

34 to watch in 2007 Political figures, entertainers top soon-to-be familiar faces

Filling in for Fidel Castro as America's chief critic in its own backyard will be Hugo Chavez, a bombastic populist fresh off winning a new six-year term in December. Flush with oil money, Chavez has built impressive social programs in Venezuela's poor barrios and captured the imagination of Latin America's impoverished millions with his America-bashing rhetoric. But experts say his attempts to spread socialism and build a new, Third World anti-American coalition won't amount to much. Still, expect new fountains of propaganda from the man who stood before the United Nations and called George W. Bush "the devil." His other favorite nickname for Bush is "Mr. Danger."

FELIPE CALDERON

President of Mexico

44

Morelia, Mexico

The first few months of 2007 will be crucial for the new Mexican president. Calderon faces a deeply divided country approaching near rebellion in some states. Look for the conservative to push popular reforms, like cutting the cost of government bureaucracy, to build up some badly needed political capital. Calderon must walk a painfully narrow tightrope: Missteps could plunge his administration into six years of darkness. He will be continuously hounded by leftist Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador, who claims Calderon beat him through electoral fraud and has promised to shadow him for the duration of his rule.

ANA DE LA REGUERA

Actress

29

Veracruz, Mexico

After enchanting Mexico and much of Latin America, De la Reguera is poised to become a marquee name north of the border. Often compared with Spanish superstars Penelope Cruz and Paz Vega, the former telenovela actress has hit the big time in her native Mexico, starring in a slew of movies and hosting MTV's Latin American video award show. U.S. audiences caught a glimpse of her as an angelic nun in Jack Black's "Nacho Libre" and look for her to return to U.S. screens in 2007 with the releases of "Celestina," "Paraiso Travel" and "A Happy Death." She has also landed gigs as spokeswoman for Macy's and Caress, so her face could suddenly be everywhere.

JOAQUIN "EL CHAPO" GUZMAN

Drug cartel leader

52

Sinaloa, Mexico

"El Chapo," or Shorty, is the most visible face of the nearly five-year drug war that has decimated Nuevo Laredo and left more than 2,000 dead in 2006. After escaping prison in 2001 in a laundry basket, Guzman has strengthened his Sinaloa Cartel and set his sights on the territories of the Matamoros-based Gulf Cartel. Known for digging elaborate tunnels along the border, Guzman has been mythologized in Mexican pop culture and is the subject of numerous narcorridos, or folk songs glamorizing the drug trade. The battle between the two cartels may well be the biggest challenge facing new President Felipe Calderon. Will the saga end in 2007? Residents are praying one cartel emerges triumphant, if only to reduce the bloodshed.

ALFONSO CUARON

Film director

45

Mexico City

Cuaron has directed some of Mexico's most cutting-edge films, like "Y Tu Mama Tambien," the 2001 film that helped launch the careers of Mexican actors Gael Garcia Bernal and Diego Luna. His most recent effort, 2006's critically acclaimed "Children of Men," cemented his reputation as one of the world's most technically accomplished directors for his long, single-take shots. Cuaron is among a trio of Mexican directors --- including "Hellboy's" Guillermo del Toro and Alejandro Gonzalez Inarritu of "Babel" and "Amores Perros" fame --- bringing Mexican film to prominence. With three projects in the works, including a drama about Mexico's 1968 student uprisings, look for Cuaron to continue to shine.

AFRICA

SHEIK HASSAN DAHIR AWEYS

Leader of Somali militant Islamic movement

71

Mogadishu, Somalia

Aweys is one of the most influential leaders in the loose band of Islamic groups known as the Council of Islamic Courts that now controls much of Somalia. He will help determine whether the lawless country erupts into war that could engulf the Horn of Africa. A Muslim sheik, Aweys denies links to terrorism, though he was a leader of an Islamic group that the United States has branded a terrorist organization, and it is his prominence in the group that has fueled fears that the Somali Islamists are linked to al-Qaida. A former colonel in Somalia's army, he is also a bitter enemy of Ethiopia, which backs the transitional government holed up in the town of Baidoa. Nicknamed "The Fox," Aweys has talked of a "Greater Somalia" incorporating Ethiopia and Kenya.

GENEVIEVE NNAJI

Actress

27

Lagos, Nigeria

Nigeria's film industry --- known as Nollywood --- is booming. And it has no bigger celebrity than Nnaji. The star of dozens of low-budget but widely popular films, Nnaji is a rare African actress bidding for the tabloid-style fame of her American contemporaries. She signed a lucrative sponsorship deal as the face of Lux soap ("Lux Brings Out The Star In You") and has her own music CD titled "No More." Nnaji's success outside Africa may be a sign that Nollywood is ready to break into the Western market at last. A few African films have earned praise abroad --- South Africa's "Tsotsi" won the Oscar for best foreign film--- but Nnaji could help bring to African filmmakers the lasting respect they deserve.

ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF

President of Liberia

68

Monrovia, Liberia

Johnson Sirleaf became Liberia's president in early 2006 on promises to restore lasting peace to her country, shattered by two decades of war. The new year will bring her biggest test: The honeymoon with her people is over. She must prove that she can neutralize the thousands of former child soldiers who have yet to disarm and have no

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qualms about resorting to violence. She must jump-start the economy. And she must create a haven of peace that keeps her neighbors, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast, from sliding into renewed chaos themselves. Johnson Sirleaf has pressed the United Nations to lift embargoes on timber and diamonds, resources that her predecessors sold off to fund their private armies and pad their foreign bank accounts. Can she bring tangible benefit to her people --- such as electricity and roads that can actually be driven on --- to sustain her reputation as West Africa's best hope?

ZACKIE ACHMAT

AIDS activist

44

Johannesburg, South Africa

Achmat, an HIV-positive gay man, once refused to take anti-retroviral drugs even though he could afford them because patent restrictions made them too costly for South Africa's poor. Achmat dropped his protest in 2003 after forcing pharmaceutical companies to allow some generic drugs in South Africa, one of the countries hardest hit by the AIDS pandemic. He is now helping turn his nation's AIDS policy from an embarrassment into an example for much of the continent. Achmat is also bent on drawing attention to the poorly publicized links between AIDS and tuberculosis, estimated to infect two-thirds of AIDS patients in sub-Saharan Africa. He is pushing drug companies to invest more research in tuberculosis drugs, many of which are decades old.

GODFREY "GADO" MWAMPEMBWA

Political cartoonist / 37 / Nairobi, Kenya

One of Africa's most famous political cartoonists, Mwampembwa is helping drive a cartooning renaissance across the continent --- from Nigeria to South Africa to Uganda --- that has gained him fame abroad and intense dislike from his own leaders. In a newspaper-mad culture, millions see Gado's trenchant commentary in Kenya's leading daily, The Nation. His favorite subjects include the government's endemic corruption and the often petty squabbles of Kenyan politicians. Gado has faced down threats from government ministers before and could do so again in 2007, with elections set for the end of the year. Will Kenya's leaders tolerate such skewering with the stakes so high? Kenya emerged from dictatorship just five years ago, and some of its politicians are still unaccustomed to the artist's poisoned pencil.

ASIA

BAN KI-MOON

Incoming United Nations secretary-general

62

Seoul, South Korea

Polite. Conciliatory. Loyal. Those are words often used to describe Ban, who will replace Kofi Annan as U.N. secretary general on Jan. 1. Capping a career with the South Korean foreign ministry, Ban has vowed that his U.N. tenure "will be marked by ceaseless efforts to build bridges and close divides." With the world more entwined than ever --- with everything from terrorism to environmental protection demanding a global response --- whether he creates consensus among the organization's 192 member states will be of genuine importance.

MUHAMMAD YUNUS

Founder and director of Grameen Bank

Dhaka, Bangladesh

Bangladesh's "banker to the poor," Yunus will capitalize on publicity from the Nobel Peace Prize --- awarded to him and his Grameen Bank in December --- to urge money-lenders around the world to make small-business loans to the poor. Yunus is credited with inventing microfinance, the practice of lending small amounts of money to people too poor to qualify for typical bank loans. Since Yunus started the Grameen Bank with a \$27 loan in 1974, it has grown to nearly 7 million borrowers, 97 percent of whom are <u>women</u>. "Poverty is the absence of all human rights," Yunus said in his Nobel Prize acceptance speech. "Once the poor can unleash their energy and creativity, poverty will disappear very quickly."

SHINZO ABE

Prime minister of Japan

52

Tokyo

Abe has faced a trial by fire since becoming Japan's prime minister in September: He has stepped up pressure on North Korea to abandon its nuclear weapons program and moved to improve strained relations with China. As head of the world's second-largest economy and America's closest Asian ally, his next moves will be crucial. In 2007, analysts will watch to see whether Abe builds regional cooperation or becomes more isolationist, perhaps even pushing for a stronger Japanese military to counter the North Korean threat and China's growing military. Such a shift would stoke regional tensions.

MARGARET CHAN

Incoming World Health Organization director-general

59

Hong Kong

When Chan, a former head of Hong Kong's health ministry, takes control of the world's largest public health organization on Jan. 4, she'll face a slew of challenges. Along with continuing programs to combat traditional diseases like tuberculosis and AIDS, she'll be tasked with managing the global response to bird flu, which has killed at least 154 people, mostly in Asia, and could spark a deadly pandemic if the H5N1 virus mutates into a form that spreads easily among people. In a speech accepting the WHO post, Chan promised to focus on improving public health in Africa and among <u>women</u>. "Improvements in the health of the people of Africa and the health of <u>women</u> are key indicators of the performance of WHO," she said.

DALAI LAMA

Tibetan spiritual leader

71

Dharamsala, India

Even Dalai Lamas can't live forever. While Tibetans believe that the current Dalai Lama, who is still healthy, will be reincarnated after he dies, pressure to reach a compromise with Beijing will grow in 2007 for the Tibetan government in exile. The Dalai Lama is concerned that his passing could leave the exiled community fragmented while Tibet's traditional culture is altered by the immigration of ethnic Chinese; Beijing, which has controlled Tibet since 1950, is interested in appeasing international opinion before the 2008 Olympics. The Dalai Lama's representatives have held five rounds of secret discussions with Beijing since 2002, and his chief envoy said last

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month that Tibetan exiles might be willing to "accept their place within the People's Republic of China of their own free will.

Graphic

Photo: SA'AD KHALIFA/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: PASCAL PAVANI / Getty ImagesPainter Fernando Botero, 74, shows some of his works that depict the torture and abuse of Iraqis in Abu Ghraib prison. Botero, a native of Colombia, has become one of Latin America's best-known living artists./ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: LEWIS HAMILTON/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: ILHAM ALIYEV/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: MAHMOUD ABBAS/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: MOHAMMAD ALI ALABBAR/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: HUGO CHAVEZ/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: FELIPE CALDERON/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: MARGARET CHAN/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: ELLEN JOHNSON SIRLEAF/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: LILY COLE/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: PAUL HAWTHORNE / Associated PressRENE PEREZ of Calle 13/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: ANNA ZIEMINSKI / Getty ImagesActivist Zackie Achmat embraces a supporter in Cape Town, South Africa. Achmat is credited with forcing pharmaceutical companies to allow some generic AIDS drugs in the nation./ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: GODFREY "GADO" MWAMPEMBWA/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: MUQTADA AL-SADR/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: SHEIK HASSAN DAHIR AWEYS/ImageData* ImageData*

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Photo: SILVA/ImageData* ImageData*

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Photo: HEBA KOTB/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: HASSAN NASRALLAH/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: FIDEL CASTRO/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: ANA DE LA REGUERA/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: JOAQUIN "EL CHAPO" GUZMAN/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: ALFONSO CUARON/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: BAN KI-MOON/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: MUHAMMAD YUNUS/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: SHINZO ABE/ImageData* ImageData*

Photo: DALAI LAMA/ImageData* ImageData*

Graphic: A political cartoon by GODFREY "GADO" MWAMPEMBWA/ImageData*

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The greening of the red, white and blue: ONE MAN'S PLAN / More Americans than ever identify themselves as greens, but the dirty little secret is they are fooling themselves and will have to do much more in order to preserve their way of life - and the planet

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Body

One day Iraq, our post-9/11 trauma and the divisiveness of the Bush years will all be behind us -- and America will need, and want, to get its groove back. We will need to find a way to reknit America at home, reconnect America abroad and restore America to its natural place in the global order -- as the beacon of progress, hope and inspiration. I have an idea how. It's called "green."

In the world of ideas, to name something is to own it. If you can name an issue, you can own the issue. One thing that always struck me about the term "green" was the degree to which, for so many years, it was defined by its opponents -- by the people who wanted to disparage it. And they defined it as "liberal," "tree-hugging," "sissy," "girlie-man," "unpatriotic," "vaguely French."

Well, I want to rename "green." I want to rename it geostrategic, geoeconomic, capitalistic and patriotic. I want to do that because I think that living, working, designing, manufacturing and projecting America in a green way can be the basis of a new unifying political movement for the 21st century. A redefined, broader and more muscular green ideology is not meant to trump the traditional Republican and Democratic agendas but rather to bridge them when it comes to addressing the three major issues facing every American today: jobs, temperature and terrorism.

How do our kids compete in a flatter world? How do they thrive in a warmer world? How do they survive in a more dangerous world? Those are, in a nutshell, the big questions facing America at the dawn of the 21st century. But these problems are so large in scale that they can only be effectively addressed by an America with 50 green states -- not an America divided between red and blue states.

Because a new green ideology, properly defined, has the power to mobilize liberals and conservatives, evangelicals and atheists, big business and environmentalists around an agenda that can both pull us together and propel us forward. That's why I say: we don't just need the first black president. We need the first green president. We don't just need the first woman president. We need the first environmental president. We don't just need a president who has been toughened by years as a prisoner of war but a president who is tough enough to level with the American people about the profound economic, geopolitical and climate threats posed by our addiction to oil -- and to offer a real plan to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels.

After the Second World War, President Dwight Eisenhower responded to the threat of Communism and the "red menace" with massive spending on an interstate highway system to tie America together, in large part so that we could better move weapons in the event of a war with the Soviets. That highway system, though, helped to enshrine America's car culture (atrophying our railroads) and to lock in suburban sprawl and low-density housing, which all combined to get America addicted to cheap fossil fuels, particularly oil. Many in the world followed our model.

Today, we are paying the accumulated economic, geopolitical and climate prices for that kind of America. I am not proposing that we radically alter our lifestyles. We are who we are -- including a car culture. But if we want to continue to be who we are, enjoy the benefits and be able to pass them on to our children, we do need to fuel our future in a cleaner, greener way. Eisenhower rallied us with the red menace. The next president will have to rally us with a green patriotism. Hence my motto: "Green is the new red, white and blue."

The good news is that after travelling around America this past year, looking at how we use energy and the emerging alternatives, I can report that green really has gone Main Street -- thanks to the perfect storm created by 9/11, hurricane Katrina and the Internet revolution. The first flattened the twin towers, the second flattened New Orleans and the third flattened the global economic playing field. The convergence of all three has turned many of our previous assumptions about "green" upside down in a very short period of time, making it much more compelling to many more Americans.

But here's the bad news: while green has hit Main Street -- more Americans than ever now identify themselves as greens, or what I call "Geo-Greens" to differentiate their more muscular and strategic green ideology -- green has not gone very far down Main Street. It certainly has not gone anywhere near the distance required to preserve our lifestyle. The dirty little secret is that we're fooling ourselves. We in America talk like we're already "the greenest generation," as the business writer Dan Pink once called it. But here's the really inconvenient truth: we have not even begun to be serious about the costs, the effort and the scale of change that will be required to shift our country, and eventually the world, to a largely emissions-free energy infrastructure over the next 50 years.

A few weeks after American forces invaded Afghanistan, I visited the Pakistani frontier town of Peshawar, a hotbed of Islamic radicalism. On the way, I stopped at the famous Darul Uloom Haqqania, the biggest madrasa, or Islamic school, in Pakistan, with 2,800 live-in students. The Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar attended this madrasa as a younger man. My Pakistani friend and I were allowed to observe a class of young boys who sat on the floor, practicing their rote learning of the Qur'an from texts perched on wooden holders. The teacher asked an eight-year-old boy to chant a Qur'anic verse for us, which he did with the elegance of an experienced muezzin. I asked another student, an Afghan refugee, Rahim Kunduz, 12, what his reaction was to the Sept. 11 attacks, and he said: "Most likely the attack came from Americans inside America. I am pleased that America has had to face pain, because the rest of the world has tasted its pain." A framed sign on the wall said this room was "A gift of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."

Sometime after 9/11 -- an unprovoked mass murder perpetrated by 19 men, 15 of whom were Saudis -- green went geostrategic, as Americans started to realize we were financing both sides in the war on terrorism. We were financing the U.S. military with our tax dollars; and we were financing a transformation of Islam, in favour of its most intolerant strand, with our gasoline purchases. How stupid is that?

Islam has always been practiced in different forms. Some are more embracing of modernity, reinterpretation of the Qur'an and tolerance of other faiths, like Sufi Islam or the populist Islam of Egypt, Ottoman Turkey and Indonesia. Some strands, like Salafi Islam -- followed by the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and by al-Qaida -- believe Islam should be returned to an austere form practiced in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, a form hostile to modernity, science, "infidels" and <u>women</u>'s rights. By enriching the Saudi and Iranian treasuries via our gasoline purchases, we are financing the export of the Saudi puritanical brand of Sunni Islam and the Iranian fundamentalist brand of Shiite Islam, tilting the Muslim world in a more intolerant direction. At the Muslim fringe, this creates more recruits for the Taliban, al-Qaida, <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah and the Sunni suicide bomb squads of Iraq; at the Muslim centre, it creates a much bigger constituency of people who applaud suicide bombers as martyrs.

The Saudi Islamic export drive first went into high gear after extreme fundamentalists challenged the Muslim credentials of the Saudi ruling family by taking over the Grand Mosque of Mecca in 1979 -- a year that coincided with the Iranian revolution and a huge rise in oil prices. The attack on the Grand Mosque by these Qur'an-and-rifle-wielding Islamic militants shook the Saudi ruling family to its core. The al-Sauds responded to this challenge to their religious bona fides by becoming outwardly more religious. They gave their official Wahhabi religious establishment even more power to impose Islam on public life. Awash in cash thanks to the spike in oil prices, the Saudi government and charities also spent hundreds of millions of dollars endowing mosques, youth clubs and Muslim schools all over the world, ensuring that Wahhabi imams, teachers and textbooks would preach Saudi-style Islam. Eventually, notes Lawrence Wright in The Looming Tower, his history of al-Qaida, "Saudi Arabia, which constitutes only one per cent of the world Muslim population, would support 90 per cent of the expenses of the entire faith, overriding other traditions of Islam."

Saudi mosques and wealthy donors have also funnelled cash to the Sunni insurgents in Iraq. The Associated Press reported from Cairo in December: "Several drivers interviewed by the AP in Middle East capitals said Saudis have been using religious events, like the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and a smaller pilgrimage, as cover for illicit money transfers. Some money, they said, is carried into Iraq on buses with returning pilgrims."

No wonder more Americans have concluded that conserving oil to put less money in the hands of hostile forces is now a geostrategic imperative. President George W. Bush's refusal to do anything meaningful after 9/11 to reduce our gasoline usage really amounts to a policy of "No Mullah Left Behind." James Woolsey, the former CIA director, minces no words: "We are funding the rope for the hanging of ourselves."

No, I don't want to bankrupt Saudi Arabia or trigger an Islamist revolt there. Its leadership is more moderate and pro-Western than its people. But the way the Saudi ruling family has bought off its religious establishment, in order to stay in power, is not healthy. Cutting the price of oil in half would help change that. In the 1990s, dwindling oil income sparked a Saudi debate about less Qur'an and more science in Saudi schools, even experimentation with local elections. But the recent oil windfall has stilled all talk of reform.

That is because of what I call the First Law of Petropolitics: the price of oil and the pace of freedom always move in opposite directions in states that are highly dependent on oil exports for their income and have weak institutions or outright authoritarian governments. And this is another reason that green has become geostrategic. Soaring oil prices are poisoning the international system by strengthening antidemocratic regimes around the globe.

Look what's happened. We thought the fall of the Berlin Wall was going to unleash an unstoppable tide of free markets and free people, and for about a decade it did just that. But those years coincided with oil in the \$10 US to \$30 a barrel range. As the price of oil surged into the \$30 to \$70 range in the early 2000s, it triggered a countertide -- a tide of petro-authoritarianism -- manifested in Russia, Iran, Nigeria, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Chad, Angola, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. The elected or self-appointed elites running these states have used their oil windfalls to ensconce themselves in power, buy off opponents and counter the fall-of-the-Berlin-Wall tide. If we continue to finance them with our oil purchases, they will reshape the world in their image, around Putin-like values.

You can illustrate the First Law of Petropolitics with a simple graph. On one line chart the price of oil from 1979 to the present; on another line chart the Freedom House or Fraser Institute freedom indexes for Russia, Nigeria, Iran and Venezuela for the same years. When you put these two lines on the same graph you see something striking: the price of oil and the pace of freedom are inversely correlated. As oil prices went down in the early 1990s, competition, transparency, political participation and accountability of those in office all tended to go up in these countries -- as measured by free elections held, newspapers opened, reformers elected, economic reform projects started and companies privatized. That's because their petro-authoritarian regimes had to open themselves to foreign investment and educate and empower their people more in order to earn income. But as oil prices went up around 2000, free speech, free press, fair elections and freedom to form political parties, and NGOs all eroded in these countries.

The motto of the American Revolution was "no taxation without representation." The motto of the petroauthoritarians is "no representation without taxation": if I don't have to tax you, because I can get all the money I need from oil wells, I don't have to listen to you.

It is no accident that when oil prices were low in the 1990s, Iran elected a reformist parliament and a president who called for a "dialogue of civilizations." And when oil prices soared to \$70 a barrel, Iran's conservatives pushed out the reformers and ensconced a president who says the Holocaust is a myth. And it is no accident that the first Arab Gulf state to start running out of oil, Bahrain, is also the first Arab Gulf state to have held a free and fair election in which <u>women</u> could run and vote, the first Arab Gulf state to overhaul its labour laws to make more of its own people employable and the first Arab Gulf state to sign a free-trade agreement with America.

People change when they have to -- not when we tell them to -- and falling oil prices make them have to. That is why if we are looking for a Plan B for Iraq -- a way of pressing for political reform in the Middle East without going to war again -- there is no better tool than bringing down the price of oil. When it comes to fostering democracy among petro-authoritarians, it doesn't matter whether you're a neocon or a radical lib. If you're not also a Geo-Green, you won't succeed.

The notion that conserving energy is a geostrategic imperative has also moved into the Pentagon, for slightly different reasons. Generals are realizing that the more energy they save in the heat of battle, the more power they can project. The Pentagon has been looking to improve its energy efficiency for several years now to save money. But the Iraq war has given birth to a new movement in the U.S. military: the "Green Hawks."

As Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute, who has been working with the Pentagon, put it to me: the Iraq war forced the U.S. military to think much more seriously about how to "eat its tail" -- to shorten its energy supply lines by becoming more energy efficient. According to Dan Nolan, who oversees energy projects for the U.S. army's Rapid Equipping Force, it started last year when a marine major general in Anbar province told the Pentagon he wanted alternative energy sources that would reduce fuel consumption in the Iraqi desert. Why? His air conditioners were being run off mobile generators, and the generators ran on diesel, and the diesel had to be trucked in, and the insurgents were blowing up the trucks.

Pay attention: when the U.S. army desegregated, the country really desegregated; when the army goes green, the country could really go green.

The second big reason green has gone Main Street is because global warming has. A decade ago, it was mostly experts who worried that climate change was real, largely brought about by humans and likely to lead to species loss and environmental crises. Now Main Street is starting to worry because people are seeing things they've never seen before in their own front yards and reading things they've never read before in their papers -- like the recent draft report by the United Nations's 2,000-expert Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which concluded that "changes in climate are now affecting physical and biological systems on every continent."

Yes, no one knows exactly what will happen. But ever fewer people want to do nothing. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California summed up the new climate around climate when he said to me recently: "If 98 doctors say my son is ill and needs medication and two say, 'No, he doesn't, he is fine,' I will go with the 98. It's common sense -- the same with global warming. We go with the majority, the large majority. ... The key thing now is that since we know this industrial age has created it, let's get our act together and do everything we can to roll it back."

But how? Now we arrive at the first big roadblock to green going down Main Street. Most people have no clue -- no clue -- how huge an industrial project is required to blunt climate change. Here are two people who do: Robert Socolow, an engineering professor, and Stephen Pacala, an ecology professor, who together lead the Carbon Mitigation Initiative at Princeton, a consortium designing scalable solutions for the climate issue.

They first argued in a paper published by the journal Science in August 2004 that human beings can emit only so much carbon into the atmosphere before the buildup of carbon dioxide (CO2) reaches a level unknown in recent

geologic history and the Earth's climate system starts to go "haywire." The scientific consensus, they note, is that the risk of things going haywire -- weather patterns getting violently unstable, glaciers melting, prolonged droughts - grows rapidly as CO2 levels "approach a doubling" of the concentration of CO2 that was in the atmosphere before the Industrial Revolution.

"Think of the climate change issue as a closet, and behind the door are lurking all kinds of monsters -- and there's a long list of them," Pacala said. "All of our scientific work says the most damaging monsters start to come out from behind that door when you hit the doubling of CO2 levels." As Bill Collins, who led the development of a model used worldwide for simulating climate change, put it to me: "We're running an uncontrolled experiment on the only home we have."

So here is our challenge, according to Pacala: if we basically do nothing, and global CO2 emissions continue to grow at the pace of the last 30 years for the next 50 years, we will pass the doubling level -- an atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide of 560 parts per million -- around midcentury. To avoid that -- and still leave room for developed countries to grow, using less carbon, and for countries like India and China to grow, emitting double or triple their current carbon levels, until they climb out of poverty and are able to become more energy efficient -- will require a huge global industrial energy project.

To convey the scale involved, Socolow and Pacala have created a pie chart with 15 different wedges. Some wedges represent carbon-free or carbon-diminishing power-generating technologies; other wedges represent efficiency programs that could conserve large amounts of energy and prevent CO2 emissions. They argue that the world needs to deploy any seven of these 15 wedges, or sufficient amounts of all 15, to have enough conservation, and enough carbon-free energy, to increase the world economy and still avoid the doubling of CO2 in the atmosphere. Each wedge, when phased in over 50 years, would avoid the release of 25 billion tons of carbon, for a total of 175 billion tons of carbon avoided between now and 2056.

Here are seven wedges we could chose from: "Replace 1,400 large coal-fired plants with gas-fired plants; increase the fuel economy of two billion cars from 30 to 60 miles per gallon; add twice today's nuclear output to displace coal; drive two billion cars on ethanol, using one-sixth of the world's cropland; increase solar power 700-fold to displace coal; cut electricity use in homes, offices and stores by 25 per cent; install carbon capture and sequestration capacity at 800 large coal-fired plants." And the other eight aren't any easier. They include halting all cutting and burning of forests, since deforestation causes about 20 per cent of the world's annual CO2 emissions.

"There has never been a deliberate industrial project in history as big as this," Pacala said. Through a combination of clean power technology and conservation, "we have to get rid of 175 billion tons of carbon over the next 50 years -- and still keep growing. It is possible to accomplish this if we start today. But every year that we delay, the job becomes more difficult -- and if we delay a decade or two, avoiding the doubling or more may well become impossible."

In November, I flew from Shanghai to Beijing on Air China. As we landed in Beijing and taxied to the terminal, the Chinese air hostess came on the PA and said: "We've just landed in Beijing. The temperature is eight degrees Celsius, 46 degrees Fahrenheit and the sky is clear."

I almost burst out laughing. Outside my window the smog was so thick you could not see the end of the terminal building. When I got into Beijing, though, friends told me the air was better than usual. Why? China had been host of a summit meeting of 48 African leaders. Time magazine reported that Beijing officials had "ordered half a million official cars off the roads and said another 400,000 drivers had 'volunteered' to refrain from using their vehicles" in order to clean up the air for their African guests. As soon as they left, the cars returned, and Beijing's air went back to "unhealthy."

Green has also gone Main Street because the end of Communism, the rise of the personal computer and the diffusion of the Internet have opened the global economic playing field to so many more people, all coming with their own versions of the American dream -- a house, a car, a toaster, a microwave and a refrigerator. It is a blessing to see so many people growing out of poverty. But when three billion people move from "low-impact" to

"high-impact" lifestyles, Jared Diamond wrote in Collapse, it makes it urgent that we find cleaner ways to fuel their dreams.

According to Lester Brown, the founder of the Earth Policy Institute, if China keeps growing at eight per cent a year, by 2031 the per capita income of 1.45 billion Chinese will be the same as America's in 2004. China currently has only one car for every 100 people, but Brown projects that as it reaches American income levels, if it copies American consumption, it will have three cars for every four people, or 1.1 billion vehicles. The total world fleet today is 800 million vehicles!

That's why McKinsey Global Institute forecasts that developing countries will generate nearly 80 per cent of the growth in world energy demand between now and 2020, with China representing 32 per cent and the Middle East 10 per cent. So if Red China doesn't become Green China there is no chance we will keep the climate monsters behind the door. On some days, says the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, almost 25 per cent of the polluting matter in the air above Los Angeles comes from China's coal-fired power plants and factories, as well as fumes from China's cars and dust kicked up by droughts and deforestation around Asia.

The good news is that China knows it has to grow green -- or it won't grow at all. On Sept. 8, 2006, a Chinese newspaper reported that China's EPA and its National Bureau of Statistics had re-examined China's 2004 GDP number. They concluded that the health problems, environmental degradation and lost workdays from pollution had actually cost China \$64 billion, or 3.05 per cent of its total economic output for 2004. Some experts believe the real number is closer to 10 per cent.

Thus China has a strong motivation to clean up the worst pollutants in its air. But cleaning up is easier said than done. The Communist Party's legitimacy and the stability of the whole country depend heavily on Beijing's ability to provide rising living standards for more and more Chinese.

So, if you're a Chinese mayor and have to choose between growing jobs and cutting pollution, you will invariably choose jobs: coughing workers are much less politically dangerous than unemployed workers.

But if China is having a hard time cleaning up its nitrogen and sulfur oxides -- which can be done relatively cheaply by adding scrubbers to the smokestacks of coal-fired power plants -- imagine what will happen when it comes to asking China to curb its CO2, of which China is now the world's second-largest emitter, after America. To build a coal-fired power plant that captures, separates and safely sequesters the CO2 into the ground before it goes up the smokestack requires either an expensive retrofit or a whole new system. That new system would cost about 40 per cent more to build and operate -- and would produce 20 per cent less electricity, according to a recent MIT study, The Future of Coal.

China -- which is constructing the equivalent of two 500-megawatt coal-fired power plants every week -- is not going to pay that now. China's strategy right now is to say that CO2 is the West's problem. "It must be pointed out that climate change has been caused by the long-term historic emissions of developed countries and their high per capita emissions," Jiang Yu, a spokeswoman for China's Foreign Ministry, declared in February. "Developed countries bear an unshirkable responsibility."

So now we come to the nub of the issue: green will not go down Main Street America unless it also goes down Main Street China, India and Brazil. And for green to go Main Street in these big developing countries, the prices of clean power alternatives -- wind, biofuels, nuclear, solar or coal sequestration -- have to fall to the "China price." The China price is basically the price China pays for coal-fired electricity today because China is not prepared to pay a premium now, and sacrifice growth and stability, just to get rid of the CO2 that comes from burning coal.

"The 'China price' is the fundamental benchmark that everyone is looking to satisfy," said Curtis Carlson, CEO of SRI International, which is developing alternative energy technologies. "Because if the Chinese have to pay 10 per cent more for energy, when they have tens of millions of people living under \$1,000 a year, it is not going to happen." Carlson went on to say: "We have an enormous amount of new innovation we must put in place before we can get to a price that China and India will be able to pay. But this is also an opportunity."

The only way we are going to get innovations that drive energy costs down to the China price -- innovations in energy-saving appliances, lights and building materials and in non-CO2-emitting power plants and fuels -- is by mobilizing free-market capitalism. The only thing as powerful as Mother Nature is Father Greed. To a degree, the market is already at work on this project -- because some venture capitalists and companies understand that clean tech is going to be the next great global industry. Take Wal-Mart. The world's biggest retailer woke up several years ago, its CEO Lee Scott told me, and realized that with regard to the environment, its customers "had higher expectations for us than we had for ourselves." So Scott hired a sustainability expert, Jib Ellison, to tutor the company. The first lesson Ellison preached was that going green was a whole new way for Wal-Mart to cut costs and drive its profits. As Scott recalled it, Ellison said to him, "Lee, the thing you have to think of is all this stuff that people don't want you to put into the environment is waste -- and you're paying for it!"

So Scott initiated a program to work with Wal-Mart's suppliers to reduce the sizes and materials used for all its packaging by five per cent by 2013. The reductions they have made are already paying off in savings to the company. "We created teams to work across the organization," Scott said. "It was voluntary -- then you had the first person who eliminated some packaging, and someone else started showing how we could recycle more plastic, and all of a sudden it's \$1 million a quarter." Wal-Mart operates 7,000 huge Class 8 trucks that get about six miles per gallon. It has told its truck makers that by 2015, it wants to double the efficiency of the fleet. Wal-Mart is the China of companies, so, explained Scott, "if we place one order we can create a market" for energy innovation.

The quickest way to get to the China price for clean power is by becoming more energy efficient. The cheapest, cleanest, non-emitting power plant in the world is the one you don't build. Helping China adopt some of the breakthrough efficiency programs that California has adopted, for instance -- like rewarding electrical utilities for how much energy they get their customers to save rather than to use -- could have a huge impact. Some experts estimate that China could cut its need for new power plants in half with aggressive investments in efficiency.

Yet another force driving us to the China price is Chinese entrepreneurs, who understand that while Beijing may not be ready to impose CO2 restraints, developed countries are, so this is going to be a global business -- and they want a slice. Let me introduce the man identified last year by Forbes magazine as the seventh-richest man in China, with a fortune now estimated at \$2.2 billion. His name is Shi Zhengrong and he is China's leading manufacturer of silicon solar panels, which convert sunlight into electricity.

"People at all levels in China have become more aware of this environment issue and alternative energy," said Shi, whose company, Suntech Power Holdings, is listed on the New York Stock Exchange. "Five years ago, when I started the company, people said, 'Why do we need solar? We have a surplus of coal-powered electricity.' Now it is different; now people realize that solar has a bright future. But it is still too expensive ... We have to reduce the cost as quickly as possible -- our real competitors are coal and nuclear power."

Shi

does most of his manufacturing in China, but sells roughly 90 per cent of his products outside China, because today they are too expensive for his domestic market. But the more he can get the price down, and start to grow his business inside China, the more he can use that to become a dominant global player. And if it takes off, China could do for solar panels what it did for tennis shoes -- bring the price down so far that everyone can afford a pair.

All that sounds great -- but remember those seven wedges? To reach the necessary scale of emissions-free energy will require big clean-coal or nuclear power stations, wind farms and solar farms, all connected to a national transmission grid, not to mention clean fuels for our cars and trucks. And the market alone, as presently constructed in the U.S., will not get us those alternatives at the scale we need -- at the China price -- fast enough.

Prof. Nate Lewis, Caltech's noted chemist and energy expert, explained why with an analogy. "Let's say you invented the first cellphone," he said. "You could charge people \$1,000 for each one because lots of people would be ready to pay lots of money to have a phone they could carry in their pocket." With those profits, you, the inventor, could pay back your shareholders and plow more into research, so you keep selling better and cheaper cellphones.

But energy is different, Lewis explained. "If I come to you and say, Today your house lights are being powered by dirty coal, but tomorrow, if you pay me \$100 more a month, I will power your house lights with solar,' you are most likely to say: Sorry, Nate, but I don't really care how my lights go on, I just care that they go on. I won't pay an extra \$100 a month for sun power. A new cellphone improves my life. A different way to power my lights does nothing.'

"So building an emissions-free energy infrastructure is not like sending a man to the moon," Lewis went on. "With the moon shot, money was no object - and all we had to do was get there. But today, we already have cheap energy from coal, gas and oil. So getting people to pay more to shift to clean fuels is like trying to get funding for NASA to build a spaceship to the moon - when Southwest Airlines already flies there and gives away free peanuts! I already have a cheap ride to the moon, and a ride is a ride. For most people, electricity is electricity, no matter how it is generated."

If we were running out of coal or oil, the market would steadily push the prices up, which would stimulate innovation in alternatives. Eventually there would be a crossover, and the alternatives would kick in, start to scale and come down in price. But what has happened in energy over the last 35 years is that the oil price goes up, stimulating government subsidies and some investments in alternatives, and then the price goes down, the government loses interest, the subsidies expire and the investors in alternatives get wiped out.

The only way to stimulate the scale of sustained investment in research and development of non-CO2 emitting power at the China price is if the developed countries, who can afford to do so, force their people to pay the full climate, economic and geopolitical costs of using gasoline and dirty coal. Those countries that have signed the Kyoto Protocol are starting to do that. But America is not.

Up to now, said Lester Brown, president of the Earth Policy Institute, we as a society "have been behaving just like Enron the company at the height of its folly." We rack up stunning profits and GDP numbers every year, and they look great on paper "because we've been hiding some of the costs off the books." If we don't put a price on the CO2 we're building up, or on our addiction to oil, we'll never nurture the innovation we need.

Jeffrey Immelt, the chairman of General Electric, has worked for GE for 25 years. In that time, he told me, he has seen seven generations of innovation in GE's medical equipment business - in devices like MRIs or CT scans - because health care market incentives drove the innovation. In power, it's just the opposite. "Today, on the power side," he said, "we're still selling the same basic coal-fired power plants we had when I arrived. They're a little cleaner and more efficient now, but basically the same."

The one clean power area where GE is now into a third generation is wind turbines, "thanks to the European Union," Immelt said. Countries like Denmark, Spain and Germany imposed standards for wind power on their utilities and offered sustained subsidies, creating a big market for wind-turbine manufacturers in Europe in the 1980s, when America abandoned wind because the price of oil fell. "We grew our wind business in Europe," Immelt said.

As things stand now in America, Immelt said, "the market does not work in energy." The multibillion-dollar scale of investment that a company like GE is being asked to make in order to develop new clean-power technologies or that a utility is being asked to make in order to build coal sequestration facilities or nuclear plants is not going to happen at scale - unless they know that coal and oil are going to be priced high enough for long enough that new investments will not be undercut in a few years by falling fossil fuel prices. "Carbon has to have a value," Immelt emphasized. "Today in the U.S. and China it has no value."

I recently visited the infamous Three Mile Island nuclear plant with Christopher Crane, president of Exelon Nuclear, which owns the facility. He said that if Exelon wanted to start a nuclear plant today, the licensing, design, planning and building requirements are so extensive it would not open until 2015 at the earliest. But even if Exelon got all the approvals, it could not start building "because the cost of capital for a nuclear plant today is prohibitive."

That's because the interest rate that any commercial bank would charge on a loan for a nuclear facility would be so high - because of all the risks of lawsuits or cost overruns - that it would be impossible for Exelon to proceed. A

standard nuclear plant today costs about \$3 billion per unit. The only way to stimulate more nuclear power innovation, Crane said, would be federal loan guarantees that would lower the cost of capital for anyone willing to build a new nuclear plant.

The 2005 energy bill created such loan guarantees, but the details still have not been worked out. "We would need a robust loan guarantee program to jump-start the nuclear industry," Crane said - an industry that has basically been frozen since the 1979 Three Mile Island accident. With cheaper money, added Crane, CO2-free nuclear power could be "very competitive" with CO2-emitting pulverized coal.

Think about the implications. Three Mile Island had two reactors, TMI-2, which shut down because of the 1979 accident, and TMI-1, which is still operating today, providing clean electricity with virtually no CO2 emissions for 800,000 homes. Had the TMI-2 accident not happened it, too, would have been providing clean electricity for 800,000 homes for the last 28 years. Instead, that energy came from CO2-emitting coal, which, by the way, still generates 50 per cent of America's electricity.

Similar calculations apply to ethanol production. "We have about 100 scientists working on cellulosic ethanol," Chad Holliday, the CEO of DuPont, told me. "My guess is that we could double the number and add another 50 to start working on how to commercialize it. It would probably cost us less than \$100 million to scale up. But I am not ready to do that. I can guess what it will cost me to make it and what the price will be, but is the market going to be there? What are the regulations going to be? Is the ethanol subsidy going to be reduced? Will we put a tax on oil to keep ethanol competitive? If I know that, it gives me a price target to go after. Without that, I don't know what the market is and my shareholders don't know how to value what I am doing. You need some certainty on the incentives side and on the market side, because we are talking about multiyear investments, billions of dollars, that will take a long time to take off, and we won't hit on everything."

Summing up the problem, Immelt of GE said the big energy players are being asked "to take a 15-minute market signal and make a 40-year decision and that just doesn't work. The U.S. government should decide: what do we want to have happen? How much clean coal, how much nuclear and what is the most efficient way to incentivize people to get there?"

He's dead right. The market alone won't work. Government's job is to set high standards, let the market reach them and then raise the standards more. That's how you get scale innovation at the China price. Government can do this by imposing steadily rising efficiency standards for buildings and appliances and by stipulating that utilities generate a certain amount of electricity from renewables - like wind or solar. Or it can impose steadily rising mileage standards for cars or a steadily tightening cap-and-trade system for the amount of CO2 any factory or power plant can emit. Or it can offer loan guarantees and fast-track licensing for anyone who wants to build a nuclear plant. Or my preference and the simplest option - it can impose a carbon tax that will stimulate the market to move away from fuels that emit high levels of CO2 and invest in those that don't. Ideally, it will do all of these things. But whichever options we choose, they will only work if they are transparent, simple and long-term - with zero fudging allowed and with regulatory oversight and stiff financial penalties for violators.

The politician who actually proved just how effective this can be was a guy named George W. Bush, when he was governor of Texas. He pushed for and signed a renewable energy portfolio mandate in 1999. The mandate stipulated that Texas power companies had to produce 2,000 new megawatts of electricity from renewables, mostly wind, by 2009. What happened? A dozen new companies jumped into the Texas market and built wind turbines to meet the mandate, so many that the 2,000-megawatt goal was reached in 2005. So the Texas Legislature has upped the mandate to 5,000 megawatts by 2015, and everyone knows they will beat that too because of how quickly wind in Texas is becoming competitive with coal. Today, thanks to Gov. Bush's market intervention, Texas is the biggest wind state in America.

President Bush, though, is no Gov. Bush. (The Dick Cheney effect?) Bush claims he's protecting American companies by not imposing tough mileage, conservation or clean power standards, but he's actually helping them lose the race for the next great global industry. Japan has some of the world's highest gasoline taxes and stringent

energy efficiency standards for vehicles - and it has the world's most profitable and innovative car company, Toyota. That's no accident.

The politicians who best understand this are America's governors, some of whom have started to just ignore Washington, set their own energy standards and reap the benefits for their states. As Schwarzenegger told me, "We have seen in California so many companies that have been created that work just on things that have do with clean environment."

California's state-imposed efficiency standards have resulted in per capita energy consumption in California remaining almost flat for the last 30 years, while in the rest of the country it has gone up 50 per cent.

"There are a lot of industries that are exploding right now because of setting these new standards," he said.

The bottom line is this: clean tech plays to America's strength because making things like locomotives lighter and smarter takes a lot of knowledge - not cheap labour. That's why embedding clean tech into everything we design and manufacture is a way to revive America as a manufacturing power.

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We need a Green New Deal - one in which government's role is not funding projects, as in the original New Deal, but seeding basic research, providing loan guarantees where needed and setting standards, taxes and incentives that will spawn all kinds of clean power.

Bush won't lead a Green New Deal, but his successor must if America is going to maintain its leadership and living standard. Unfortunately, today's presidential hopefuls are largely full of hot air on the climate-energy issue. Not one of them is proposing anything hard, like a carbon or gasoline tax, and if you think we can deal with these huge problems without asking the American people to do anything hard, you're a fool or a fraud.

Being serious starts with reframing the whole issue - helping Americans understand, as the Carnegie Fellow David Rothkopf puts it, "that we're not post-Cold War' anymore - we're pre-something totally new." I'd say we're in the "pre-climate war era."

Unless we create a more carbon-free world, we will not preserve the free world. Intensifying climate change, energy wars and petro-authoritarianism will curtail our life choices and our children's opportunities every bit as much as Communism once did for half the planet.

Equally important, presidential candidates need to help Americans understand that green is not about cutting back. It's about creating a new cornucopia of abundance for the next generation by inventing a whole new industry. It's about getting our best brains out of hedge funds and into innovations that will not only give us the clean-power industrial assets to preserve our American dream but also give us the technologies that billions of others need to realize their own dreams without destroying the planet.

It's about making America safer by breaking our addiction to a fuel that is powering regimes deeply hostile to our values. And, finally, it's about making America the global environmental leader, instead of laggard, which as Schwarzenegger argues would "create a very powerful side product." Those who dislike America because of Iraq, he explained, would at least be able to say, "Well, I don't like them for the war, but I do like them because they show such unbelievable leadership - not just with their blue jeans and hamburgers but with the environment. People will love us for that. That's not existing right now."

In sum, as John Hennessy, the president of Stanford, taught me: confronting this climate-energy issue is the epitome of what John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, once described as "a series of great opportunities disguised as insoluble problems."

Am I optimistic? I want to be. But I am also old-fashioned. I don't believe the world will effectively address the climate-energy challenge without America, its president, its government, its industry, its markets and its people all

leading the parade. Green has to become part of America's DNA. We're getting there. Green has hit Main Street - it's now more than a hobby - but it's still less than a new way of life.

Why? Because big transformations - <u>women</u>'s suffrage, for instance - usually happen when a lot of aggrieved people take to the streets, the politicians react and laws get changed. But the climate-energy debate is more muted and slow-moving. Why? Because the people who will be most harmed by the climate-energy crisis haven't been born yet.

"This issue doesn't pit haves versus have-nots," notes the Johns Hopkins foreign policy expert Michael Mandelbaum, "but the present versus the future - today's generation versus its kids and unborn grandchildren."

Once the Geo-Green interest group comes of age, especially if it is after another 9/11 or Katrina, Mandelbaum said, "it will be the biggest interest group in history - but by then it could be too late."

An unusual situation like this calls for the ethic of stewardship. Stewardship is what parents do for their kids: think about the long term, so they can have a better future. It is much easier to get families to do that than whole societies, but that is our challenge.

In many ways, our parents rose to such a challenge in the Second World War - when an entire generation mobilized to preserve our way of life. That is why they were called the Greatest Generation.

Our kids will only call us the Greatest Generation if we rise to our challenge and become the Greenest Generation.

Thomas Friedman is a columnist for the New York Times specializing in foreign affairs

Graphic

Photo: Reuters; People use computers at an Internet cafe in Suining, Sichuan province, China. The Internet revolution has helped level the playing field for people all over the world.;

Colour Photo: Eric Gay, The Associated Press/File; <u>Women</u> walk down a street near Wall Street shortly after the collapse of the World Trade Center on Sept. 11, 2001.

Colour Photo: Justin Lane, New York Times/File; Milvertha Hendricks, 84, waits in the rain with other flood victims outside the convention centre in New Orleans in the aftermath of hurricane Katrina in 2005.;

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Body

I.

One day Iraq, our post-9/11 trauma and the divisiveness of the Bush years will all be behind us -- and America will need, and want, to get its groove back. We will need to find a way to reknit America at home, reconnect America abroad and restore America to its natural place in the global order -- as the beacon of progress, hope and inspiration. I have an idea how. It's called "green."

In the world of ideas, to name something is to own it. If you can name an issue, you can own the issue. One thing that always struck me about the term "green" was the degree to which, for so many years, it was defined by its opponents -- by the people who wanted to disparage it. And they defined it as "liberal," "tree-hugging," "sissy," "girlie-man," "unpatriotic," "vaguely French."

Well, I want to rename "green." I want to rename it geostrategic, geoeconomic, capitalistic and patriotic. I want to do that because I think that living, working, designing, manufacturing and projecting America in a green way can be the basis of a new unifying political movement for the 21st century. A redefined, broader and more muscular green ideology is not meant to trump the traditional Republican and Democratic agendas but rather to bridge them when it comes to addressing the three major issues facing every American today: jobs, temperature and terrorism.

How do our kids compete in a flatter world? How do they thrive in a warmer world? How do they survive in a more dangerous world? Those are, in a nutshell, the big questions facing America at the dawn of the 21st century. But these problems are so large in scale that they can only be effectively addressed by an America with 50 green states -- not an America divided between red and blue states.

Because a new green ideology, properly defined, has the power to mobilize liberals and conservatives, evangelicals and atheists, big business and environmentalists around an agenda that can both pull us together and propel us forward. That's why I say: We don't just need the first black president. We need the first green president. We don't just need the first environmental president. We don't just need a president who has been toughened by years as a prisoner of war but a president who is tough enough to level with the American people about the profound economic, geopolitical and climate threats posed by our addiction to oil -- and to offer a real plan to reduce our dependence on fossil fuels.

After World War II, President Eisenhower responded to the threat of Communism and the "red menace" with massive spending on an interstate highway system to tie America together, in large part so that we could better move weapons in the event of a war with the Soviets. That highway system, though, helped to enshrine America's car culture (atrophying our railroads) and to lock in suburban sprawl and low-density housing, which all combined to get America addicted to cheap fossil fuels, particularly oil. Many in the world followed our model.

Today, we are paying the accumulated economic, geopolitical and climate prices for that kind of America. I am not proposing that we radically alter our lifestyles. We are who we are -- including a car culture. But if we want to continue to be who we are, enjoy the benefits and be able to pass them on to our children, we do need to fuel our future in a cleaner, greener way. Eisenhower rallied us with the red menace. The next president will have to rally us with a green patriotism. Hence my motto: "Green is the new red, white and blue."

The good news is that after traveling around America this past year, looking at how we use energy and the emerging alternatives, I can report that green really has gone Main Street -- thanks to the perfect storm created by 9/11, Hurricane Katrina and the Internet revolution. The first flattened the twin towers, the second flattened New Orleans and the third flattened the global economic playing field. The convergence of all three has turned many of our previous assumptions about "green" upside down in a very short period of time, making it much more compelling to many more Americans.

But here's the bad news: While green has hit Main Street -- more Americans than ever now identify themselves as greens, or what I call "Geo-Greens" to differentiate their more muscular and strategic green ideology -- green has not gone very far down Main Street. It certainly has not gone anywhere near the distance required to preserve our lifestyle. The dirty little secret is that we're fooling ourselves. We in America talk like we're already "the greenest generation," as the business writer Dan Pink once called it. But here's the really inconvenient truth: We have not even begun to be serious about the costs, the effort and the scale of change that will be required to shift our country, and eventually the world, to a largely emissions-free energy infrastructure over the next 50 years. II.

A few weeks after American forces invaded Afghanistan, I visited the Pakistani frontier town of Peshawar, a hotbed of Islamic radicalism. On the way, I stopped at the famous Darul Uloom Haqqania, the biggest madrasa, or Islamic school, in Pakistan, with 2,800 live-in students. The Taliban leader Mullah Muhammad Omar attended this madrasa as a younger man. My Pakistani friend and I were allowed to observe a class of young boys who sat on the floor, practicing their rote learning of the Koran from texts perched on wooden holders. The air in the Koran class was so thick and stale it felt as if you could have cut it into blocks. The teacher asked an 8-year-old boy to chant a Koranic verse for us, which he did with the elegance of an experienced muezzin. I asked another student, an Afghan refugee, Rahim Kunduz, age 12, what his reaction was to the Sept. 11 attacks, and he said: "Most likely the attack came from Americans inside America. I am pleased that America has had to face pain, because the rest of the world has tasted its pain." A framed sign on the wall said this room was "A gift of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia."

Sometime after 9/11 -- an unprovoked mass murder perpetrated by 19 men, 15 of whom were Saudis -- green went geostrategic, as Americans started to realize we were financing both sides in the war on terrorism. We were financing the U.S. military with our tax dollars; and we were financing a transformation of Islam, in favor of its most intolerant strand, with our gasoline purchases. How stupid is that?

Islam has always been practiced in different forms. Some are more embracing of modernity, reinterpretation of the Koran and tolerance of other faiths, like Sufi Islam or the populist Islam of Egypt, Ottoman Turkey and Indonesia. Some strands, like Salafi Islam -- followed by the Wahhabis of Saudi Arabia and by Al Qaeda -- believe Islam should be returned to an austere form practiced in the time of the Prophet Muhammad, a form hostile to modernity, science, "infidels" and <u>women</u>'s rights. By enriching the Saudi and Iranian treasuries via our gasoline purchases, we are financing the export of the Saudi puritanical brand of Sunni Islam and the Iranian fundamentalist brand of Shiite Islam, tilting the Muslim world in a more intolerant direction. At the Muslim fringe, this creates more recruits for the Taliban, Al Qaeda, <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah and the Sunni suicide bomb squads of Iraq; at the Muslim center, it creates a much bigger constituency of people who applaud suicide bombers as martyrs.

The Saudi Islamic export drive first went into high gear after extreme fundamentalists challenged the Muslim credentials of the Saudi ruling family by taking over the Grand Mosque of Mecca in 1979 -- a year that coincided with the Iranian revolution and a huge rise in oil prices. The attack on the Grand Mosque by these Koran-and-rifle-wielding Islamic militants shook the Saudi ruling family to its core. The al-Sauds responded to this challenge to their religious bona fides by becoming outwardly more religious. They gave their official Wahhabi religious establishment even more power to impose Islam on public life. Awash in cash thanks to the spike in oil prices, the Saudi government and charities also spent hundreds of millions of dollars endowing mosques, youth clubs and Muslim schools all over the world, ensuring that Wahhabi imams, teachers and textbooks would preach Saudi-style Islam. Eventually, notes Lawrence Wright in "The Looming Tower," his history of Al Qaeda, "Saudi Arabia, which constitutes only 1 percent of the world Muslim population, would support 90 percent of the expenses of the entire faith, overriding other traditions of Islam."

Saudi mosques and wealthy donors have also funneled cash to the Sunni insurgents in Iraq. The Associated Press reported from Cairo in December: "Several drivers interviewed by the A.P. in Middle East capitals said Saudis have been using religious events, like the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and a smaller pilgrimage, as cover for illicit money transfers. Some money, they said, is carried into Iraq on buses with returning pilgrims. 'They sent boxes full of dollars and asked me to deliver them to certain addresses in Iraq,' said one driver. ... 'I know it is being sent to the resistance, and if I don't take it with me, they will kill me.' "

No wonder more Americans have concluded that conserving oil to put less money in the hands of hostile forces is now a geostrategic imperative. President Bush's refusal to do anything meaningful after 9/11 to reduce our gasoline usage really amounts to a policy of "No Mullah Left Behind." James Woolsey, the former C.I.A. director, minces no words: "We are funding the rope for the hanging of ourselves."

No, I don't want to bankrupt Saudi Arabia or trigger an Islamist revolt there. Its leadership is more moderate and pro-Western than its people. But the way the Saudi ruling family has bought off its religious establishment, in order to stay in power, is not healthy. Cutting the price of oil in half would help change that. In the 1990s, dwindling oil income sparked a Saudi debate about less Koran and more science in Saudi schools, even experimentation with local elections. But the recent oil windfall has stilled all talk of reform.

That is because of what I call the First Law of Petropolitics: The price of oil and the pace of freedom always move in opposite directions in states that are highly dependent on oil exports for their income and have weak institutions or outright authoritarian governments. And this is another reason that green has become geostrategic. Soaring oil prices are poisoning the international system by strengthening antidemocratic regimes around the globe.

Look what's happened: We thought the fall of the Berlin Wall was going to unleash an unstoppable tide of free markets and free people, and for about a decade it did just that. But those years coincided with oil in the \$10-to-\$30-a-barrel range. As the price of oil surged into the \$30-to-\$70 range in the early 2000s, it triggered a countertide -- a tide of petroauthoritarianism -- manifested in Russia, Iran, Nigeria, Venezuela, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Sudan, Egypt, Chad, Angola, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan. The elected or self-appointed elites running these states have used their oil windfalls to ensconce themselves in power, buy off opponents and counter the fall-of-the-Berlin-Wall tide. If we continue to finance them with our oil purchases, they will reshape the world in their image, around Putin-like values.

You can illustrate the First Law of Petropolitics with a simple graph. On one line chart the price of oil from 1979 to the present; on another line chart the Freedom House or Fraser Institute freedom indexes for Russia, Nigeria, Iran and Venezuela for the same years. When you put these two lines on the same graph you see something striking: the price of oil and the pace of freedom are inversely correlated. As oil prices went down in the early 1990s, competition, transparency, political participation and accountability of those in office all tended to go up in these countries -- as measured by free elections held, newspapers opened, reformers elected, economic reform projects started and companies privatized. That's because their petroauthoritarian regimes had to open themselves to foreign investment and educate and empower their people more in order to earn income. But as oil prices went up around 2000, free speech, free press, fair elections and freedom to form political parties and NGOs all eroded in these countries.

The motto of the American Revolution was "no taxation without representation." The motto of the petroauthoritarians is "no representation without taxation": If I don't have to tax you, because I can get all the money I need from oil wells, I don't have to listen to you.

It is no accident that when oil prices were low in the 1990s, Iran elected a reformist Parliament and a president who called for a "dialogue of civilizations." And when oil prices soared to \$70 a barrel, Iran's conservatives pushed out the reformers and ensconced a president who says the Holocaust is a myth. (I promise you, if oil prices drop to \$25 a barrel, the Holocaust won't be a myth anymore.) And it is no accident that the first Arab Gulf state to start running out of oil, Bahrain, is also the first Arab Gulf state to have held a free and fair election in which <u>women</u> could run and vote, the first Arab Gulf state to overhaul its labor laws to make more of its own people employable and the first Arab Gulf state to sign a free-trade agreement with America.

People change when they have to -- not when we tell them to -- and falling oil prices make them have to. That is why if we are looking for a Plan B for Iraq -- a way of pressing for political reform in the Middle East without going to war again -- there is no better tool than bringing down the price of oil. When it comes to fostering democracy among petroauthoritarians, it doesn't matter whether you're a neocon or a radical lib. If you're not also a Geo-Green, you won't succeed.

The notion that conserving energy is a geostrategic imperative has also moved into the Pentagon, for slightly different reasons. Generals are realizing that the more energy they save in the heat of battle, the more power they can project. The Pentagon has been looking to improve its energy efficiency for several years now to save money. But the Iraq war has given birth to a new movement in the U.S. military: the "Green Hawks."

As Amory Lovins of the Rocky Mountain Institute, who has been working with the Pentagon, put it to me: The Iraq war forced the U.S. military to think much more seriously about how to "eat its tail" -- to shorten its energy supply lines by becoming more energy efficient. According to Dan Nolan, who oversees energy projects for the U.S. Army's Rapid Equipping Force, it started last year when a Marine major general in Anbar Province told the Pentagon he wanted better-insulated, more energy-efficient tents in the Iraqi desert. Why? His air-conditioners were being run off mobile generators, and the generators ran on diesel, and the diesel had to be trucked in, and the insurgents were blowing up the trucks.

"When we began the analysis of his request, it was really about the fact that his soldiers were being attacked on the roads bringing fuel and water," Nolan said. So eating their tail meant "taking those things that are brought into the unit and trying to generate them on-site." To that end Nolan's team is now experimenting with everything from new kinds of tents that need 40 percent less air-conditioning to new kinds of fuel cells that produce water as a byproduct.

Pay attention: When the U.S. Army desegregated, the country really desegregated; when the Army goes green, the country could really go green.

"Energy independence is a national security issue," Nolan said. "It's the right business for us to be in. ... We are not trying to change the whole Army. Our job is to focus on that battalion out there and give those commanders the technological innovations they need to deal with today's mission. But when they start coming home, they are going to bring those things with them." III.

The second big reason green has gone Main Street is because global warming has. A decade ago, it was mostly experts who worried that climate change was real, largely brought about by humans and likely to lead to species loss and environmental crises. Now Main Street is starting to worry because people are seeing things they've never seen before in their own front yards and reading things they've never read before in their papers -- like the recent draft report by the United Nations's 2,000-expert Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, which concluded that "changes in climate are now affecting physical and biological systems on every continent."

I went to Montana in January and Gov. Brian Schweitzer told me: "We don't get as much snow in the high country as we used to, and the runoff starts sooner in the spring. The river I've been fishing over the last 50 years is now warmer in July by five degrees than 50 years ago, and it is hard on our trout population." I went to Moscow in

February, and my friends told me they just celebrated the first Moscow Christmas in their memory with no snow. I stopped in London on the way home, and I didn't need an overcoat. In 2006, the average temperature in central England was the highest ever recorded since the Central England Temperature (C.E.T.) series began in 1659.

Yes, no one knows exactly what will happen. But ever fewer people want to do nothing. Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger of California summed up the new climate around climate when he said to me recently: "If 98 doctors say my son is ill and needs medication and two say 'No, he doesn't, he is fine,' I will go with the 98. It's common sense -- the same with global warming. We go with the majority, the large majority. ... The key thing now is that since we know this industrial age has created it, let's get our act together and do everything we can to roll it back."

But how? Now we arrive at the first big roadblock to green going down Main Street. Most people have no clue -- no clue -- how huge an industrial project is required to blunt climate change. Here are two people who do: Robert Socolow, an engineering professor, and Stephen Pacala, an ecology professor, who together lead the Carbon Mitigation Initiative at Princeton, a consortium designing scalable solutions for the climate issue.

They first argued in a paper published by the journal Science in August 2004 that human beings can emit only so much carbon into the atmosphere before the buildup of carbon dioxide (CO2) reaches a level unknown in recent geologic history and the earth's climate system starts to go "haywire." The scientific consensus, they note, is that the risk of things going haywire -- weather patterns getting violently unstable, glaciers melting, prolonged droughts - grows rapidly as CO2 levels "approach a doubling" of the concentration of CO2 that was in the atmosphere before the Industrial Revolution.

"Think of the climate change issue as a closet, and behind the door are lurking all kinds of monsters -- and there's a long list of them," Pacala said. "All of our scientific work says the most damaging monsters start to come out from behind that door when you hit the doubling of CO2 levels." As Bill Collins, who led the development of a model used worldwide for simulating climate change, put it to me: "We're running an uncontrolled experiment on the only home we have."

So here is our challenge, according to Pacala: If we basically do nothing, and global CO2 emissions continue to grow at the pace of the last 30 years for the next 50 years, we will pass the doubling level -- an atmospheric concentration of carbon dioxide of 560 parts per million -- around midcentury. To avoid that -- and still leave room for developed countries to grow, using less carbon, and for countries like India and China to grow, emitting double or triple their current carbon levels, until they climb out of poverty and are able to become more energy efficient -- will require a huge global industrial energy project.

To convey the scale involved, Socolow and Pacala have created a pie chart with 15 different wedges. Some wedges represent carbon-free or carbon-diminishing power-generating technologies; other wedges represent efficiency programs that could conserve large amounts of energy and prevent CO2 emissions. They argue that the world needs to deploy any 7 of these 15 wedges, or sufficient amounts of all 15, to have enough conservation, and enough carbon-free energy, to increase the world economy and still avoid the doubling of CO2 in the atmosphere. Each wedge, when phased in over 50 years, would avoid the release of 25 billion tons of carbon, for a total of 175 billion tons of carbon avoided between now and 2056.

Here are seven wedges we could chose from: "Replace 1,400 large coal-fired plants with gas-fired plants; increase the fuel economy of two billion cars from 30 to 60 miles per gallon; add twice today's nuclear output to displace coal; drive two billion cars on ethanol, using one-sixth of the world's cropland; increase solar power 700-fold to displace coal; cut electricity use in homes, offices and stores by 25 percent; install carbon capture and sequestration capacity at 800 large coal-fired plants." And the other eight aren't any easier. They include halting all cutting and burning of forests, since deforestation causes about 20 percent of the world's annual CO2 emissions.

"There has never been a deliberate industrial project in history as big as this," Pacala said. Through a combination of clean power technology and conservation, "we have to get rid of 175 billion tons of carbon over the next 50 years -- and still keep growing. It is possible to accomplish this if we start today. But every year that we delay, the job

becomes more difficult -- and if we delay a decade or two, avoiding the doubling or more may well become impossible." IV.

In November, I flew from Shanghai to Beijing on Air China. As we landed in Beijing and taxied to the terminal, the Chinese air hostess came on the P.A. and said: "We've just landed in Beijing. The temperature is 8 degrees Celsius, 46 degrees Fahrenheit and the sky is clear."

I almost burst out laughing. Outside my window the smog was so thick you could not see the end of the terminal building. When I got into Beijing, though, friends told me the air was better than usual. Why? China had been host of a summit meeting of 48 African leaders. Time magazine reported that Beijing officials had "ordered half a million official cars off the roads and said another 400,000 drivers had 'volunteered' to refrain from using their vehicles" in order to clean up the air for their African guests. As soon as they left, the cars returned, and Beijing's air went back to "unhealthy."

Green has also gone Main Street because the end of Communism, the rise of the personal computer and the diffusion of the Internet have opened the global economic playing field to so many more people, all coming with their own versions of the American dream -- a house, a car, a toaster, a microwave and a refrigerator. It is a blessing to see so many people growing out of poverty. But when three billion people move from "low-impact" to "high-impact" lifestyles, Jared Diamond wrote in "Collapse," it makes it urgent that we find cleaner ways to fuel their dreams. According to Lester Brown, the founder of the Earth Policy Institute, if China keeps growing at 8 percent a year, by 2031 the per-capita income of 1.45 billion Chinese will be the same as America's in 2004. China currently has only one car for every 100 people, but Brown projects that as it reaches American income levels, if it copies American consumption, it will have three cars for every four people, or 1.1 billion vehicles. The total world fleet today is 800 million vehicles!

That's why McKinsey Global Institute forecasts that developing countries will generate nearly 80 percent of the growth in world energy demand between now and 2020, with China representing 32 percent and the Middle East 10 percent. So if Red China doesn't become Green China there is no chance we will keep the climate monsters behind the door. On some days, says the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, almost 25 percent of the polluting matter in the air above Los Angeles comes from China's coal-fired power plants and factories, as well as fumes from China's cars and dust kicked up by droughts and deforestation around Asia.

The good news is that China knows it has to grow green -- or it won't grow at all. On Sept. 8, 2006, a Chinese newspaper reported that China's E.P.A. and its National Bureau of Statistics had re-examined China's 2004 G.D.P. number. They concluded that the health problems, environmental degradation and lost workdays from pollution had actually cost China \$64 billion, or 3.05 percent of its total economic output for 2004. Some experts believe the real number is closer to 10 percent.

Thus China has a strong motivation to clean up the worst pollutants in its air. Those are the nitrogen oxides, sulfur oxides and mercury that produce acid rain, smog and haze -- much of which come from burning coal. But cleaning up is easier said than done. The Communist Party's legitimacy and the stability of the whole country depend heavily on Beijing's ability to provide rising living standards for more and more Chinese.

So, if you're a Chinese mayor and have to choose between growing jobs and cutting pollution, you will invariably choose jobs: coughing workers are much less politically dangerous than unemployed workers. That's a key reason why China's 10th five-year plan, which began in 2000, called for a 10 percent reduction in sulfur dioxide in China's air -- and when that plan concluded in 2005, sulfur dioxide pollution in China had increased by 27 percent.

But if China is having a hard time cleaning up its nitrogen and sulfur oxides -- which can be done relatively cheaply by adding scrubbers to the smokestacks of coal-fired power plants -- imagine what will happen when it comes to asking China to curb its CO2, of which China is now the world's second-largest emitter, after America. To build a coal-fired power plant that captures, separates and safely sequesters the CO2 into the ground before it goes up the smokestack requires either an expensive retrofit or a whole new system. That new system would cost about 40 percent more to build and operate -- and would produce 20 percent less electricity, according to a recent M.I.T. study, "The Future of Coal."

China -- which is constructing the equivalent of two 500-megawatt coal-fired power plants every week -- is not going to pay that now. Remember: CO2 is an invisible, odorless, tasteless gas. Yes, it causes global warming -- but it doesn't hurt anyone in China today, and getting rid of it is costly and has no economic payoff. China's strategy right now is to say that CO2 is the West's problem. "It must be pointed out that climate change has been caused by the long-term historic emissions of developed countries and their high per-capita emissions," Jiang Yu, a spokeswoman for China's Foreign Ministry, declared in February. "Developed countries bear an unshirkable responsibility."

So now we come to the nub of the issue: Green will not go down Main Street America unless it also goes down Main Street China, India and Brazil. And for green to go Main Street in these big developing countries, the prices of clean power alternatives -- wind, biofuels, nuclear, solar or coal sequestration -- have to fall to the "China price." The China price is basically the price China pays for coal-fired electricity today because China is not prepared to pay a premium now, and sacrifice growth and stability, just to get rid of the CO2 that comes from burning coal.

"The 'China price' is the fundamental benchmark that everyone is looking to satisfy," said Curtis Carlson, C.E.O. of SRI International, which is developing alternative energy technologies. "Because if the Chinese have to pay 10 percent more for energy, when they have tens of millions of people living under \$1,000 a year, it is not going to happen." Carlson went on to say: "We have an enormous amount of new innovation we must put in place before we can get to a price that China and India will be able to pay. But this is also an opportunity." V.

The only way we are going to get innovations that drive energy costs down to the China price -- innovations in energy-saving appliances, lights and building materials and in non-CO2-emitting power plants and fuels -- is by mobilizing free-market capitalism. The only thing as powerful as Mother Nature is Father Greed. To a degree, the market is already at work on this project -- because some venture capitalists and companies understand that cleantech is going to be the next great global industry. Take Wal-Mart. The world's biggest retailer woke up several years ago, its C.E.O. Lee Scott told me, and realized that with regard to the environment its customers "had higher expectations for us than we had for ourselves." So Scott hired a sustainability expert, Jib Ellison, to tutor the company. The first lesson Ellison preached was that going green was a whole new way for Wal-Mart to cut costs and drive its profits. As Scott recalled it, Ellison said to him, "Lee, the thing you have to think of is all this stuff that people don't want you to put into the environment is waste -- and you're paying for it!"

So Scott initiated a program to work with Wal-Mart's suppliers to reduce the sizes and materials used for all its packaging by five percent by 2013. The reductions they have made are already paying off in savings to the company. "We created teams to work across the organization," Scott said. "It was voluntary -- then you had the first person who eliminated some packaging, and someone else started showing how we could recycle more plastic, and all of a sudden it's \$1 million a quarter." Wal-Mart operates 7,000 huge Class 8 trucks that get about 6 miles per gallon. It has told its truck makers that by 2015, it wants to double the efficiency of the fleet. Wal-Mart is the China of companies, so, explained Scott, "if we place one order we can create a market" for energy innovation.

For instance, Wal-Mart has used its shelves to create a huge, low-cost market for compact fluorescent bulbs, which use about a quarter of the energy of incandescent bulbs to produce the same light and last 10 times as long. "Just by doing what it does best -- saving customers money and cutting costs," said Glenn Prickett of Conservation International, a Wal-Mart adviser, "Wal-Mart can have a revolutionary impact on the market for green technologies. If every one of their 100 million customers in the U.S. bought just one energy-saving compact fluorescent lamp, instead of a traditional incandescent bulb, they could cut CO2 emissions by 45 billion pounds and save more than \$3 billion."

Those savings highlight something that often gets lost: The quickest way to get to the China price for clean power is by becoming more energy efficient. The cheapest, cleanest, nonemitting power plant in the world is the one you don't build. Helping China adopt some of the breakthrough efficiency programs that California has adopted, for instance -- like rewarding electrical utilities for how much energy they get their customers to save rather than to use -- could have a huge impact. Some experts estimate that China could cut its need for new power plants in half with aggressive investments in efficiency.

Yet another force driving us to the China price is Chinese entrepreneurs, who understand that while Beijing may not be ready to impose CO2 restraints, developed countries are, so this is going to be a global business -- and they want a slice. Let me introduce the man identified last year by Forbes Magazine as the seventh-richest man in China, with a fortune now estimated at \$2.2 billion. His name is Shi Zhengrong and he is China's leading manufacturer of silicon solar panels, which convert sunlight into electricity.

"People at all levels in China have become more aware of this environment issue and alternative energy," said Shi, whose company, Suntech Power Holdings, is listed on the New York Stock Exchange. "Five years ago, when I started the company, people said: 'Why do we need solar? We have a surplus of coal-powered electricity.' Now it is different; now people realize that solar has a bright future. But it is still too expensive. ... We have to reduce the cost as quickly as possible -- our real competitors are coal and nuclear power."

Shi does most of his manufacturing in China, but sells roughly 90 percent of his products outside China, because today they are too expensive for his domestic market. But the more he can get the price down, and start to grow his business inside China, the more he can use that to become a dominant global player. Thanks to Suntech's success, in China "there is a rush of business people entering this sector, even though we still don't have a market here," Shi added. "Many government people now say, 'This is an industry!" "And if it takes off, China could do for solar panels what it did for tennis shoes -- bring the price down so far that everyone can afford a pair. VI.

All that sounds great -- but remember those seven wedges? To reach the necessary scale of emissions-free energy will require big clean coal or nuclear power stations, wind farms and solar farms, all connected to a national transmission grid, not to mention clean fuels for our cars and trucks. And the market alone, as presently constructed in the U.S., will not get us those alternatives at the scale we need -- at the China price -- fast enough.

Prof. Nate Lewis, Caltech's noted chemist and energy expert, explained why with an analogy. "Let's say you invented the first cellphone," he said. "You could charge people \$1,000 for each one because lots of people would be ready to pay lots of money to have a phone they could carry in their pocket." With those profits, you, the inventor, could pay back your shareholders and plow more into research, so you keep selling better and cheaper cellphones.

But energy is different, Lewis explained: "If I come to you and say, 'Today your house lights are being powered by dirty coal, but tomorrow, if you pay me \$100 more a month, I will power your house lights with solar,' you are most likely to say: 'Sorry, Nate, but I don't really care how my lights go on, I just care that they go on. I won't pay an extra \$100 a month for sun power. A new cellphone improves my life. A different way to power my lights does nothing.'

"So building an emissions-free energy infrastructure is not like sending a man to the moon," Lewis went on. "With the moon shot, money was no object -- and all we had to do was get there. But today, we already have cheap energy from coal, gas and oil. So getting people to pay more to shift to clean fuels is like trying to get funding for NASA to build a spaceship to the moon -- when Southwest Airlines already flies there and gives away free peanuts! I already have a cheap ride to the moon, and a ride is a ride. For most people, electricity is electricity, no matter how it is generated."

If we were running out of coal or oil, the market would steadily push the prices up, which would stimulate innovation in alternatives. Eventually there would be a crossover, and the alternatives would kick in, start to scale and come down in price. But what has happened in energy over the last 35 years is that the oil price goes up, stimulating government subsidies and some investments in alternatives, and then the price goes down, the government loses interest, the subsidies expire and the investors in alternatives get wiped out.

The only way to stimulate the scale of sustained investment in research and development of non-CO2 emitting power at the China price is if the developed countries, who can afford to do so, force their people to pay the full climate, economic and geopolitical costs of using gasoline and dirty coal. Those countries that have signed the Kyoto Protocol are starting to do that. But America is not.

Up to now, said Lester Brown, president of the Earth Policy Institute, we as a society "have been behaving just like Enron the company at the height of its folly." We rack up stunning profits and G.D.P. numbers every year, and they

look great on paper "because we've been hiding some of the costs off the books." If we don't put a price on the CO2 we're building up or on our addiction to oil, we'll never nurture the innovation we need.

Jeffrey Immelt, the chairman of General Electric, has worked for G.E. for 25 years. In that time, he told me, he has seen seven generations of innovation in G.E.'s medical equipment business -- in devices like M.R.I.s or CT scans -- because health care market incentives drove the innovation. In power, it's just the opposite. "Today, on the power side," he said, "we're still selling the same basic coal-fired power plants we had when I arrived. They're a little cleaner and more efficient now, but basically the same."

The one clean power area where G.E. is now into a third generation is wind turbines, "thanks to the European Union," Immelt said. Countries like Denmark, Spain and Germany imposed standards for wind power on their utilities and offered sustained subsidies, creating a big market for wind-turbine manufacturers in Europe in the 1980s, when America abandoned wind because the price of oil fell. "We grew our wind business in Europe," Immelt said.

As things stand now in America, Immelt said, "the market does not work in energy." The multibillion-dollar scale of investment that a company like G.E. is being asked to make in order to develop new clean-power technologies or that a utility is being asked to make in order to build coal sequestration facilities or nuclear plants is not going to happen at scale -- unless they know that coal and oil are going to be priced high enough for long enough that new investments will not be undercut in a few years by falling fossil fuel prices. "Carbon has to have a value," Immelt emphasized. "Today in the U.S. and China it has no value."

I recently visited the infamous Three Mile Island nuclear plant with Christopher Crane, president of Exelon Nuclear, which owns the facility. He said that if Exelon wanted to start a nuclear plant today, the licensing, design, planning and building requirements are so extensive it would not open until 2015 at the earliest. But even if Exelon got all the approvals, it could not start building "because the cost of capital for a nuclear plant today is prohibitive."

That's because the interest rate that any commercial bank would charge on a loan for a nuclear facility would be so high -- because of all the risks of lawsuits or cost overruns -- that it would be impossible for Exelon to proceed. A standard nuclear plant today costs about \$3 billion per unit. The only way to stimulate more nuclear power innovation, Crane said, would be federal loan guarantees that would lower the cost of capital for anyone willing to build a new nuclear plant.

The 2005 energy bill created such loan guarantees, but the details still have not been worked out. "We would need a robust loan guarantee program to jump-start the nuclear industry," Crane said -- an industry that has basically been frozen since the 1979 Three Mile Island accident. With cheaper money, added Crane, CO2-free nuclear power could be "very competitive" with CO2-emitting pulverized coal.

Think about the implications. Three Mile Island had two reactors, TMI-2, which shut down because of the 1979 accident, and TMI-1, which is still operating today, providing clean electricity with virtually no CO2 emissions for 800,000 homes. Had the TMI-2 accident not happened, it too would have been providing clean electricity for 800,000 homes for the last 28 years. Instead, that energy came from CO2-emitting coal, which, by the way, still generates 50 percent of America's electricity.

Similar calculations apply to ethanol production. "We have about 100 scientists working on cellulosic ethanol," Chad Holliday, the C.E.O. of DuPont, told me. "My guess is that we could double the number and add another 50 to start working on how to commercialize it. It would probably cost us less than \$100 million to scale up. But I am not ready to do that. I can guess what it will cost me to make it and what the price will be, but is the market going to be there? What are the regulations going to be? Is the ethanol subsidy going to be reduced? Will we put a tax on oil to keep ethanol competitive? If I know that, it gives me a price target to go after. Without that, I don't know what the market is and my shareholders don't know how to value what I am doing. ... You need some certainty on the incentives side and on the market side, because we are talking about multiyear investments, billions of dollars, that will take a long time to take off, and we won't hit on everything."

Summing up the problem, Immelt of G.E. said the big energy players are being asked "to take a 15-minute market signal and make a 40-year decision and that just doesn't work. ... The U.S. government should decide: What do we want to have happen? How much clean coal, how much nuclear and what is the most efficient way to incentivize people to get there?"

He's dead right. The market alone won't work. Government's job is to set high standards, let the market reach them and then raise the standards more. That's how you get scale innovation at the China price. Government can do this by imposing steadily rising efficiency standards for buildings and appliances and by stipulating that utilities generate a certain amount of electricity from renewables -- like wind or solar. Or it can impose steadily rising mileage standards for cars or a steadily tightening cap-and-trade system for the amount of CO2 any factory or power plant can emit. Or it can offer loan guarantees and fast-track licensing for anyone who wants to build a nuclear plant. Or -- my preference and the simplest option -- it can impose a carbon tax that will stimulate the market to move away from fuels that emit high levels of CO2 and invest in those that don't. Ideally, it will do all of these things. But whichever options we choose, they will only work if they are transparent, simple and long-term -- with zero fudging allowed and with regulatory oversight and stiff financial penalties for violators.

The politician who actually proved just how effective this can be was a guy named George W. Bush, when he was governor of Texas. He pushed for and signed a renewable energy portfolio mandate in 1999. The mandate stipulated that Texas power companies had to produce 2,000 new megawatts of electricity from renewables, mostly wind, by 2009. What happened? A dozen new companies jumped into the Texas market and built wind turbines to meet the mandate, so many that the 2,000-megawatt goal was reached in 2005. So the Texas Legislature has upped the mandate to 5,000 megawatts by 2015, and everyone knows they will beat that too because of how quickly wind in Texas is becoming competitive with coal. Today, thanks to Governor Bush's market intervention, Texas is the biggest wind state in America.

President Bush, though, is no Governor Bush. (The Dick Cheney effect?) President Bush claims he's protecting American companies by not imposing tough mileage, conservation or clean power standards, but he's actually helping them lose the race for the next great global industry. Japan has some of the world's highest gasoline taxes and stringent energy efficiency standards for vehicles -- and it has the world's most profitable and innovative car company, Toyota. That's no accident.

The politicians who best understand this are America's governors, some of whom have started to just ignore Washington, set their own energy standards and reap the benefits for their states. As Schwarzenegger told me, "We have seen in California so many companies that have been created that work just on things that have do with clean environment." California's state-imposed efficiency standards have resulted in per-capita energy consumption in California remaining almost flat for the last 30 years, while in the rest of the country it has gone up 50 percent. "There are a lot of industries that are exploding right now because of setting these new standards," he said. VII.

John Dineen runs G.E. Transportation, which makes locomotives. His factory is in Erie, Pa., and employs 4,500 people. When it comes to the challenges from cheap labor markets, Dineen likes to say, "Our little town has trade surpluses with China and Mexico."

Now how could that be? China makes locomotives that are 30 percent cheaper than G.E.'s, but it turns out that G.E.'s are the most energy efficient in the world, with the lowest emissions and best mileage per ton pulled -- "and they don't stop on the tracks," Dineen added. So China is also buying from Erie -- and so are Brazil, Mexico and Kazakhstan. What's the secret? The China price.

"We made it very easy for them," said Dineen. "By producing engines with lower emissions in the classic sense (NOx [nitrogen oxides]) and lower emissions in the future sense (CO2) and then coupling it with better fuel efficiency and reliability, we lowered the total life-cycle cost."

The West can't impose its climate or pollution standards on China, Dineen explained, but when a company like G.E. makes an engine that gets great mileage, cuts pollution and, by the way, emits less CO2, China will be a buyer. "If we were just trying to export lower-emission units, and they did not have the fuel benefits, we would lose,"

Dineen said. "But when green is made green -- improved fuel economies coupled with emissions reductions -- we see very quick adoption rates."

One reason G.E. Transportation got so efficient was the old U.S. standard it had to meet on NOx pollution, Dineen said. It did that through technological innovation. And as oil prices went up, it leveraged more technology to get better mileage. The result was a cleaner, more efficient, more exportable locomotive. Dineen describes his factory as a "technology campus" because, he explains, "it looks like a 100-year-old industrial site, but inside those 100-year-old buildings are world-class engineers working on the next generation's technologies." He also notes that workers in his factory make nearly twice the average in Erie -- by selling to China!

The bottom line is this: Clean-tech plays to America's strength because making things like locomotives lighter and smarter takes a lot of knowledge -- not cheap labor. That's why embedding clean-tech into everything we design and manufacture is a way to revive America as a manufacturing power.

"Whatever you are making, if you can add a green dimension to it -- making it more efficient, healthier and more sustainable for future generations -- you have a product that can't just be made cheaper in India or China," said Andrew Shapiro, founder of GreenOrder, an environmental business-strategy group. "If you just create a green ghetto in your company, you miss it. You have to figure out how to integrate green into the DNA of your whole business."

Ditto for our country, which is why we need a Green New Deal -- one in which government's role is not funding projects, as in the original New Deal, but seeding basic research, providing loan guarantees where needed and setting standards, taxes and incentives that will spawn 1,000 G.E. Transportations for all kinds of clean power.

Bush won't lead a Green New Deal, but his successor must if America is going to maintain its leadership and living standard. Unfortunately, today's presidential hopefuls are largely full of hot air on the climate-energy issue. Not one of them is proposing anything hard, like a carbon or gasoline tax, and if you think we can deal with these huge problems without asking the American people to do anything hard, you're a fool or a fraud.

Being serious starts with reframing the whole issue -- helping Americans understand, as the Carnegie Fellow David Rothkopf puts it, "that we're not 'post-Cold War' anymore -- we're pre-something totally new." I'd say we're in the "pre-climate war era." Unless we create a more carbon-free world, we will not preserve the free world. Intensifying climate change, energy wars and petroauthoritarianism will curtail our life choices and our children's opportunities every bit as much as Communism once did for half the planet.

Equally important, presidential candidates need to help Americans understand that green is not about cutting back. It's about creating a new cornucopia of abundance for the next generation by inventing a whole new industry. It's about getting our best brains out of hedge funds and into innovations that will not only give us the clean-power industrial assets to preserve our American dream but also give us the technologies that billions of others need to realize their own dreams without destroying the planet. It's about making America safer by breaking our addiction to a fuel that is powering regimes deeply hostile to our values. And, finally, it's about making America the global environmental leader, instead of laggard, which as Schwarzenegger argues would "create a very powerful side product." Those who dislike America because of Iraq, he explained, would at least be able to say, "Well, I don't like them for the war, but I do like them because they show such unbelievable leadership -- not just with their blue jeans and hamburgers but with the environment. People will love us for that. That's not existing right now."

In sum, as John Hennessy, the president of Stanford, taught me: Confronting this climate-energy issue is the epitome of what John Gardner, the founder of Common Cause, once described as "a series of great opportunities disguised as insoluble problems."

Am I optimistic? I want to be. But I am also old-fashioned. I don't believe the world will effectively address the climate-energy challenge without America, its president, its government, its industry, its markets and its people all leading the parade. Green has to become part of America's DNA. We're getting there. Green has hit Main Street -- it's now more than a hobby -- but it's still less than a new way of life.

Why? Because big transformations -- <u>women</u>'s suffrage, for instance -- usually happen when a lot of aggrieved people take to the streets, the politicians react and laws get changed. But the climate-energy debate is more muted and slow-moving. Why? Because the people who will be most harmed by the climate-energy crisis haven't been born yet.

"This issue doesn't pit haves versus have-nots," notes the Johns Hopkins foreign policy expert Michael Mandelbaum, "but the present versus the future -- today's generation versus its kids and unborn grandchildren." Once the Geo-Green interest group comes of age, especially if it is after another 9/11 or Katrina, Mandelbaum said, "it will be the biggest interest group in history -- but by then it could be too late."

An unusual situation like this calls for the ethic of stewardship. Stewardship is what parents do for their kids: think about the long term, so they can have a better future. It is much easier to get families to do that than whole societies, but that is our challenge. In many ways, our parents rose to such a challenge in World War II -- when an entire generation mobilized to preserve our way of life. That is why they were called the Greatest Generation. Our kids will only call us the Greatest Generation if we rise to our challenge and become the Greenest Generation.

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Islam, Terror and the Second Nuclear Age

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Body

I.

For nearly 50 years, worries about a nuclear Middle East centered on Israel. Arab leaders resented the fact that Israel was the only atomic power in the region, a resentment heightened by America's tacit approval of the situation. But they were also pretty certain that Israel (which has never explicitly acknowledged having nuclear weapons) would not drop the bomb except as a very last resort. That is why Egypt and Syria were unafraid to attack Israel during the October 1973 Yom Kippur War. "Israel will not be the first country in the region to use nuclear weapons," went the Israelis' coy formula. "Nor will it be the second."

Today the nuclear game in the region has changed. When the Arab League's secretary general, Amr Moussa, called for "a Middle East free of nuclear weapons" this past May, it wasn't Israel that prompted his remarks. He was worried about Iran, whose self-declared ambition to become a nuclear power has been steadily approaching realization.

The anti-Israel statements of the Iranian president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, coupled with Iran's support for Hezbollah and *Hamas*, might lead you to think that the Arab states would welcome Iran's nuclear program. After all, the call to wipe the Zionist regime from the map is a longstanding cliche of Arab nationalist rhetoric. But the interests of Shiite non-Arab Iran do not always coincide with those of Arab leaders. A nuclear Iran means, at the very least, a realignment of power dynamics in the Persian Gulf. It could potentially mean much more: a historic shift in the position of the long-subordinated Shiite minority relative to the power and prestige of the Sunni majority, which traditionally dominated the Muslim world. Many Arab Sunnis fear that the moment is ripe for a Shiite rise. Iraq's Shiite majority has been asserting the right to govern, and the lesson has not been lost on the Shiite majority in Bahrain and the large minorities in Lebanon and Saudi Arabia. King Abdullah of Jordan has warned of a "Shiite crescent" of power stretching from Iran to Lebanon via Iraq and (by proxy) Syria.

But geopolitics is not the only reason Sunni Arab leaders are rattled by the prospect of a nuclear Iran. They also seem to be worried that the Iranians might actually use nuclear weapons if they get them. A nuclear attack on Israel would engulf the whole region. But that is not the only danger: Sunnis in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere fear that the Iranians might just use a nuclear bomb against them. Even as Iran's defiance of the United States and Israel wins

support among some Sunnis, extremist Sunnis have been engaging in the act of takfir, condemning all Shiites as infidels. On the ground in Iraq, Sunni takfiris are putting this theory into practice, aiming at Shiite civilians and killing them indiscriminately. Shiite militias have been responding in kind, and massacres of Sunni civilians are no longer isolated events.

Adding the nuclear ingredient to this volatile mix will certainly produce an arms race. If Iran is going to get the bomb, its neighbors will have no choice but to keep up. North Korea, now protected by its own bomb, has threatened proliferation -- and in the Middle East it would find a number of willing buyers. Small principalities with huge U.S. Air Force bases, like Qatar, might choose to rely on an American protective umbrella. But Saudi Arabia, which has always seen Iran as a threatening competitor, will not be willing to place its nuclear security entirely in American hands. Once the Saudis are in the hunt, Egypt will need nuclear weapons to keep it from becoming irrelevant to the regional power balance -- and sure enough, last month Gamal Mubarak, President Mubarak's son and Egypt's heir apparent, very publicly announced that Egypt should pursue a nuclear program.

Given the increasing instability of the Middle East, nuclear proliferation there is more worrisome than almost anywhere else on earth. As nuclear technology spreads, terrorists will enjoy increasing odds of getting their hands on nuclear weapons. States -- including North Korea -- might sell bombs or give them to favored proxy allies, the way Iran gave Hezbollah medium-range rockets that Hezbollah used this summer during its war with Israel. Bombing through an intermediary has its advantages: deniability is, after all, the name of the game for a government trying to avoid nuclear retaliation.

Proliferation could also happen in other ways. Imagine a succession crisis in which the Saudi government fragments and control over nuclear weapons, should the Saudis have acquired them, falls into the hands of Saudi elites who are sympathetic to Osama bin Laden, or at least to his ideas. Or Al Qaeda itself could purchase ready-made bombs, a feat technically much less difficult than designing nuclear weapons from scratch. So far, there are few nuclear powers from whom such bombs can be directly bought: as of today, only nine nations in the world belong to the nuclear club. But as more countries get the bomb, tracing the seller will become harder and harder, and the incentive to make a sale will increase.

II.

The prospect of not just one Islamic bomb, but many, inevitably concentrates the mind on how Muslims -- whether Shiite or Sunni -- might use their nuclear weapons. In the mid-1980's, when Pakistan became the first Islamic state to go nuclear, it was still possible to avoid asking the awkward question of whether there was something distinctive about Islamic belief or practice that made possession of nuclear technology especially worrisome. Most observers assumed that Islamic states could be deterred from using nuclear force just like other states: by the threat of massive retaliation.

During the last two decades, however, there has been a profound change in the way violence is discussed and deployed in the Muslim world. In particular, we have encountered the rise of suicide bombing. In historic terms, this development is new and unexpected. Suicide bombing has no traditional basis in Islam. As a technique, it was totally absent from the successful Afghan jihad against the Soviet Union. Although suicide bombing as a tool of stateless terrorists was dreamed up a hundred years ago by the European anarchists immortalized in Joseph Conrad's "Secret Agent," it became a tool of modern terrorist warfare only in 1983, when Shiite militants blew up the U.S. Marine barracks in Lebanon.

Since then, suicide bombing has spread through the Muslim world with astonishing speed and on a surprising course. The vocabulary of martyrdom and sacrifice, the formal videotaped preconfession of faith, the technological tinkering to increase deadliness -- all are now instantly recognizable to every Muslim. And as suicide bombing has penetrated Islamic cultural consciousness, its list of targets has steadily expanded. First the targets were American soldiers, then mostly Israelis, including <u>women</u> and children. From Lebanon and Israel, the technique of suicide bombing moved to Iraq, where the targets have included mosques and shrines, and the intended victims have mostly been Shiite Iraqis. The newest testing ground is Afghanistan, where both the perpetrators and the targets are orthodox Sunni Muslims. Not long ago, a bombing in Lashkar Gah, the capital of Helmand Province, killed

Muslims, including <u>women</u>, who were applying to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. Overall, the trend is definitively in the direction of Muslim-on-Muslim violence. By a conservative accounting, more than three times as many Iraqis have been killed by suicide bombings in the last 3 years as have Israelis in the last 10. Suicide bombing has become the archetype of Muslim violence -- not just to frightened Westerners but also to Muslims themselves.

What makes suicide bombing especially relevant to the nuclear question is that, by design, it unsettles the theory of deterrence. When the suicide bomber dies in an attack, he means to send the message "You cannot stop me, because I am already willing to die." To make the challenge to deterrence even more stark, a suicide bomber who blows up a market or a funeral gathering in Iraq or Afghanistan is willing to kill innocent bystanders, including fellow Muslims. According to the prevailing ideology of suicide bombing, these victims are subjected to an involuntary martyrdom that is no less glorious for being unintentional.

So far, the nonstate actors who favor suicide bombing have limited their collateral damage to those standing in the way of their own bombs. But the logic of sacrificing other Muslims against their own wills could be extended to the national level. If an Islamic state or Islamic terrorists used nuclear weapons against Israel, the United States or other Western targets, like London or Madrid, the guaranteed retaliation would cost the lives of thousands and maybe millions of Muslims. But following the logic of suicide bombing, the original bomber might reason that those Muslims would die in God's grace and that others would live on to fight the jihad. No state in the Muslim world has openly embraced such a view. But after 9/11, we can no longer treat the possibility as fanciful.

Raising the question of Islamic belief and the bomb, however, is not a substitute for strategic analysis of the rational interests of Islamic governments. Like other states, Islamic states act on the basis of ordinary power politics as much as or more than on the basis of religious motivation. Pakistan, which tested a series of warheads in 1998, at the height of tensions with India, has not used its atomic power as a tool of the faithful in a global jihad. The proliferation operation spearheaded by the nuclear scientist -- and sometime Pakistani national hero -- Dr. Abdul Qadeer Khan appears to have been based on a combination of national interest and greed, not on religious fervor. Khan found buyers in Iran and Libya, but also in decidedly non-Islamic North Korea. (In a twist much stranger than fiction, Saddam Hussein apparently turned down the offer.)

Some observers think that Iran, too, wants the bomb primarily to improve its regional position and protect itself against regime change -- not to annihilate Israel. According to this view, Iran's nuclear push reflects a drive to what is sometimes called national greatness and might more accurately be defined as the ability of a country to thumb its nose at the United States without fear of major repercussions. A televised pageant hastily arranged to celebrate Iran's atomic program in April of this year featured traditional Persian dancing and colorful local garb intermixed with make-believe vials of enriched uranium. To an Iranian audience accustomed to decoding official symbols, these references were nationalist, not pan-Islamic. (They were also subtly subversive of the mullahs: singing and dancing are not favored forms of expression in the clerical enclave of Qom.)

But at the same time, Ahmadinejad has emphasized Iran's pan-Islamic aspirations to act on behalf of Muslims everywhere. An emerging nuclear power needs friends. Right now Iran wants to reduce, not promote, division between Sunnis and Shiites -- and promoting broader "Islamic" interests by going after Israel is one way to lessen Sunni fears about Iran's rise. Ahmadinejad has put his money where his mouth is, providing Hezbollah with medium-range missiles -- though apparently not chemical warheads -- to use against Israel. The nationalist language he has sometimes used at home may be a cover for sincerely held pan-Islamic ends -- a version of the old revolutionary strategy of making nationalist claims in order to attract the support of those fellow Iranians who do not respond well to Islamist ideology. That it is convenient for Iran to emphasize Islamic unity does not mean that at least some of its leaders do not believe in it as a motivating goal.+

It is common among foreign-policy realists to suppose that a country acting on nationalist motives is easier to deter than a country moved by religious ones. There is no especially strong evidence for this assumption -- plenty of nationalist regimes have done crazy things when they logically should have been deterred -- but the claim has a common-sense ring to it. Nationalists care about peoples and states, which need to be alive to prosper. It is a basic tenet of nationalism that there is nothing higher than the nation-state itself, the pinnacle of a people's self-expression. Religious thinkers, on the other hand, believe almost by definition that there is something in heaven

greater than government here on earth. Under the right circumstances, they might sacrifice lives -- including their own -- to serve the divine will as they interpret it.

III.

We urgently need to know, then, what Islam says about the bomb. Of course there is no single answer to this question. The world's billion-plus Muslims differ regarding many aspects of their 1,400-year-old religious tradition. Furthermore, nuclear weapons are a relatively new technology, unforeseen by the Prophet and unmentioned in the Koran. Nevertheless, contemporary Muslims are engaged in interpreting their tradition to ascertain how and when nuclear power may be used. Their writings, contained in fatwas and treatises that can be found on the Web and in print, tell a fascinating and disturbing story.

The Islamic discussion of nuclear weapons is profoundly intertwined with a parallel discussion of suicide bombing that is also taking place in the Muslim world. Suicide bombing and nuclear weapons typically kill without discrimination, murdering soldiers or civilians, men or <u>women</u> or children. And using nuclear force against another nuclear power can be suicidal, in the broad sense that retaliation may destroy the nation that attacked first. Beyond these commonalities is the fact that the rise of suicide bombing is driving a historic reconsideration of what might be called the Islamic ethics of violence. To consider Islam and the bomb today must thus inevitably draw us into the complex legal and political thinking of those Muslim authorities who justify the use of force.

The story starts with traditional Islamic law. The Shariah never followed the Roman adage that in war the laws are silent. Because jihad is a pillar of Islam, and because in Islam God's word takes legal form, the classical scholars devoted considerable care to identifying the laws of jihad. In common with the just-war doctrine developed in Christian Europe, the law of jihad governed when it was permissible to fight and what means could lawfully be adopted once warfare had begun. There were basic ground rules about who was fair game. "A woman was found killed in one of the battles fought by the Messenger of God," runs a report about the Prophet Muhammad considered reliable and binding by the Muslim scholars. "So the Messenger of God forbade the killing of and children." This report was universally understood to prohibit the deliberate killing of noncombatant women and children. Some scholars interpreted it to mean that anyone incapable of warfare should be protected and so extended the ban to the elderly, the infirm and even male peasants, who as a rule did not fight. Muslims living among the enemy were also out of bounds. These rather progressive principles were broadly accepted by the Islamic legal authorities, Sunni and Shiite alike. For well over a thousand years, no one seriously questioned them.

Such black-and-white rules were well suited to the hand-to-hand or horse-to-horse combat characteristic of limited medieval wars. A few quirky challenges did arise, and the Muslim lawyers had to deal with them. The great theologian and jurist al-Ghazali, who wrote in the 11th and 12th centuries and was widely noted for his revival of religious piety and his skepticism of secular philosophy, dealt with the problem of human shields. He ruled that if the enemy drove captured Muslims before him, the Muslim army could still fight back, even if it might mean killing some of those Muslims. The reason he gave was that "we know that the law intends minimizing killing." There was also the catapult -- precursor of artillery and air power -- which was capable of sending a burning projectile into a populated city, where the resulting fire might kill <u>women</u> or children. Authorities differed on whether that tactic was permissible. Some disallowed the catapult when children or Muslim captives were in the city. In support, they cited a verse from the Koran that reads, "Had they been separated clearly, then We would have chastised the unbelievers among them with a painful chastisement." According to this school of thought, the "separation" of permissible targets (i.e., non-Muslim men) from impermissible targets is the precondition for a general attack. Another school of thought, by contrast, permitted the use of the catapult regardless of collateral damage in order to serve the general interest of the Muslims.

No law can exist for a millennium without being broken, and there are scattered historical reports, mostly from Christian chroniclers, of Muslim forces acting outside the bounds of lawful jihad, without the authorization of the scholars. Men were always considered legitimate targets, and Muslim armies sometimes slaughtered them just as Muslims could be slaughtered by their enemies. Remarkably enough, though, the legal principles of jihad protecting <u>women</u>, children and fellow Muslims survived well into the modern era, when the secular regimes of the Muslim world began to fight according to secular ideas. The World War I Armenian genocide, which took place in the last,

secularizing gasp of the declining Ottoman Empire, was the first really substantial systematic violation of the ban on killing <u>women</u> and children in recorded Islamic history. In the bloody 20th century, when mass exterminations took place in Europe, Africa and Asia, Muslim states had a relatively better record, marred of course by Saddam Hussein's gassing of the Kurds. And there have been the genocidal killings in Darfur in this new century. Even these horrific events, however, were not dignified by the claim that they were permitted under the law of jihad.

IV.

The last two decades have seen a challenge to this Islamic tradition of warfare under law, a challenge driven mostly by the attempt to justify suicide bombing despite its evident inconsistency with Islamic tradition. On the subject of suicide, the Koran could hardly be clearer: "Do not kill yourselves; for surely God has been merciful to you." Faced with this explicit text, the solution of the militant Islamist ideologues has been to avoid the category of suicide altogether and to treat the bomber as a martyr rather than as one who has taken his own life. This interpretation is not very convincing in historical terms: martyrdom classically meant that another person killed the Muslim warrior, not that he pushed the button himself. Nevertheless, many Muslims now seem to find the argument convincing. Even among rather secular Muslims, it has become standard to refer to suicide bombers as martyrs.

The killing of <u>women</u>, children and Muslim men, however, has proved harder to explain away as a permissible exercise of jihad. The reaction to 9/11, which has (so far) been the high-water mark of suicide bombing, illustrates the nature of the difficulty of reconciling suicide bombing with Islamic law. One problem concerns the offensive nature of the attack at a time when the United States was not at war with any Muslim entity. Offensive jihad requires the authorization of a legitimate Muslim leader, absent on 9/11. A more serious concern was the obvious reality that the 9/11 attacks were certain to kill -- and did kill -- <u>women</u>, children and Muslims, all in direct contravention of classical jihad principles. Since the whole point of 9/11 was to announce and embody jihad on the international stage, the attacks quickly became the centerpiece of a high-stakes debate about whether they did or did not qualify as legitimate acts of jihad.

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, it was sometimes asserted in the West that there were no Muslim voices condemning the attacks. This was never true. Prominent Muslim scholars expressed their disapprobation in public arenas like television and the Internet. These included senior Sunni scholars like the grand mufti of Saudi Arabia and the head of Al-Azhar, in Egypt, nominally the flagship institution of Sunni higher learning -- who gave a news conference. More popular figures, like Al Jazeera's resident cleric, Sheik Yusuf al-Qaradawi, explained that Islam "considers the attack on innocent human beings a grave sin." Shiite scholars also spoke out, including Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the supreme leader of Iran.

The position of the Muslim scholars and observers who condemned the 9/11 attacks was simple and consistent across the Sunni-Shiite divide: this was not jihad but an unlawful use of violence. Offensive jihad was prohibited in the absence of formal authorization by a Muslim leader. But even if the attacks could somehow be construed as defensive, the perpetrators of 9/11 broke the rules with their willingness to kill **women** and children. In confident and insistent tones, these critics cited the classical scholars and insisted that nothing in Islamic law could justify the tactics used by Al Qaeda. Ayatollah Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah, the Lebanese cleric whose spiritual authority is recognized by Hezbollah, gave an interview to the Beirut newspaper Al Safir in which he asserted that given their impermissible choice of targets, the 9/11 bombers were not martyrs but "merely suicides."

At the same time, it is important to note that in 2001 few prominent Muslim scholars -- the Saudi grand mufti was the main exception -- condemned the use of suicide bombings in all circumstances. Fadlallah approved the attack on the U.S. Marines in 1983 and, according to the United States, played a role in ordering it. Qaradawi, whose television presence gives him reason to stay within the Islamist mainstream, distinguished the 9/11 attacks from the permissible defensive jihad of the Palestinians. He was happy to praise a God who "through his infinite wisdom ... has given the weak a weapon the strong do not have, and that is their ability to turn their bodies into bombs as Palestinians do." Qaradawi has also repeated the common view that the killing of Israeli <u>women</u> is justified on the grounds that all Israelis must serve in the military, and so no Israeli is a true noncombatant: "An Israeli woman is not like <u>women</u> in our societies, because she is a soldier."

The equivocation by Muslim scholars with respect to the technique of suicide bombing reflected the reality that throughout the Muslim world, Palestinian suicide bombers were by 2001 identified as martyrs dying in a just cause. This, in turn, was the natural outgrowth of the decades before suicide bombing, when Palestinian terrorists were applauded for killing Israeli civilians, including <u>women</u> and children. Given that embracing Palestinian suicide bombing had become a widespread social norm, it would have been essentially unthinkable for an important Muslim scholar to condemn the practice without losing his standing among Muslims worldwide. In the Islamic world, as in the U.S. Supreme Court, the legal authorities cannot get too far away from their public constituency without paying a price.

What happened, in other words, is that without the scholars paying too much attention to the question, the killing of Israeli <u>women</u> and children had become a kind of exception to the ordinary laws of jihad. Opportunists like bin Laden then began to widen the loophole to include new victims. With respect to the unauthorized nature of his offensive jihad, bin Laden asserted that in fact the attacks were defensive, since in his mind the U.S. was occupying the sacred soil of Saudi Arabia -- just as Israel was occupying the Muslim land of Palestine. Once all of Saudi Arabia was placed on a par with the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, traditionally closed to non-Muslims, the presence of American soldiers anywhere on the Arabian Peninsula (even if their presence was with the permission of the Saudi government) could be depicted as a profanation, a violation of the Prophet's deathbed directive to "banish the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula."

Bin Laden was embroidering on the theories of his onetime mentor Abdullah Azzam, the intellectual godfather of Al Qaeda. Azzam was a Palestinian Islamist who made his way to Afghanistan via Saudi Arabia and established the so-called Bureau of Services to channel Arab youth into the Afghan jihad. As Azzam trod his personal path from Palestinian militancy to universal pan-Islamic jihadism, he wrote an influential treatise called "Defense of Muslim Lands." In it, Azzam argued that not a single hand span of Muslim territory anywhere could ever be ceded to the enemy "because the land belongs to Allah and to Islam." Though Azzam would never have acknowledged it, his account of the divine ownership of Muslim lands was probably influenced -- unconsciously, to be sure -- by religious-Zionist claims about the holiness of the Land of Israel.

When it came to the killing of civilians, bin Laden's thought developed more gradually. In early pronouncements, before 9/11, he spoke as if the killing of <u>women</u> and children was inherently an atrocity. "Nor should one forget," he admonished an interviewer in 1996, "the deliberate, premeditated dropping of the H bombs [sic] on cities with their entire populations of children, elderly and <u>women</u>, as was the case with Hiroshima and Nagasaki." After 9/11, however, the argument changed. Now bin Laden began to suggest that American civilians were fair game. He could not argue that like Israelis, all Americans were subject to mandatory military service. Instead he proposed that because "the American people are the ones who choose their government by their own free will," and because they "have the ability and choice to refuse the policies of their government," attacks on American civilians were justified. Voting was now playing the role for Americans that military service played in the case of Israelis: the active step transforming civilians into fair game.

Such an appeal to collective responsibility was, however, pretty weak in Islamic legal terms. It might suffice for bin Laden's videotaped self-justifications, and it might salve the consciences of potential jihadis hoping to join the rank and file of Al Qaeda. But it would never satisfy serious students of classical Islamic law, who found the 9/11 attacks problematic from an Islamic legal perspective.

In Saudi Arabia in particular, radical Muslim scholars with much more learning than bin Laden have sought to develop legally persuasive justifications for civilian killings. Probably the most sophisticated effort from a legal standpoint is a document titled "A Treatise on the Law of the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction Against the Unbelievers," written in 2003 by a brilliant Saudi dissident named Sheik Nasir bin Hamad al-Fahd. (Fahd, a theorist rather than an activist, is currently back in prison, as he has been off and on for almost a decade.) The treatise begins with the assumption that the world's Muslims are under attack. But how are today's Muslims supposed to defend themselves, given their military inferiority? Fahd's response is that, if they have no other choice, they may use any means necessary -- including methods that would otherwise violate the laws of jihad. "If the unbelievers can be repelled . . . only by using" weapons of mass destruction, then "their use is permissible, even if you kill them without exception."

Lest his argument prove too much, Fahd tempers it by the claim that the Muslims fighting the jihad may not inflict disproportionately more harm on the enemy than the enemy has inflicted on them. That raises the question of the extent of American guilt. "Some Brothers have added up the number of Muslims killed directly or indirectly by [American] weapons and come up with a figure of nearly ten million," the treatise states. This total, Fahd concludes, would authorize the use of weapons of mass destruction to kill 10 million Americans: indeed, "it would be permissible with no need for further [legal] argument." (The number is never explained or analyzed, and you might assume that it was meant to correspond very roughly to the population of New York.)

Fahd's arguments sit uneasily with the classical Islamic discussions of the laws of jihad. The classical Islamic law never explicitly says that <u>women</u> and children may be intentional targets if it is the only way to win the jihad. It does not allow violations of the law just because the enemy has broken the rules or killed many Muslims. So the treatise must fall back on whatever evidence it can muster from the classical sources that seems to modify the basic rules. The catapult rears its head and is cited as precedent for nonspecific killing. The right to fight even when Muslim hostages may be killed is brought out as proof of the permissibility of collateral damage when there is no other choice.

The legal arguments in use here are stronger than bin Laden's makeweights, but they, too, would probably not be sufficient on their own to justify the deviation from the legal traditions of jihad wrought by today's jihadis. The notion that it's right because it's necessary is doing the real work, and old-fashioned legal arguments are following along. It is no accident that the argument from necessity has been so prominent in modern Western writing about modern warfare in general and the nuclear bomb in particular. If the technology of mass destruction can be exported, why not the justification that comes with it?

Within the world of radical Islam, there are those who believe that the erosion of the laws of jihad has gone too far. There are reports of difficulty recruiting foreign candidates for suicide missions directed at Iraqi civilians. The debate about how jihad may be prosecuted is not over by any means. But it is an unavoidable fact that the classic restrictions on the killing of **women**, children and Muslims in jihad have been deeply undermined in the last decade.

٧.

If the Islamic laws of war are under revision, or at least the subject of intense debate, what does that mean for the question of the Islamic bomb? The answer is that the expanding religious sanction for violence once thought unacceptable opens the way for new kinds of violence to be introduced and seen as legitimate in turn. First Israeli <u>women</u> and children became acceptable targets; then Americans; then Shiites; and now Sunnis of unstinting orthodoxy. It would seem that no one is out of bounds.

It is therefore now possible to imagine that the classical Islamic principles governing war would not be applied even by a self-consciously Islamic regime deciding when and if to detonate a nuclear device. The traditional ban on killing *women*, children and fellow Muslims would have gone a long way toward banning most potential uses of nuclear power by a sincerely Islamic state actor. As those prohibitions have eroded, the reassurance that might be afforded by a state's Islamic commitments has waned.

This means that a nuclear Islamic state would be at least as willing to use its weapons as a comparable non-Islamic state. But would an Islamic state be prepared to take the jihad to the enemy even if it would result in what amounts to collective suicide through the destruction of the state and its citizens? If the leaders of Iran or some future leaders of a radicalized, nuclear Saudi Arabia shared the aspiration to martyrdom of so many young jihadis around the world, might they be prepared to attack Israel or the United States, even if the inevitable result were the martyrdom of their entire people?

The answer depends to a large degree on whether you consider Islam susceptible to the kind of apocalyptic, millennial thought that might lead whole peoples, rather than just individuals, into suicidal behavior. It is important to note that for all his talk of the war between civilizations, bin Laden has never spoken of the end of days. For him, the battle between the Muslims and the infidels is part of earthly human life, and has indeed been with us since the days of the Prophet himself. The war intensifies and lessens with time, but it is not something that occurs out of

time or with the expectation that time itself will stop. Bin Laden and his sympathizers want to re-establish the caliphate and rule the Muslim world, but unlike some earlier revivalist movements within Sunni Islam, they do not declare their leader as the mahdi, or guided one, whose appearance will usher in a golden age of justice and peace to be followed by the Day of Judgment.

From this perspective, the utter destruction of civilization would be a mistake, not the fulfillment of the divine plan. Even the most radical Sunni theorists of jihad invoke a passage from the Koran according to which civilization itself -- "the crops and the cattle" -- must not and cannot be destroyed completely. Bin Laden might seem to have few qualms about killing millions of Americans or other Westerners. He might well use a nuclear device if he gambled that there would be no enemy for the United States to bomb in retaliation. But even he might not be prepared to unleash a global nuclear conflagration on the expectation that a better order would emerge once many millions of Muslims and infidels died. (Bin Laden has called for Muslims to acquire nuclear weapons, and in the 1990's reportedly tried to acquire them himself -- but there is little hard evidence that he has made subsequent efforts in that direction.)

With respect to Shiite eschatology, there is greater reason for concern. Iran's Shiism is of the "Twelver" variety, so called because the 12th imam in the line of succession from the Prophet disappeared into a state of occultation -- or being hidden -- from which he is expected to return as the mahdi. Ayatollah Khomeini played on the messianic overtones of this belief during the Iranian revolution, in which some of his followers went so far as to hint that he might be the returning imam. Moktada al-Sadr's Shiite militia in Iraq is called Army of the Mahdi. Recently, Iran's president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, contributed to renewed focus on the mahdi, by saying publicly that the mission of the Islamic revolution in Iran is to pave the way for the mahdi's return, and by visiting the mosque at Jamkaran, on the outskirts of Qom, where, according to one tradition, the vanished imam was last seen. Some reports suggest that youth religion in Iran in increasingly focused on veneration of the vanished imam.

Islam has a vision of the end of days, with wars between the faithful and the tribes of Gog and Magog (Yuj and Majuj in their Arabic incarnation). Twelver Shiism is, at its core, an eschatological faith, focused on the ultimate return of the imam-mahdi, who will restore the Shiites to their rightful place and redeem their generations of suffering. Since the vanished imam is by tradition a human who has never died, but remains in occultation, he is also believed to affect the course of events even from his hidden place. And Shiite tradition fills in the picture of the mahdi's return with an elaborate account of signs that will herald the event, including advance messengers, earthquakes and bloodshed.

But belief in redemption -- even accompanied by wars and death and the defeat of the infidels -- need not translate into a present impulse to create a violent crisis that would precipitate the messianic situation. Like their Jewish counterparts, Shiite religious authorities have traditionally sought to resist speculation about the imminence of a messianic return. Shiite messianic thought is less focused than its messianic Christian counterpart on generating global crisis and letting God sort things out. Khomeini himself believed that the mahdi's advent could be hastened -- but by social justice, not by provoking war. This put him on the activist side of Shiite teaching about the mahdi, much as he was also an activist about the exercise of worldly power by the mullahs. A popular revolutionary slogan urged the imam's coming but asserted that Khomeini would govern alongside him.

Other Shiite thinkers, by contrast, take a more fatalist stance, and prefer to believe that the mahdi's coming cannot be hastened by human activity -- a view that corresponds loosely to Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani's belief, with regard to Iraq and elsewhere, that the clerics should not themselves govern. One small, semi-secret Iranian organization, the Hojjatiya Society, was banned and persecuted by Khomeini's government in part for its quiescent view that the mahdi's arrival could not be hastened.

Ahmadinejad is not the only or even the most important player in Iran's nuclear game. The supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, still makes the ultimate decisions on armaments and other matters, and there are numerous factions in the country with opposed interests and ideology and goals. Nevertheless, Ahmadinejad has in some respects succeeded in making the nuclear issue his own, and as a result his personal views about the end of days have been the subject of much speculation and innuendo, inside Iran and out. The Mideast scholar Bernard Lewis, in a recent Wall Street Journal column, hinted darkly and without much evidence that Ahmadinejad might be

planning a nuclear attack on Israel for the Night of Power (this year it fell on Aug. 22), when the Prophet Muhammad made his mystical journey to the Furthest Mosque, associated in tradition with al-Aqsa in Jerusalem. Rumors, possibly spread by Ahmadinejad's enemies, have tied him to the outlawed Hojjatiya -- a link mistakenly interpreted outside Iran as evidence that he might want to bring back the imam by violence, rather than that he might prefer to wait piously and prepare for the imam's eventual return on his own schedule. It is of course impossible to gauge the man's religious sensibilities perfectly. Yet the relative absence of a contemporary Shiite trend to messianic brinkmanship suggests that Ahmadinejad's recent emphasis on the mahdi may be interpreted more in terms of an attempt to summon Khomeini's legacy and Iran's revolutionary moment than as a desperate willingness to bring the nation to the edge of war. When Ahmadinejad invoked the mahdi in his now-famous letter to George Bush, he seemed to be using the doctrine in ecumenical terms, emphasizing the Islamic tradition that Jesus -- revered as a prophet, though not as the Son of God -- will return alongside the mahdi and govern in tandem with him.

So although a renewed Shiite messianism does create some cause for concern about the potential uses of an Iranian bomb -- in particular because it suggests that Ahmadinejad may be more a utopian than a realist -- it is almost certainly a mistake to anticipate that Iran would use its nuclear power in a way that would provoke large-scale retaliation and assured self-destruction. Iranian leaders have been more than ready to sacrifice their own citizens in large numbers. During the Iran-Iraq war, major efforts went into recruiting young boys to the Basij militias, which were then sent to the front lines on what were essentially suicide missions. Religion played the central part in motivating the teenage soldiers, and it is reasonable to believe that religion helped salve the consciences of those who ordered these children into battle. Yet even this discounting of the value of human life -- in a war started by Saddam Hussein, not by Iran -- fell short of voluntarily putting an entire nation at risk. Ahmadinejad surely understands the consequences of using a nuclear bomb, and Shiite Islam, even in its messianic incarnation, still falls short of inviting nuclear retaliation and engendering collective suicide.

VI.

These worries about an Islamic bomb raise the question of why we trust any nation with the power that a nuclear capacity confers. Why, for instance, do we trust ourselves, given that we remain the only nation actually to have used nuclear weapons? The standard answer to why we keep our nuclear bombs -- a response developed during the cold war -- is that we must have the capability to deter anyone who might attack us first. The promise of mutually assured destruction was its own kind of collective suicide pact, albeit one supposed to scare both sides out of pushing the button. That is why, throughout the heyday of the unilateral disarmament movement, critics of this justification pointed out that our threat was only credible if we were, in fact, prepared to kill millions of civilians in a rapid act of retaliation. If this kind of killing was morally unjustified, went their argument, then the threat to use it was also immoral.

The truth is that we hold on to our nuclear capability not only as a matter of deterrence but also to maintain our own global strategic position. If we do not want Islamic states -- or anyone else for that matter -- to have a nuclear capability, it is not necessarily because we consider them especially likely to bring on their own destruction by using it. It is, rather, that we do not want to cede some substantial chunk of our own global power to them. This principle -- if it is a principle -- lies behind the general strategy that is embedded in the international nuclear-nonproliferation treaty. Everybody involved understands that if any government got a chance to acquire nuclear power before the other treaty members had a chance to notice and impose sanctions, it would jump at the opportunity.

So the nonproliferation regime is not and could never be based on some principle of international fairness. But it does not follow that the United States and its allies should simply accept the development of nuclear technology by just anyone. It should be relevant to our deliberations that a particular candidate is our enemy. When it comes to Islamic states, there is serious reason to worry that, both now and in the immediately foreseeable future, popular anti-American sentiment is especially likely to play an important role in the shaping of foreign policy. Over the next quarter-century, it is conceivable and certainly desirable that Islamism and anti-Americanism may be unlinked. But we must be honest and acknowledge that in the short term at least, the U.S. democratization strategy has done

almost nothing to reduce Islamist anti-Americanism, whether Shiite or Sunni -- this despite the fact that the same strategy has benefited Islamists across the region by allowing them to run for office and enter government.

Much of the reason for this close linkage between Islamism and anti-Americanism comes from Iran. As an enemy of the United States, which has worked consistently against American interests, Iran is in a category by itself, most nearly matched by North Korea, the other still-standing member of President Bush's axis of evil. In this, Iran's motives have been primarily Islamic-ideological, not pragmatic.

For many years under the shah, Iran was a natural American ally -- precisely because it was Shiite and non-Arab, and uncomfortably close to the Soviet Union and its fantasy of a warm-water port. Even after the 1979 revolution and the hostage crisis, it is possible that the United States would have eventually reopened relations with an avowedly Islamic Iran had the government softened its anti-Americanism. The United States has never made secularism a condition of friendship. It has been fully prepared to support Islamic states like Saudi Arabia, and even used religion to cement the anti-Communist alliance during the cold war. The Iraqi Shiite Islamists have been willing to work alongside the Americans, and the United States has in return treated them as its allies, democratically chosen by the Iraqi electorate.

Islamist anti-Americanism is the direct legacy of Ayatollah Khomeini's success in marrying Islamic faith to anti-imperialism -- making "Death to America" into a religious chant, not just a political slogan. Of course the United States was hardly blameless. It did everything it could to open itself to the imperialist charge, including, in Iran, backing the famous 1953 countercoup that removed from power Iran's first democratically legitimate prime minister, Mohammed Mossadegh. Contemporary Islamists can also point to America's continuing hypocritical support of regional authoritarian regimes.

Iranian-rooted Islamist anti-Americanism has worked far better than its designers might have imagined, spreading to Sunni Islamists who have little love to lose for Iran. The marriage of Islamism and anti-Americanism will probably be considered by history as the most significant consequence of the Iranian revolution. Anti-Americanism has become a staple of Islamist sermons and Web postings, an effective tool for drawing to the movement angry young people who might not naturally be drawn to religion. Bin Ladenism, in this sense, owes much to the Iranian revolution even though Al Qaeda was never Iran's direct ally. United States support for Israel has always been an important part of the argument for Islamist anti-Americanism, but today it is by no means a necessary component. If U.S. support of Israel were to weaken, the American presence in Iraq and elsewhere in the gulf would easily substitute as a basis for hatred.

The United States therefore has strong reason to block its enemy Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons -- not simply because Iran will seek to become a greater regional power, as any nation might do, but because the Islamic Republic of Iran as currently constituted is definitionally anti-American. There need not be a direct threat of Iranian first use against either the United States or Israel for this reason to weigh heavily. A nuclear Iran will be a stronger and more effective enemy in pursuing anti-American policies under the banner of Islam. That will not change until the Iranian state abandons either its Islamic identity or its association between Islam and anti-Americanism. Iran's eagerness to acquire nuclear capacity need not be a result of a particularly Islamic motivation, but if and when Iran does have the bomb, its enhanced power and prestige will certainly be lent to policies that it conceives as promoting the Islamic interest.

Whether force, negotiation or some combination is the right path to take to keep Iran from going nuclear is of course a hugely important question. It turns on many uncertain facts, like the true progress of Iran's nuclear program and how much it can be affected by air attack; Iran's capacity and will to retaliate against an attack; whether there is any chance Iran would respond to negotiations; and the ability of the United States to withstand any retaliation while 150,000 U.S. troops are in Iraq. As we have recently learned in Iraq, it is not enough to think you have a good reason to go to war -- you must also have a realistic understanding of the practical and moral costs of things going horribly wrong. Any choice, though, must be made against the backdrop of the reality that the Islamic government of Iran is not only unlikely to collapse soon -- it is also very unlikely to become less anti-American in the near future.

The same, unfortunately, is true of the world's Islamist movements, for whom anti-Americanism remains a rallying cry and a principle of belief. Perhaps the promotion of democracy in the region, pursued consistently by the United States over the long term, might someday allow the rise of leaders whose Islamism is tempered by the need to satisfy their constituents' domestic needs -- and who eschew anti-Americanism as wasteful and misguided. Iraq was the test case of whether this change could occur in the short term. But we failed to make the experiment work and gave Iraq's Islamist politicians, Shiite and Sunni alike, ample grounds to continue the anti-American rhetoric that comes so easily to them. In the wake of our tragic mismanagement of Iraq, we are certainly a generation or more from any such unlinking of Islamism and anti-Americanism, if it is to occur at all. And Islamism itself shows no signs of being on the wane as a social or political force.

That means that the best we can hope for in nuclear Islamic states in the near term is a rational dictator like Pervez Musharraf of Pakistan, who sees his bread buttered on the side of an alliance with the West. Such rulers can be very strong and can bring stability, but we also know that their rule (or reign) promotes Islamist opposition, with its often violent overtones. When such rulers die or otherwise fall from power, the Islamists will be poised to use the international power conferred by nuclear weapons to pursue their own ends -- ends for now overwhelmingly likely to be anti-American.

None of this is inherent in the structure of Islam itself. Islam contains a rich and multivocal set of traditions and ideas, susceptible to being used for good or ill, for restraint or destruction. This interpretive flexibility -- equally characteristic of the other great world religions -- does not rob Islam of its distinctiveness. An Islamic bomb would not be just the same as the nationalist bomb of a majority-Muslim state, nor would it be the same as a Christian bomb or a Jewish one. But its role in history will depend, ultimately, on the meaning Muslims give it, and the uses to which they put their faith and their capabilities. In confronting the possibility of the Islamic bomb, we -- Muslims and non-Muslims alike -- need to remember that Islam exists both as an ideal system of morals and values and as a force that motivates actual people living today, with all the frailties and imperfections that make us human.

http://www.nytimes.com

Graphic

Drawings (Drawings by James Victore)

Load-Date: October 29, 2006



Crush Hamas; DAILY STAR SAYS

Daily Star
July 5, 2007 Thursday
U.K. 1st Edition

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Section: COLUMNS; 6

Length: 146 words

Body

FREEEEEEEDOM! BBC's Braveheart journalist Alan Johnston says freedom tastes "unimaginably good" after 114 days of being held by Muslim fanatics in Gaza.

After his release he praised his friends, family and everybody who kept fighting for his release.

Now he can return to Britain where everybody is born free and equal, <u>women</u> are educated and people of all creeds and colours can worship who they want and live their lives in peace.

There are some who will argue that Johnston's release is proof that extremist Muslim groups such as <u>Hamas</u> are turning into good guys.

Do not be fooled.

<u>Hamas</u> - whose slogan is "bringing death for the sake of God is the loftiest of wishes" - are extremists who must be crushed.

The group that took Johnston wants the world to become a single Islamic state.

Any softening of the Government's hard line on <u>Hamas</u> or the like would leave a very bitter taste.

Load-Date: July 6, 2007



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Daily Star

July 5, 2007 Thursday

U.K. 1st Edition

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Load-Date: August 29, 2007



Hamas to continue using cartoons as propaganda

Windsor Star (Ontario)
July 3, 2007 Tuesday
Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. B8

Length: 154 words

Byline: Reuters

Dateline: GAZA

Body

GAZA - A *Hamas* television station that last week killed off a Mickey Mouse lookalike who urged children to fight against Israel will use other famous characters to further their Islamist agenda, station officials said on Monday.

The host of the children's show "Tomorrow's Pioneers," Farfur, dressed in a full body-suit to resemble the Walt Disney cartoon character.

The character was beaten to death in the show's final episode last week by a character posing as an Israeli.

Farfur and a <u>female</u> co-host instructed their young viewers on <u>Hamas</u>'s militant brand of Muslim piety and urged children to support armed resistance against Israel.

Mohammad Saeed, the director of production at Al-Aqsa Television, said the station would use other famous cartoon characters in future shows.

"Farfur was a story alive and he has turned into another story as a (martyr)," Saeed said.

The show had drawn complaints from Israeli watchdog groups.

Load-Date: July 3, 2007



Israel kills Hamas's top rocket man

Sunday Express

November 5, 2006 Sunday

U.K. 1st Edition

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Section: NEWS; 43 Length: 198 words

Body

ONE OF Israel's most wanted terrorists died yesterday in a missile strike on the mobile base of *Hamas*'s leading rocket maker deep in the Gaza Strip.

The attack came less than 24 hours after the shooting of two Palestinian <u>women</u> outside a mosque sparked international condemnation.

A total of four Palestinians died yesterday as Israel stepped up its offensive against the terrorists who have been firing home-made rockets across its borders.

Aircraft pinpointed their key target, Louay al-Borno, in a van. Two of his passengers lost their legs as Israeli missiles destroyed the vehicle.

Israeli soldiers also killed three <u>Hamas</u> gunmen in a series of shoot-outs around the town of Beit Hanoun, the centre of its counter-terror operations. More than 200 people have been wounded in the sweep, including 29 who are in critical condition.

One Israeli soldier has died in the fighting.

US State Department spokesman Sean McCormack said: "It is a true tragedy that innocent life has been lost. Nobody can replace those people, but let us remember the situation originally developed because you have people - terrorists - continuing to launch rockets into Israel. Israel has taken steps to defend itself."

Load-Date: August 29, 2007



20 WOUNDED IN GAZA CLASHES

The Frontier Star

August 11, 2007 Saturday

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Length: 74 words

Body

GAZA CITY (Agencies): At least 20 demonstrators were injured in clashes overnight with <u>Hamas</u> militants in northern Gaza Strip after around 10 members of the rival Fatah party were arrested, relatives said Saturday. Members of the <u>Hamas</u> Executive Force waded in with batons and fired shots in the air when some 150 relatives --mostly <u>women</u> and children -- of those rounded up staged protests outside <u>Hamas</u> offices in Beit Hanun, witnesses said.

Load-Date: August 23, 2007



Militant 'Mickey' gets chop

MX Brisbane (Queensland, Australia)

May 10, 2007 Thursday

BRIS Edition

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Section: MX; Pg. 7 **Length:** 143 words

Body

FARFUR AWAY

The Palestinian government today ordered the shelving of a children's show on a *Hamas* television station in which a Mickey Mouse lookalike calls for Israel to be vanquished and Islam to "lead the world".

Tomorrow's Pioneers, which attracted complaints from

Israeli groups, features a host, Farfur, dressed in a full body-suit to resemble Walt Disney's famous cartoon character.

He and a young <u>female</u> co-host instruct their young viewers on <u>Hamas</u>'s militant brand of Muslim piety.

Following complaints from Israeli watchdog groups that attracted foreign scrutiny,

Palestinian Information Minister Mustafa Barghouthi said he had ordered broadcasts of

Tomorrow's Pioneers halted so the content could be reviewed.

"I demanded that *Hamas* suspend the program and they have withdrawn it," said Barghouthi, an independent in the *Hamas*-led Palestinian government.

Load-Date: September 27, 2007



Gaza. Protesters injured

The Gazette (Montreal)

August 12, 2007 Sunday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A9; Fast Track

Length: 69 words

Byline: The Gazette

Dateline: GAZA CITY

Body

At least 20 demonstrators were injured in clashes with <u>Hamas</u> members in the northern Gaza Strip sparked by the arrest of about 10 members of the rival Fatah party, relatives said yesterday. Members of the <u>Hamas</u> Executive Force waded in with batons and fired shots in the air when about 150 relatives - mostly <u>women</u> and children - of those rounded up staged protests outside <u>Hamas</u> offices in Beit Hanun, witnesses said.

Load-Date: August 12, 2007



Video captures white-hot hate that is Fuelling Gaza conflict

The Toronto Star

June 17, 2007 Sunday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A02

Length: 159 words

Byline: Diaa Hadid, Associated Press

Dateline: Gaza City

Body

<u>Women</u> screeched in celebration and a gathering mob shouted: "Film the dog, film the dog!" as a battered body was dragged through a dusty hallway, then shot twice, ending the life of Fatah militiaman Samih Madhoun.

The grisly footage appeared on militant websites yesterday, reflecting the bitter hatred fuelling the factional war that last week saw well-equipped *Hamas* militants rout their Fatah rivals in the Gaza Strip.

The Islamist militants had longed to kill Madhoun, leader of a 1,500-member special force set up by Fatah to counter *Hamas*'s highly motivated Executive Force fighters.

The grainy, 34-second clip concludes with a large crowd kicking Madhoun's body before the camera cuts away to a masked gunman making a call to prayer.

For his part, Madhoun had boasted in a radio interview of his role in kidnapping and killing *Hamas* members.

He publicly vowed to "slaughter" more of his enemies "like sheep in the streets" after *Hamas* torched his house.

Load-Date: June 17, 2007



Deal on unity Palestinian government likely

The Irish Times

November 7, 2006 Tuesday

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Section: WORLD; Other World Stories; Pg. 11

Length: 200 words

Byline: Nidal al-Mughrabi in Gaza

Body

Middle East: Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas and prime minister Ismail Haniyeh began talks in Gaza yesterday that were expected to lead to a deal on a unity government, potentially easing sanctions against the *Hamas*-led authority.

The talks came hours after a Palestinian woman blew herself up near Israeli troops in a Gaza town where Israeli forces had killed two **women** acting as human shields.

Fatah leader Mr Abbas and Mr Haniyeh, a leader of <u>Hamas</u>, have held on-again off-again talks over recent months. It was not clear exactly what sort of deal might be struck yesterday, but it was expected that a new prime minister would be named in place of Mr Haniyeh, officials said. A government spokesman said a candidate had been chosen but would provide no names.

One <u>Hamas</u> source said the health minister in the <u>Hamas</u>-led administration, Basim Naeem, was a front-runner, but it was not clear if Mr Abbas would accept such a candidate as he might be deemed to be too close to <u>Hamas</u>, an Islamist group.

"Palestine is bigger than all of us," Mr Haniyeh told his cabinet in what sounded like a farewell speech. "It is very easy for us to move to another position in the interests [of our people]."

- (Reuters)

Load-Date: November 7, 2006



Women as shield

The Sun (England)
November 20, 2006 Monday

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Length: 59 words

Body

PALESTINIAN women yesterday forced Israel to scrap missile attacks -by acting as human shields.

They joined armed men on rooftops after Israel told *Hamas* their homes would be targeted.

Israeli army chiefs blasted "the cynical exploitation of uninvolved people", but said privately they didn't know how to respond.

Hamas PM Ismail Haniyeh said: "We're so proud."

Load-Date: November 20, 2006



Palestinians shelve anti-Israel kids' show

The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

May 10, 2007 Thursday

Final Edition

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Section: WORLD; Pg. B10; World in Brief

Length: 123 words

Byline: The StarPhoenix

Dateline: GAZA

Body

GAZA -- The Palestinian government ordered on Wednesday the shelving of a children's show on a <u>Hamas</u> television station in which a Mickey Mouse look-alike calls for Israel to be vanquished and Islam to "lead the world."

Tomorrow's Pioneers, which attracted complaints from Israeli groups, features a host, Farfur, dressed in a full body-suit to resemble Walt Disney's famous cartoon character.

He and a young *female* co-host instruct their young viewers on *Hamas*'s militant brand of Muslim piety.

"We will restore to this nation its glory, and we will liberate (Jerusalem mosque) Al-Aqsa, with Allah's will, and we will liberate the Muslim countries invaded by murderers," Farfur said in one show.

Graphic

Colour Photo: Associated Press; An image from Al-Agsa TV shows a Mickey Mouse look-alike named Farfour;

Load-Date: May 10, 2007



TOP OF THE WORLD

thespec.com
January 5, 2007 Friday
Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Susan Walsh, the Associated Press, WASHINGTON It's a "marble ceiling" no one else has even cracked, and Nancy Pelosi crashed through it yesterday, elected the first-ever female Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives. The 66-year-old San Francisco Democrat beamed and clapped as she heard the voice vote catapulting her to the top post. She was surrounded on the House floor by her six grandchildren, including Paul Michael Vos, born to her daughter Alexandra in early November. After her election by a vote of 233-202, the chamber's Democratic-Republican breakdown, Pelosi stood holding the sleeping infant -- who did not stir -- and shook hands as she accepted congratulations from her fellow House members. Pelosi is now third in line for the U.S. presidency, behind George W. Bush and Vice-President Dick Cheney. Hers is the highest-ranking political post ever held by an American woman, and she gave thanks to a family that encouraged her to move from "the kitchen to the Congress." Pelosi and her colleague, the Senate majority Leader Henry Reid of Nevada, are touting a new era of bipartisanship and pushing for quick changes to everything from the country's minimum wage, to stem cell research and ethical standards. Democratic legislation should pass the House easily, but Democrats hold power in the Senate by a count of only 51-49, based on two Independents aligned with the party, and one of its members, Tim Johnson of South Dakota, who remains in hospital and faces a long convalescence after suffering a brain hemorrhage.; Photo: Ahmed Tawil, Reuters, INDONESIA This mother of a missing Adam Air crew member is among those suffering increasing despair as Indonesian officials admitted yesterday that the aircraft did not send any distress message before vanishing four days ago. The second major contradiction in official reports followed an earlier admission of false reports that the aircraft wreckage had been found and that 12 of the 102 aboard had survived. A fleet of aircraft took to the skies again yesterday as ships scoured the sea and soldiers battled rugged jungle terrain for a third day in the search for the plane. Aviation experts said it was not unheard of for planes to go missing for days. "In an area of low population density, particularly if it is in inhospitable terrain -- such as jungle or a deep ravine or covered by a canopy -- it could sit for a long time without being found," said Laurence Benn, head of the Centre for Civil Aviation in London. As for conflicting reports by officials, Nicholas Ionides, managing editor for Flight International Magazine in Asia, explained: "Indonesia is a place full of miscommunication, contradictory information and confusion during an accident like this. There is gossip and rumour and you never know what the facts are."; Photo: Hatem Moussa, the Associated Press, MIDDLE EAST In a new round of Palestinian factional fighting, assailants targeted three senior *Hamas* officials in the West Bank, yesterday, kidnapping one, torching the car of a second and shooting in the air as a third emerged from a mosque. Separately, in the Jebaliya refugee camp in Gaza, a member of a *Hamas* security force was killed when his car came under fire from unidentified assailants. Four other people were wounded. Hamas accused Fatah of the attack, but Fatah denied involvement. In nearby Beit Lahiya, a Fatah member and two Fatah-allied security officers were killed and at least 35 people were

TOP OF THE WORLD

wounded, including eight children, in a *Hamas*-Fatah shootout. That fight began when *Hamas* gunmen armed with assault rifles and rocket-propelled grenades surrounded the house of a Fatah-linked security commander and exchanged fire with guards. After nightfall, the *Hamas* militants attacked the house with grenades and at least 12 rockets, killing the security officer. The persistent clashes -- large-scale confrontations that began in Gaza a month ago -- are a result of the intensifying power struggle between the Islamic militant Hamas and the Fatah movement led by moderate President Mahmoud Abbas. Both sides have hardened their stance in recent weeks, dooming truce attempts to quick failure. Talks on forming a coalition government between Hamas and the more moderate Fatah have broken down and Abbas has threatened to call early elections. But he may not have enough clout to go through with the plan, denounced by the *Hamas*-led government as a coup attempt.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA A new Pierre Trudeau has made his debut, except this one weighs only seven pounds, four ounces. Alexandre (Sacha) Trudeau says, "it felt right" to name his son after his late father and former prime minister. Pierre Emmanuel was born in a Montreal hospital Dec. 22. He says the junior Pierre Trudeau is "absolutely beautiful" and an excellent sleeper. The new father and his partner, Zoe Bedos, 31, say they're "thrilled" to be parents. The pair plan to get married this summer. The filmmaker, who has taken his documentary camera to some of the most dangerous spots in the world, says fatherhood is "his greatest adventure yet." Since taking Pierre-Emmanuel home from the hospital, the couple has also celebrated the new dad's 33rd birthday. Proud grandmother Margaret Trudeau has also been spending a lot of time with the pair.; Photo: Denise Muldoon, the Canadian Press, ONTARIO An American woman accused of kidnapping her 17-month-old twins from their adoptive parents has been freed on bail by an Ottawa court. Allison Quets must stay with two Canadian couples until Monday when she must report to police and then return to the U.S. An FBI warrant was issued for her arrest after she didn't return the twins to their adoptive parents in North Carolina on Christmas Eve. Quets says she was in the midst of a postpartum illness when she gave the newborns up for adoption.; Photo: Manuel Balce Ceneta, the Associated Press, WASHINGTON John Negroponte is quitting as Washington's National Intelligence Director. Negroponte, 67, has been at the centre of the Iraq debate since before the U.S.-led invasion in March 2003 -- first as U.S. ambassador to the UN, then as ambassador to Baghdad and as intelligence chief since 2005. It's expected the Senate will confirm his return to being deputy to Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.; Photo: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, UNITED STATES Royal Caribbean Cruises has agreed to pay more than \$1 million US to the estate of a man who vanished from his honeymoon cruise in the Mediterranean in 2005. George Smith, 26, of Greenwich, Conn., disappeared after a night of heavy drinking aboard Royal Caribbean's Brilliance of the Seas. His wife, Jennifer Hagel Smith, who was found passed out on a floor far from their cabin, says the proposed settlement won't end the investigation into her husband's disappearance.; Photo: Adrian Wyld, the Canadian Press, CANADA The Anglican Church of Canada has named Mark MacDonald as its first bishop representing aboriginals in a bid to heal a long-standing rift with First Nations. MacDonald, originally from Duluth, Minn., assumes the office of national indigenous bishop on March 1 with pastoral oversight over indigenous Anglicans throughout Canada. Most recently bishop of the U.S. Episcopal Diocese of Alaska, his appointment followed an international search which included candidates from the church's First Nations community.

Load-Date: January 5, 2007



Cities making news in The Global Village

The Gazette (Montreal)
March 25, 2007 Sunday
Final Edition

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Section: INSIGHT: GLOBAL VILLAGE; Pg. A19

Length: 1 words

Byline: AP; Reuters

Body

NO TEXT

Graphic

Colour Photo: AP; Novokuznetsk, Russia: A woman cries during the funerals of a father and son who were killed in a mine in Novokuznetsk, about 3,000 kilometres east of Moscow. An explosion Monday killed more than 100 miners in one of the deadliest mining accidents in Russia in the past decade.;

Colour Photo: REUTERS; La Paz, Bolivia: Bolivian President Evo Morales raises the national flag during celebrations for Sea Day in La Paz, Friday. The annual Sea Day recalls the Bolivian coast that was lost during a war against Chile in 1879.;

Colour Photo: REUTERS; Qalqilya, West Bank: Palestinian <u>women</u> rally for the <u>Hamas</u> movement in the West Bank town of Qalqilya Friday. The UN wants the new Palestinian unity government to renounce violence. The government, including ministers from prime minister Ismail Haniya's hard-line <u>Hamas</u> movement and president Mahmud Abbas's Fatah was unveiled March 15 after months of haggling.;

Colour Photo: REUTERS; Mahmoudiya, Iraq: An Iraqi woman mourns over a blood stain on the ground after her husband and two sons were killed by gunmen in Mahmoudiya, 30 kilometres south of Baghdad, Friday.;

Load-Date: March 25, 2007



Top of the World

thespec.com

August 21, 2007 Tuesday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Shuho Watanabe, Reuters, JAPAN All 165 passengers and crew safely fled a China Airlines flight yesterday when it burst into flames after landing on Japan's southern island of Okinawa. They scrambled down emergency chutes or jumped from cockpit windows -- some just seconds before the smoking Boeing 737-800 exploded. Passengers said the engines -- first the left, then the right -- began burning after they landed and smoke started filling the cabin just as they were about to disembark. The Taiwan-based airline immediately grounded the rest of its Boeing 737-800 jetliners. Officials said a fuel leak might have been to blame. China Airlines has a troubled safety record. One of its 747s crashed in 2002 as it flew from Taipei to Hong Kong, resulting in 225 deaths. Accidents involving the airline killed about 450 people in the 1990s.; Photo: Reuters, AFGHANISTAN The body of Private Simon Longtin was carried aboard a waiting aircraft in Kandahar, yesterday, as more than 1,000 soldiers from 37 countries paid tribute to the first casualty in Afghanistan for Quebec's Van Doo regiment. Longtin, 23, died Sunday when his light armoured vehicle struck a roadside bomb. The C-120 Hercules transport plane is expected to arrive back at CFB Trenton today where it will be met by Longtin's parents and girlfriend. Sixty-seven Canadian soldiers and a diplomat have died in Afghanistan since 2002. The fatalities include a couple of other soldiers from Quebec, but Longtin is the first from the Royal 22nd.; Photo: Reuters, Suhaib Salem, GAZA The European Union has cut off vital funding to a Gaza power plant, forcing it to shut down, darkening tens of thousands of Palestinian homes. An EU official cited security concerns, saying it wanted to "take stock of all of our mechanisms and systems, including auditing, monitoring and funding flows." The government of moderate Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, formed in the West Bank after Hamas took over Gaza, blamed the Islamic group for the power shortage, saying Hamas has been pocketing electricity revenues. A Hamas spokesman, in turn, accused Abbas of a "dirty conspiracy" to discredit *Hamas*.; Photo: Doug Beghtel, the Associated Press, UNITED STATES Ryan Cornelison, left, and Cory Mashburn were all smiles yesterday after a judge in McMinnville, Ore., dismissed charges of criminal sexual harassment against the 13-year-olds for slapping girls' bottoms and poking their breasts. Critics said prosecutors had blown the matter out of proportion. Four girls listed as victims also wanted the charges dropped. The boys apologized to the girls in court, yesterday. A newspaper said the boys also agreed to pay each of the girls \$250 US and complete a "boundaries education" program.; Photo: Louis Lanzano, the Associated Press, UNITED STATES Leona Helmsley, who helped her husband run a \$5-billion US hotel and real estate empire but sealed her reputation as the "queen of mean" during her 1989 trial for tax evasion, died yesterday. Helmsley, 87, died of heart failure at her summer home in Greenwich, Conn. At her tax evasion trial, one former housekeeper testified that she heard Helmsley say: "We don't pay taxes. Only the little people pay taxes." She denied having said it, but the words followed her for the rest of her life. Her husband died in 1997 at age 87.; Photo: Bazuki Muhammad, Reuters, MALAYSIA Two female black Labs that impressed police in Malaysia with their ability to sniff out pirated music CDs

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and movie DVDs are on their way to similar jobs in Toronto and New York. The dogs -- Lucky and Flo -- owned by the Motion Picture Association of America, are the world's first dogs trained to smell out the chemicals used in the disks. During their five months in Malaysia, they were credited with 26 arrests and seizures totalling about \$6 million US.

Load-Date: August 21, 2007



Caption only: A cry for order

Deseret Morning News (Salt Lake City)
September 5, 2007 Wednesday

Copyright 2007 The Deseret News Publishing Co.

Length: 36 words

Body

Members of the Palestinian <u>Women</u>'s Union demonstrate in Gaza City on Tuesday to demand to the restoration of law and order. <u>Hamas</u> wrested control of the Gaza Strip from forces affiliated with the Fatah Party in June.

Load-Date: September 5, 2007



Romania: 30 Romanians stuck in Gaza

The Gazette (Montreal)
June 22, 2007 Friday
Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A16; Fast Track

Length: 33 words

Byline: AFP

Dateline: BUCHAREST

Body

Romania is trying to evacuate about 30 of its citizens, most of them <u>women</u> and children, from the Gaza Strip following <u>Hamas</u>'s seizure of the territory last week, the foreign ministry said yesterday.

Load-Date: June 22, 2007



Cities: Making news in the global village

The Gazette (Montreal)

December 24, 2006 Sunday

Final Edition

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Section: INSIGHT: GLOBAL VILLAGE; Pg. B3

Byline: The Gazette

Graphic

Colour Photo: REUTERS; Nablus, West Bank: A Palestinian Fatah gunman takes position during a gunbattle with militants from <u>Hamas</u> in the West Bank city of Nablus Friday. Gunmen loyal to Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas of Fatah opened fire on <u>Hamas</u> members in the occupied West Bank, wounding at least two people, hospital officials and witnesses said.;

Colour Photo: AP; Cite Soleil, Haiti: Two <u>women</u> cry as they see the bodies of five men killed during clashes between UN peacekeepers and gang members at the Cite Soleil district in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, Friday. United Nations peacekeeping troops traded heavy gunfire for more than five hours with gangs in Cite Soleil and at least five people were killed. It was not possible to confirm who shot the five.; Colour

Photo: AP; London, England: A passenger sleeps in Terminal One at Heathrow Airport, in London, Thursday. Several hundred flights were cancelled Thursday because of a third day of thick fog. British Airways cancelled 180 flights, including all domestic and some European services. Service was back to normal yesterday.; Colour

Photo: AP; Sinuiju, N. Korea: A North Korean soldier aims at the photographer as he trains in the North Korean town of Sinuiju Tuesday. The top U.S. negotiator in nuclear disarmament talks with North Korea said no progress had been made and urged Pyongyang to come to the table with a realistic offer.

Load-Date: December 24, 2006



TOP OF THE WORLD

thespec.com
February 9, 2007 Friday
Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Reuters, Mohammed Salem, GAZA Palestinians celebrated in Gaza yesterday after rival *Hamas* and Fatah leaders signed an agreement to share power, with *Hamas* promising to "respect" peace deals with Israel. The pact, reached on the second day of the marathon Saudi-brokered talks in Mecca, sets out the principles of the coalition government, including the division of cabinet posts. As well as ending days of bloody infighting between *Hamas* and Fatah, the agreement is aiming at ending international sanctions that have frozen financial aid to the Palestinian government since <u>Hamas</u> won legislative elections. But unless Israel, the United States and the European Union find the wording satisfactory, the financial embargo will not be lifted and it will be difficult to advance the peace process.; Photo: Chris Wattie, Reuters, CANADA Environment Minister John Baird was showing off his green necktie to journalists yesterday but later dismissed any thought of embracing the Kyoto Protocol as part of the government's effort to win over green voters. During a tempestuous committee appearance, Baird dismissed the Kyoto targets with more finality than his predecessor Rona Ambrose ever did. "Canadians do not want empty promises on a plan that we cannot achieve and they do not want our country to face economic collapse," he told MPs studying the government's troubled Clean Air Act. Baird categorically ruled out participation in Kyoto's emissions-trading system, unlike Ambrose, who said she would support international trading if benefits could be verified. Baird's hard line seems to leave little room for salvaging the Clean Air Act, since all three opposition parties have said they will not support the bill unless it reaffirms the country's Kyoto commitments. Failure by the committee to salvage the legislation could allow the Conservatives to enter an election, if one were called, saying that the opposition had thwarted their environmental agenda. The NDP, which has promised to work with the Conservatives in committee to improve the Clean Air Act, could pay a political price if it relents on its frequently stated position that the legislation must include confirmation of the Kyoto targets.; Photo: Marcelo Del Pozo, Reuters, SPAIN NATO Secretary General Jaap de Hoorp Scheffe appeared to be in some discomfort yesterday as he followed U.S. Defence Secretary Robert Gates at a meeting of NATO defence ministers in Seville. Gates is pushing reluctant countries to muster more troops for Afghanistan to bolster a spring offensive against Taliban strongholds. The United States and Britain supply more than half the 35,000-member force. Canada has some 2,500 troops in Afghanistan.; Photo: Christophe Ena, the Associated Press, FRANCE Two French police officers have been charged in the 2005 electrocution of two teenagers whose deaths sparked three weeks of rioting. The boys, 15, and 17, died after running into a power substation to escape police. The pursuing officers were charged with "nonassistance to people in danger" for not asking that the power be turned off.; Photo: Binod Joshi, the Associated Press, UNITED NATIONS UN human rights chief Louise Arbour -- ignored when she protested the executions of Saddam Hussein and other former Iraqi officials -- has now taken the legal route. She has filed a legal challenge with Irag's highest court against further executions, saying Iragi trial and appeal

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procedures may not meet international standards.; Photo: The Associated Press , UNITED STATES When Tina Burlett couldn't find her custom-made \$5,000 wedding ring anywhere in her Raisinville Township, Mich., home, she suspected a break-in and called police, who filed a report. But her grandmother had a different suspect in mind -- Missy, the family pooch. X-rays proved her right. A veterinarian gave Missy something to make her vomit and out came the ring, none the worse for wear.; Photo: Fred Chartrand, the Canadian Press , CANADA Liberal Leader Stéphane Dion is prepared to take "extraordinary measures" to boost the ranks of women candidates in the next federal election, including barring men from nominations in some ridings. Organizers say Dion's goal of having at least one-third women candidates will be impossible to reach without some type of intervention.

Load-Date: February 9, 2007



Gaza refugees are trapped in tunnel; In brief

The Evening Standard (London)
June 20, 2007 Wednesday

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Section: A; Pg. 22 Length: 41 words

Body

HUNDREDS of Palestinians spent a second night in a tunnel leading to Israel, trying to flee Gaza but trapped by <u>Hamas</u> militants at one end and an Israeli tank at the other. The refugees, many including <u>women</u> and children, were short of food and water.

Load-Date: June 22, 2007



TOP OF THE WORLD

thespec.com

March 20, 2007 Tuesday

Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Kimberly White, Reuters, UNITED STATES As anti-war demonstrations continued across the United States to mark the fourth anniversary of the invasion of Iraq, President George W. Bush again appealed to Americans to show patience. "It can be tempting to look at the challenges in Iraq and conclude our best option is to pack up and go home," Bush said yesterday. "That may be satisfying in the short run, but I believe the consequences for American security would be devastating." He said these are early days of his troop surge plan aimed at securing Baghdad, saying success will take months, but first there will be "good days and ... bad days."; Photo: Louis Lanzano, the Associated Press , NEW YORK Rev. Al Sharpton, centre, went to court yesterday with the surviving victims of last November's fatal shooting by police of an unarmed groom on his wedding day. Three police officers charged in the 50-bullet barrage pleaded not guilty at their arraignment to charges ranging from manslaughter to endangerment of life and were freed, two on bail and one on his own recognizance. All three victims were black, as are two of the policemen. The case renewed allegations that New York cops are too quick on the trigger.; Photo: Virginia Mayo, the Associated Press, BRUSSELS A mini-Europe display in Belgium will help celebrate the 50th anniversary of the European Union later this month. But neither God nor Christianity will feature in a declaration highlighting European values. The 27 member states plan scores of events to mark the March 27, 1957 creation of the European Economic Community, forerunner of today's EU. References to God or Christianity are being left out in deference to secular nations or those that stress the separation of church and state.; Photo: Ibraheem Abu Mustafa, Reuters, GAZA STRIP As *Hamas* militants took part in continued training yesterday, a *Hamas* sniper shot and wounded an electric company worker on the Israeli side of the border in the Islamic movement's first acknowledged breach of a four-month-old truce with Israel. A spokesman for the armed wing of *Hamas* said a separate attack sent two mortar rounds over the border but failed to hit their targets, a group of Israeli soldiers. Both incidents served to embarrass the Palestinian Authority's two-day-old <u>Hamas</u>-led coalition government as it lobbied for international recognition and aid.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, MONTREAL A Montreal YMCA is removing frosted glass installed to protect the innocent eyes of young Orthodox Jewish students from scantily clad exercisers but the windows will be covered with blinds. The decision will return the windows to their state before the frosted glass was installed at the request of the synagogue across the alley. Some young male students at the synagogue found the state of undress of some exercisers to be a distraction. YMCA management tried to be good neighbours, allowing a member of the Jewish community to pay to have the windows frosted. But a female Y member complained about being hidden behind the frosted glass and started a petition which was supported by 72 per cent of the YMCA members.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, ONTARIO Five so-called deadbeat dads have been tracked down thanks to a snitch website that posted their pictures online, says Ontario Community and Social Services Minister Madeleine Meilleur (pictured). But critics said the government should only celebrate after the

TOP OF THE WORLD

affected families are able to get the outstanding child support owed to them. The government has said it will post up to 25 profiles at a time on Goodparentspay.com and replace them after three months or after a parent agrees to pay. The Family Responsibility Office has about 188,000 active cases, dealing with \$1.3 billion in child support arrears.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA The family of Ralph Lung Kee Lee told a memorial service in Toronto yesterday that they hope his story lives on long after his death. Lee, pictured, earned a place in Canadian history books as the oldest Chinese head-tax payer to accept the government's official apology and redress. Lee received his \$20,000 redress cheque from Ottawa on March 10, his 107th birthday -- just five days before he died. "It was almost like, 'I waited this long, here I am. I'm going to stay alive to get it,'" Lee's daughter Linda Ing said of her father, who received his apology and compensation 94 years after coming to Canada.

Load-Date: March 20, 2007



Gaza Strip: Female suicide bomber attacks Israeli soldiers

Ottawa Citizen

November 7, 2006 Tuesday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A9

Length: 53 words

Byline: Citizen News Services

Body

A <u>female</u> suicide bomber approached Israeli troops yesterday in Beit Hanoun and blew herself up, the army and Palestinian residents said. One soldier was wounded in the blast, the army said. Palestinian paramedics confirmed that the woman had been killed. <u>Hamas</u> radio reported that many civilians were injured in the blast.

Load-Date: November 7, 2006



Mosque pair shot

The Sun (England)
November 4, 2006 Saturday

Copyright 2006 NEWS GROUP NEWSPAPERS LTD All Rights Reserved

Length: 110 words

Body

GIVE your No1 Sun your EXCLUSIVE stories with our brilliant new 63000 service. Just call or text 63000 from your mobile -or email 63000@thesun.co.uk You can still ring 020 7782 4100, text 07917 576539 -or email exclusive@thesun.co.uk TWO women acting as human shields for Palestinian gunmen were shot dead by Israeli troops yesterday.

Fifty women in veils answered a radio appeal to help 60 men who had taken refuge in a Gaza mosque to escape.

The Israeli army said it had fired at armed Palestinians and was investigating whether it had also shot the women.

The shootings happened in the town of Beit Hanoun during an Israeli assault to stop <u>Hamas</u> rocket attacks.

Load-Date: November 4, 2006



TOP OF THE WORLD

thespec.com
February 6, 2007 Tuesday
Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Envy Nuraheni, Reuters, JAKARTA, INDONESIA Victims of massive flooding in Jakarta, Indonesia, lined up yesterday to get food and water from rescue crews. At least 29 have died after days of torrential rain, some 340,000 have been forced from their homes, and large sections of the capital are without power and clean water. In scenes reminiscent of New Orleans after hurricane Katrina, residents of Jakarta are wading through poor neighbourhoods in water up to their necks or floating on makeshift rafts bearing clothes and other salvaged possessions. Rising along with the water is the threat of diseases such as diarrhea and dysentery. Also increasing are complaints and anger about the response to the floods by local officials. Authorities say up to 70 per cent of the city, which covers an area of more than 660 square kilometres, has been submerged. Skies cleared yesterday and flood waters receded in some parts of the city of 12 million. But forecasters predicted more rain in the coming days, and officials warned that more floods are possible because river levels are high. Landslides and flash floods during the wet season kill hundreds in Indonesia every year, and the capital is not immune. But it has rarely, if ever, seen floods as bad as those since Thursday. The high water washed into rich and poor districts alike, inundating scores of markets, schools and businesses.; Photo: Larry Downing, Reuters, WASHINGTON Canadian Lieutenant-General Romeo Dallaire, left, and actor Don Cheadle were among those pleading with U.S. senators, yesterday, for action to end genocide in the Darfur region of Sudan. Dallaire was the former commander of the UN peacekeeping forces in Rwanda when genocide there killed 700,000 people. Cheadle starred in the movie Hotel Rwanda, portraying a businessman who saved more than 1,200 people during the 100 days of slaughter. They were appearing before a subcommittee hearing of the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee on Human Rights and the Law. Both men pleaded for the United States and Canada to work harder to rally the world and provide the political will to save people in Darfur.; Photo: Chris Wattie, Reuters, GATINEAU, QUEBEC Abject poverty on native reserves is resulting in far too many aboriginal children being removed from their homes by child protection services, says the grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations. And the way to fix the problem, Phil Fontaine said yesterday, is to spend another \$109 million a year on child welfare programs. The assembly will launch a human rights complaint against Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, claiming the federal funding formula for aboriginal child services amounts to systemic discrimination "simply because of their race." Fontaine made the comments at the International Congress on Ethics, a three-day conference on ethical issues in governance.; Photo: Morris Mac Matzen, Reuters, SITTENSEN, GERMANY Six people were found shot dead early yesterday at a Chinese restaurant in northern Germany. The bodies of three men and three women, some of them tied up, were found in Sittensen, a town of some 10,000 people south of Hamburg. A seventh person was seriously wounded. Police said a man found the bodies when he went to pick up his wife from the 100-seat Lin Yue restaurant at about half past midnight. The woman was among the victims. "We are assuming that they are employees of the restaurant and that the crime happened after closing

time," said a police spokesman. Investigators could find no witnesses other than the man who found the bodies and had no tips as to who might have been responsible.; Photo: Ibraheem Abu Mustafa, Reuters, GAZA Palestinian vouths stage a death protest against the internal fighting between Fatah and *Hamas* in the southern Gaza Strip. Observers say a meeting between the two factions in Saudi Arabia may be a last chance to avoid all-out civil war. If Saudi prestige, money and discussions in Islam's holy city of Mecca don't produce a power-sharing agreement, it's unlikely anything will, analysts said. In recent months, Egypt, Syria and Qatar have tried in vain to end the bloody power struggle between the Islamic militant Hamas and the Fatah movement of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas. The talks, set to begin today, will be held in a guest palace overlooking the Kaaba, the huge cubelike shrine toward which all Muslims pray. Abbas and his bitter rival, *Hamas* leader Khaled Mashaal, each will be accompanied by large delegations. The negotiations follow the bloodiest round yet in months of *Hamas*-Fatah fighting in Gaza, with 29 killed over four days before a new truce took hold Sunday. The sides have been deadlocked since Hamas won elections in January 2006 and took control of the cabinet and legislature. Abbas, a Fatah moderate, was elected separately a year earlier.; Photo: The Associated Press, QUEENSBURY, N.Y. Misdemeanour charges against a cruise line and the captain of a boat that capsized on Lake George, N.Y., killing 20 elderly tourists, are all that's possible under law, a prosecutor said yesterday. Shoreline Cruises and Captain Richard Paris were both charged with failing to have enough crew members aboard the Ethan Allen tour boat when it flipped over on Oct. 2, 2005, sending its passengers into the chilly water. Paris was the only crew member aboard, state navigation law required at least two for the 47 passengers on board that day. The charges are misdemeanours under the state's navigation law, punishable by up to 15 days in jail and,or a \$250 fine. Since Shoreline is a corporation, it cannot face jail time. Warren County District Attorney Kate Hogan said a more serious charge of criminal negligence was not supportable because there was not enough evidence to show the operators knew the boat, which had sailed on Lake George since 1979, would capsize. Nor was there definitive evidence an additional crew member could have prevented the deaths, she said.; Photo: Michael Kooren, Reuters, ROTTERDAM Britain's Queen Elizabeth, left, was welcomed yesterday by Dutch Queen Beatrix at Rotterdam airport as she arrived in the Netherlands to mark the 400th anniversary of Amsterdam's English Reformed Church, the oldest English-speaking congregation outside Britain. The small chapel, one of Amsterdam's oldest buildings, was built in the 15th century for local Catholics but stood empty for years after Protestants took control of Amsterdam in 1578. The building was handed over to Amsterdam's English-speaking Protestants, many of whom lived in the busy trading city, in 1607. Despite its name, the church is officially part of the Church of Scotland. The British monarch also visited the United Nation's International Court of Justice in The Haque, and later attended a reception at the Amsterdam Historical Museum hosted by the British ambassador.; Photo: Reuters, Orlando Police Department, ORLANDO, FLORIDA U.S. Navy Capt. Lisa Nowak, 43, who flew last July on the space shuttle Discovery, to the international space station, was arrested and charged yesterday with kidnapping, attempted vehicle burglary with battery, destruction of evidence and battery. Police said Nowak drove from her home in Houston to the Orlando International Airport to confront Colleen Shipman. That's her arrest photo, top right. Nowak believed Shipman was romantically involved with Navy Cmdr. William Oefelein, a pilot during space shuttle Discovery's trip last December. Nowak told police that her relationship with Oefelein was "more than a working relationship but less than a romantic relationship". Police officers recovered a love letter to Oefelein in her car.; Photo: The Associated Press, BEIJING Retired physician Gao Yaojie, who embarrassed China's government by exposing blood-selling schemes that infected thousands with HIV, is under house arrest to keep her from going to Washington to be honoured by a charity, a friend said yesterday. Gao was to be honoured at a March 14 Vital Voices annual awards dinner.

Load-Date: February 6, 2007



LETTER: THE BIG ISSUE - WELCOME HOME

The Mirror
July 6, 2007 Friday
3 Star Edition

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Section: LETTERS; Pg. 51

Length: 139 words **Byline:** RUTH TENNE

Body

KIDNAPPED BBC journalist Alan Johnston has been released after being held captive by Army of Islam fanatics for 114 days in Gaza. You welcome the news that the 45-year-old is now free and salute the bravery of front-line reporters who bring us the news...

I WAS elated to hear that Mr Johnston was freed by his kidnappers due to the determined efforts of the <u>Hamas</u> government and the over whelming global campaign for his freedom. Yet, the international community appears to abandon the 10,000 Palestinian prisoners who have been detained in Israeli prisons.

These include include 450 children and teenagers, 125 <u>women</u> and 33 members of the Palestinian Legislative Council. I hope that a global campaign for their release will be launched now and experience the same terrific success as in the case of Alan Johnston.

Ruth Tenne North London

Load-Date: July 6, 2007



ISRAELI TROOPS KILL 2 WOMEN

Daily Record

November 4, 2006, Saturday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 2

Length: 121 words

Body

ISRAELI troops shot into a crowd of unarmed Arab <u>women</u> yesterday, killing two and wounding 10.

The soldiers opened fire as the <u>women</u> rushed to a Gaza mosque to act as human shields for trapped Palestinian militants.

Their mercy mission was hailed around the Middle East and left the Israeli army facing more charges of brutality. It came on the third day of of an Israeli assault on the town of Beit Hanoun.

Troops surrounded the gunmen in the al-Nasir mosque in a bid to stop Palestinian militants firing rockets at Israel.

Palestinian radio stations had broadcast appeals for the <u>women</u> to go to the mosque. Around 50 turned up but at least 12 were hit.

However their actions were praised by prime minister Ismail Haniyeh of *Hamas*.

Load-Date: November 4, 2006



World ignores unfolding tragedy

Australian Financial Review
November 10, 2006 Friday
First Edition

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Section: NEWS; Letters; Pg. 79

Length: 157 words

Body

The tragedy in Beit Hanoun, where Israeli artillery shells have killed 19 Palestinians, many of them <u>women</u> and children, reinforces our view that Israel is becoming more and more brutalised in its interaction with the Palestinians, while attempting to maintain its own security.

There is an irony in our use of the word tragedy to describe this event, because we well understand that Palestinians are more likely to describe it as an atrocity. Either way, we condemn what has occurred.

Israel has made it abundantly clear that it is not interested in resuming negotiations. The Palestinian <u>Hamas</u> government has stuck its head in the sands of the Middle East about recognising the existence of Israel. And the United Nations, United States, European Union and Russia are doing absolutely nothing.

The response from all sides so far is intensifying both the tragedy and the atrocity.

Steve Brook,

Australian Jewish Democratic Society,

Melbourne, Vic.

Load-Date: April 5, 2012



Palestinian teachers end strike

The Gazette (Montreal)

November 8, 2006 Wednesday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A22

Length: 157 words

Byline: AP

Dateline: RAMALLAH, West Bank

Body

Thousands of Palestinian teachers returned to work across the West Bank and Gaza Strip yesterday, ending a strike that had left 800,000 children locked out of their studies for nearly two months.

Most teachers spent the day preparing for the official reopening of the school year on Saturday. But in some schools, students returned to class, and teachers gave abbreviated, improvised lessons.

Israeli tanks fired two shells at the home of the <u>Hamas</u> legislator who organized a <u>women</u>'s protest that allowed militants to escape from a northern Gaza mosque under Israeli siege. Hospital officials confirmed three deaths.

Seven Palestinians were killed and 20 wounded this morning by Israeli fire in Beit Hanoun, medical sources told Agence France-Presse, one day after the Israeli army pulled out of the flashpoint northern Gaza Strip town.

- - -

ONLINE EXTRA: A new report presents an alarming picture

of the abuse of **women** in the Palestinian territories.

Load-Date: November 8, 2006



McCain camp apologizes for criticizing Mormons

Telegraph Herald (Dubuque, IA)

June 23, 2007 Saturday

Copyright 2007 Woodward Communications, Inc. All Rights Reserved

Section: D; Pg. 3 **Length:** 157 words

Byline: The Associated Press

Body

DES MOINES (AP) - John McCain's presidential campaign has apologized to Republican rival Mitt Romney's campaign for comments about the Mormon church allegedly made by a volunteer earlier this year.

The incident dates back to a meeting of Iowa Republican activists in April, where McCain's Warren County chairman, Chad Workman, is alleged to have made negative comments about The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints and the Mormon faith. Romney is a Mormon.

A participant at the meeting said Workman questioned whether Mormons were Christians, and that he referenced an article alleging that the Mormon church supports the Islamic militant group *Hamas*.

In response to a question on whether Mormon <u>women</u> were more likely to be stay-at-home mothers, the participant said Workman associated the treatment of Mormon **women** with the Taliban.

McCain spokesman Danny Diaz said "we apologize for any comment made concerning Gov. Romney's religion."

Load-Date: July 19, 2007



Ictu call for Israel boycott

The Irish Times
September 15, 2007 Saturday

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Section: LETTERS; Pg. 17

Length: 199 words

Body

Madam, - It never fails to amaze me that so many people see red at the mere mention of Israel's democratic right to peaceful co-existence with its neighbours. In his letter of September 13th, Charles Spillane complains of Israeli abuses but, of course, omits any reference to the almost daily incursions into Israel by Palestinian terrorists.

These groups, including <u>Hamas</u>, proclaim they will not rest until they annihilate the entire Jewish population. And, as is obvious from the wild celebrations every time a busload of innocent civilians is blown to pieces, there is massive support amongst the general Palestinian population for their terrorist "heroes."

Internationally agreed procedures for a peaceful settlement have been ignored by militants who continue to murder and maim as many men, **women** and children as they can target.

Should the Israeli military simply lie down in the face of this onslaught and ignore the plight of its people?

As the only true democracy in the Middle East, Israel has managed to keep the wild extremes of Islamism in its place, and in so doing, made the countries of Europe more secure. - Yours, etc,

NIALL GINTY, The Demesne, Killester, Dublin 5.

Load-Date: September 15, 2007



Palestinians call for revenge as 18 are buried

Daily Mail (London)

November 10, 2006 Friday

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Section: ED 1ST; Pg. 48

Length: 174 words

Body

TENS of thousands of Palestinians screamed for revenge yesterday as they buried 18 civilians killed by Israeli shelling in Gaza.

Groups of militants, some masked and firing weapons in the air, flanked the funeral procession as it snaked through Beit Hanoun, scene of Wednesday's attack.

The bodies, including seven children and four <u>women</u>, were wrapped in yellow flags, the symbol of the Fatah movement, and held aloft on stretchers among a vast crowd of tearful and angry mourners.

Some of the tiny bodies were held by their grieving parents.

The youngest victim, an 18-month-old girl, was laid in her grave by her weeping father.

Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert said he was very distressed by the deaths of innocents. He blamed the carnage on a 'technical failure' by Israeli artillery, which he said were aiming in another direction where shooting had been seen.

The Beit Hanoun killings have brought together the rival movements Fatah and <u>Hamas</u> after months of factional infighting, suggesting progress could soon be made on a unity government.

Load-Date: November 10, 2006



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR; The Mideast blame game

The International Herald Tribune
June 25, 2007 Monday

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Section: OPINION; Pg. 7

Length: 195 words

Body

Rami G. Khouri spreads the blame very easily in his op-ed column "Palestinian incompetence, Western hypocrisy (June 19) about the barbaric fighting between *Hamas* and Fatah.

While no one can dispute Khouri's assertion that Palestinian incompetence (as well as Palestinian intransigence and terrorism) is to blame for the current situation, Khouri falls back on the favorite tune of Arab intellectuals - blame the United States and Israel.

The Arab-Israeli dispute is merely one problem in the region. Some of the other problems, which have no connection to the Arab-Israeli dispute are: illiteracy (50 percent among Arab <u>women</u>), subjugation of Shiites by Sunnis, Islamists driving Christians out of the region, honor killings, intolerance of homosexuality, cruel dictators; a lack of freedom of speech and other basic freedoms, and, of course, jihad.

I blame intellectuals like Khouri, who should (and probably do) know that the region's real problems have nothing to do with Israel, Jews, America and the West. There are some brave voices in the Arab world who are speaking out about the these problems in the hope that the region will finally move forward.

Josh Baker, Bangkok

Load-Date: June 25, 2007



PICK OF THE DAY

The Independent (London)
September 30, 2006 Saturday
Final Edition

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Section: FEATURES; Pg. 56

Length: 165 words

Body

The Amazing Mrs Pritchard 9pm BBC1

Jane Horrocks stars as a supermarket manager who decides to become an MP after a number of less than impressive performances outside her shop by local politicians.

Steven Mackintosh and Jodhi May co-star in this comedy-drama.

Horizon 9pm BBC2

Anew run of the science documentary series begins with an investigation into how to survive a plane crash, and reveals that improvements in science and technology now mean that the majority of crash victims live to tell the tale.

This World 9.50pm BBC2

An examination of life under Palestine's <u>Hamas</u> government as seen through the eyes of Mahmood, a charming and enterprising 12-year-old boy who supports his family by selling tea in Gaza's biggest hospital.

Diary of a Mail-order Bride 10pm C4

Adocumentary following Russian <u>women</u> seeking foreign husbands, and vice versa. Among their slightly sad number are a 22-year-old from Siberia who speaks no English, engaged to a 46-year-old London man who speaks no Russian. PCo

Load-Date: September 30, 2006



MP backing musicians in visa wrangle

Evening News (Edinburgh)

November 6, 2006, Monday

1 Edition

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Section: Pg. 10

Length: 181 words

Body

EDINBURGH MP Mark Lazarowicz has called on the Government to intervene so that a group of Palestinian musicians can visit Edinburgh.

Mr Lazarowicz was contacted by the group <u>Women</u> In Black Scotland, which is attempting to bring Yousef Awad, the director of the Jenin Cultural Centre in the occupied Palestinian territories, and three musicians to play at several events in the Scottish capital.

The men were due to travel to Britain on November 11 but the British Consulate in Jerusalem, while granting a visa to Yousef, turned down the documentation for the three musicians, Ahmed Bashir, Quais Abu Nada and S M Natour, on the grounds they feared they might stay in the UK illegally.

The Scottish Palestinian Forum has undertaken to cover their expenses and claim the group have spent all their savings surviving since the UK and European Union stopped supporting the Palestinian territories in the wake of the <u>Hamas</u> election victory.

Edinburgh North and Leith MP Mr Lazarowicz said the musicians were "innocent victims of the present governmental funding crisis in the Palestinian authority".

Load-Date: November 6, 2006



Left-wing dreamers

Ottawa Citizen
May 14, 2007 Monday
Letters Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. A9

Length: 194 words

Byline: Fred Maroun, The Ottawa Citizen

Body

Re: Canadian antiwar activists sat down with terror groups, May 8.

Canadian Peace Alliance coordinator Sid Lacombe tells us that the Cairo conference was an opportunity for "dialogue" with the likes of <u>Hamas</u> and Hezbollah. Cairo's Al Ahram Weekly believes that the international left is "overcoming its traditional resistance to the cultural conservatism of Islam." How lovely!

Exactly what kind of "dialogue" are our peace activists having with terrorists? Did they tell them that killing Israeli children and making incursions into Israel to kidnap soldiers was, perhaps, not the best way to achieve peace? Did they tell them that Israelis are, after all, people too and not just members of the "Zionist entity"? Don't bet on it.

Just when we think that the left could not possibly sink any lower, they surprise us again. These so-called Canadian leftists abandoned the most cherished values of the traditional left: peace, secularism, and <u>women</u>'s rights. This illustrates why many who traditionally voted for the left, like myself, now prefer to vote for Stephen Harper or Nicolas Sarkozy, the new president of France. When will the left wake up?

Fred Maroun,

Ottawa

Load-Date: May 16, 2007



<u>INSIDE</u>

The New York Times

November 4, 2006 Saturday

Late Edition - Final

Copyright 2006 The New York Times Company

Section: Section A; Column 4; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 1

Length: 199 words

Body

Minister Admits Buying Drug, but Denies Tryst

After denying that he had ever met the gay escort who has claimed a sexual relationship, the Rev. Ted Haggard, former president of National Association of Evangelicals, admitted calling the man for a massage and buying methamphetamine from him. But he said he did not use the drug. PAGE A9

Vivendi Got \$50 Billion Bid

Kohlberg Kravis Roberts, the buyout firm, reportedly discussed a \$50 billion offer to buy Vivendi, the French entertainment company. BUSINESS DAY, PAGE C1

Israelis Kill 2 Women in Gaza

Israeli troops killed two Palestinian <u>women</u> and wounded 10 others who were seeking to serve as human shields for <u>Hamas</u> militants holed up in a mosque, after an overnight standoff in the Gaza Strip. PAGE A3

THIS WEEKEND

Down Syndrome and College

Students with Down syndrome and autistic spectrum disorders are attending college in growing numbers. Do they belong? Also: Full-time students with full-time children, and how much the SAT essay really matters. EDUCATION LIFE

Holiday Movies

How Oscar campaigns are starting now, not in Hollywood but in New York. Also: Emma Thompson, Will Smith and new penguin movies. A special section. ARTS & LEISURE

http://www.nytimes.com

Graphic

INSIDE

Photo

Load-Date: November 4, 2006



thespec.com
June 22, 2007 Friday
Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA On a day intended for celebrating aboriginal culture, festivities in one First Nations community in Quebec were marred by swastikas and racist graffiti spray-painted on their local cultural centre. The residents of Kitigan Zibi, about 130 kilometres north of Ottawa, woke yesterday to find the building covered with Nazi symbols and hateful messages spray-painted in black, and they are now having to explain to their children the meaning of "white power." Picnic tables and tents outside the centre -- set up for children's face painting, crafts and other National Aboriginal Day activities -- were also vandalized. "Certainly it's not a coincidence" that the vandalism occurred on such a significant day for aboriginals, said Kitigan Zibi police Chief Gordon McGregor. "It was meant to send a message to the community here, and it's not a message that was well received." McGregor said police are looking into the possibility the culprit or culprits are from the neighbouring town of Maniwaki. Anita Tenasco, the director of education at the cultural centre, said a recent land claim was a source of contention. Last fall, the Kitigan Zibi First Nation was successful in a land claim for a piece of property in the heart of Maniwaki. Bernie Farber, executive director of the Canadian Jewish Congress said the Jewish community understands the aboriginal community's pain. "We are standing literally arm in arm and shoulder to shoulder with the native community," said Farber. "We understand this pain. We feel this pain."; Photo: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, WEST BANK A youth holds a picture of Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and late leader Yasser Arafat during an anti-Hamas demonstration in the West Bank city of Ramallah, yesterday. Egypt has moved to isolate *Hamas*, calling a regional summit next week, shunning contacts with the militant group after its takeover of Gaza. Egypt and other Arab nations don't want the new power of Islamic radicals in Gaza to inflame fundamentalists on their own soil. Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia see Abbas' West Bank cabinet as the legitimate Palestinian government.; Photo: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, INDIA The 15-year-old son of two doctors performed a filmed Caesarean section birth under his parents' watch in southern India in an apparent bid to gain a spot in the Guinness Book of World Records as the youngest surgeon. Instead, the boy's father could be stripped of his licences and may face criminal charges, officials said yesterday. Dr. K. Murugesan allegedly told medical authorities that "this was not the first surgery performed by his son and that he had been training him for the last three years."; Photo: UNITED STATES The mothers of five young children killed in a house fire surrendered to police in Pittsburgh, yesterday, to face charges for leaving the youngsters alone while they went to a bar. Shakita Mangham, above, and Furaha Love, both 25, each face five counts of involuntary manslaughter and one count of making false reports to police. Authorities concluded that the children were not left with a babysitter the night of the June 12 fire, as Mangham had initially told police. The two women are also charged with reckless endangering firefighters and endangering the welfare of children. The dead children were aged three to seven. Two eight-year-old boys managed to escape.; Photo: Ap Photos, ; Photo: TORONTO STAR, CANADA Crowded baggage compartments

mean Air Canada travellers won't be able to take their pets along on the plane for summer holidays. As of July 15, pets are barred on domestic passenger flights and, pending federal approval, from flights to the U.S. or other international destinations. They'll have to be shipped on cargo planes.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA The Supreme Court of Canada has agreed to hear the case of Waddah Mustapha of Windsor, Ont., after a lower court stripped him of \$341,775 he won from a company that delivered him a water bottle with a dead fly floating near the top. Mustapha, 46, said it triggered a phobia of flies that altered his personality and killed his sex life.

Load-Date: June 22, 2007



thespec.com

June 25, 2007 Monday

Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: Reuters, LEBANON A car bomb killed six United Nations peacekeepers patrolling a road in southern Lebanon yesterday. Three of the dead were Colombian and two were Spanish. The nationality of the sixth soldier was not known. The attack marked the first time that the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) has come under attack since it was reinforced last summer after the war between Hezbollah guerrillas and Israeli forces in Lebanon. Thirty countries contribute to the 13,000-member force. Hezbollah, which has had good relations with UNIFIL since the troops were first deployed in Lebanon in 1978, was quick to denounce the attack. Though it was uncertain who was behind the explosion, there have been warnings that the UN peacekeepers could be hit by a terror attack, particularly from al-Qaeda and its sympathizers. UNIFIL, with 15,000 Lebanese troops, patrols a zone along the Lebanese-Israeli border, in support of a UN ceasefire resolution that halted last summer's 34-day war.; Photo: BRITAIN Prince William and Kate Middleton, pictured earlier in the year, have resumed their relationship, British newspapers reported in yesterday's editions. The young couple, who announced in April they had split, attended a party at an army barracks together earlier in June, newspapers claimed. The Mail on Sunday reported that William, 25, has also invited Middleton to attend a memorial concert next Sunday in honour of his late mother, Diana, Princess of Wales. Britain's News of The World tabloid claimed the couple had been on a string of low key dates since their April split. William, second in line to the British throne and a second lieutenant in the country's army, celebrated his 25th birthday Thursday and gained access to part of the inheritance left him by his mother.; Photo: PAKISTAN Torrential rain and thunderstorms have killed 228 people and injured more than 200 others in the southern Pakistani city of Karachi, officials announced yesterday. Many people died in roof collapses and electrocutions before much of the city plunged into darkness Saturday after its power grid blacked out. Many of the victims came from a cluster of villages with mud houses and other flimsy structures on Karachi's eastern outskirts. The worst-hit area was the impoverished Gadap neighbourhood, where roofs of shanty houses collapsed on families. The storm dumped 17.2 millimetres of rain within one hour.; Photo: Reuters, EGYPT A worker adjusts Jordanian and Israeli flags prior to today's summit in Sharm El-Sheikh. The meeting is intended to show Arab support for Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas while isolating the hardline Islamic *Hamas* in the Gaza Strip. Israel has agreed to release desperately needed funds to the Abbas government based in the West Bank. The funds, mostly customs duties that Israel collects on behalf of the Palestinians, were frozen when Hamas swept to power in January 2006.; Photo: IRAQ Saddam Hussein's cousin, known as Chemical Ali, and two other regime officials were sentenced yesterday to hang for slaughtering more than 180,000 Kurdish men, women and children with chemical weapons, artillery barrages and mass executions two decades ago. Ali Hassan al-Majid gained his nickname for ordering the use of mustard gas and nerve agents against the Kurdish population in response to their collaboration with the Iranians during the 1980-1988 Iran-Iraq War. Also yesterday, two other defendants were

sentenced to life in prison for their roles in the crackdown, known as Operation Anfal. A sixth defendant was acquitted for lack of evidence.; Photo: Reuters, BRITAIN Britain's next prime minister, Gordon Brown, pledged vesterday to learn lessons from the Iraq war as he took over leadership of the Labour party from Tony Blair. The Treasury chief, who succeeds Blair as British leader on Wednesday, promised a new focus on international policy, saying global extremism would not be defeated by military force alone. "It is also a struggle of ideas and ideals that ... will be waged and won for hearts and minds here at home and round the world," Brown, 56, told a party conference in Manchester, where he made his maiden speech as leader.; Photo: CANADA Former Liberal MP Joe Comuzzi is joining the Conservatives, says the Thunder Bay Chronicle-Journal. The paper says Prime Minister Stephen Harper will be in Thunder Bay tomorrow to make the formal announcement. Comuzzi has been sitting as an independent MP for Thunder Bay-Superior North since he was thrown out of the Liberal caucus by leader Stéphane Dion for pledging to support the Conservative budget on March 21. Comuzzi, first elected in 1988, favoured a Conservative budget that promised millions in research money that could benefit Thunder Bay.; Photo: UNITED STATES Officials confirmed yesterday that a body found at the end of a days-long search for a woman nearly nine months pregnant is indeed hers. Investigators were piecing together the case against a police officer accused of killing her. The body found Saturday in a park was that of Jessie Davis, 26, pictured, of Canton, Ohio, whose due date was July 3. Bobby Cutts, far left, who authorities suspect is the father of the unborn child, is charged with two counts of murder. The cause of death had not yet been determined. The fetus was still inside the woman's womb. Davis was reported missing after her mother found Davis's two-year-old son, Blake, home alone, bedroom furniture toppled and bleach spilled on the floor. Blake gave investigators their first clues, saying: "Mommy was crying. Mommy broke the table. Mommy's in rug." Thousands of volunteers searched for Davis for several days, while investigators questioned Cutts, 30, who is married to another woman. He is scheduled to be arraigned today.; Photo: Jessie Davis

Load-Date: June 25, 2007



Top of the World

thespec.com

June 28, 2007 Thursday

Final Edition

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Section: CANADA/WORLD; Pg. A04

Byline: The Hamilton Spectator

Graphic

Photo: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS, CALIFORNIA Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger checks out a dumbbell found yesterday in the remains of a home destroyed in a wildfire near South Lake Tahoe, California. Schwarzenegger has been touring the devastation in the area. Firefighters were warned yesterday that strong winds could again stoke the turbulent blaze and threaten their safety, a day after a flare-up forced thousands more residents to flee. Officials say some 3,500 residents have now been evacuated. Almost 2,000 firefighters are battling the blaze which has already destroyed 200 homes. "The worst-case scenario is the fire would break out in multiple locations," said a forest service spokesman. "The biggest problem is just that there are so many homes in a combustible environment."; Photo: Bruno Domingos, Reuters, BRAZIL Police say they killed at least 18 suspected drug traffickers in a massive operation yesterday to serve arrest warrants and seize drugs and arms in a vast Rio de Janeiro shantytown. About 1,350 officers and elite federal police aided by helicopters and armoured cars were deployed in the sprawling slum where an ongoing war between drug traffickers has killed 31 people and left about 80 injured since May. Officials denied the operation had anything to do with security concerns related to next month's Pan American Games.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA Former Quebec ad executive Jean Lafleur has been sentenced to four years in jail, the harshest sentence handed down for bilking the federal sponsorship program. With time already served since his April arrest, Lafleur has 42 months left in his sentence. He must also pay back almost \$1.6 million -- money he took for little or no work under the program. Lafleur is the fifth person charged in the scandal, which was designed to increase federal government presence in Quebec after the slim federalist victory in the 1995 sovereignty referendum.; Photo: Reuters, GAZA STRIP Israeli army incursions into the Gaza Strip killed at least 11 Palestinians yesterday, including eight gunmen and a 12-year-old boy, in the bloodiest fighting Gaza has seen since *Hamas* took control there two weeks ago. The Israeli army operation, aimed at clearing militants from areas along Israel's border, led to the highest death toll in a single day since May 20, threatening to drag Israel back into the Gaza turmoil. Israel has been trying to remain on the sidelines of the infighting, but daily rocket barrages have prompted the Israelis back into action.; Photo: THE ASSOCIATED PRESS , UNITED NATIONS Most of humanity will be living in cities by next year, raising the threat of increased poverty and religious extremism unless the needs of growing urban populations are met, the UN said yesterday. Some 3.3 billion people will live in cities by 2008, a report by the UN population agency report said. By 2030, the number of city dwellers is expected to climb to five billion, said UN Population Fund Executive Director Thoraya Ahmed Obaid.; Photo: Nasser Nuri, Reuters, EGYPT The mummy of an obese woman, who likely had diabetes and liver cancer, has been identified as Queen Hatshepsut, Egypt's most powerful female pharaoh. Known for dressing like a man and wearing a false beard, she ruled in the 15th century BC.; Photo: THE CANADIAN PRESS, CANADA The deeply troubled, drug-addled life of the star witness in the Robert Pickton murder trial was laid bare yesterday,

Top of the World

with Lynn Ellingsen admitting she lied about being assaulted by a recent boyfriend. Ellingsen also agreed with a suggestion by a defence lawyer that she concocted the story because she was in a crack-induced psychosis. The woman, who has admitted she is an alcoholic and crack cocaine addict, is key to prosecution in the B.C. trial because she is the only witness to testify to seeing Pickton with a body.

Load-Date: June 28, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune July 31, 2007 Tuesday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 2a

Length: 743 words

Byline: STEVEN GUTKIN Associated Press Writer

Body

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - Never mind the international isolation, growing poverty and reports of violent retribution against its defeated Fatah rivals. In <u>Hamas</u>' own eyes, its takeover of Gaza has made the coastal strip "safe, clean and green."

In an attempt to get that message across, <u>Hamas</u> took two busloads of foreign journalists on an air conditioned tour of Gaza on Monday - including a stop in a refugee camp where the deposed prime minister waved from his balcony and a prison visit hosted by one of <u>Hamas</u>' most powerful military men.

<u>Hamas</u> officials said they were worried about the negative publicity they have received since taking over Gaza in

The tour was colorful and revealing - a glimpse into how the Islamic militants see themselves and want to be seen. There were eight stops.

3 Stop One. Ismail Haniyeh's house.

"It's not a luxurious house," <u>Hamas</u> tour guide Ahmad Asmar said before the buses pulled up to the home of Haniyeh, whom <u>Hamas</u> still considers prime minister even though he was fired by Mahmoud Abbas, the Fatahaffiliated president, after <u>Hamas</u>' takeover. Haniyeh lives among the people in the Shati refugee camp on the Gaza City beach.

3 Stop Two. Yasser Arafat's house.

"It is our job to keep this house secure," said senior Haniyeh aide Ghazi Hamad, disputing Fatah and media claims that the home of the late Palestinian leader had been looted and vandalized. Arafat's picture remains posted on the walls of many buildings controlled by *Hamas*.

3 Stop Three. Presidential guest house.

The guest house, where Abbas used to entertain foreign dignitaries, remains just as it was when Fatah abandoned it in defeat. Even the ashtrays and water glasses have been left untouched. Hamad said it's <u>Hamas'</u> duty to preserve such places "until we reach a political compromise" with Fatah. At the moment, that's looks unlikely.

3 Stop Four. The Palestinian parliament.

Acting parliamentary speaker Ahmad Bahar offered journalists a long explanation of how the <u>Hamas</u>-controlled legislature favors human rights, Palestinian unity, press freedom and a swift end to Israeli occupation. The rub: Since <u>Hamas</u>' takeover, the Palestinian parliament has not been functioning, and no resumption is likely any time soon.

3 Stop Five. National Security Headquarters.

The head of the Executive Force, <u>Hamas'</u> main security force in Gaza, was flanked by black-clad gunmen as he told the reporters that their job is "sacred" and that they have an obligation to tell the world the truth about <u>Hamas</u>.

"We are working according to the law," Abu Obeida said before taking journalists to a jail in the same compound. Prisoners prayed and cooked and answered journalists' questions, with many saying their conditions had improved since *Hamas* took power.

3 Stop Six. A Roman Catholic church.

A <u>Hamas</u> minder tried to stop a reporter from asking Father Manuel Musallam, Gaza's only Catholic priest, about who was behind the ransacking of a Catholic convent and nearby school during June's <u>Hamas</u>-Fatah fighting. Musallam answered anyway, saying Haniyeh had offered his support in finding the perpetrators. "We suffer with them, but we haven't suffered from them," the priest said of <u>Hamas</u> and Gaza's other Muslim inhabitants.

3 Stop Seven. The Rafah border crossing.

<u>Hamas</u> gunmen guard the perimeter of Gaza's main gateway to the outside world, its border crossing with Egypt. Like all other Gaza crossings, the Rafah border has been shut since <u>Hamas</u>' takeover, leaving thousands of Gazans stranded on the other side. The reporters were taken within a few yards of the Egyptian side. Hamad said <u>Hamas</u> would like to see Abbas' forces regain control of border crossings such as Rafah, aware that Israel would never permit **Hamas** to conduct security checks there. Fatah has ruled this out.

3 Stop Eight. Haniyeh speaks.

The tour ended with a speech by Haniyeh at an upscale Gaza City hotel. To get there, the buses drove along the beach, where thousands of Gazans have been flocking since <u>Hamas</u>' takeover improved the internal security situation in Gaza. Veiled <u>women</u> sat waist-deep in the ocean with their children as <u>Hamas</u> security forces guarded the beach. Haniyeh described how <u>Hamas</u>' takeover had ended factional fighting and the murderous chaos that had taken over Gaza's streets. Father Musallam sat next to Haniyeh, who began his speech by saying Christians were "a very important part of our people."

"We do not want to establish an Islamic state in the Gaza Strip," Haniyeh said.

Load-Date: August 1, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune August 12, 2007 Sunday

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Section: WIRE; Pg. 2A

Length: 645 words

Byline: KARIN LAUB Associated Press Writer

Body

RAMALLAH, West Bank - First, <u>Hamas</u> militiamen were filmed beating guests at a bachelor party. Then, the deposed <u>Hamas</u> prime minister claimed Fatah forces had tortured a <u>Hamas</u> activist to death, only to have the prisoner, very much alive, presented in a TV broadcast.

The power struggle between the Palestinian rivals over image and credibility is increasingly playing out on TV screens. The two clips, broadcast repeatedly on Fatah-affiliated Palestine TV, were the talk of the Palestinian territories Saturday.

In the case of the erroneous death claim, <u>Hamas</u> might have been set up by the Fatah-allied intelligence service - a measure of how desperate both sides are to discredit each other and how deep the animosity runs between them after <u>Hamas</u> seized Gaza by force in June.

Even though polls indicate Palestinians are becoming more and more disillusioned with their two main parties after months of infighting, public opinion still has its weight.

"It brought *Hamas* to power and it can bring Fatah back," said Palestinian analyst Ghassan Khatib.

The latest round of claims and counterclaims began Friday with a bachelor party for a Fatah supporter in the northern Gaza town of Beit Hanoun.

The groom had set up a small outdoor stage and rows of plastic chairs alongside a road in town. Fatah songs in praise of its leader, President Mahmoud Abbas, and his predecessor, the late Yasser Arafat, blared from loudspeakers, and young men danced on stage.

A camera set up on a roof on the opposite side of the road was trained on the stage, occasionally moving to the right for a wider view. The celebration appeared to be almost over and guests had begun leaving when four jeeps carrying members of the <u>Hamas</u> police, or Executive Force, drove toward the stage at high speed.

The armed men jumped off, assault rifles raised. Some fired in the air, others wielded clubs as they walked toward the guests. Several <u>Hamas</u> policemen were seen clubbing guests or hurling chairs. As the police left, one man lay unconscious on stage and bystanders tried to move him.

Later, some 150 <u>women</u> and youngsters from Beit Hanoun marched to the nearby <u>Hamas</u> police station, and scuffling and shouting matches ensued, witnesses said.

Medics said 10 people suffered beating injuries in both clashes. Fatah said a total of 15 people were arrested, while *Hamas* put the number at four.

The video was repeatedly broadcast on Palestine TV, and the cameraman, from the local Ramattan news agency, was detained and questioned by *Hamas* for several hours.

<u>Hamas</u> later said the police station about 100 yards away had come under fire from the area of the party and that guests had also illegally fired in the air.

"We emphasize that we didn't arrest anyone for his political affiliation," said a statement by the Executive Force. "The four were arrested for committing crimes."

It was not clear to what extent the footage was edited. But as broadcast, it made the *Hamas* militiamen look heavy-handed at best, undermining their efforts to portray themselves as champions of law and order.

The other tug-of-war was over Muayad Bani Odeh, 25, a <u>Hamas</u> supporter from the West Bank who was arrested by Abbas' intelligence service last month and was being held in the city of Nablus.

After *Hamas* seized Gaza, Fatah formed a moderate government that rules the West Bank.

Bani Odeh's family and independent legislator Khaleda Jarrar said they were told by intelligence officials on Thursday that the prisoner was in serious condition in an Israeli hospital. Jarrar said she checked again later with the intelligence chief, Tawfiq Tirawi, and was told Bani Odeh was clinically dead.

The information reached Ismail Haniyeh of <u>Hamas</u>, deposed as prime minister by Abbas after the Gaza takeover. In a speech after Muslim prayers Friday, Haniyeh accused Fatah-allied forces in the West Bank of persecuting and torturing <u>Hamas</u> supporters.

Load-Date: August 13, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune August 12, 2007 Sunday

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Section: WIRE; Pg. 2A

Length: 533 words

Byline: IBRAHIM BARZAK Associated Press Writer

Body

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - <u>Hamas</u> militiamen detained 32 Fatah supporters across Gaza, half of them after breaking up a bachelor's party and beating guests with clubs and chairs, Fatah officials and witnesses said Saturday. Ten people were hurt.

Fatah-affliated Palestine TV broadcast footage Saturday of the arrests and later of the interrogation of a prisoner who *Hamas* claimed had been tortured to death by rival security forces loyal to President Mahmoud Abbas.

The prisoner, Moayad Bani Odeh, seemed to have suffered no visible injuries, though he was only shown from the waist up. He said he had not been mistreated, though it was unclear whether he was speaking under threat.

After taking control of Gaza by force in June, <u>Hamas</u> had promised amnesty to Fatah loyalists and it was not immediately clear whether the arrests late Friday and early Saturday signaled the start a crackdown on Fatah or were isolated incidents.

The broadcasts were the latest in increasingly ferocious attempts by <u>Hamas</u> and Abbas' Fatah movement to undermine each other's credibility. <u>Hamas</u> seized Gaza by force in June, defeating Abbas' forces.

In the northern town of Beit Hanoun, 15 Fatah supporters were arrested, Fatah said, after <u>Hamas</u> security men broke up a bachelor's party for a Fatah loyalist on Friday.

TV footage showed a small outdoor stage, decorated with Palestinian flags and loudspeakers blaring Fatah songs in praise of moderate Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas and his predecessor, the late Yasser Arafat. Dozens of young men were in the area.

At one point, four jeeps carrying <u>Hamas</u> security drove toward the stage at high speed. The <u>Hamas</u> gunmen jumped off and marched toward the guests, firing in the air.

Some hurled chairs and others wielded clubs, as most of the guests ran away. Several minutes later, one man is seen lying on the ground, apparently unconscious, as other guests tried to carry him away.

The Executive Force, the <u>Hamas</u> militia policing Gaza, said it stopped the celebration because guests shot in the air, disturbing the peace, and confirmed four arrests. Fatah activists denied anyone had fired in the air.

The Executive Force also claimed that Fatah members had fired toward a nearby *Hamas* police building.

"We emphasize that we didn't arrest anyone for his political affiliation," the Executive Force said in a statement. "The four were arrested for committing crimes."

After the incident, about 150 <u>women</u> and youngsters marched to the headquarters of the <u>Hamas</u> police in Beit Hanoun. The protesters and security men yelled at each other, pushing and shoving.

Medics said that in all, 10 people were hurt in the confrontations.

Early Saturday, the cameraman who had filmed the incident was detained and released more than four hours later. His footage was broadcast on the West Bank-based Palestine TV.

In a separate incident, near Abbassan village in southern Gaza, 12 Fatah supporters were arrested after Friday prayers, including a member of the municipal council, Fatah activists said.

Hamas had no comment on the incident.

Early Saturday, five unarmed members of Fatah's militia, the Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades, were detained for five hours, beaten and released, Fatah officials said.

Load-Date: August 13, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune February 2, 2007 Friday

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Section: WIRE

Length: 731 words

Byline: SARAH EL DEEB Associated Press Writer

Body

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - Gunfights erupted across the Gaza Strip Thursday, killing at least six people after <u>Hamas</u> militants hijacked a convoy delivering supplies to the rival Fatah-allied security forces, effectively destroying a short-lived truce.

An Egyptian mediator blamed <u>Hamas</u> and called for calm three days after he persuaded the warring factions to end weeks of clashes that killed dozens. However, the truce did not resolve underlying disputes that set off the conflict between the Islamic <u>Hamas</u>, which is running the Palestinian government, and President Mahmoud Abbas' Fatah movement.

Both sides appeared willing to avoid a full-scale civil war, but they were just as adamant over keeping their own security forces on the streets - a recipe for more clashes. The renewed violence also hurt chances for talks to form a joint government that might end punishing Western foreign aid sanctions.

Late Thursday, hundreds of Fatah gunmen stormed a <u>Hamas</u> stronghold, the Islamic University in Gaza City. At least two people were wounded, and flames were seen leaping from one of the university's buildings.

The trouble started Thursday morning with some gunfire, but an incident in the Bureij refugee camp in central Gaza set off clashes all over the impoverished seaside territory.

<u>Hamas</u> gunmen ambushed a convoy guarded by the Fatah presidential guard and hijacked two trucks filled with tents, medical kits and toilets, security officials said. The United States and some Arab countries had pledged to give equipment and training to the security forces loyal to Abbas.

The attack sparked the new fighting, which killed six people in Bureij, including a security officer, hospital officials said.

Soon after, separate gunbattles broke out in Gaza City and in northern Gaza outside a military intelligence post. Security officials said <u>Hamas</u> militants fired a rocket at the post and then sacked it, wounding five members of the security forces. At least two <u>Hamas</u> supporters were wounded, <u>Hamas</u> said. In all, hospital officials said 59 people were wounded in the clashes.

<u>Hamas</u> militants fired mortar shells near Abbas' residence in Gaza City, and nearby street battles sent residents fleeing in terror. Abbas was not in Gaza at the time.

"Fatah views with gravity the series of violations to the agreement, which has gone beyond the acceptable limits," Fatah said in a statement, calling on its followers to "act in self-defense."

Information Minister Youssef Rizka of <u>Hamas</u> called on Gazans to form a "human shield" between the factions to stop the fighting. <u>Hamas</u> spokesman Abu Obeida fiercely denounced Fatah and warned Abbas to get his forces off the streets "before it is too late."

Col. Burhan Hamad, the head of the Egyptian security team in Gaza that negotiated the truce, denounced the attack on the convoy as "unjustified" and angrily blamed <u>Hamas</u>. He appealed to the warring factions to stop the new clashes. The violent Islamic Jihad, in the role of peacemaker, called for convening an urgent meeting to discuss resumption of the truce.

The mufti of Gaza called for a truce, saying Muslims shedding Muslim blood is "taboo." Another appeal came from the owner of a wedding hall, who said he had 450 **women** and children trapped by the gunfire.

In the raid on the Islamic University, a security official affiliated with Fatah said seven Iranian citizens were arrested and an eighth committed suicide. The security official spoke on condition of anonymity because of the sensitivity of the issue.

A <u>Hamas</u> official denied the claim and said there were no Iranian citizens at the university. Iran has supplied <u>Hamas</u> with funds, but there have been no previous claims of Iranians working with <u>Hamas</u> in Gaza.

Also Thursday, Israeli forces shot and killed four Palestinians in several incidents in the West Bank.

In the West Bank town of Tulkarem, Israeli troops killed a militant when he tried to flee after they tried to arrest him, the army said.

Earlier, in the city of Nablus, troops killed two Palestinian gunmen, hospital officials and local militants said. A gunfight broke out when an Israeli military force entered the city in a pre-dawn raid, and two militants from the Al Agsa Martyrs' Brigades, a violent offshoot of Fatah, were killed, the officials said.

Israeli troops also shot and killed a Palestinian teenager along Israel's West Bank separation barrier near the city of Ramallah.

Load-Date: February 5, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune May 17, 2007 Thursday

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 1A

Length: 442 words

Byline: IBRAHIM BARZAK Associated Press Writer

Body

(Ibrahim Barzak has been covering the Gaza Strip for the Associated Press for more than 10 years. Here is his account of a nerve-racking day in Gaza City during factional fighting.)

GAZA CITY, Gaza Strip - With gunbattles raging outside my building and my windows blown out by bullets, I sat in the dark hallway outside my apartment with my wife and baby. It's dangerous inside and out.

On Wednesday, I saw several people shot in front of my building, I heard the screams of terrified <u>women</u> and children in a burning building, and I argued with gunmen who tried to take over my home.

I have seen a lot in my years as a journalist in Gaza, but this is the worst it's been.

Much of the fighting is taking place right here in my neighborhood. I went outside a few times to report, just around the house. I saw a building on fire after <u>Hamas</u> gunmen attacked, and I heard the screams of people who could not get out because of the gun battles. I saw <u>Hamas</u> gunmen going in and out of the building, and they were exchanging fire with Fatah forces. And there has been another battle going on all day at a nearby 12-story building.

My building is across from a Palestinian government complex, and both sides are fighting for control of the area.

Gunmen are taking over rooftops. My apartment is on the top floor of a five-story building and some Fatah fighters tried to force their way in Wednesday morning so they could shoot from my windows, overlooking the government compound. I had an argument with them, and they left.

There have been street battles between <u>Hamas</u> and Fatah before, but there are dangerous new elements this time. Now they are arresting or even shooting people for the way they look. If you have a beard, you might be arrested by Fatah security for looking Islamic. If you have a chain around your neck or on your arm, <u>Hamas</u> gunmen might shoot you because you look secular.

As gunfire and explosions echo across the city, people who consider themselves the elite, the politicians, sit with Egyptian mediators at night and then come out announcing a truce. In the morning, fighting resumes and it's clear to us that these people don't control anything.

On Wednesday, three neighbor couples sat with us on the hall floor. It was dark because the electricity was out. We chatted, trying to calm ourselves despite the sounds of heavy gunfire and explosions that had not let up since 2 a.m.

Each of us has a baby. My son, Hikmet, is 9 months old. In the morning he was scared by the noise and he cried and called "mama," which is his first word. Then he fell asleep for three hours. After he woke up, he astonished me by staying calm despite all the shooting.

Load-Date: May 21, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune

March 28, 2007 Wednesday

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Section: WIRE

Length: 829 words

Byline: IBRAHIM BARZAK Associated Press Writer

Body

UMM NASER, Gaza Strip - A huge sewage reservoir in the northern Gaza Strip collapsed Tuesday, killing five people in a frothing cascade of waste and mud that swamped a village and highlighted the desperate need to upgrade Gaza's overburdened infrastructure.

Rescue crews and <u>Hamas</u> gunmen rushed to the area to search for people feared buried under the sewage and mud. Dressed in wetsuits, they paddled boats through the layer of foam floating on the green and brown rivers of waste. Others waded up to their hips into the sewage.

The noxious smell of waste and dead animals hung in the air.

Angry residents drove reporters away and mobbed government officials. When Interior Minister Hani Kawasmeh arrived to survey the damage, his bodyguards fired in the air to disperse the crowd.

In one house, everything from the television to the sink was covered in muck.

"We lost everything. Everything was covered by the flood. It's a disaster," said Amina Afif, 65, whose shack was destroyed.

Aid officials said plans to build a larger waste treatment facility had been held up for years by perpetual fighting in the area between Israel and Palestinians and donor concerns about political instability. However, construction did not appear to have been affected by international sanctions imposed on the Palestinians after the militant <u>Hamas</u> group's election victory last year.

The existing treatment plant in northern Gaza - located just a few hundred yards from the border with Israel - stores waste in seven holding basins. With the burgeoning population producing nearly four times as much waste as the plant could treat, officials have put overflow sewage in the nearby dunes, creating a lake covering nearly 110 acres, the U.N. said.

On Tuesday morning, an earth embankment around one of the seven basins collapsed, sending a wall of sewage crashing into the neighboring village of Umm Naser.

The wave killed two **women** in their 70s, two toddlers and a teenage girl and injured 35 other people, hospital officials said. More than 200 homes were destroyed, health officials said.

The Gaza City mayor blamed the collapse on local people digging dirt from the structure and selling it to building contractors.

"This is a human tragedy," said Public Works Minister Sameeh al-Abed.

Aid officials and the Palestinian government sent bulldozers to build makeshift walls to push back the sewage. Officials will also try to divert the waste into the other holding basins, putting those in danger of overflowing. Another collapse could send sewage flooding into Beit Lahiya, a far larger town, officials said.

"We are doing all we can to prevent any disaster, but the solution is temporary," said government engineer Nidal Musalameh.

Many of the evacuated residents were staying in tents and other shelters nearby, rescue officials said. But officials feared a public health disaster.

"It is an extremely serious situation," said Stuart Shepard, a U.N. official based in Gaza.

Fadel Kawash, head of the Palestinian Water Authority, said the sewage level had risen in the reservoir in recent days. Shepard said the earthen embankments also had been weakened by rain.

But Gaza City Mayor Majid Abu Ramadan, who leads a council of Gaza municipalities, blamed the collapse on lawlessness in the Gaza Strip, accusing residents of stealing the dirt and selling it to building companies for \$70 a truckload.

A 2004 U.N. report warned that the sewage facility, built for a population of 50,000, was handling waste from 190,000 people, and flooding was inevitable. It warned that the lake created by the overflow from the seven basins posed a serious health hazard, providing a breeding ground for mosquitoes and waterborne diseases.

Shepard said that since the report was published, international funding for a new plant had been secured but construction could not proceed because of security risks in the area.

Umm Naser is about 300 yards from the border with Israel, in an area where Palestinians have frequently launched rockets into Israel and Israeli artillery and aircraft have fired back. The situation worsened after <u>Hamas</u>-linked militants captured an Israeli soldier last June in a cross-border raid, and Israel responded by invading northern Gaza.

The flooding underscored the fragility of the overburdened infrastructure in the impoverished and overcrowded coastal region of 1.4 million people. The West Bank, too, is suffering from eroding sewage and water infrastructure.

<u>Hamas</u> spokesman Fawzi Barhoum blamed international "sanctions against Palestinians" for the sorry condition of Gaza's infrastructure. Most foreign donors froze aid to the Palestinian government after <u>Hamas</u> came to power last year, but Shepard said a project to build a treatment plant in northern Gaza had not been affected by the boycott.

An internal World Bank document obtained by The Associated Press said the Palestinian Authority decided in 2003 to dump partially treated excess waste into the ocean, but Israel vetoed the idea.

Load-Date: March 29, 2007



The Bismarck Tribune
June 20, 2007 Wednesday

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Section: OPINION; Pg. 8a

Length: 758 words

Body

The streets of the Gaza Strip echo with gunfire as masked men fire on one another. Hundreds of Palestinians have been kidnapped, tortured and executed by other Palestinians in the past two years. The fighting between <u>Hamas</u> and Fatah was intense.

The New York Times reports that "two Palestinians were thrown from the roofs of high-rise buildings in Gaza City. One was an officer of the Presidential Guard, loyal to Fatah, and the other a member of the Executive Force, which was set up by *Hamas* as a counterweight to the Fatah-dominated official security forces."

In a seaside neighborhood in Gaza City, reports the Jerusalem Post, hundreds of members of the Bakr clan (loyal to Fatah), including *women* and children, were marched, hands up, to a nearby mosque.

More than 10,000 Palestinians have filed requests to emigrate since January, prompting the Palestinian Authority's mufti to issue a fatwa forbidding Palestinians to leave the "blessed lands."

Who is responsible for this savagery? Why, the United States and Israel, of course. So declared the United Nations envoy to the Middle East, Alvaro de Soto, in a "confidential report" shared with the Washington Post.

De Soto, who resigned last month after a 25-year career at the U.N., blasted the U.S. for declining to fund <u>Hamas</u> after its victory at the polls in 2006, and complained that the Quartet (which includes the United States, the European Union and Russia) has taken "all pressure off Israel ... even-handedness has been pummeled into submission."

Let's see, Israel withdrew altogether from the Gaza Strip in 2005, leaving the Palestinians to govern themselves. There they could have begun the process of building the "secular, democratic" state they've been claiming to thirst after for 50 years.

Instead, Gaza has fulfilled the worst nightmares of the Israelis who opposed withdrawal - importing arms from Iran, lobbing missiles into Israeli towns and engaging in internecine violence that makes a mockery of peace negotiations.

A Peruvian career diplomat at the U.N. is unable to see beyond his own prejudices, yet a reform-minded Egyptian author published an online essay (translated by the Middle East Media Research Institute) that penetrates to the heart of what ails Palestinian society and the Middle East in general.

Kamal Gabriel's analysis would resound for its wisdom anywhere, but it is particularly noteworthy coming from within the Arab world - a useful reminder that voices of reason and benevolence are not altogether silent in that part of the world.

Gabriel writes:

"The all-against-all infighting and its basic code have become the mental and psychological makeup of the Palestinian people, as a natural result of the predominant discourse of hostility and incitement. This discourse has been adopted by Palestinians of all persuasions and in all the factions - religious, pan-Arab revolutionary and leftist. It is a discourse whose aim was sowing hatred, having recourse to violence and enjoying spilling blood.

"At first it was directed against the so-called Israeli enemy, and it uprooted any possibility of or tendency toward rational mutual comprehension or of recourse to discussion, dialogue and negotiation

"This was translated into political language in the slogan that the Arab-Israeli struggle is an existential struggle, and not a struggle over borders, and its implementation in practice was the so-called martyrdom-seeking operations for killing Israeli civilians. The hatred was transformed from hatred of Zionism to hatred of Jews, 'the sons of apes and pigs.'

"Perhaps no one has noticed - for where are we to find someone to notice, in the absence of reason and rationality? - that when you take an individual or a group away from the culture of using reason and peaceful dialogue, and replace it with the culture of violence and of killing those who are different, you cannot then afterward control it and direct it to be used against one single side.

"... It starts with the Zionist enemy who is occupying the Holy Land, and the violence and the hatred spread dangerously, like fire, in the psyche. ... They consume everything around them - and the first thing they consume is the light of reason. ... Thus we observed, and gave our blessing to, the conflagrations of violence and hatred ... and its expansion is the fraternal violence we see today. ...

"In my estimation, this is the fruit that we are harvesting because we sowed thorns for over half a century."

(Mona Charen's syndicated column appears on alternate Wednesdays.)

Light of reason consumed

Load-Date: June 20, 2007



The New York Times

March 6, 2007 Tuesday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Column 5; The Arts/Cultural Desk; Pg. 2; Arts, Briefly

Length: 824 words

Byline: Compiled by Lawrence Van Gelder

Body

National Gallery Gets Jasper Johns CollectionThe National Gallery of Art in Washington is to announce today that it will acquire Jasper Johns's lithographs, etchings, relief prints and screen prints -- about 1,700 in all -- by the end of next year. When complete, the purchase from the artist will make the gallery the largest repository of his works. Eight of the pieces will be on view in "States and Variations: Prints by Jasper Johns," the first exhibition to highlight this acquisition, opening on Sunday in the East Building and continuing through Oct. 28. (Above, a detail of Mr.

Johns's 1976 work "Light Bulb.") In a statement Earl A. Powell III, director of the gallery, said, "Johns's daring and innovative approach to printmaking has been highly influential for younger generations of artists, and his work is essential to our understanding of the post-1960 revival of interest in print media." Assembled and annotated by the artist, the collection includes virtually all the images associated with Mr. Johns's early work that are now regarded as symbols of the postwar era: among them flags, targets and maps. The price, understood to be in the millions, was not divulged. Hamas Removes Folk Tales From School Libraries Many Palestinians have reacted with anger and concern after the Hamas-supervised Education Ministry removed from school libraries an anthology of Palestinian folk tales, reportedly because of mild sexual innuendo, The Associated Press reported. The ban fed fears that *Hamas* would use last year's election victory to impose its hard-line interpretation of Islam on Palestinian territories. Hanan Ashrawi, an independent lawmaker and former cabinet minister, called the ministry's action "outrageous," adding, "If this is what is to come, it is extremely alarming." Zakariya Mohammed, a West Bank novelist, urged intellectuals to act, saying, "If we don't stand up to the Islamists now, they won't stop confiscating books, songs and folklore." The book in question, "Speak, Bird, Speak Again," is a 400-page anthology of tales narrated by Palestinian women. First published in English in 1989 by the University of California, Berkeley, it was assembled by Sharif Kanaana, a novelist and anthropology professor, and Ibrahim Muhawi, a teacher of Arabic literature and the theory of translation. Mr. Kanaana said yesterday that he believed that "The Little Bird," a story in a chapter titled "Sexual Awakening and Courtship," was among the reasons for the ban because it mentions genitals. A senior ministry official, speaking on condition of anonymity because he was not authorized to discuss the matter with reporters, said 1,500 copies of the book had been removed from school libraries and destroyed. Country Music Nominees George Strait came away with a leading eight nominations, including entertainer of the year and top male vocalist, when the contenders for the Academy of Country Music Awards were announced yesterday at the Country Music Hall of Fame in Nashville, The Associated Press reported. The vocal duo Brooks & Dunn received seven nominations; six went to Rascal Flatts; five to Carrie Underwood; and four to Big & Rich. The 42nd annual Academy of Country Music Awards is to be presented on May 15 in Las Vegas. Deal? Or No Deal? When a Washington radio station put up \$19,150 last week to get the R&B singer Bobby Brown out of the Massachusetts

jail where he was being held for failing to pay child support and court fees, it thought it was getting something in return. Mr. Brown, 38, was to appear for a week on "The Kane Show," heard in the Washington area on WIHT-FM (Hot 99.5), discussing his case and how he could turn his life around. But The Associated Press reported yesterday that on Friday he backed out of an on-air interview; said he hadn't agreed to be an employee of the station; added, "That wasn't our deal"; and hung up on Kane, who goes by one name. Kane said, "We thought we clearly communicated to Bobby our intentions, but once we had him on the air this morning, it was clear that we were not on the same page." The station and Mr. Brown's lawyer decided that the arrangement was not in his best interest and that he would return the money.Met Director Awarded Legion of Honor MedalThe French government has awarded Philippe de Montebello, the French-born director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the medal of the Legion of Honor, The Associated Press reported. In a ceremony on Sunday at the French Consulate in New York, Renaud Donnedieu de Vabres, France's culture and media minister, called Mr. de Montebello one of New York's "most eminent cultural figures," and added, "The effects of your programs have reverberated well beyond the Metropolitan, as they have set new standards for museums worldwide." Mr. de Montebello, 70, who became director of the Metropolitan Museum in 1977, has held that post longer than anyone in its 137-year history.

http://www.nytimes.com

Graphic

Photo (Photo by Jasper Johns/Licensed by VAGA, New York, N.Y.)

Load-Date: March 6, 2007



Chicago Daily Herald March 16, 2007 Friday Cook Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. 18; Fence Post

Length: 543 words

Body

Shields understands nothing of the stakes

A recent column by Mark Shields on the Daily Herald's opinion page (March 5) shows how naive and ignorant his views really are.

Vietnam was a noble cause; the military did not lose the war, the Democrats cut and run. Since our military is run by civilians, the military had to abandon Vietnam, causing a genocide committed by the communists. That critical part is never reported.

Mark Shields is ignorant of military doctrine and rules of engagement.

He states that we did well in the "first Persian Gulf War" and implies that we are not doing as well today.

Desert Storm (the first Persian Gulf War) was fought out in the open; our forces fired on all enemy troops. Today, we are fighting terrorists on the streets of Baghdad.

These cowards hide behind <u>women</u> and children, so we may not be allowed to fire back in order to avoid killing civilians. Different war, different terrain.

If we abandon Iraq, a genocide will follow. Who will you blame?

In World War II, we did not have such restrictions. We continually bombed civilians in Germany and Japan. Hundreds of thousands of civilians died in order for the Allies to win in four years.

If we used today's rules of engagement during World War II, the war may have lasted 20 to 30 years.

Here is a news flash for Mr. Shields: the terrorist organizations <u>Hamas</u>, Hezbollah and al-Qaida are determined to destroy the United States. They wish to establish a world caliphate and make the United States an Islamic state.

If we allow the Islamic fascists to win in Iraq, we will end up fighting them here in our streets.

Everyone has to become familiar with our enemy; your life may depend on it. We in the military know what is at stake; do you?

Roman G. Golash

Palatine

Mexico's leaders have a lot of gall

I'm amused by the remarks made by the Mexican government about Americans building the fence along the southern border stepping about 30 feet onto Mexican soil.

They called it an "incursion." What arrogance!

This shows the influence and control their government has over ours.

They don't mention how many times their people have illegally come onto American soil, sometimes bringing weapons and drugs with them and just thumbing their noses at American laws.

This is the result of the Bush administration catering to their every wish, while ignoring the needs and safety of the American people, many of whom have been victimized.

Juan Hernandez made a statement that this situation would all be resolved "in a few weeks" - which I guess means that Ted Kennedy will push the amnesty/guest worker legislation which nobody wants.

Again, pandering to the Mexican government and ignoring the American people.

Our government ignores the cost involved in having these people here.

They equate that expense as resolving itself by the taxes they'll will pay once they are citizens -"they'll pay for themselves."

Isn't that what they said about Iragi oil paying for the war?

Why is this American government so obsessed with courting Mexican favor?

Why are foreigners being favored over Americans?

We're being sold out!

I think our government owes us an explanation!

They're leading us down a dangerous, and very expensive path.

Mostly, they're giving our country and our sovereignty away.

Evelyn Edinger

Cary

Load-Date: March 19, 2007



The New York Times

June 28, 2007 Thursday

Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section A; Column 0; Metropolitan Desk; Pg. 2

Length: 789 words

Body

INTERNATIONALA3-12

After Decade in OfficeBlair Yields Role to Brown

Gordon Brown took over from Tony Blair as Britain's prime minister, pledging to "try my utmost" and declaring, "Now, let the work of change begin." Mr. Blair is becoming the Middle East envoy for the United States, Russia, the European Union and the United Nations. A12

13 Palestinians Killed in Raids

At least 11 Palestinian militants and 2 civilians were killed during Israeli raids in Gaza in the deadliest day of fighting since the Islamic militant group <u>Hamas</u> took control. Hospital officials in Gaza said a 10-year-old boy was among the dead.A10

Unrest Over Iran Gas Rationing

Drivers set fire to at least two gas stations in Tehran after the government announced that gasoline rationing would begin at midnight, according to the state television news. While there were some reports that a large number of gas stations had been set on fire, only two were confirmed. A8

A Global Urban Majority

By next year, more than half the world's population, 3.3 billion people, will for the first time live in towns and cities, and the number is expected to swell to almost five billion by 2030, according to a United Nations Population Fund report. The change is expected to be particularly swift in Africa and Asia.A6

Wider Use of Latin Mass Likely

Pope Benedict XVI has signed a document that would allow more churches to adopt the old Latin Mass, which largely faded from use during the 1960s, when the groundbreaking Second Vatican Council opened the door to worship in the local vernacular, Vatican officials say. A3

NATIONAL A13-19

Senate Committee Issues Subpoenas to White House

The Senate Judiciary Committee issued subpoenas to the White House, Vice President Dick Cheney's office and the Justice Department after what the panel's chairman called "stonewalling of the worst kind" of efforts to investigate the National Security Agency's policy of wiretapping without warrants. A1

Tainted Toothpaste Found

Roughly 900,000 tubes of tainted toothpaste have turned up in hospitals for the mentally ill, prisons, juvenile detention facilities and even some hospitals serving the general population. A1

Changes to Immigration Bill Fail

The Senate killed proposals from the left and the right for major changes in a comprehensive immigration bill, and the outlook for the bill remained in doubt as senators prepared for a crucial vote on whether to end debate and move to final passage. A18

U.S. Urban Population Grows

According to figures from the Census Bureau, the biggest population growth nationwide occurred in urban hubs in the South and West and especially in the metropolitan suburbs of those regions. A14

SCIENCE/HEALTH

Surgeon Injuries Not Reported

Nearly all surgeons accidentally stick themselves with needles and sharp instruments while in training. But most fail to report the injuries, risking their health and that of their families and patients to the threat of diseases, according to a survey being published. A13

NEW YORK/REGION B1-7

School's Wealthy Patrons Force Management Change

The founders and wealthy patrons of the Beginning With Children Charter School in Brooklyn, frustrated with student performance, have forced a majority of the school's trustees to resign, causing an uproar among parents and teachers. A1

Lights Out in the City

An hourlong power failure that left big sections of the Upper East Side and the Bronx without electricity stirred fears of more dark days ahead this summer for Con Edison and its customers. B1

5 Graduates Killed in Crash

Five new high school graduates from Fairport, a Rochester suburb, on their way to the Finger Lakes for a few days of relaxation were killed when their sport utility vehicle crashed head on into a tractor-trailer on a remote rural road. B1

BUSINESS DAY C1-15

Bank's Reputation Wounded

Executives at the investment bank Bear Stearns scrambled to avert the collapse of two hedge funds. The embarrassment has forced Bear to provide loans of up to \$1.6 billion to bail out the smaller fund. The second, which has suffered much bigger losses, is expected to eventually be dissolved. C1

China Closes Food Plants

After weeks of insisting that food in China is safe, regulators in China said that they had closed 180 food plants and that inspectors had uncovered more than 23,000 food safety violations. C1

Business Digest C2

OBITUARIES C16

Liz Claiborne

The designer of indefatigable career clothes for professional women, she was 78. C16

EDITORIAL A20-21

Editorials: Housing and hedge funds; better protecting the vulnerable; the lobbyists behind the curtain; Ms. Bolden's black mark.

Columns: Timothy Egan and Nicholas D. Kristof.

http://www.nytimes.com

Load-Date: June 28, 2007



Canberra Times (Australia)
October 29, 2006 Sunday
Final Edition

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Section: A; Pg. 17 Length: 1058 words

Byline: The Canberra Times

Body

Land sharing essential THE action by hard-pressed Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Olmert to include the leader of a far-right party led by Avigdor Lieberman in his government will increase the conflict between Israel and the Palestinian people.

Lieberman has branded as Nazi collaborators - who should be executed - those Israeli politicians who have contacted the democratically elected Palestinian <u>Hamas</u> officials.

In turn, while campaigning for Israel to rid itself of the remaining Arab citizens who comprise 20 per cent of the population, he has been condemned as a fascist racist by some Israeli-Arab MPs.

While the current Israeli leaders seize more Palestinian land in the West Bank for Jewish settlements and continue building the notorious "Berlin"-style wall separating families and communities in an environment of apartheid, what are the dispossessed and powerless Palestinians to do, despite the pitiful odds, but fight back, as did the Jewish people during the dark ages of genocide.

We must not remain silent while Israeli-Palestinian lives are sacrificed daily in this ongoing, seemingly endless war.

Is it not possible to revive the 1967 border proposal for mutually beneficial land sharing and state recognition, especially if the US and the UN lead the way?

Keith McEwan, Banks Screen jockeys defended JOHN HARGREAVES, the relevant minister, proposes to ban people from washing car windscreens at major intersections.

I would like to speak up for at least one windscreen cleaner.

The minister's reasons, so far as they have been stated publicly, are: first, that a woman was killed some years ago when a truck out of control careered down Hindmarsh Drive and smashed into her car which was halted at an intersection while the screen was being cleaned; second, such cleaning is not allowed in other cities; third, the minister has experienced rudeness from a windscreen cleaner.

I have had my windscreens cleaned for some years by the gentleman at the south-west intersection of Northbourne Avenue and Barry Drive, where few trucks career out of control.

This gentleman is constantly courteous; he is thorough and he is out in all weathers, for hours at a time; it is honest work and hard work. I see no reason to ban him at a safe intersection, of a kind you don't find in most other Australian cities.

The woman's death was a tragedy, and rudeness to Mr Hargreaves is regrettable; but is there not some form of control so that hard-working and enterprising battlers can be allowed to continue with useful work, instead of being hit with a heavy- handed total ban? If a taxi driver or bus driver was rude to Mr Hargreaves, would he ban taxis or buses, or sack all the drivers?

Richard Johnson, Ainslie Mobile phone facts CONTRARY to the claims in the article ("Emergency numbers", October 25, p8), there is no substantiated scientific evidence that mobile phones affect fertility.

The research conducted by Ashok Agarwal is inconsistent with other research studies in this area and the scientific consensus that there are no substantiated health effects from mobile phones.

Despite numerous reports that a 25-40 per cent lower sperm count was found, the abstract of the paper says: "The difference in mean sperm count between the three groups or between different levels of cell phone usage was not statistically different." Sperm count varies widely over time and temporary low counts are common.

Drugs such as alcohol and tobacco, stress and occupation can all affect sperm quality.

An animal study published in Bioelectromagnetics in 2003 investigated the effects of radio- frequency energy emitted from mobile phones on rats' fertility.

Researchers placed mobile phones half a centimetre beneath the rats' cages for 20 minutes a day, seven days a week, for one month.

They concluded: "This study found no evidence suggesting an adverse effect of cell phone exposure on measures of testicular function or structure." The National Radiological Protection Board in Britain published a review in 2003 on the influence radiofrequency (RF) energy has on reproduction.

The review states: "Overall, there has been no convincing evidence that exposure to low-level RF fields can affect reproduction and development in mammals; where consistent effects have been reported they can be attributed to the thermal insult induced by RF exposure."

It is important to remember that no single study can answer any scientific question, and all studies need to be seen in the light of the total research effort into mobile phone safety.

Chris Althaus, chief executive officer, Australian Mobile Telecommunications Association Baker's return a worry THE emergence on the White House scene last week of James Baker is interesting and somewhat frightening.

He is the man who was present during the court resolution in Florida, mustering support among all and sundry at the time of the election that allowed George Bush to begin his reign and the rapid deterioration of the US as a respected nation.

Here he was last week trying to save Bush's bacon once again, this time in relation to Iraq, two weeks before an election where electronic vote counting will once again be an issue.

I am sure that observers around the world hope the Democrats will have developed some gumption and not capitulate by giving in this time to the inevitable irregularities in voting, now a regular practice. R. Williams, Turner Selective Bible reading I WONDER if Dean Phillip Jensen and I read the same Bible.

The Dean of Sydney believes the ordination of women as priests is contrary to the Bible's teaching on this issue.

("Women priests: keeping the faith", October 21, pB4).

Most Christians believe the exact opposite.

His remarks in the Synod of the Diocese of Sydney are a beautiful example of carefully selective Bible believing.

St Paul, in his letter to the Galatian Christians (ch 3), clearly teaches that for Christians there is neither male nor *female*; for they are all one in Christ.

In his letter to the Roman Christians, (ch 16), he commends Phoebe and other <u>women</u> who clearly exercised Christian leadership.

The Gospels show Jesus Christ as relying on the ministry of <u>women</u> as well as men.

Women were the first witnesses to his resurrection.

The Dean of Sydney has made up his mind and he will not let even the clear teaching of the New Testament disturb him. (Revd) Robert Willson, Deakin

Load-Date: October 28, 2006



The New York Times
September 7, 2007 Friday
Late Edition - Final

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Section: Section E; Column 0; Movies, Performing Arts/Weekend Desk; Pg. 6; FILM IN REVIEW

Length: 1359 words

Byline: By MATT ZOLLER SEITZ

Body

THE BROTHERS SOLOMON

Opens today nationwide.

Directed by Bob Odenkirk

91 minutes

The spirit of Steve Martin's early hit-or-miss slapstick oddities lives on in "The Brothers Solomon," a crass goof in which two socially inept siblings, John and Dean Solomon (Will Arnett and Will Forte), who were home-schooled in the Arctic by their now comatose dad (Lee Majors), try to fulfill his wish for a grandchild.

Sexually inexperienced and repellently awkward, the two have no choice but to opt for artificial insemination. The surrogate mother, Janine (Kristen Wiig of "Saturday Night Live"), views the task as a job at first; but soon enough, biological feelings take over. When the delivery date looms and she disappears, the brothers embark on a panicked chase across Southern California.

The film's screenwriter, Mr. Forte, and its director, Bob Odenkirk (formerly of HBO's sketch comedy series "Mr. Show"), have fashioned a deranged, sometimes desperate parody of an inspirational losers-make-good comedy. Three gags miss for every one that hits.

But the good ones are keepers: Janine patiently telling the brothers what artificial insemination means, stressing "artificial"; Janine's menacing but devoted boyfriend (Chi McBride) weeping with rage upon meeting John and Dean; John's lame dream of a hot-tub encounter with a blond fantasy object named Tara (Malin Akerman), a neighbor and sometime caretaker to their dad, which climaxes with Tara bolting and John ecstatically kissing her wet footprint to the tune of "Almost Paradise." MATT ZOLLER SEITZ

"The Brothers Solomon" is rated R (Under 17 requires accompanying parent or adult guardian) for language and sexual content.

HATCHET

Opens today nationwide.

Directed by Adam Green

93 minutes

Opening like a Mardi Gras edition of "Girls Gone Wild" and closing with a reverent nod to "Friday the 13th," "Hatchet," a Bayou-based homage to the slasher giants of yesteryear, is more concerned with touchstones than with terror. The movie may proudly assemble its bodily fluids the old-fashioned way -- that is, with care and K-Y jelly -- but absent any tension, it's all just so much splatter.

Stranded in the middle of a supposedly haunted swamp, a boatload of the usual mismatched tourists -- including a pretend pornographer and his aspiring starlets -- is gradually and creatively dismembered. Their assailant is one Victor Crowley (Kane Hodder), a typically sad monster whose misshapen appearance and facility with power tools suggest a genetic collision between the Elephant Man and the home design guru Ty Pennington. As played by Mr. Hodder -- an actor with Jason Voorhees under his belt and the useful ability to vomit on command -- Victor easily steals the show.

Affectionately written and directed by Adam Green, "Hatchet" refers to everything from "Dawson's Creek" to the "Candyman" films (whose star, the wonderful Tony Todd, has a lively cameo) while raising more giggles than goosebumps. Horror without suspense is like sex without love: you can appreciate the technicalities, but ultimately there's no reason to care. JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

"Hatchet" is rated R (Under 17 requires accompanying parent or adult guardian). Characters are impaled, disemboweled and beheaded by a psycho, as well as repeatedly terrorized by half-naked **women**.

THE BUBBLE

Opens today in Manhattan.

Directed by Eytan Fox

In Hebrew and Arabic, with English subtitles

117 minutes; not rated

Vacillating provocatively between romantic comedy and political tragedy, "The Bubble" is photographed with a sunny brightness that belies the gravity of its intentions.

Set primarily in the fashionable Sheinkin Street district of Tel Aviv, the story follows three left-leaning 20-somethings (two men and a woman) whose notion of political action is to hold a "rave against the occupation." But when Noam (Ohad Knoller), a sweet-natured music-store clerk and reserve soldier, meets a handsome Palestinian named Ashraf (Yousef Sweid), their escalating affair forces everyone to face reality in the cruelest possible way.

Squeezing a lot of conflict -- sexual, ethnic and intellectual -- into its 117 minutes, "The Bubble" is about the appeal of self-delusion and the warmth of comfort zones. Noam's best friend, Yali (Alon Friedmann), a cafe manager, reproaches Noam for habitually choosing unavailable men yet denies his own attraction to casually aggressive partners.

Meanwhile, Ashraf's fond sister (Roba Blal) and her future husband, a <u>Hamas</u> leader aptly named Jihad (Shredy Jabarin), negate Ashraf's homosexuality by coercing him into a straight relationship.

Eytan Fox directs with compassion but also with impatience for his characters' self-centered naivete, veering somewhat uneasily between these tones and relying on the competence of his actors to smooth the transitions. And though his ending is more poetic than just, it effectively diverts partisan sympathies toward a more general condemnation of violence. Mr. Fox may be a romantic, but he understands that love is rarely all you need. JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

THE INNER LIFE

of Martin Frost

Opens today in Manhattan.

Written and directed by Paul Auster

93 minutes: not rated

In the novelist and filmmaker Paul Auster's new movie, the novelist Martin Frost (David Thewlis) holes up in a cabin, intending to begin a new work, and becomes embroiled in an affair with a woman named Claire Martin (Irene Jacob). She appears one morning in Martin's bed, claiming to be the niece of one of the cabin's owners. She might be a con artist, or she might be Martin's muse.

The playfully oblique tone -- which worked in Philip Haas's movie adaptation of Mr. Auster's novel "The Music of Chance" -- seems merely coy here. The movie's style is aggressively literary, with plummy third-person narration (read by Mr. Auster) that over-interrogates every development, and close-ups of significant objects (like a manual typewriter floating in black space) that aim for talismanic power but don't get there. The result plays like a half-baked tribute to "Wings of Desire."

A late appearance by a supporting character -- a pushy plumber and aspiring writer named Jim Fortunato (Michael Imperioli), who offers his mentally damaged young ward (played by Mr. Auster's own daughter, Sophie) as a servant and possible concubine -- pushes the movie from bland pretension into distastefulness. MATT ZOLLER SEITZ

MILAREPA

Magician, Murderer, Saint

Opens today in Manhattan.

Directed by Neten Chokling

In Tibetan, with English subtitles

90 minutes

There are stunning locales but not much subtlety on display in "Milarepa," a straight-as-an-arrow mythical-historical telling of a mystic's early life. After his father's untimely death, Milarepa (known in his youth as Thopaga), his mother and his sister are treated abominably by the father's money-grubbing siblings. In the remote chance that it may slip our minds, the mother reminds us by proclaiming again and again just how much they've suffered.

Nearly a thousand years after his death, Milarepa (played by Jamyang Lodro) is still regarded as one of Tibet's greatest spiritual leaders. But as with many esteemed figures, there are long traces of blood leading to the pedestal. We witness his entry to the dark side, impelled by his vindictive mother, as he becomes versed in black magic -- which, much like Jedi training, involves willing objects to levitate using intense concentration -- and takes vicious revenge before finally developing a conscience.

The director Neten Chokling, a Tibetan Buddhist lama, portrays the first two Milarepa incarnations of the film's subtitle, "Magician, Murderer, Saint." The third will be further explored in a sequel. "Milarepa" fails to infuse freshness into the timeworn lesson that violence doesn't pay; perhaps its subject's path to goodness will provide a more enlightening cinematic outlet. LAURA KERN

"Milarepa: Magician, Murderer, Saint" is rated PG (Parental guidance suggested) for light violence involving a highly destructive, conjured-up storm.

http://www.nytimes.com

Graphic

Goofy antics: Will Arnett in "The Brothers Solomon." (PHOTOGRAPH BY MERRICK MORTON/TRISTAR PICTURES)

A child (McKenzie Sims) encounters a horror in "Hatchet." (PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTEL GOLDEN/ANCHOR BAY ENTERTAINMENT)

Load-Date: September 7, 2007



Wyoming Tribune-Eagle (Cheyenne)

March 21, 2007 Wednesday

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Section: LOCAL NEWS; Briefs; Pg. A4

Length: 1442 words

Byline: Staff

Body

United Way goals A3

Health Dept. revenue A3

Groups pledge \$100K for skywalk

CHEYENNE - Two groups will give a total of \$100,000 in matching funds for the skywalk project - if the city gets its \$1.8 million state grant.

The Downtown Development Authority voted last week to give \$50,000 to the project.

One Tuesday, the Cheyenne-Laramie County Economic Development Joint Powers Board followed suit.

Last week, the City Council voted to apply for a Business Committed Grant to fund the skywalk.

The glass-enclosed structure would span Carey Avenue like a bridge, giving sheltered access along the alleyway on the 200-block of Lincolnway to the parking garage.

Plans to build a new, extended-stay hotel won't go through without the skyway, according to the city. Marriott's TownePlace Suites would fill the hole in the ground once occupied by Wyoming Home, which was destroyed by a fire in 2004. The business is now in the adjacent building.

Property assessment schedules mailed

CHEYENNE - Laramie County property assessment schedules for 2007 were mailed Monday. The format of the schedules has changed from prior years, but the information contained has not.

Laramie County Assessor Brenda Arnold said property owners should review the amount noted as "Total Valuation Used to Calculate Tax" and determine if it is the approximate value of their property if sold Jan. 1, 2007. If they agree with the value, owners are not required to respond.

Property owners have the right to appeal the market value stated on their assessment schedule; however, this must be done within 30 days of the mail date on the assessment schedule. For 2007, the deadline is April 18.

If property owners had been receiving one assessment schedule reflecting values for both real property (land and buildings) and personal property (mobile homes, commercial furniture, fixtures and equipment), they will notice separate assessments this year.

Arnold will be in the following communities from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. to answer questions: March 27 at the Burns Community Center, March 28 at the Albin Community Center and March 29 at the Pine Bluffs Town Hall.

For more information, contact the assessor's office on the first floor of the County Governmental Complex, 309 West 20th St., or call 633-4307. Additional information about the assessment process can be obtained at www.laramiecounty.com.

Former Colo. senator to give talk this evening

CHEYENNE - Former Colorado Sen. Gary Hart will deliver a talk titled "The New Security in the 21st Century" Thursday night in Cheyenne.

The gathering, billed as a "town hall meeting," will begin at 7 p.m. in Coach Room D at the Hitching Post Inn, 1700 W. Lincolnway.

Before that event, Hart will be the special guest at fundraiser for Laramie County Democrats. The cost for that event, which begins at 5:30 p.m. in the same location, is \$20 per person.

A lawyer, educator and political philosopher, Hart has served on various boards and commissions. Before the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, Hart warned of a terrorist attack in the United States and called for the creation of a homeland security program.

For more information, call Mike at 773-8626.

City compost program starts up on April 2

CHEYENNE - The city of Cheyenne's Compost Program will start April 2 and run through Nov. 16.

The billing for those who kept their containers through the winter months will begin April 2.

The landfill no longer accepts grass or leaves. These items need to be taken to the Compost Facility at 3714 Windmill Road or to the Transfer Station at 220 N. College Drive.

For more information, call the Sanitation Department at 637-6440.

Women's council accepting nominations

CHEYENNE - The Wyoming Council for <u>Women</u>'s Issues is accepting nominations through March 31 for its 2007 Wyoming Woman of Distinction Award.

The Wyoming Woman of Distinction Award recognizes one woman each year who has had significant positive impacts on <u>women</u> and families in the areas of education or employment, community outreach, health and wellness concerns, or legal issues.

Nomination forms are available on the WCWI web site at www.wyomingwomenscouncil.org.

Honorees will be recognized at a special ceremony in late summer or early fall.

Democratic legislators released voting records

CHEYENNE - In keeping with a campaign promise made last year, Wyoming's Democratic legislators have compiled and released their voting records to the public.

The records have been posted on the Wyoming Democratic Party's Web site at www.wyomingdemocrats.com.

The voting records on the Democrats' Web site include a comparison of how every senator voted on issues before the Senate, how every representative voted on every issue in the House, and individual breakdowns for each of the state's 90 legislators.

The detailed information is in Microsoft Excel spreadsheet format, or visitors to the Web site can simply click on the "voting records" link on the home page.

Gillette latest to talk about smoking ban

GILLETTE (AP) - The City Council will hear arguments March 28 for a citywide ban on smoking in public places and restaurants.

City Administrator Bret Jones said the issue of a ban came on the council's radar screen after Cheyenne, Laramie and Evanston passed similar bans, and a statewide ban failed to make it through the state Legislature this winter.

"I think there is some realization that it could be a potentially divisive issue in the community," Jones said.

Wyoming National Guard meets recruiting goal

CHEYENNE (AP) - It took the Wyoming Army National Guard only six months to meet its recruiting goals for this year.

The goal of recruiting 1,800 new soldiers, assigned in October 2006 by the National Guard Bureau, was met this month.

Col. Brian Harmsen, Wyoming Army National Guard deputy chief of staff for personnel, said in a statement issued Tuesday that the Wyoming Guard has exceeded its recruiting quota five years in a row.

Region

\$6.9M Lotto ticket sold in Fort Collins

FORT COLLINS, Colo. (AP) - The ticket that won a \$6.9 million Lotto jackpot was sold at a store in Fort Collins, Colorado Lottery officials said Tuesday.

Schrader Country Store manager Debbie Mathewson told Lottery officials that the winner, who bought a ticket for the drawing Saturday, was one of the store's frequent shoppers.

Colorado Lottery officials were still waiting for the winner to come forward as of Tuesday morning, spokeswoman Linh Truong said. The winner has until Sept. 13 to claim the prize.

The winning numbers Saturday were 5, 8, 9, 19, 24 and 37. Colorado Lottery officials said the probability of winning was 1 in 5,245,786.

Woman accused of having children with teen

LOUISVILLE, Colo. (AP) - A 38-year-old woman faces sexual assault charges after police concluded the father of her two children was 13 when the first child was conceived.

Irene Marie Gomez was arrested last week after she told police the father of the children had pushed and grabbed her during an argument. When officers asked for family members' birth dates - a question they said is routine - they concluded the father was underage when the couple's relationship began.

The father is now 18. The second child was conceived when he was 16, police said.

Man sentenced for fraud after posing as woman

YORK, Neb. (AP) - A 27-year-old Bertrand man could spend up to three years in prison for fooling a York man into thinking he was a woman, then persuading the man to send him thousands of dollars.

Richard Vasquez had an online and telephone romantic relationship with the man, and eventually began asking him for money to help family members, according to court documents. Vasquez even met the man, posing as Alexis' brother, Alex, to collect money. In all, the York man gave Vasquez nearly \$20,000.

world

U.S. meets with Palestinian minister

JERUSALEM (AP) - The United States made its first contact with the new <u>Hamas</u>-Fatah coalition Tuesday, ending a yearlong diplomatic boycott of the Palestinian government.

The meeting between a U.S. diplomat and the Palestinian finance minister signaled a break in policy between Israel and its closest ally, and could mark a significant step toward ending a painful aid cutoff to the Palestinian government.

Tuna workers accused in mislabeling scam

PAGO PAGO, American Samoa (AP) - A dozen tuna cannery workers appeared in District Court Monday, all accused in a scheme to falsely label cans as tuna when they were actually a less expensive fish.

With 16 defendants, it's the largest number of accused in a single case in the U.S. territory, with two more expected to appear Tuesday and two others being sought.

The workers were employed by COS Samoa Packing, a subsidiary of San Diego-based Chicken of the Sea International.

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Body

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Schools to let out early Thursday

CHEYENNE - All Cheyenne public schools will have early release on Thursday because of instructional planning and staff development.

Junior high schools will release at 11 a.m., high schools at 11:30 a.m. and elementary schools at noon.

LCSD1 trustees pick name for elementary

CHEYENNE - The committee to help Laramie County School District 1 trustees pick a name for the new elementary school at 12th Street and Taft Avenue will meet at 7 tonight in the superintendent's conference room in the administration building, 2810 House Ave.

The school board will decide on the name on March 19.

People can submit suggestions by Feb. 23.

The school cannot be named for a person who is living, based on guidelines developed by trustees.

People are asked to send in the name and the reason they chose it. Trustees will make the final selection from names submitted by a committee.

Entries must be addressed to the Committee to Set Guidelines for Naming the New 12th and Taft Elementary School and can be mailed, e-mailed or delivered to the LCSD1 superintendent's office at Laramie County School District 1, 2810 House Ave., Cheyenne, WY 82001 or by e-mailing *Gompertb@laramie1.k12.wy.us*.

Public meeting set on

recreation center design

CHEYENNE - Architects for the proposed Cheyenne recreation center will give a talk about their design at a public meeting from 6-8 p.m. Wednesday at the Cheyenne-Kiwanis Community House in Lions Park.

Architects from Ohlson LaVoie Collaborative will show floor, roof and site plans, among other things.

People will also have a chance to ask questions and give input.

For more information, call Tom Bogan at 638-4358.

College student accused of counterfeiting

POWELL (AP) - A Northwest College student is accused of counterfeiting \$20 bills and spending them at local businesses.

Police said Jared J. Good, 19, was arrested Jan. 26, the same day he allegedly paid for gas with one of the fake twenties.

Police Chief Tim Feathers said police had recovered phony bills from four businesses.

Good was charged with three felony forgery charges. He posted \$20,000 bail and was released from the Park County jail.

Police said Good told them he'd received a Pell Grant and that Northwest College gave him the money in cash.

Owl knocks power out for almost 23,000

CASPER (AP) - An owl electrocuted itself in an electrical substation, briefly knocking out power to almost 23,000 customers in south Casper.

Margaret Oler, spokeswoman for Rocky Mountain Power, said the bird tripped the high-voltage line at 10:20 p.m. Sunday, shutting down that and three other substations. She called it the largest outage she's seen in 25 years.

"Our equipment operated exactly as it should have and did not allow the damage to go further," Oler said.

It took about an hour to restore power.

Region

Denver 'heavy-duty' on fundraising

DENVER (AP) - The mammoth task of raising millions of dollars and planning thousands of details for the 2008 Democratic National Convention has been picked up by a new committee, and the woman who helped lure the party to Denver said Tuesday she won't be in charge.

"I am not a heavy-duty fundraiser," said Debbie Willhite, executive director of the Denver Host Committee, which led the effort to land the convention. "For the next year, job number one is raising the money," she said.

The convention, on Aug. 25-28, 2008, is expected to attract 35,000 people, including 4,950 delegates and alternates.

Local organizers will have to raise \$55 million toward the convention's total budget of \$80 million. The federal government will contribute the other \$25 million for security.

Suspect in model scam pleads not guilty

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colo. (AP) - A hermaphrodite once accused of impersonating a high school student to join a girls cheerleading squad has pleaded not guilty by reason of insanity to charges of theft, fraud and jumping bail.

Storme Shannon Aerison, 42, was born with male and <u>female</u> genitalia but identifies herself as a woman, her attorney said. She entered her plea Monday.

She has been arrested at least three times since 2000 on charges of defrauding a credit union of thousands of dollars, impersonating a model to get others to pay for trips to photo shoots and jumping bail.

Psychiatrists have testified Aerison suffers from dissociative identity disorder, once known as multiple-personality disorder.

In 1990, at age 26, Aerison was arrested on criminal impersonation charges after claiming she was 17, enrolling at Colorado Springs' Coronado High School and joining the girls cheerleading squad.

Nation

Cheney testimony cloudy in leak case

WASHINGTON (AP) - Defense attorneys seemed so certain in December when they announced that Vice President Dick Cheney would be called to testify in the CIA leak trial.

Now that prosecutors are close to resting their case against former Cheney aide I. Lewis "Scooter" Libby, however, Libby's attorneys are quietly backing away from that claim. Suddenly, it's unclear whether Cheney - or even Libby himself - will take the stand.

In documents filed in federal court this week, Libby's attorneys said Cheney was "potentially" a witness. Such hesitation is common but it's a big step back from attorney Theodore Wells' declaration that, "We're calling the vice president" to help defend the former aide against perjury and obstruction charges.

Farmers get first hemp production licenses

BISMARCK, N.D. (AP) - North Dakota issued the nation's first licenses to grow industrial hemp Tuesday to two farmers who still must meet federal requirements before they can plant the crop.

The farmers must get approval from the Drug Enforcement Administration, which treats hemp much the way it does marijuana and has not allowed commercial hemp production but has said it would consider applications to grow it.

Hemp is a cousin of marijuana, though smoking hemp does not produce the same effects as smoking marijuana. The sturdy, fibrous plant is used to make an assortment of products including paper, rope, clothing and cosmetics.

The North Dakota Agriculture Department approved rules late last year for hemp production with the DEA's concerns in mind, State Agriculture Commissioner Roger Johnson has said.

The state issued permits Tuesday to Wayne Hauge and Dave Monson, who is also a legislator. The state Agriculture Department is processing 16 other hemp applications, Johnson said.

Ga. couple goes on trial for son's 2003 death

MARIETTA, Ga. (AP) - A couple whose church supports corporal punishment locked their 8-year-old son in a box, forced him to spend hours in a closet and beat the boy, who died in 2003, a prosecutor told jurors Tuesday.

Josef Smith died at a children's hospital after paramedics were called to the family's home in Mableton, 12 miles northwest of Atlanta.

His parents, Joseph and Sonya Smith, were charged in June with murder, cruelty to children, aggravated assault and false imprisonment. Testimony in their trial was to begin Wednesday.

"Josef's body will tell you the story of what happened to him," prosecutor Eleanor Dixon told jurors in opening remarks.

The Smiths are members of the Franklin, Tenn.-based Remnant Fellowship Church. Authorities raided the church in June 2004 as part of the investigation of Josef Smith's death, but church officials have not been accused of wrongdoing in the case.

Former Remnant members have said church teachings on discipline include discussion of corporal punishment. Shamblin has said the church leaves discipline to parents and believes in spankings as a last resort.

Videographer becomes longest-jailed journalist

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) - A freelance videographer jailed for refusing to turn over footage of a violent demonstration to federal investigators became the longest incarcerated journalist in U.S. history Tuesday.

Josh Wolf, 24, spent his 169th day in a federal prison after declining to turn over unaired videotape he shot of the 2005 San Francisco street protest against the G-8 summit in Scotland.

Vanessa Leggett, a Houston-based freelancer, served 168 days in 2001 and 2002 for declining to reveal unpublished material about a murder case.

During the July 2005 protest, a San Francisco police car was torched and an officer suffered a fractured skull.

world

Palestinian leaders try forging coalition

RIYADH, Saudi Arabia (AP) - Palestinian factions on the brink of civil war gathered Tuesday in Mecca, Islam's holiest city, in a last-ditch effort to end their bloody conflict. The Saudi-led push is key to any future peace talks with Israel - and to Arab efforts to blunt Iran's growing power.

Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas of Fatah and Khaled Mashaal, leader of the militant <u>Hamas</u> movement, flew to the Saudi city of Jiddah before heading to Mecca to meet their host, King Abdullah, ahead of the start of talks Wednesday.

The talks are open-ended, a reflection of Saudi Arabia's determination to keep them going until the Palestinians reach a deal for power-sharing in a new coalition government.

Load-Date: February 7, 2007



Lijden, strijden, heilig worden

Trouw

May 26, 2007

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Section: LETTER&GEEST; Blz. 02

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Body

SAMENVATTING:

Lidwina van Schiedam (1380-1433) volhardde na een val op het ijs veertig jaar lang in bedlegerigheid. Volgens sociologe Jolande Withuis bestaan tussen deze rooms-katholieke heilige en hedendaagse radicale moslima's meer overeenkomsten dan verschillen. Maar met de 'vrouwelijke natuur' heeft hun opofferingsgezindheid niets te maken.

VOLLEDIGE TEKST:

Moslimaterrorisme - dit nieuwe woord zal velen in de oren klinken als een contradictio in terminis. Dat is ten onrechte, en gevaarlijk naïef. De gangbare associatie van vrouwen met vreedzaamheid en harmonie is een fabeltje. Het is weliswaar vrij zeldzaam dat vrouwen terroristische aanslagen plegen, maar onbekend is het verschijnsel niet.

Onder de leiders van de Rote Armee Fraktion die in 1977 zelfmoord pleegden in de Stammheim-gevangenis waren vrouwen. Pas nog werd een RAF-prominente vrijgelaten die betrokken was bij ten minste drie moorden en een vliegtuigkaping. Palestijnse vrouwen hebben zelfmoordaanslagen gepleegd. Tsjetsjeense weduwen waren betrokken bij de gewelddadige gijzelingen in Beslan en in Moskou. En in 2005 blies een jonge Belgische, die via haar huwelijk met een radicale moslim tot de islam was bekeerd, zichzelf op in Irak.

In 1991 verscheen een boek met de intrigerende titel 'Shoot the <u>women</u> first'. Die titel ontleende de auteur, journaliste Eileen MacDonald, aan een internationaal advies aan veiligheids- en politiemensen: in geval ze een terroristische kern zouden arresteren, moesten ze eerst de vrouwelijke groepsleden uitschakelen.

In die dagen waren terroristische groepen niet uiterst rechts, maar extreem links. MacDonald sprak vrouwen van de Duitse RAF, een Koreaanse die een vliegtuig met honderden burgers aan boord had opgeblazen, een lid van de Italiaanse Brigate Rosse. De grens tussen links en rechts is bij terrorisme slecht te trekken (zie Ira, Eta, *Hamas*), en bovendien niet de meest relevante. Wezenlijk (en griezelig) aan terrorisme is niet de intentie maar de intensiteit van de betrokkenheid - het extremisme.

De raad om eerst de vrouwen neer te schieten berustte op de gedachte dat vrouwelijke terroristen, eerder dan hun mannenbroeders, zelf het vuur zouden openen op hun tegenstanders. Of ze dat inderdaad deden, wordt uit de zeven interviews van MacDonald niet duidelijk. Wel leren de verhalen ons dat alle geïnterviewde vrouwen tot hun politiek engagement kwamen in een context waarin een tegenstelling bestond tussen 'vrouwelijkheid' en politiek.

Hoe verschillend hun respectieve culturen ook waren, politiek was er vanouds een mannendomein. Vrouwen waren daarvan uitgesloten en aangezien ze ook geacht werden daarin niet geïnteresseerd te zijn, moesten ze meer dan hun mannelijke collega's hun inzet en trouw aan de zaak bewijzen. Sterker nog: om überhaupt te mogen meedoen, moesten ze ook tegenover die sceptische en seksistische medestrijders hun moed, loyaliteit en competentie aantonen, en de verwachting weerleggen dat ze wel zouden deserteren of falen. Zie daar: de weg naar een schepje erbovenop.

Bovendien stond een nomadisch bestaan als 'beroepsrevolutionair' verder af van het gangbare vrouwenleven dan van een mannenleven. Zij moesten er meer voor opgeven en konden daardoor slechter op hun schreden terugkeren. Het credo 'Niets te verliezen, want alles al kwijt' bevordert fatalisme, wanhoop en onverschilligheid ten aanzien van zichzelf en anderen - radicalisering dus.

Hoe zit dat met de radicale moslima's? Moeten wij aannemen dat zij gemakkelijker radicaliseren dan hun geloofsbroeders? Neigen vrouwen meer dan mannen tot desperadogedrag?

Ook in Nederland groeit het belang van vrouwen in islamistisch-terroristische netwerken. Over de Marokkaanse vrouwen rond het Hofstadnetwerk hebben we enige kennis dankzij het speurwerk van Volkskrant-journalistes Janny Groen en Annieke Kranenberg ('Strijdsters van Allah. Radicale moslima's en het Hofstadnetwerk', Amsterdam 2006). Deze Hofstadvrouwen namen actief deel aan huiskamersessies, waar ze door de mannelijke groepsleden werden geïnformeerd over de radicale islam. Daarnaast houden enkele prominente moslimvrouwen zich bezig met de verspreiding van het radicale takfir-gedachtengoed. Ze doen aan dawa (bekering, werving), verspreiden preken, boeken en andere documenten, vertalen teksten en spelen een rol in het radicaliseren van jongeren.

Deze vrouwen lijken in veel opzichten op Marokkaanse moslima's die zich niet tot geweld maar wel tot de radicale islam voelen aangetrokken en die willen leven naar de letter van de Koran. Ze zijn rond de twintig, goed opgeleid, voelen zich door de Nederlandse samenleving buitengesloten, geven de islam een allesoverheersende rol in hun leven en worden door hun directe Marokkaanse omgeving, familie bijvoorbeeld, als te radicaal ervaren. Opvallend is hun honger naar informatie over het geloof. De moskee speelt in hun leven nauwelijks een rol omdat ze die niet puriteins genoeg vinden, of er de juiste leer niet vinden. Nederlandstalige lezingen, vaker in een buurthuis of een andere ruimte dan in een moskee, zijn populair. Ook ontlenen zij informatie aan websites die het salafisme en de politieke islam uitdragen.

Vrouwelijk radicalisme in politieke en spirituele zin kent een lange traditie waarin een patroon te ontwaren valt. Laat ik u voorstellen aan de Heilige Lidwina van Schiedam, die leefde van 1380 tot 1433. Lidwien ging in 1395 als gezond en nog lang niet heilig meisje uit schaatsen, kwam ten val, brak een rib en is vervolgens nooit meer opgestaan. Medici zien Lidwien als een klassieke hysterica, in de grote stapel hagiografische literatuur daarentegen is zij een wonder. De aan haar gewijde geschriften bieden tegen elkaar op in gruwelijkheden: vuistgrote abcessen, etterende wonden, rottende lichaamsdelen, maden ter grootte van een pink die uit haar buik kropen. Lidwina bleef bedlegerig tot haar dood, bijna veertig jaar later. Ze verwierf grote aanhang, werd onder enorme belangstelling begraven en werd in 1890 door paus Leo XIII heilig verklaard.

Natuurlijk kunnen we Lidwina zien als een typisch geval van katholieke lijdensverheerlijking. Maar van de 321 'lijdensmystici' uit de katholieke geschiedenis waren er maar liefst 274 vrouw: 85 procent! Bovendien werd Lidwien tot ver in de twintigste eeuw speciaal aan katholieke meisjes ten voorbeeld gesteld. Ze zag zichzelf ook als voorbeeld. Door het voor te stellen alsof ze met haar ziekte de zonden der mensheid afkocht, maakte ze van haar lijden iets nuttigs en speciaals. En hoe erger, hoe mooier. Met haar paardenharen boetekleden bezorgde ze zichzelf extra pijn, en at ze eerst nog wel een partje appel af en toe, de laatste jaren zou ze louter op hosties hebben geleefd.

In dit genre spiritualiteit telt lijden als prestatie: hoe nederiger, hoe superieurder. De manipulatieve Lidwina, een typisch geval van lijdenswinst, wist met haar extreme lot grote invloed te verwerven op de priesters in haar omgeving. Haar ziekte bracht haar roem in een tijd dat het voor vrouwen onmogelijk was beroemd te worden of zelfs maar een zinvol leven te leiden via werk, wetenschap of kunst. Bovendien ontkwam ze zo aan uithuwelijking. Toen kort voor het schaatspartijtje uithuwelijking dreigde, bad ze God om een ziekte. Trouwen, kinderen krijgen en sterven in het kraambed - dat was het vrouwenlot. Ongetrouwd blijven betekende armoede. Lidwien vond kortom precies die ene deur die voor haar sekse openstond naar een openbaar bestaan: liggen, lijden, heilig worden.

Het interessante (en zorgwekkende) is, dat dit Lidwinapatroon historisch niet alleen valt aan te treffen bij bijvoorbeeld nonnen die zichzelf ernstiger verwondden dan de kerk toestond, maar ook onder linkse en seculiere vrouwen, al nam hun zelfkastijding andere vormen aan. Voor al die vrouwen met hun uiteenlopende levensbeschouwingen gold dat hun verlangen om een politieke rol te vervullen, botste met de wens of plicht te voldoen aan het gedrag dat werd verwacht van goede vrouwen. Door hun streven naar een functie in de gemeenschap, buiten de beperktheid van huwelijk en gezinsleven, raakten ze in conflict met hun omgeving, en dat losten ze op door extra zware lasten op zich te nemen.

We moeten die neiging tot lijden of opoffering dus niet zoeken in een 'vrouwelijke natuur', maar in de benarde maatschappelijke positie van vrouwen. De invloed bijvoorbeeld die Lidwina verwierf op het kerkelijk leven, was langs minder destructieve wegen onbereikbaar.

Deze redenering verklaart ook waarom dergelijke vrouwen juist de gewoonlijk aan hun sekse toegeschreven zwakte en passiviteit misten. Hun 'sterke' gedrag drukt een compromis uit, een manier om twee identiteiten te verzoenen die sociaal gezien strijdig waren. Enerzijds traditionele vrouwelijkheid, anderzijds een bestemming in het openbare leven. Deze zelfdestructieve vorm van inzet is een alibi om aan de 'vrouwelijke' passiviteit te ontkomen. Zo hebben vrouwen in het martelaarschap een ontsnappingsroute gecreëerd uit hun tweederangspositie. Onderschikking, opoffering en uitsloverij zijn voor vrouwen in politieke en sociale bewegingen vaak de manier geweest om mee te mogen doen met de mannen. Naarmate de seksen gelijker worden, zullen vrouwen zich dan ook minder manifesteren als martelares.

Mij lijkt bovengeschetste analyse ook relevant voor de vrouwen van bijvoorbeeld de Hofstadgroep. Bovendien ontkomen we door zo'n sociologische kijk aan het dilemma of het moslimaradicalisme een vorm van emancipatie is of juist het tegenovergestelde daarvan. Met die vraag schipperen ook Groen en Kranenberg. Ik ben het eens met de Belgische journaliste en terrorismedeskundige Hind Fraihi, die in een televisiedebat over hun boek het moslimafundamentalisme kenschetste als 'cynisch feminisme'. Cynisch, omdat het hier gaat om een illusie van gelijkheid van vrouwen die zich in feite in extreme mate onderschikken. Aangezien ze dat doen naar eigen wens en op het eerste gezicht niet tot hun ongenoegen, raken hun beschouwers verstrikt in een vruchteloos welles-nietes: zijn dit geëmancipeerde vrouwen of slachtoffers?

Laten we vooral niet vergeten dat vrouwen in de geschiedenis wel vaker met kracht zijn opgekomen voor antiemancipatoire ideeën. Zo ondertekenden in 1917 zo'n 43.000 christenvrouwen de petitie 'Geef ons het kiesrecht niet', omdat zij burgerschap strijdig achtten met de huiselijke bestemming van de vrouw. Gelukkig trokken Aletta Jacobs en de haren zich daar niets van aan.

Productiever dan een oordeel emancipatoir of anti-emancipatoir is het om de dynamiek van het gedrag en de situatie van deze jonge moslima's te achterhalen.

De ideale moslimvrouw is een moeder die vele zonen baart. Het laagste van het laagste in moslimland zijn gescheiden vrouwen, en bijna net zo veracht zijn de ongehuwden. Duidelijk is dat het klassieke rolmodel niet het leven biedt dat deze meisjes willen, maar evenmin brengen zij het op zich te onttrekken aan de dwang of drang om 'vrouwelijk' te zijn in de zin waarin dat in hun cultuur, milieu of geloof wordt gezien. Ze willen niet als vrouwen worden geminacht. Ze accepteren de opgelegde tweedeling van de mensheid in twee ongelijke, geheel verschillende soorten, maar willen toch een ander soort leven dan hun sekse traditioneel wordt toebedeeld. Ze vertonen modern en zelfbewust gedrag en koesteren de wens om mee te tellen in een geloofsgemeenschap die

vanouds aan mannen toebehoorde. Gehuld in allesbedekkende kleding grazen ze het internet af op zoek naar teksten die vrouwen het recht geven mee te doen met de djihad.

De contradicties in hun seksedenken worden geïllustreerd door hun namen. Zoals dat vaak gaat in sekten, leggen groepsleden hun eigen naam af. Ter bevestiging van hun nieuwe identiteit en van hun toetreden tot een nieuwe 'familie' kiezen ze een nieuwe naam. Alle Hofstadvrouwen heten automatisch Oum, wat 'moeder' betekent. Achter die traditionele titel mogen ze zelf een voornaam kiezen. Een van de vrouwen heet Oum Osama, waarmee ze uitdrukt dat Bin Laden haar voorbeeld is. Ze combineert dus de verplichte, generieke, bescheiden moederaanspreektitel met de gewelddadigste en minst bescheiden mannennaam die voorhanden is.

De verlangens en ambities van deze meisjes zijn volgens de Koran of daaraan ontleende culturele tradities niet gepast. Maar wat wél gepast is, verlangen zij niet. Ook anderszins lopen ze het risico als onvrouwelijk te gelden: ze zijn vaak slimmer, beter geïntegreerd en competenter dan hun mannen en de jongens uit de groep. Dat moeten ze compenseren of goedmaken, en daarvoor zijn diverse wegen voorstelbaar, bijvoorbeeld dat zij hun talenten niet inzetten voor hun eigen loopbaan en zelfstandigheid, maar voor de goede zaak.

De kans dat dit soort emancipatie een zelfdestructief of zelfonderschikkend element bevat is dus groot, en helaas is het risico niet denkbeeldig dat radicale moslima's, anders dan Lidwina, anderen meeslepen in hun zelfdestructie. Hun eventuele 'zelfmoord'-terrorisme behelst moord of zelfs massamoord. Hier raakt het aspect sekse aan een ander belangrijk element van radicalisering: het sektarisme.

Kenmerkend aan het moderne leven is dat mensen verschillende rollen vervullen. Sekten en radicale geloven daarentegen vereisen totale toewijding. Hun geloof biedt radicale moslima's een totale identiteit, die zwaarder weegt dan wat ook en die niet beperkt is tot bepaalde uren of gelegenheden. Dat vereist inspanning en afzien, maar biedt tegelijk voldoening en gemoedsrust. Leefvoorschriften die vervelend of lastig zijn - zich moeten bedekken, van alles niet mogen eten - worden, als je eraan weet te voldoen, tot bronnen van zelfrespect. Het is als met de anorexiet die tevreden is als zij het hongeren volhoudt, ook al schaadt ze daarmee haar gezondheid. Zo zijn deze vrouwen tot in het ridicule druk met uitzoeken welke ingrediënten 'haram' of 'halal' zijn, wat tegelijk hun tijd vult en dus een comfortabel gevoel van zinvol leven oplevert.

Deze extreme invulling van het moslim-zijn, die beslist niet algemeen is, impliceert exclusiviteit. Leden van sekten en daarmee mogen we dit type islamgroeperingen wel vergelijken - moeten afzien van andere emotionele bindingen dan aan de groep; hun commitment mag niet worden doorkruist door persoonlijke banden; zij dragen hun verbondenheid met medemensen over op hun geloof, en wissen hun sympathie voor buitenstaanders uit door andersdenkenden als vijanden te gaan zien. Radicalisering impliceert dat iemands geloof steeds meer haar verhouding tot haar medemensen kleurt (of bederft). Was het geloof eerst nog één verschil, al radicaliserend wordt het tot dé wezenlijke scheidslijn. Tot een bron van ruzie of afsplitsing, van wrok en vijandschap enerzijds, binding en gezamenlijkheid anderzijds.

Een van de mechanismen waardoor sekten standhouden, is dat de leden leven in de vrees voor uitstoting. Een moskee sluit iemand niet snel uit, maar takfiri's mogen onderling mensen royeren, desavoueren en zelfs vermoorden. Het radicaliseringsproces maakt mensen kwetsbaar, want hoe verder iemand is meegegaan op de radicale weg, hoe banger zij wordt om buiten de groep te komen staan. Zij heeft haar oude familie en vrienden verlaten of zelfs afgestoten en kan niet eervol op haar schreden terugkeren. Ze is financieel en emotioneel afhankelijk geworden van de groep. Omdat deze vrouwen niet werken, zijn ze soms totaal afzijdig van de samenleving. Weinig contacten in de normale buitenwereld betekent weinig correctie, verminderd realiteitsbesef en ook weinig kans op escape. Hoe geïsoleerder de individuele leden raken, hoe machtiger de sekte.

De informele structuur van de terrorismenetwerken kan de angst voor uitstoting nog vergroten, omdat leden altijd onzeker zijn over wat op een bepaald moment 'juist' is. Dit biedt charismatische personen die als leraar optreden nog extra macht. Bovendien ligt de verleiding op de loer om geloofsonzekerheid te compenseren met daadkracht. Een van de Hofstadmeisjes wilde scheiden van haar man, omdat die was opgestaan voor een Nederlandse rechter; een ander sprak met minachting over Samir A., omdat op diens grote woorden te weinig daden waren gevolgd.

Sekteleden leren af empathie te voelen met anderen én met zichzelf. De eenzaamheid die dat veroorzaakt, wordt verzacht door de gezamenlijke strijd tegen de westerse wereld, die daarmee psychisch noodzakelijk wordt. Bij gewelddadige sekten gaat dat nog verder. Het ontbreken van mededogen met ongelovigen is daar een blijk van de eigen deugdzaamheid. Men gaat onderling rivaliseren in onmenselijkheid. Zoals Mohammed B. zijn rol als slachter oefende, zo trainen leden van gewelddadige politieke groeperingen zich in ongevoeligheid. Mohammed B. was ook degene die de 16-jarige Malika in de echt verbond met een andere 'broeder'. Haar huwelijksnacht bestond uit het bekijken van gewelddadige filmpjes. Zo zou ze alvast wennen aan het doden en aan het vooruitzicht zelf martelares te worden. Een meisje vertelde Groen en Kranenberg dat ze net zo lang onthoofdingsfilmpjes had bekeken tot ze er niets meer bij voelde.

De mix van seksisme en sektarisme is gevaarlijk. Om mee te mogen doen met wat des mans is, zoals de djihad, moeten de moslima's af van de zachtaardigheid die traditioneel tot het vrouwelijke takenpakket wordt gerekend. De zaak blijft in evenwicht door andere aspecten van de traditionele vrouwelijkheid extra aan te zetten. Om goed te maken dat ze iets willen wat niet hoort, zullen ze uitmunten in onderdanigheid, gehoorzaamheid en loyaliteit. Dat is te zien in hun keuze voor de allervrouwonvriendelijkste interpretatie van de islam, compleet met boerka's en polygynie. Die bittere pil wordt verguld met superioriteitsgevoel. Superioriteitsgevoel is de zoete beloning die de radicale vrouwen niet alleen plaatst boven ongelovigen maar ook boven hun naasten die een minder extreem leven leiden. Boven hun onopgeleide of zelfs analfabete moeders bijvoorbeeld, die worden 'gerespecteerd' maar in feite onmachtig zijn en zeker niet zichzelf tot Allah kunnen richten of de Schrift kunnen bestuderen. Of boven hun vaders, die noch in geloofszaken noch in sociale positie gezag inboezemen. Hun eigen onderworpen positie is, denken zij, zelfgekozen en impliceert een hogere bestaanswijze. Tegenover niet of minder gelovige seksegenoten zullen deze moslima's bij hoog en laag volhouden dat hun dienstbaarheid aan hun mannen geen dienstbaarheid aan die mannen is maar aan hun eigen overtuiging, en 'dus' een vorm van emancipatie.

Vaststaat dat de radicale moslima's niet alleen vervreemden van de Nederlandse samenleving, maar ook van hun eigen omgeving. Zij vinden dat hun familie niet volgens de 'zuivere islam' leeft en het geloof verwart met de Marokkaanse cultuur en traditie. Familieleden op hun beurt zitten niet te wachten op een in boerka weggestopte dochter wier echtgenoot weigert met haar moeder aan één tafel te eten. Het door mij geschetste 'compromis' werkt niet alleen jegens echtgenoten en geloofsbroeders, maar ook ten aanzien van het ouderlijk milieu. De meisjes doen weliswaar iets wat niet wordt gewenst, maar die overtreding ligt in het verlengde van hun ouderlijk geloof. Ze zijn vromer dan vroom, dus wat kunnen die ouders daartegen inbrengen?

Dat hun strategie zowel henzelf verheft als eventuele loyaliteitsproblemen opheft, maakt deze route extra aantrekkelijk. Met hun wens tot deelname aan de djihad, het geven van lezingen en het bestuderen van de Koran trotseren de vrouwen seksetradities, maar dat compenseren ze door superaanpassing op andere fronten. Hoewel ze dus wel degelijk worstelen met de begrenzingen van het in de islam aan vrouwen toegestane domein, gaat hun engagement, anders dan bij de vrouwen uit 'Shoot the <u>Women</u> First', niet gepaard aan kritiek op de traditionele vrouwelijkheid. Zij belijden juist de meest orthodoxe variant van het geloof en echoën seksistische opvattingen: vrouwen dienen zich te bedekken en geven mannen geen hand.

De echtgenote van Samir A. steunde onlangs via de pers zijn eis om apart van vrouwelijke gevangenen te worden gelucht. Haar man, zei ze, 'stond op springen' - een primitieve opvatting over seks die we zelden nog vernemen. Mannen mogen er, vinden ook hun vrouwen, vier echtgenotes op na houden, en onderling doen zij alsof ze dat niet erg vinden. Ze sluiten informele huwelijken die louter dienen om seks mogelijk te maken en geen enkele bescherming bieden. Hun feitelijk promiscue levenswijze, waarbij ze bovendien breken met de traditie dat een huwelijk tot stand komt na ten minste goedkeuring door de ouders en de familieoudsten, maakt terugkeer moeilijker. Dat maakt hen nog weer afhankelijker van die pseudo-echtgenoten en hun sektarische geloofsgenoten.

Tegelijk grijpen de vrouwen hun kansen om hun mannen te vernederen als die minder radicaal zijn of te weinig daadkrachtig. Het feit dat ze door het voorschrift van gescheiden mannen- en vrouwensferen een vrij vaste club vormen, zal dit concurreren met en vernederen van de mannen soms zelfs tot een meisjesgezelschapsspel maken. Dat velen van hen door kennis van het Arabisch en de heilige teksten zelf in contact kunnen treden met Allah (in plaats van alleen via een man), is een vernieuwing die hun emancipatie-illusie in stand houdt. Tegelijkertijd

bevordert deze illusie hun radicalisering en isolement, want het is een emancipatie die bestaat uit het geobsedeerd bestuderen van de 'zuivere' leer (die ze overigens toch weer via mannen krijgen aangeleverd).

Ten slotte zullen deze vrouwen, net als hun radicale voorgangsters, geneigd zijn of zich gedwongen zien om het mannelijke vooroordeel dat ze te zwak, bang en onwetend zijn, te bestrijden door in hun geloofsstrijd verder te gaan dan ze misschien zouden willen. Omdat ze zowel hun gelijkheid (in daadkracht en geloofsovertuiging) als hun ondergeschiktheid (als sekse) moeten bewijzen, lijkt mij het risico aanwezig dat ze bereid zullen zijn gruwelijke opdrachten uit te voeren. Hun dubbelzinnige situatie maakt ze tot prooien voor rekrutering.

De vrouwen rond de Hofstadgroep mengen moderne assertiviteit met sektarisme. Sekte- en sekseaspecten raken elkaar in datgene waar elke sekte zich uiteindelijk op werpt: het leven naar de zuivere leer en het zuiveren van de groep. Ook daarin gaan rivaliteit met en onderschikking aan de mannen vloeiend samen.

Toch heb ik me in het bovenstaande, meer dan met de inhoud van de Koran, beziggehouden met de mogelijke functies van de islam en met de sociale en psychische dynamiek die vrouwen radicaal maakt en houdt. We moeten ons niet blindstaren op de oude teksten om te begrijpen wat er rond ons gaande is. Niet in die teksten ligt het antwoord maar in de betekenis die eraan gegeven wordt en in het gebruik dat ervan wordt gemaakt. Het zou een illusie zijn te denken dat we door studie van de Koran antwoorden vinden, en een misverstand dat we zonder die studie niets kunnen begrijpen. Naarmate men radicaliseert, wordt de zuivere leer onmiskenbaar een obsessie, maar hij is dat nooit helemaal zonder bemiddeling: er zijn steeds opportunistische interpretaties en leraren nodig als medium. Vrouwen zijn niet machtig genoeg om zelf een nieuwe interpretatie als ware leer door te kunnen drukken.

Volgens de Amsterdamse emeritus hoogleraar in de sociologie Bram de Swaan doet de letterlijke inhoud van een godsdienst er niet zoveel toe, want men kan uit elke geloofsleer en uit elk heilig boek nu eenmaal halen wat men eruit wil halen. Schriftgeleerden door de eeuwen heen hébben er ook uitgehaald wat ze van pas kwam. De inhoud van godsdiensten wordt, zo stelt De Swaan in het essay 'De botsing der beschavingen en de strijd der geslachten', bepaald door de sociale verhoudingen. En de strijd om de islam ziet hij als een wereldwijde strijd om behoud van mannelijke macht. Moslimmannen worden in het Westen (en door de globalisering) geconfronteerd met compleet andere sekseverhoudingen, en dat terwijl hun masculiene 'eer' vanouds de basis vormde van hun zelfrespect. De 'eer' van een man hangt af van het gedrag van zijn vrouwen, dochters en zussen, en hij ziet het dan ook als een recht en een noodzaak dat hij die vrouwen zijn wil mag opleggen. De masculiene eer impliceert zowel het idee van mannelijke superioriteit als de concrete macht van mannen over vrouwen. Beide zijn in het Westen sterk afgenomen.

Moslimfundamentalisme is seksefundamentalisme. Het ingewikkelde aan het moslimaterrorisme is dat dit enerzijds een geloof betreft dat op wereldschaal (en kleiner) het behoud van de patriarchale macht tot inzet heeft, terwijl er anderzijds vrouwen zijn die zich juist via dat patriarchale geloof willen emanciperen en daartoe zelfs bereid zijn tot terreur. Vanuit diezelfde dubbelzinnigheid kon het voor hun mannenbroeders wel eens aantrekkelijk zijn om hun 'zusters' deelname aan de djihad 'toe te staan', dat wil zeggen: de vrouwen in te zetten voor hulp aan terroristen of zelfs voor zelfmoordaanslagen.

Onderwerping, verkleed als emancipatie, en sterker nog, emancipatie die onderwerping impliceert, kan erg gevaarlijk zijn.

Notes

Jolande Withuis is als sociologe verbonden aan het Nederlands Instituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie. Op 5/6 verschijnt bij De Bezige Bij haar bundel 'De vrouw als mens. De mythe van het sekseverschil'. Dit artikel is een bewerking van het essay 'Sekse en Sekte' dat Withuis op uitnodiging van het ministerie van binnenlandse zaken schreef voor de bundel 'Radicaliserende vrouwen'. Andere bijdragen daaraan zijn van hoogleraar groepsdynamica Roel Meertens en van publiciste Nahed Selim. De essays verschijnen op www.minbzk.nl/actueel en zijn in gedrukte vorm op te vragen bij www.minbzk.nl/actueel en zijn in gedrukte

vrouwen onmogelijk was een zinvol leven te leiden via werk, wetenschap of de kunst.; Om mee te mogen strijden met de djihad, moeten de moslima's af van de zachtaardigheid die traditioneel tot hun takenpakket wordt gerekend.; Helaas is het risico niet geheel denkbeeldig dat radicale moslima's, anders dan Lidwina, andere mensen meeslepen in hun zelfdestructie.

Graphic

26LGWithuis_ph01, Militante tijdens de gijzeling van de school in het Russische Beslan, september 2004. Dit beeld komt uit een videofilmpje, geschoten door de gijzelnemers., FOTO REUTERS

26LGWithuis_ph02, De jeugdige Lidwien komt ten val tijdens het schaatsen. Afbeelding uit 'Vita Lijdwine' (Schiedam 1498).

Load-Date: May 26, 2007



Times Colonist (Victoria, British Columbia)

April 7, 2007 Saturday

Final Edition

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Section: NEWS; Pg. C16

Length: 1 words

Byline: Associated Press

Body

NO TEXT

Graphic

Colour Photo: Muhammed Muheisen, Associated Press; MARCH IN WEST BANK: Palestinian <u>women</u> supporters of the Islamic group <u>Hamas</u> wave flags during a rally marking the third anniversary of the deaths of leader Sheikh Ahmed Yassin and his late successor Abdel Aziz Rantisi in the West Bank city of Ramallah yesterday. Yassin was killed in an Israeli missile strike in Gaza City on March 22, 2004.;

Load-Date: April 10, 2007



The Star Phoenix (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)

May 23, 2007 Wednesday

Final Edition

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Section: WORLD; Pg. C11; Around the World in Photos

Length: 1 words

Byline: Reuters; Associated Press; Getty Images

Body

NO TEXT

Graphic

Colour Photo: Reuters; TINY TORTOISE: A zoo worker holds a Testudo Kleinmanni hatchling, an endangered species also known as an Egyptian tortoise, Tuesday in Rome, Italy.;

Colour Photo: Reuters; SHEDDING TEARS: A Lebanese soldier mourns a comrade, during the officer's funeral Tuesday in Na'afoul, Lebanon.;

Colour Photo: Reuters; FEEL THE BURN: A soldier smashes a block of concrete on the chest of a fellow soldier Tuesday in Minsk, Belarus.;

Colour Photo: Getty Images; SEW PROFESSIONAL: North Korean <u>women</u> work at an assembly line for a South Korean textile company Tuesday in Kaesong, North Korea.;

Colour Photo: AP; TIGHT FIT: A thirsty cat gets a drink of water Tuesday, near Maysville, Ky.;

Colour Photo: Reuters; COLD CALL: Dr. Konrad Steffen performs maintenance on a weather station near Ilulissat, Greenland, recently.;

Colour Photo: AP; ON THE EDGE: Palestinians gather around a crater after an Israeli missile hit a <u>Hamas</u> militants' camp in Gaza City, Tuesday.;

Colour Photo: Reuters; MUSLIM MARCH: Performers dressed in historic Islamic combat uniform march during a parade Tuesday in Ibb, Yemen.;

Load-Date: May 23, 2007